

HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD
RIDPATA
VOLUME
II.







Presented to the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

by

**ST. MICHAEL'S
COLLEGE LIBRARY**



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation





Drawn by Gustave Dorf.

MURDER OF THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS BY MOURZOUFLE.

(Page 379)



UNIVERSAL HISTORY



AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE AND ARTS
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT
AND A HISTORY OF THE
NATIONS OF THE WORLD

RECENT AND AUTHENTIC

By JAMES CLAPHAM, Esq. F.R.S.

Author of the History of the British Empire, &c.

VOLUME II
THE MODERN HISTORY

Profusely Illustrated with Maps, Charts, Engravings, &c.

Printed and Published by J. B. ALLEN, 10, Bouverie Street, London, W. 1.
LONDON: J. B. ALLEN, 10, BOUVERIE STREET, W. 1.

MURDER OF THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS BY MOURZOUFLE.

(Page 379)

CYCLOPÆDIA

— OF —



UNIVERSAL



HISTORY

BEING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER OF THE
HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVIL-
IZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM

RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN DEPAUW UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

VOLUME II.—PART I.

THE MODERN WORLD.

Profusely Illustrated with Maps, Charts, Sketches, Portraits, and Diagrams.

THE JONES BROTHERS PUBLISHING COMPANY,
CINCINNATI, O.

BALCH BROTHERS & GRAHAM, BOSTON.



COPYRIGHTED, 1885, BY JOHN T. JONES.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

SOLD BY SUBSCRIPTION ONLY.

PREFACE TO VOLUMES II. AND III.



NOW purpose to resume the narrative of historical events from the establishment of the kingdom of the Heruli in Italy, and to accomplish the remainder of my task by recit-

ing THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD from its beginnings in barbarism to the present time.

The plan which I have adopted will lead us from the consideration of the social and political condition of the barbarian races and the various kingdoms which they established, by way of Feudalism, the Crusades, the Free Cities, the growth of Monarchy, the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, and the English and French Revolutions, to the close of the Civil War in the United States and the establishment of the German Empire in Europe.

In following out this plan, it shall be my aim not only to produce a succinct narrative of the leading events which may claim our attention, but also to consider, from time to time, the *causes* which have determined them and the *relations* by which they are bound together. Without such linking of fact to fact, without such tracing of the oftentimes obscure lines of antecedence and consequence, any narrative of historical events must, of necessity, be of little interest and value.

But why, and for what end?

No fact is more patent in the literary tendencies of our times than the growing demand for historical writings. The eagerness of the average intelligent reader to widen the

horizon of his knowledge by learning something of the past; has become almost a passion. He seizes and devours whatever presents itself as History with a hunger quite phenomenal. It is natural that this avidity for historical works should tend to their multiplication and improvement.

This disposition of the American people to seek the more solid literature of History augurs well both for the present and the future. It indicates, first of all, the existence of an improved taste among the masses, and a more healthful hunger among the few. The death of a vicious literary appetite in a people marks the beginnings of their solid strength and prosperity, just as the birth and prevalence of that appetite mark the germinal stages of decline in the virtue and vigor of a state. Especially in a commonwealth founded on the intelligent consent of the masses does the demand for a stronger, more truthful literature betoken the presence of a force in society which works upwards towards honor and perpetuity.

But what of the historian and his work?

This: the writing of history exercises a powerful influence in subduing the irrational prejudices and passions of human nature. The writer, if actuated by motives that may be openly avowed, will not have proceeded far until the truth-telling impulse becomes dominant over every other disposition of mind. To ascertain the truth, and to speak it without fear or favor, kindles a torch in which all minor considerations are consumed as moths in a flame. The eager preference which the

historian feels at the beginning to have events result in this way or in that expires in the glow of a nobler enthusiasm. The original anxiety to find things other than they are is first neglected and then forgotten.

The tyro in history feels that, whatever else may be at fault, his own party, his own sect, his own country, are, and have ever been, infallible. Soon, however, he begins to be disabused. He sees the cause to which he has been so ardently attached infected with the same weakness as the other cause which he has so vehemently opposed. He beholds his party deliberately espousing the wrong principle, simply because that principle promises success; his sect, revamping a dogma because it is expedient; his country, narrowing the limits of human liberty because it is profitable.

At the first the writer is shocked at these discoveries. To find that the cherished is no longer the true seems to be the proclamation of returning chaos—the moral and political ruin of the world. For the moment, the writer is ready to condemn himself as the chief of sinners, simply because he has made a discovery.

Anon the sky begins to clear. Facts, principles, events, begin to appear in a new light. The historian becomes willing to learn. He sits down patiently at the feet of the Past. Soon his agitated nature feels no further alarm. His discoveries trouble him no more. He becomes calm and confident. He reverses his long-cherished convictions and feels no horror. He finds himself able to say without a shudder that Caesar the patriot was killed by Brutus the parricide. He writes without compunction that the Reformation was mixed with dross, afraid to avow its own principles of action, content to stop with a half-emancipation of the human mind. He recites without alarm the coarseness and brutality of the sterling Cromwell and the elegant philanthropy of the profligate Charles II. He fearlessly writes that the French Revolution, with all of its bravado and frenzy, was the

grandest event of modern times—the Renaissance of Man; and that the old Slave-holders of the South were provoked and tantalized by those who were not slave-holders themselves only because they were born and bred in a happier latitude. To admit all this, and a thousand things still more appalling, is not to introduce a social and moral chaos into the world, not to reverse or confound the principles of right and wrong, not to despair of the grandeur and glory of human nature. It is merely to be taught instead of to teach; to hear instead of to speak; to accept fallibility as the law of human intelligence and character; to cast the demi-gods and devils out of the historic drama, and to accept Man as the actor.

The historian must either lay down his pen or cease to be a partisan. The alternative is before him. The two qualities of partisanship and historical truthfulness can not long co-exist in the same mind. The one will expel the other. In such a case a divided sovereignty is impossible.

As with the writer, so with the reader of History. A certain kind of literature tends to excite in the minds of both author and reader those very prejudices and passions which ought to be allayed. Of such sort is the American party newspaper, whose motto is to concede nothing and to speak the truth when it is necessary. A little above this level is the independent journal or magazine, whose independence is generally maintained until what time the political caldron begins to boil. Thenceforth its neutrality is little less than a profounder partisanship, cloaked under the assumption of judicial fairness. It remains for history to stand aloof from the petty broil, and to hold up as a patient rebuke to the present tumult the lessons of the tumults past.

The historian sees—must see—all things in a different light from that by which the multitude is guided. To him the delusion of the passing hour is nothing. It is impossible for him to yield to the current whim, the preva-

lent passion. He understands in a general way that the old party is wrong; that the new one will soon become the old, and will be just as abusive and proscriptive as its predecessor. He knows that the attempted alignment of an old party or sect on a new issue—concerning which, in the nature of the case, there can be no conscientious accord, no enthusiasm of conviction—is an outrage against reason, a crime against civilization. But he is compelled to see his protest overborne and trodden under foot of men.

All these considerations have tended to give to historical writings, especially those of the last century, a tone of calmness and candor for which we should search in vain in any other class of productions. How poor and pitiful, how worthy of nothing except contempt, must appear that alleged history which libels the past for the sake of flattering the present! Such a work is fitted for no place so well as an obscure corner in the Library of Universal Vanity.

Not only should the historian be above the narrow prejudices of his party, his sect, his local station; he should also be the friend of freedom and of man. Understanding, as he does, that freedom is the prime condition of happiness, he should, in every case wherein the question relates to the enlargement of human liberty, send from his bugle the tocsin of no uncertain sound. He that believes that man is as free as he ought to be should choose some other profession than history. He who would force back the currents of human life into the narrower and shallower channels through which they have flowed in the past, may make an apostle of pessimism, but can never make a historian. Little as there has been in the records of our race to kindle the enthusiasm and inspire the hopes glowing in the better nature of man, yet has there been enough to furnish a ground for faith and to lay a foundation for philanthropy. In an age when the pessimist is abroad, sowing ashes in the gardens of promise, teaching

a tempted race to mock at trust, to doubt truth, and to despair of human goodness, it is the high office of the historian to put away the evil prophet and to hold on high that inextinguishable torch which shineth in the darkness.

Time would fail to enumerate the qualities which are essential in the historian and his work. By common consent the historical narrative is regarded as the most serious and elevated species of literature in prose. To the meretricious methods, freely adopted by writers on a lower plane, to stimulate curiosity and excite a flagging interest, the historian must be and remain a stranger. Albeit, he becomes accustomed to the clear mountain air in which things are revealed as they are. He is satisfied that the ruined tower, the villages clustered in the valley, the porch of the distant Capitol, the army marching,—shall be seen in the classic outline of reality, the naked chastity of truth. He hopes that others, like himself, may come to prefer the unadorned beauty of the real to the distempered masquerade of shadows and phantoms.

I repeat, therefore, that the growing taste for historical writings is one of the most healthful signs of our times. It indicates the appearance, if not the prevalence, of a spirit among the American people to which the last generation was a stranger. It foretokens the overthrow of superstition and the downfall of the demagogue. It marks the limit of the growth of those political and social vices which, like the deadly nightshade, distill their poison in the dark. Such a hunger in our people for a knowledge of the past and its lessons shows an anxiety for the present and a care for the future of our country.

Since it is granted to the author to speak freely in his Preface, I may say that the hope of presenting to the general public a clear and readable, if not elaborate, account of the principal events in the History of the World—believing as I do that such a work, if successfully accomplished, may contribute something

to the welfare and happiness of men and to the perpetuity of institutions—has been and is the inspiration of the beginning, as it will be of the completion of this work. I shall take leave of my task with no need to be reminded of the imperfections of these volumes, but with the earnest wish that they may, notwithstanding all blemishes and defects, prove

to be a source of pleasure and profit to readers of every class. I trust, moreover, that the critic, though he find much in these pages to be condemned, may also find somewhat to commend; and that the reader, though he be disappointed in many particulars, may realize in other parts of these volumes at least a partial fulfillment of his expectations.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY, *July*, 1885.

J. C. R.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

	PAGE.
PREFACE,	5-8
CONTENTS,	9-21
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS,	23-26
INTRODUCTION,	27-30

BOOK FIRST.—BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER I.—TRIBES OF THE NORTH.

Breaking in of the Barbarians.—The Germanic Family.—The Goths.—Division of the Race.—Early Relations with Rome.—Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy.—Visigoths in Spain.—Kingdom of the Suavi.—The Marcomanni.—The Quadi.—The Heruli.—The Gepidæ.—The Vandals.—Their Kingdom in Spain and Africa.—The Lombards.—The Franks.—Their Kingdom in Gaul.—The Angles.—The Saxons.—They establish themselves in Britain.—The Burgundians.—The Bavarians.—Leading Barbarian Nations.—Career of Ulfilas.—The Gothic Language.—The Barbarian Manner of Life.—Person and Features.—Their Manners in Peace and War.—Teutonic Government.—Superstitions and Religion of the North.—The Family Tie.—Respect of the Sexes.—Notion of Land-ownership.—View of Tribal Polity.—Leadership.—Guests.—Adoration of Woman.—Idea of Personal Independence derived from the Germans.—Freedom.—Military Patronage.—The Slavic Family.—The Bosnians.—The Croatians.—The Wends.—The Poles.—The Bohemians.—The Moravians.—The Pomeranians and Lusatians.—The Livonians.—Third Division of the Race.—The Huns.—Their Impact on the Empire.—Attila.—The Alani.—The Avari.—The Bulgarians.—The Magyars.—The Turks.—Their Relation with the Eastern Empire.—The Tartars, 33-50

CHAPTER II.—BARBARIAN KINGDOMS IN ITALY.

Odoacer and the Heruli.—End of Augustulus.—Remnants of Old Rome.—Conquests of Odoacer.—Decadence and Distress of Rome.—The Ostrogothic Conquest.—Career of Theodoric.—Battle of the Sontius.—Overthrow of the Heruli.—Reign of Theodoric.—Formation of a New Nationality.—Battle of Margus.—Relations of the Ostrogoths and the Franks.—Extent of Theodoric's Kingdom.—Character of his Administration.—The King in Rome.—

His Private Life.—His Religion.—Troubles of the Italian Catholics.—The Eastern Empire persecutes the Arians.—Career of Boëthius.—Death of Theodoric.—Reign of his Grandsons.—Amalasontha.—Her Ascendency in Italy.—Intrigue of Justinian.—Belisarius in the West.—He subdues Italy.—The Goths besiege him in Rome.—Theodebert invades Italy.—Siege of Ravenna.—Belisarius recalled.—Totila recovers the Country.—Return of Belisarius.—Rome taken and re-taken.—Belisarius crippled by the Emperor.—Narses takes Command.—He captures Rome.—Incoming of the Germans.—Battle of the Vulturmus.—Overthrow of the Ostrogothic Kingdom.—Alboin and the Lombards.—Kingdom of Lombards established.—End of Alboin.—Reign of Antharis.—Agilulf.—The Iron Crown.—Extent of the Lombard Dominion.—Laws.—Growth of the Papal Church.—Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.—Overthrow of the Lombard Kingdom, 50-64

CHAPTER III.—KINGDOMS OF THE VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, AND FRANKS.

Adolphus and Honorius.—Marriage with Placidia.—Progress of the Goths in Spain.—Plans of Clovis.—Battle of Poitiers.—Defeat of the Romans in Spain.—Count Theudes.—Interference of Justinian.—Arianism overthrown.—Council of Toledo.—The Jews in Spain.—Their Persecutions.—Incoming of the Arabs.—They conquer the Visigoths.—Establishment of the Vandal Kingdom.—Great Conquests of Genseric.—He subdues Northern Africa.—The Donatists.—Ravages of the Invaders.—Capture of Carthage.—Naval Enterprises.—Pillage of Rome by the Vandals.—They terrorize the Mediterranean.—Religious Complications.—Reign of Gelimer.—The Vandal Kingdom overthrown by Belisarius.—The Frankish Nation.—Early Chieftains.—Merovenus and Childeric.—Youth of Clovis.—The Broken Vase.—Clovis organizes a Kingdom.—Overthrows the Alemanni.—Is converted.—The Franks imitate his Ex-

ample.—Christianity and Paganism.—Clovis a Butcher.—His Religious War.—He conquers the Burgundians.—Overthrows the Goths.—Is Consul and Augustus.—Sketch of the Barbarian Laws.—Their *Personal* Character.—Judicial Processes.—Trial by Combat.—Land Titles.—Slavery.—Sons of Clovis.—They divide the Kingdom.—Fratricidal Wars.—The Rois Faineants.—Fredegonda and Brunehaut.—Clotaire II. and Dagobert.—Accession of Pepin.—He extinguishes the Faineants.—Is succeeded by the Ilammer.—He puts down Opposition.—Confronts the Arabs.—Battle of Poitiers.—Establishment of the Carolingians.—Pepin crowned as King of the Franks.—He overthrows the Lombards.—Is succeeded by Charlemagne, 64-81

CHAPTER IV.—THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

Native Land of the Anglo-Saxons.—Their Character sketched by Taine.—They are invited into Britain.—Condition of that Country.—Hengist, Horsa, and Vortigern.—Britain conquered by the Invaders.—Establishment of the Heptarchy.—Prince Arthur.—The Office of Britwald.—Early Rulers.—Edwin and Penda.—Cadwallader.—Churches and Monasteries.—Contest for Mercia.—Career of Oswy.—Reign of Egfrid.—Mercia and Wessex.—Offa the Terrible.—Ascendency of Wessex under Egbert.—Career of the Latter.—Apparition of the Danes.—Their Successes after Egbert's Death.—Reign of Ethelwulf.—His Five Sons.—Succession of Alfred, 81-90

BOOK SECOND.—THE MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER V.—CAREER OF THE PROPHET.

Birth and Youth of Mohammed.—His Family Relationships.—He becomes a Prophet.—Struggles of the Rising Faith.—Perils and Vicissitudes of Mohammed.—Relations with the Jews.—The Hegira.—The Prophet Victorious.—He becomes a Warrior.—Revolts and Suppressions.—The First Pilgrimage.—Death of the Prophet.—His Form and Features.—Mental Characteristics.—Religious Condition of Arabia at the Prophet's Advent.—His Plan of Uniting Judaism and Christianity.—Comparison of the Three Semitic Religions.—Monotheism of the Koran.—The Day of Judgment.—Paradise and Hell, 91-99

CHAPTER VI.—CONQUESTS OF THE FIRST CALIPHS.

Abu Beker succeeds the Prophet.—His Character and Policy.—Comotions in New Islam.—Ibn Nowirah.—He is routed by Khaled.—Moseilma the False.—Formulation of the Koran.—Plans for the Extensions of Islam.—Invasion of Syria.—Proclamation of Abu Beker.—Yezed in Command.—Rules of War.—Syria overrun.—Babylonia invaded.—Victories of Khaled.—Ill success of Obeidah.—Battle at Bosra.—Khaled saves the Day.—Bosra taken.—Siege of Damascus.—Battle of Aiznadin.—Taking of Damascus.—Omar succeeds Abu Beker.—Sketch of his Character.—Obeidah restored to Command.—Islam drinks Wine.—Siege of Emessa.—The Syrian Greeks.—Expedition to Baalbec.—The City ransomed.—Emessa Captured.—Advance to Yermouk.—Peril of the Moslems.—Great Battle with Manuel.—Omar takes Jerusalem.—The Great Mosque.—New Invasions planned.—Obeidah advances on Aleppo.—The City taken.—Antioch captured by Stratagem.—Further Conquests.—Caesarea taken.—Disgrace and Death of Khaled.—Amru invades Egypt.—Siege and Capture of Alexandria.—De-

struction of the Great Library.—Egypt subdued.—Persia invaded.—The Moslems defeated on the Euphrates.—Battle of Hirah.—Abu Wakkas in Command.—Battle of Kadesia.—Bassora founded.—Babylon and Madain captured.—Spoils of the Conquests.—Cufa selected as the Eastern Capital.—Rebuke of Abu Wakkas.—Family Relations of Omar.—War with Susiana.—The "Victory of Victories."—The Box of Yezdegird.—Battle of Hamadan.—Media overrun by the Moslems.—Overthrow of the God of Fire.—Taking of the Gate of Iron.—Career of Abdalrahman in the North.—Assassination of Omar.—Sketch of his Character.—The Civil Administration, 100-120

CHAPTER VII.—OTHMAN AND ALI.

Othman chosen to the Caliphate.—His Character and Policy.—End of the Career of Yezdegird.—Upheaval in Egypt.—Alexandria retaken and dismantled.—Islam moves Westward through Northern Africa.—Battle of Tripoli.—Story of the Daughter of Gregorius.—Return of Saäd to Egypt.—Islam among the Islands of the Mediterranean.—Battle of the Masts.—The Crescent within Sight of Constantinople.—Loss of the Prophet's Ring.—Purification of the Koran.—Condition of the Caliphate.—Opposition to Othman.—Army of Insurgents before Medina.—Ali secures a Reformation.—Further Treachery.—Murder of Othman.—Position of Ali.—He is chosen Caliph.—Moawyah in Opposition.—Ali reforms the Government.—New Emirs appointed.—Rebellious Spirits in the Provinces.—Moawyah prepares for Conflict.—Ayesha heads a Revolt.—Her Proclamation.—Ali prepares for War.—Affairs of Bassora.—Ayesha defeated and captured.—The Syrian Rebellion.—Battle of Sefein.—Arbitration attempted by Ali and Moawyah.—A Fraudulent Decision.—The Karigites.—Further Plots of Moawyah.—He takes Mecca.—Assassination planned.—Murder of Ali.—His Character.—Founder of the Fatimites, . . 120-132

CHAPTER VIII.—OMMIANES AND FATIMITES.

Caliph Hassan.—War renewed with Moawyah.—The Latter succeeds to the Caliphate.—The Arts of Peace prevail.—Story of the Son of Nobody.—He founds a Family.—Enmity of Islam against the Greek Empire.—The Crescent advanced toward Constantinople.—The Moslems beaten back.—Death of Hassan.—Ayesha follows.—Invasion of Africa again undertaken.—Successes of Achah.—He founds a Capital.—The African Tribes subdued.—Rebellion put down at Cærwan.—The Moors victorious over Achah.—Yezid recognized as successor to Moawyah.—The Court of Damascus.—Yezid succeeds to the Caliphate.—His Character.—His Rivals.—Affairs at Cufa.—Hosein defeated and killed.—Abdallah proclaimed Caliph.—Insurrection in Medina.—The City taken by Storm.—Mecca besieged.—Caliph Moawyah II.—Merwan succeeds him.—Other Claimants to the Throne.—Obeidallah at Cufa.—Abdallah in the West.—Dehac overthrown.—Invasion of Egypt.—Merwan victorious.—Khorassan independent.—The Penitents.—Affairs at Cærwan.—The City taken by the Greeks and Moors.—The Moslems aroused.—Cærwan retaken.—Merwan transfers the Crown to Abdalmalec.—Abdallah at Mecca.—Attempt to make Jerusalem the

Holy City.—Al Moktar appears.—Supports the House of Ali.—Is slain at Cufa.—Abdalmalec invades Babylonia.—The Separatists.—The Caliph adds to the Annual Tribute.—Fall of Abdallah.—Hazem subdued.—Al Hejagi at Cufa.—Story of Shebib.—Abdalahman is slain.—War with the Eastern Empire.—The Greeks in Northern Africa.—Affairs at Carthage.—The Prophetess Dhabba.—Northern Africa desolated.—Dhabba put to Death.—End of Hossan.—Musa appointed Governor.—Conversion of the Berbers.—Musa builds a Fleet.—Waled takes the Caliphate.—The Court of Damascus.—Character of Waled.—Enlargement of the Kaaba.—Mosque of Damascus.—Triumphs of the Crescent Eastward.—Musa reaches the Atlantic.—He looks into Europe.—Treason of Count Julian.—Tarie goes into Spain.—Musa receives Orders for Conquest.—Spain invaded by Tarie.—Battle of the Guadalete.—Drowning of Roderic.—Taking of Cordova and Toledo.—Castile and Leon subdued.—Disgrace of Tarie.—Peace made with the Goths.—Islam Triumphant.—Fall of Musa.—Arab Civilization in Spain.—Ambitious Plans of Islam.—The Crescent North of the Pyrenees.—Abdalahman would conquer France.—The Invasion begun.—The Arabs confronted by Charles Martel.—Battle of Tours.—Thus far and no further of Islam, 133-152

BOOK THIRD.—THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

CHAPTER IX.—THE FIRST CARLOVINGIANS.

Pepin King of the Franks.—The *Rois Fainéants*.—Wars of Pepin.—Family Complications.—Charles the Hammer.—Establishment of the Carolingian House.—Pepin and the Pope.—The Former overthrows the Lombards.—Career of Walfar.—Accession of Charlemagne.—His Genius.—His Relations with Desiderius.—He invades Italy.—Siege of Pavia.—Charlemagne at Rome.—Pavia taken.—The King returns to France.—Assembly at Paderborn.—Spirit and Deeds of the Saxons.—War begins with the Hostile Tribes.—A Conquest of Christianity.—Churches and Fortresses.—Spirit of the Priests.—Story of Liebwine.—Tribal Divisions of the Saxons.—Policy of Charlemagne.—King Wittikind.—He beats back the Franks.—The Latter again Victorious.—War and Baptism on the Weser.—Desperation of the Saxons.—Peace made with Wittikind.—Death of the Latter.—Obstinacy of Paganism.—Other Tribes subdued.—A Stayer of Barbarism.—A Boy King of Italy.—Charlemagne turns upon the Arabs.—Treason of Al Arabi.—The King advances on Saragossa.—Aquitaine and Vasconia subdued.—Pampeluna surrendered.—Siege of Saragossa.—The City is ransomed.—Retreat of the Franks.—The Valley of Roncesvalles.—The King of Aquitaine.—Boundary and Capital of France.—List of Charlemagne's Campaigns.—Troubles at Rome.—The

Pope appeals to Charlemagne.—And Crowns him Emperor.—Restoration of the Empire.—Relations with the East.—Charlemagne as a Ruler.—Classification of his Subjects.—Fluctuation of Classes.—Practical Character of the Emperor.—Nature of his Administration.—His National Councils.—His Right of Initiating Laws.—Hincmar's Sketches of the Assemblies.—Preponderance of Charlemagne in the Kingdom.—Local Administrations.—Various Officers.—A Monarchy founded.—The Royal Notebook.—Charlemagne as a Law-maker.—His Patronage of Scholars.—His Curiosity to know.—School of the Palace.—Its Small Vanities.—Charlemagne a German.—His Old Age.—Louis named for the Succession.—The Emperor dies.—Estimate of his Work, 153-175

CHAPTER X.—SUCCESSORS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Epoch of Decline after Charlemagne.—Apparition of the Sea Kings.—They ascend the Rivers of Western Europe.—Character of the Debonair.—New Code in the Court.—Elevation of Lothaire.—Pepin and Louis also crowned.—Threefold Division of Western Europe.—Abjectness of the Debonair.—The Italian Complication.—Trouble in Vasconia.—Revolt in Brittany suppressed.—Beginning of the House of Guelf.—Revolt of Lothaire and Pepin.—Intrigues of Judith.—Louis dethroned.—And then restored.—The Field of

Red.—Success of Lothaire.—New Territorial Division.—Death of the Debonair.—Conspiracy against Charles the Bald.—Battle of Fontenailles.—Efforts of Lothaire to maintain his Cause.—Another division of Europe.—The Northern Pirates.—Career of Hastings.—He receives Chartres.—Italy, Germany, and France.—Charles the Bald and his Administration.—Decline of the Imperial Dignity.—Growth of the Nobility.—Death of Charles.—His Misfortunes of Family.—Accession of Louis the Stammerer.—His Reign.—Accession of Charles the Fat.—Incoming of Rollo and his Danes.—Count Thibault and Hastings.—The Latter relapses.—The Northmen before Paris.—The Siege of the City.—The King would purchase Peace.—Eudes receives the Crown.—Smaller Sovereigns.—Rollo in the West of France.—Struggle between him and the King.—Accession of Charles the Simple.—He cedes Nustria to the Danes.—Aggressions of the Saracens.—Planting of Normandy.—Civil War in France.—Rise of Hugh the Great.—He brings Home D'Outremer.—Complication with Lorraine.—War with Otho.—Difficulty with Normandy.—Richard the Fearless.—Death of D'Outremer.—Accession of Lothaire.—Death of Hugh.—Otho II receives the German Crown.—Invades France.—Battle of the Aisne.—Division of Lorraine.—Accession of Louis the Sluggard.—Approaching Revolution.—The Nation turns to Capet.—Louis King of Germany.—His Reign.—The Kingdom partitioned.—Crowning of Charles the Fat.—Germany and Italy united.—King deposed.—Career of Duke Arnulf.—The Isidorian Decretals.—Accession of Louis the Child.—Establishment of the Salian Dynasty.—Character of King Conrad.—He is succeeded by Henry of Saxony.—He puts down Insurrection.—Improves the Army.—Makes Conquests.—Sends a Dog to Hungary.—War with Denmark.—Accession of Otho the Great.—His Character.—His Wars.—Rebellion of Prince Henry.—Battle of Andernach.—Otho's Generosity.—Barbarism subdued.—The King assists Louis of France.—Affairs in Italy.—Career of Berengar.—Italian Revolts.—Otho defeats the Hungarians.—He is crowned by Pope John.—The Latter would undo his Actions.—Ambition of Otho.—Italy an Appanage, 175-196

CHAPTER XI.—ALFRED AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Ascendency of Wessex.—Incursions of the Northmen.—England falls to the Son of Egbert.—His Reign.—Distracted Condition of England.—Fights with the Pirates.—Conspiracy of Ethelbald.—He takes the Crown.—Ethelbert suc-

ceeds.—Ethelred.—Accession of Prince Alfred.—He builds a Fleet.—Beats the Danes.—Bad Faith of the Latter.—King Guthrnn.—Overthrow of Alfred.—He hides from his Enemies.—The Saxons rally to their King.—He becomes a Gleeman.—Battle of Ethandune.—Settlement with the Danes.—Quiet in the Island.—Assimilation of Laws.—Alfred patronizes Learning.—Fortifies London.—Enlarges his Fleet.—Peace in England.—The Danes reappear.—Progress of Hastings.—Alfred confronts the Enemy.—Battle of Farmham.—Fierce Conflict with the Danes.—Extremity of Hastings.—Desultory Invasions.—Strategy on the River Lea.—Hastings leaves England.—Prowess of the English Navy.—Pestilence.—Death of Alfred.—His Character and Work.—He lays the Foundations of English Letters.—His Translations.—Transformation of England.—Internal Improvements.—Succession of Edward.—Rebellion of Ethelwald.—Career of Ethelfleda.—Athelstane receives the Crown.—He subdues Wales and Cornwall.—Danelagh arises.—Battle of Brunnaburg.—Court of Athelstane.—Accession of Edmund.—Cessions to the Danes.—Early History of Scotland.—Story of Leof.—Eldred King.—He beats the Danes.—Edwy succeeds.—Marries Elgira.—Odo and his Church Feud.—Ruin of Elgira.—Accession of Edgar.—Triumph of the Celibates.—Ascendency of Odo and Dunstan.—Measures and Policy of the King.—Story of Elfrida.—Edward the Martyr on the Throne.—His Tragic End.—Ethelred the Unready.—Decline of Saxon Royalty.—Career of Prince Sweyn.—Beginning of Dane-Geld.—Conversion of the Danes.—Decline of the Kingdom.—The Flower of Normandy.—Causes of the Danish Ascendency.—The Feast of St. Brice.—Great Invasion by the Danes.—Antecedents of the Norman Conquest.—Sweyn's revenge.—More Dane-Geld.—Coming of Thurkill.—Peace purchased.—Sweyn is acknowledged King.—Canute succeeds to the Throne.—Specters in Normandy.—Extent of Canute's Empire.—His Wars and Pilgrimage.—Story of the Courtiers.—Claim of Hardicanute.—Harold on the Throne.—Emma and her Sons.—Succession of Hardicanute.—Edward the Confessor becomes King.—His Quiet Reign.—The King favors the Normans.—Position of Earl Godwin.—Count Eustace.—Godwin breaks with the King.—The Former banished.—Editha.—Ascendency of the Norman Nobility.—Apparition of Prince William.—Return of Godwin.—Flight of the Normans.—Edward Atheling brought Home.—Prince Harold or Prince William?—Oath of the Former.—Death of Edward.—The Coming Conflict, . 197-222

BOOK FOURTH.—THE FEUDAL ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER XII.—FEUDALISM PROPER.

The Feudal System defined.—Difficulty of Analysis.—Ideas on which Feudalism was founded.—

Spirit of Independence among the Barbarians.—Settling of the Tribes by Charlemagne.—Revival of Old Sentiments.—Religious and Philosophical beliefs.—The *Dies Irvæ*.—Effect of such Belief.—

Decadence under the Donothings.—Revolt of the Barbarian Nobility.—Institution of Vassalage.—Essence of Feudalism.—Was it a System?—Conditions of Land Tenure.—Law of Descent.—Taxation.—Military Service.—Feudalism a Necessity.—Its Universality.—Sketch of the Feudal Chieftain.—His Castle and Administration.—His Family.—The Peasants.—Place of the Priest in the System.—Personal Importance of the Baron.—Nature of the Feudal Household.—Growth of Domesticity.—Principle of Inheritance.—Abjection of the Serfs.—Man over Man.—Aspect of Feudal Europe.—Social and Political Ties.—Birth of Modern Poetry.—Repression of the People.—Growth of Feudalism in France, Germany, and England, 223-233

CHAPTER XIII.—FEUDAL FRANCE.

Death of Louis V.—Election of Hugh Capet.—The Succession established.—A Feudal Kingdom.—Struggle of the Old System with the New.—Reign of King Hugh.—Accession of Robert.—Fate of Bertha.—Character of the King.—Queen Constance brings Jocularity to Paris.—Dawn of the Pilgrimage.—Struggle for Burgundy.—Otho successful.—Accession of Prince Henry.—Disloyalty of Constance.—Affairs in Normandy.—Prince William acknowledged as Duke.—His Heroic Qualities.—Reign of King Henry.—Feudalism triumphant.—Scandal in the Church.—Efforts at Reform.—Beginning of the Monastic Orders.—La Chartreuse.—Spread of Heresies.—Fanaticism.—Appearance of Chivalry.—Antecedents of the Institution.—Its Lofty Ideals.—Ceremonial of Knighthood.—Ambitions of the Youth.—Place and Influence of Woman.—Knighthood and Love.—Spread of the System.—Accession of Philip I.—His Marriage and Divorce.—The Church offended.—The Kingdom under Interdict.—Philip humbled.—War with Friesland.—The Cross raised against the Crescent.—Affairs of the Eastern Empire.—Peter of Picardy.—Schism in the Church.—Alexius appeals to the West.—Council of Clermont, 234-244

CHAPTER XIV.—FEUDAL GERMANY.

Accession of Otho II.—Revolt of Bavaria.—Foundation of Austria.—War with France.—Otho in Italy.—Diet of Verona.—Otho III. succeeds to the Throne.—Regency of Adelheid.—Wars on the Frontier.—Character of Otho.—He is crowned.—Troubles of the Papacy.—Polish Complication.—Otho would restore the Empire.—He returns to Rome.—Dies.—Another Boy Pope.—Accession of Henry of Bavaria.—Long War with the Poles.—Invasion of Lombardy.—Process of Disintegration.—Expulsion of the Greeks from Italy.—End of the Saxon Line.—Election of Conrad of Snavia.—Various Revolts against him.—He subdues Lombardy.—Normans in Italy.—Career of Duke Ernest.—Sylvester and St. Stephen.—Rudolph of Burgundy.—Relations of the Empire with Italy.—

Revolt of Milan.—Accession of Henry III.—His Campaigns.—Social Condition of Germany.—Power of Man to recuperate.—Symptoms of Revival in Southern Europe.—Truce of God.—Other Reforms.—Affairs of the Papacy.—Revolts in Lorraine, Flanders, and Holland.—Bernhard of Saxony.—Commotion in Italy.—The Monk of Cluny.—Accession of Henry IV.—Claims of the Feudal Lords.—Conspiracy against Henry.—His Marriage.—Revolt of Saxony.—Revival of Henry's Cause.—Accession of Hildebrand.—His Character and Policy.—His Pretensions.—Synod at Worms.—Quarrel of Pope and Emperor.—Humiliation of Henry.—Civil War.—Henry invades Italy.—Ruin of Rome.—Death of Gregory.—Troubles of Henry's Old Age.—Noise of the Crusades.—Abélard and Héloïse, 244-259

CHAPTER XV.—FEUDAL ENGLAND.

Death of Edward Confessor.—Accession of Harold.—His Policy.—The News in Normandy.—Messages of Harold and William.—Preparations for the Norman Invasion.—Disloyalty of Tostig.—Courage of Harold.—William lands in England.—Battle of Hastings.—Overthrow of the Saxon Monarchy.—William takes the Throne.—Surly Resistance of the People.—Measures of Witenagemot.—The Conqueror triumphant.—He is crowned.—His Policy.—Edgar Atheling.—William journeys through the Kingdom.—His Feudal Towers.—Rapacity of the Normans.—The English Women.—William returns to Normandy.—Bad Work of Odo.—Saxon Insurrections begin.—Thane Edric and the Sons of Harold.—The King's return.—His Pacific Course.—Taking of Exeter.—Devon overrun.—Holinshied tells his Story.—Hatred of the Normans and Saxons.—William beats down the Rebels.—Other Revolts follow.—Capture of York.—Northumbria and Scotland.—The Danes on the Humber.—William's Vengeance on the Northumbrians.—Conciliation abandoned.—Monasteries invaded.—Revolt of Maine.—Conspiracy of Fitz-Osborn.—Treason of Duke Robert.—Chivalry of the Latter.—Uprising in Durham.—Fall of Odo.—England again claimed by the Danes.—The Domesday-book.—William's Sons.—New Forest established.—Assembly at Winchester.—The King's Last Campaign and Death.—Accession of William Rufus.—Short-Ilose in Normandy.—He conspires against Rufus.—The English support the King.—The Rebellion suppressed.—English Invasion of Normandy.—Prince Henry subdued.—War with Scotland.—Extremity of Duke Robert.—Insurrection in Wales.—Robert leases Normandy to his Brother.—Reduction of Maine.—Death of William.—Crusading Fever in England, 259-281

CHAPTER XVI.—MOHAMMEDAN STATES AND NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

Founding of the Abbassidæ.—Caliph Abul Abbas.—Reign of Al-Mansour.—He makes Bagdad his Capital.—His Wars.—Reign of Mahdi.—

Hadi succeeds him.—Accession of Al-Rashid.—His Administration.—The Barmecides.—Down with Jaffar.—Relations of Al-Rashid and Nicephorus.—War with the Greeks.—Death of Al-Rashid.—His Character.—Al-Amin and Al-Mamoun.—Reign of Al-Motassem.—Rise of the Seljuks.—Minor Caliphs.—Abderrahman in Spain.—Independence of the Western Caliphate.—Splendor of Cordova.—Learning and Art of the Moors.—The Crescent begins to wane.—Luxury of Baghdad.—Architecture the Glory of the Western Moslems.—Gardens of Zehia.—The Alhambra.—Giralda of Seville.—

The Alcazar.—Valor of the Cid.—The Cimbri in Denmark.—Danish Nationality.—The Sea Kings.—Queen Margaret.—First Rulers of Norway.—Harold Harfager.—Paganism overthrown.—Olaf II. and Hardrada.—Danish Expeditions.—Primitive Sweden.—Early History of Russia.—The Slavonic Tribes.—Ruric the Great.—Conquests of Oleg.—Reign of Igov.—Seratoslav.—Vladimir.—Reign of Yaroslav.—Beginnings of Civilization.—Division of the Empire.—Appearance of the Polans.—Miecislav I.—Boleslas.—Miecislav II.—Casimir and Boleslas II.—Ladislas Herman, 281-296

BOOK FIFTH.—THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER XVII.—UPRISING OF EUROPE.

Universality of the Crusades.—Feudal Dissolution of Society.—Aggressions of the Mohammedans.—Progress of the Crescent.—The Infidel Turk.—General View of Causes.—Affairs in the Holy Land.—Alp Arslan.—Palestine taken by the Turks.—The Western Pilgrims.—Horror of the Christians.—They call out to the Pope.—The Hermit of Picardy.—Council of Clermont.—Address of Urban.—*Dieu le Veut!*—The Crusade undertaken.—All Europe aflame.—Motives of the War.—All Classes under the Excitement.—Gain for the Merchants.—Frontier of France.—A Devouring Host.—The March through Hungary and Bulgaria.—Fate of the Vanguard.—Walter's and Peter's Fanatics in Constantinople.—Invasion of Asia Minor.—The Turks triumphant.—The German Division meets a Like Fate.—The Army of Goat and Goose.—Slaughter of the Jews.—End of the Rabble.—The Real Crusading Host.—Sketch of Godfrey.—Raymond of Toulouse.—Hugh, Robert, and Stephen.—The Short-Hose.—Edgar Atheling.—Career of Donald Bane.—Europe goes to Prayers.—Character of the Army.—The Advance, 297-309

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Bad Impression made by the Vanguard.—Distraction of Alexius.—The Situation.—Hugh wrecked and taken.—His Release demanded.—The Crusaders reach Constantinople.—Treachery of the Greeks.—Schemes of Alexius.—The Western Princes before the Emperor.—Bœmund arouses Italy.—The Normans leave Amalfi for the East.—Hostility to the Empire.—Eastern Craft and Western.—The Crusaders in Asia Minor.—Siege of Nice.—Overthrow of the Moslems.—The City surrendered.—Fraud of Alexius.—Battle of Dogorgan.—Rout of the Turks.—The Country wasted.—A Famishing Army.—The Crusaders before Antioch.—Progress of Tancred and Baldwin.—The Christians force the Orontes.—A Taste of Paradise.—Successful Sally of the Turks.—The Winter Siege of Antioch.—Treachery of Emipher.—Cap-

ture of the City.—The Turks reinforced.—Dream of Barthelemy.—The Great Battle.—The Moslems overthrown.—Exultation of the Christians.—Principalities of Edessa and Antioch.—Troubles of the Crusaders.—Reduction of the Host.—Abatement of Zeal.—“Jerusalem, Jerusalem!”—Siege of the Holy City.—Stubborn Resistance of the Turks.—Reinforcements for the Christians.—Folly of the Hermit.—Storming of the City.—St. George appears.—Jerusalem taken.—Slaughter of the Moslems.—The Pious Godfrey.—The Crusaders worship.—Glory of Peter.—The Cross above the City of Christ.—Who shall be King?—Election of Duke Godfrey, 309-327

CHAPTER XIX.—GODFREY'S MODESTY.

Battle of Ascalon.—Method of the Conflict.—Rout of the Moslems.—Return of the Christian Princes to Europe.—Their Future Career.—The *Assizes of Jerusalem*.—Death of Godfrey.—Troubles about the Succession.—Election of Baldwin.—His Prowess.—He is reinforced by Pilgrims.—European Fleets in the East.—End of Raymond.—Conquest of Tripoli.—Death of Bœmund.—Baldwin II.—Count Foulque in Palestine.—Capture of Tyre.—Acme of the Christian Power.—Dangers to the Kingdom.—Deterioration of the Eastern Christians.—Antecedents of the Chivalric Orders.—Founding of the Knights Hospitallers.—Their Primitive Character.—First Endowments.—Growth of the Order.—Degrees and Discipline.—Power and Pride of the Hospitallers.—Rivalry with the Templars.—Subsequent History.—The Knights Templars founded.—Lowliness of their Origin.—Their Discipline and Faith.—Spread of the Order.—Its Exemptions.—Corruptions of the Brotherhood.—Distribution of Chapters.—History of the Templars.—Philip of France declares their Abolition.—The Decree enforced.—Founding of the Teutonic Orders.—Their Insignia.—Their Policy.—Their Dominion.—Opulence does its Work.—Extinction of the Order.—Reign of Baldwin du Bourg.—Career of De Courtenay.—Court of Edessa.—Rise of Sanguin.—Downfall of Edessa.—Heroism of Joselyn.—Effect of the News in Eu-

rope.—Reigns of Philip and Louis in France.—Affairs in England and Normandy.—Battle of Brenneville.—Germany and England against France.—Death of Prince Philip.—Accession of Louis VII.—His Relations with Thibaud.—Burning of the Church of Vitry.—Foundation of the House of Plantagenet.—Stephen takes the Crown.—Civil War in England.—Settlement of the Difficulty.—Reign of Henry V.—His Quarrel with the Pope.—Riot in Rome.—Revolt in Northern Germany.—Concordat of Worms.—End of the Hohenstaufens.—Accession of Lothaire.—Feud in the Papacy.—Conrad elected to the Throne.—Guelphs and Ghibellines.—St. Bernard preaches the Second Crusade.—Europe again depopulated.—Rendezvous at Ratisbon.—Duplicity of Comnenus.—Speculations of the Greeks.—Battle of the Meander.—The Defiles of Iconium.—Retreat of the Christians.—Advance of the French Army.—Louis in Constantinople.—He advances into Asia Minor.—The Pass of Laodicea.—Ruin of the Expedition.—The French Court at Antioch.—Romance of the Queen.—Louis and Conrad reach Jerusalem.—Expedition against Damascus.—Return of the French to Europe.—Eleanor and Plantagenet.—End of the Second Crusade.—Baldwin III. takes Ascalon.—El Hadac and his Viziers.—The Christians invited into Egypt.—Complications in that Country.—The Gorgeous El Hadac.—A Bad Bait for the Christians.—Perfidy of Almeric.—He is outwitted.—Appeals to his Father-in-law.—End of Syracon.—Rise of Saladin.—His Ambitions.—Overthrow of the Fatimites.—Saladin becomes Sultan.—Baldwin IV. and Guy.—Faction among the Christians.—Baldwin V.—Sybilla and Isabella, . 327-354

CHAPTER XX.—FALL OF THE CROSS.

Career of Reginald.—Battle of Tiberias.—Extermination of the Knights.—Saladin takes Jerusalem.—His Magnanimity.—Reconquest of Palestine by the Moslems.—The News in Europe.—The West again takes Fire.—Kings are the Leaders.—Beginning of the Third Crusade.—The Christians besiege Acre.—Tremendous Waste of Life.—Frederick Barbarossa musters the Germans.—More Treachery of the Greeks.—Frederick defeats the Sultan.—Perishes.—Wasting of the German Army.—The Remnant take Antioch.—And reach Acre.—Apparition of the Lion Heart.—His Friend Philip Augustus.—French and English Armies in Sicily.—Richard and Philip quarrel.—They reach the East.—Audacity of the Lion Heart.—He insults Leopold.—Acre taken.—Execution of the Moslem Prisoners.—Philip returns to France.—Richard proceeds to Acre.—Battle of Azotus.—Capture of Jaffa and Cæsarea.—The Lion Heart in Sight of Jerusalem.—The Expedition abandoned.—Heroism of Richard at Jaffa.—He makes a Treaty with the Sultan.—Returns to Europe.—Is captured.—Secures his Liberation.—Perfidy of John and Philip.—Richard ransomed.—He reaches Home.—His Death.—Accession of John.—Factions of the Christians.—The Assas-

sins.—Count Henry King of Jerusalem.—Break-up of the Caliphate.—The Knights desire to renew War.—Henry XVI. and the Pope.—New Armies of Christians.—Indecisive Conflicts.—Slight Effects of the Movement.—Innocent III. promotes the Fourth Crusade.—Thibaut and Louis of Blois.—Other Leaders.—Councils of Soissons and Com-pagne.—The Blind Doge.—Thrifty Scheme of the Venetians.—Dead-lock in the place of St. Mark.—Diversion of the Crusade.—Interference of the Pope.—Crusaders in Rebellion.—Capture of Zara.—Appeal of Isaac Comnenus.—Campaign against Constantinople.—Advantage taken of Prince Isaac.—Alexius bids high for the Support of the Pope.—Battery of the Vatican.—The Venetians lead.—Extent of the Armament.—Affairs at Constantinople.—Strength of the City.—Appearance of the Crusaders.—Policy of the Emperor.—Galata taken.—Beginning of the Siege.—The Assault.—Capture of Constantinople by the Latins.—Straits of Isaac.—Acknowledgment of Rome.—The Crusaders retained by the Emperor.—The Thracian Expedition.—Revolt and Fire in Constantinople.—Conspiracy of Mourzoufle.—A Latin Emperor elected.—Theodore Lascaris.—The Children's Crusade.—Condition of Islamite Dominion.—Princess Mary and John of Brienne.—His Appeal to the Pope.—Expedition led by King Andrew and Emperor Frederick.—Campaign against Damietta.—Capture of the City.—Further Successes of the Crusaders.—Efforts for Peace.—Folly of the Pope.—Rally of the Moslems.—Flooding of Lower Egypt.—Ruin of the Invading Forces.—Papal Scapegoat.—The Pope's Intrigue.—Frederick swears and then lags.—He sets out under Anathema.—His Great Success.—He humbles the Moslems.—Coronation of the Emperor.—Anger of the Papal Party.—Frederick persecuted.—Reconciliation.—The Moslems renew the War.—Frequent Disasters.—Seven Years wasted.—Christians ejected from Jerusalem.—Sixth Crusade undertaken.—The Leaders.—Conduct of the Knights.—Richard of Cornwall.—Apparition of Genghis Khan.—The Corasmins take Jerusalem.—Ruin of the Christian Cause.—Acre only is left.—Rout of the Corasmins by the Moslems.—Europe again excited.—Quarrels of the Germans and Italians.—The Seventh Crusade undertaken.—Saint Louis would Conquer Egypt.—The Landing at Damietta.—The Christians besieged.—Conflict at Mausoma.—Peril of the Christians.—Rise of Bibars.—Overthrow of the French Army.—Captivity of Saint Louis.—They are exchanged for Damietta.—The French King in Acre.—Revival of his Hopes.—Louis returns to France.—Difficulties of a New Crusade.—Aggressions of Bibars.—Valor of the Knights.—Antioch taken.—The News in Europe.—Edward Plantagenet a Crusader.—He rallies the Christians.—Gains some Successes.—Attempted Assassination.—Edward recalled to England.—Gregory X. would rouse the People.—Career of Hugh of Lusignan.—The Conflict for Acre is renewed.—Heroism of the Defenders.—

Sultan Khatil before the place.—Gog and Magog within.—Exhibition of Courage.—The Dauntless Knights.—Acre taken.—Collapse of the Christian Cause.—Effects of the Crusades considered.—Slight Political Results.—Great Change in Religious Sentiment.—Tone of the Early and Later Christian Writers.—Liberalization of Opinion.—Hurtful Effect on the Church.—The Crusading Spirit turned to Persecution.—Growth of Monarchy.—The Free Cities appear.—Rise of the Commercial Spirit.—Slight Influence on Literature and Art.—Inter-course excited.—Excerpt from Rémusat.—Alleged Discoveries and Inventions, 354-405

CHAPTER XXI.—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Reign of Henry II.—Quarrel of the Barons and Priests.—Thomas à Becket and the King.—Interference of the Pope.—Murder of the Archbishop.—Reaction against Henry.—His Humiliation.—Richard Lion Heart.—Persecution of the Jews.—Accession of John.—Marriage Projects.—Prince Arthur.—Rising of the Barons.—Quarrel of John with the Pope.—Philip would invade England.—Abasement of John.—French War

with Flanders.—Conspiracy of John and Frederick II. against France.—Battle of Bouvines.—Second Revolt of the Barons.—Magna Charta.—Character of the Instrument.—Rage of John.—His Death.—The Outlaw Robin.—Accession of Henry III.—He would recover Normandy.—Marries Eleanor.—Papal Schemes in England.—Rebellion of Montfort.—Wars of the Barons.—Imprisonment of Prince Edward.—Ambition of Leicester.—Montfort the Younger.—Long Reign of Henry.—Accession of Edward.—Earl Warrenne's Title.—Rebellion in Wales.—Course of Events in Scotland.—Bruce and Baliol.—Loss of Guienne.—Philip Augustus on the Throne of France.—His Crusading Exploits.—His Treachery to the Lion Heart.—Battle of Vendôme.—Philip's Imbroghio with Innocent.—He claims Normandy.—Further Conquests of the French.—War with the Albigenses.—Triumph of Bigotry.—Reign of Saint Louis.—His Character.—French Dynasty in Sicily.—Extinction of Hohenstaufen.—Accessions of Territory.—Reign of Philip III.—Schemes of Charles of Anjou.—The Sicilian Vespers.—War with Aragon.—Accession of Philip the Fair.—Close of the Epoch, . 405-424

BOOK SIXTH.—THE PEOPLE AND THE KINGS.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE FREE CITIES.

Municipal System of Rome.—The Empire resolved into Cities.—They Fall under Feudalism.—Life within the Corporate Towns.—How they were built.—Character of the Burgess.—Municipal Government.—A Soldier Citizenship.—Enterprise of the Burgesses.—Mental Characteristics.—The Cities during the Crusades.—A Trades-people.—Sentiments of the Crusaders.—The Cities revolt.—Character of the Conflict.—Charters of Freedom.—The Beginning of Modern Democracy.—The People against the Kings.—Reduction of Feudalism.—The Italian Republics.—Venice.—The Ducal Government.—The Rialto.—Vicissitudes of the City.—Growth of Venetian Power.—Venice during the Crusades.—Marrying the Adriatic.—Dandolo and the Crusaders.—Extent of the City's Power.—War with Genoa.—Byron quoted.—Milan.—Her Early History.—Seat of German Influence in Italy.—Della Torre and Visconti.—Genoa.—Her Early Vicissitudes.—The City under the Saracens.—Conflicts with Pisa.—Rivalry with Venice.—Alliance with Constantinople.—The Venetian Wars.—Naval Battles.—Decline of the City.—Pisa.—Early History.—Conquests of the Pisans.—The City during the Crusades.—Florence.—Her Subjection to the Barbarians.—The Government.—Strifes of Guelphs and Ghibellines.—Intellectual Greatness of the City.—The Medici.—Their Attempted Assassination.—Leo X.—Other Cities of Italy and France, 425-439

CHAPTER XXIII.—FRANCE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

Philip the Fair.—Barbarous War with England.—Intrigues of Philip with the Flenings.—He invades Flanders.—The Country subdued.—Successful Revolt.—Peace concluded.—Philip's Quarrel with Boniface.—The Colonna Family.—Insult to Boniface.—The Papacy at Avignon.—Disaster in Lyons.—Philip exterminates the Knights Templars.—End of De Molay.—Repression of Feudalism.—The States-General.—Louis X.—The Serfs emancipated.—Second Invasion of Flanders.—The Salic Law applied.—Reigns of Philip V. and Charles IV.—The Latter expels the Lombard Bankers.—Conspiracy against Edward II.—Accession of the House of Valois.—Philip VI.—Claim of Edward of England.—He goes to War with France.—Battle of Bouvines.—Killing of the Breton Lords.—A Desultory War.—Battle of Crecy.—Rout of the French.—Edward takes Calais.—Accession of John.—Execution of D'Eu.—Charles of Navarre.—Renewal of the War.—The Black Prince.—Battle of Poitiers.—Capture of John.—Difficulties of the Dauphin.—The Jacquerie.—Civil War with Charles of Navarre.—Siege of Paris.—Charles retires.—Second Invasion by Edward.—The Storm at Breigny.—King John ransomed.—He would be a Crusader.—Conduct of his Sons.—John returns to England.—Superiority of the English Soldiery.—Petrarch quoted.—Charles the Wise.—His Policy.—The War in Cas-

tile.—Pedro obtains the Crown.—Is killed.—The Black Prince in the South.—His Death.—Charles of Navarre a Criminal.—Dress, Manners, and Culture.—Charles VI.—The Regency.—Jonna and Durazzo.—Invasion of Italy.—French Claims to Naples.—Burgundy in the Regency.—Insurrection in Paris.—Marriage of Charles.—He would invade England.—Collapse of the Project.—The King becomes Insane.—Fiery Nuptials.—Factions of Burgundy and Orleans.—Resort to Assassination.—Acquittal of Burgundy.—The Armagnacs.—House of Lancaster in England.—Battle of Agincourt.—Question of the French Succession.—Riot in Paris.—Reign of Treachery.—Henry V. Regent of France.—Henry VI. inherits Two Crowns.—The Dauphin proclaimed.—Siege of Orleans begun.—Battle of the Herrings.—The Girl of Domremy appears.—Her Mission.—Inspiration of the Soldiers.—Coronation of Charles.—Subsequent Career of Joan.—Her Execution.—Quarrel of the English and Burgundians.—Charles VII. in Paris.—Prince Louis.—Affairs in the East.—Accession of Louis XI.—He renounces Burgundy.—Charles the Bold.—Expiring Struggle of Feudalism.—Insurrection in Flanders.—Louis imprisoned.—Peronne!—War in Picardy.—St. Pol.—Edward IV. invades France.—Aggressions of Charles the Bold.—His Death.—Revolt of Ghent.—Duchess Mary.—Her Daughter betrothed to the Dauphin.—Last Days of Louis XI.—The French King and the French People.—Quotations from Guizot, 439-476

CHAPTER XXIV.—GERMANY IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

The Interregnum.—Broken Condition of Germany.—Rudolph of Hapsburg.—His War with Ottocar.—Policy of Rudolph.—The *National Peace*.—The Banditti suppressed.—The Election of Albert as Emperor.—His Policy.—Break of the Empire with Rome.—Murder of Albert.—Vengeance of the Empress.—Election of Henry VII.—Trouble with the Free Cities.—War with Italy.—Colonna and Orsini.—Death of the Emperor.—Civil War in Germany.—Morgarten.—Muhldorf.—Louis of Bavaria.—His Opponents.—Louis crowned at Rome.—His Superstition.—Philip VI. claims the Empire.—League of England and Germany.—The Black Death.—Policy of the German Electors.—Charles IV.—He founds the University of Prague.—Sells Italy.—Diet of Metz.—The Golden Bull.—The Papacy returns to Rome.—Charles IV. and the Succession.—Hanseatic League.—Wenceslaus.—Leopold and the Swiss.—The Pass of Sempach.—Story of Winkelreid.—The Snabian Cities overthrown.—Character of Wenceslaus.—Rupert chosen Emperor.—He is defeated.—The League of Marbach.—The Teutonic Knights and Poles.—Imperial Disintegration.—Election of Sigismund.—Religious Uprising of the Bohemians.—Appearance of Huss and Jerome.—Schism in the University.—Huss

excommunicated.—He is expelled.—A Council called.—The Assembly at Constance.—Method of Proceeding.—New Pope elected.—Condemnation of Huss.—He is burned.—Jerome also.—Adjournment of the Council.—Founding of Hohenzollern.—Insurrection in Prague.—Calixtus and Taborites.—John Ziska.—Victory of the Insurgents.—Reign of License.—The Imperial Armies marshaled.—Ziska triumphant.—His Death.—The Popular Cause under Fanaticism.—Council of Basel.—End of the Great Insurrection.—Death of Sigismund.—Albert II.—Frederick III.—The Church would reform herself.—Æneas Sylvius.—Troubles in Switzerland.—Battle of St. James.—Albert Achilles.—Hunniades and Corvinus.—Feudalism in Germany.—Overthrow of the Teutonic Knights.—Frederick and Charles the Bold.—Battle of Granson.—Affair in Flanders.—Humiliation of Frederick.—Who shall have Anna of Brittany?—Dawn of the Modern Era.—Invention of Printing.—Gutenberg and Faust.—Spread of the Invention, 476-504

CHAPTER XXV.—ENGLAND IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

Accession of Edward I.—Career of Wallace.—The Younger Bruce.—Work of Gaveston.—Battle of Bannockburn.—Hugh Spencer.—Relations of England and France.—Mortimer and the Queen.—Deposition of King Edward.—Series of Crimes.—Humbling of Bruce.—Queen Philippa.—Character of Edward.—The French Complication.—End of Mortimer.—Edward's War with Scotland.—He invades France.—The Black Prince in Normandy.—Battle of Crecy.—Siege of Calais.—Story of the Burghers.—Capture of Bruce.—The Black Death.—Renewal of the War with France.—Battle of Poitiers.—Capture of John.—Distractions of the French Regency.—Liberation of John.—His Return to Captivity.—Affairs of Spain.—Death of the Black Prince.—Rise of the English Tongue.—Reign of Richard II.—Wat Tyler's Insurrection.—Death of the Insurgent.—Weakness of the King.—John of Gaunt covets the Crown of Castile.—Conspiracy against Richard II.—Battle of Otterburn.—Taking off of Gloucester.—Bolingbroke and Norfolk.—Henry of Lancaster in Rebellion.—He takes the Throne.—Wickliffe and his Work.—Chaucer and Gower.—The Plantagenet Family Complication.—Rebellion against Henry IV.—Northumberland and Douglas.—Battle of Shrewsbury.—End of Glendower.—Affair of Skipton Moor.—Battle of Bramham Moor.—The Stuart Dynasty in Scotland.—Captivity of Prince James.—Griefs of Henry IV.—The Valiant Hal.—He becomes King.—The Lollard Herey.—Burning as an Argument.—Henry V. reforms himself.—Fall of Cobham.—Henry claims France.—Agincourt.—Factions of Orleans and Burgundy.—Preparations for an English Succession.—Catherine's Son in Paris.—The Reaction.—Policy of Henry V.—Accession of Charles VII.—Siege of Orleans.—Joan

of Arc.—The French King triumphant.—Reign of Henry VI.—Beaufort and Gloucester.—The Latter murdered.—The Duke of York deposed.—He claims the Throne.—Suffolk slain.—Career of Jack Cade.—The Duke of York Protector.—Battle of St. Albans.—Northampton.—A Settlement.—Battle of Wakefield.—London for York.—Mortimer's Cross.—Ruin of Lancaster.—Growth of the People.—Edward IV.—Towton.—Destruction of the Lancastrians.—Margaret in Paris.—She loses All in Battle.—Disgrace of Henry VI.—Conspiracy against Edward.—Anti-York Uprising.—Henry VI. brought forth.—Extinction of Lancaster.—Despair of Margaret.—Murder of Prince Edward.—End of Henry VI.—Results of the War.—Richard woos Anna.—Edward IV. would conquer France.—Licentiousness of the King.—Apparition of Henry Tudor.—Henry V.—Plots of Gloucester.—His Desperate Work.—He takes the Throne.—Murder of the Princes.—Can Gloucester reign?—Death of his Son.—Coming of Richmond.—Battle of Bosworth Field.—Establishment of the Tudor Dynasty.—Henry VII.—Retrospect.—The King and the People, 504-535

CHAPTER XXVI.—SPAIN, ITALY, AND THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

Spanish States.—Navarre.—Early History of the Country.—Aragon.—House of Barcelona.—Castile absorbs Leon.—The Mohammedans recede.—House of Trastamara.—Ferdinand the Catholic.—He marries Isabella.—Consolidation of Spain.—Persecution of the Jews.—Expulsion of the Moors.—Distraction of Italy.—The Cities resist Feudalism.—Municipal Liberties.—Low condition of Society.—The *Podestas*.—Famine and Plague.—Queen Joanna.—Leading Powers of Italy.—Visconti and Medici.—Career of Cesare Borgia.—Machiavelli.—*The Prince*.—Savonarola.—Charles VIII. invades Italy.—His Relations with Piero.—Conquest of Naples.—Invasion by Louis XII.—League of Cambrai.—Battle of Novara.—Primitive Sweden.—Reign of Magnus.—Albert of Mecklenburg.—Union of Calmar.—Eric.—Haco V. in Norway.—The Black Death.—Norway merged with Sweden.—Margaret of Denmark.—Early History.—Primitive Russia.—Reign of Donski.—Basil II.—Ivan the Great, 536-550

BOOK SEVENTH.—NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XXVII.—LAND HO!

Round or Flat?—Views of Mandeville.—His Reasoning.—Belief in the Sphericity of the Earth.—First Discovery of North America.—Erickson and his Successors in Massachusetts.—Small Knowledge of the Country.—Vinland.—The Sea Kings.—Norse Remains in America.—Story of Prince Madoc.—Political Condition of Europe.—Columbus.—His Views of Geography.—Sketch of his Life and Character.—His Voyage and Discovery.—He reaches the West Indies.—A Colony planted.—Third and Fourth Voyages.—The Name given to the New World.—Vespucci.—Excitement in Europe.—Balboa discovers the Pacific.—De Leon in Florida.—He seeks the Fountain of Youth.—End of his Career.—Cordova and Grijalva.—Cortez invades Mexico.—Montezuma would dissuade him.—The Spaniard takes the Capital.—Seizes the Emperor.—Coming of Narvaez.—Cortez goes forth and defeats him.—Insurrection in Mexico.—Battles in the City.—Montezuma killed.—Extinction of the Empire.—Mexico a Spanish Province.—Magellan doubles Cape Horn.—Circumnavigates the Globe.—French and English Enterprise.—John Cabot commissioned.—He discovers North America.—Returns to England.—Sebastian's Voyage.—He traces the American Coast.—His Future Career.—Work of Da Gama.—The Pope gives the World away.—First Discoveries by the French.—Voyage of Verrazzani.—His Exploits on the American Coast.—Cartier's discoveries in the St. Lawrence.—Voyages of the Cortereals, 551-569

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE REFORMATION PROPER.

The Conscience unveiled.—First Protestantism.—Hilary, Martin, and Hincmar.—Early Movements in Bohemia and England.—The Church would reform Herself.—Her Abuses discovered.—Popes and Councils.—The Council of Constance in Particular.—Plans proposed.—What was done.—The Movement led by Erasmus.—His Character and Failure.—Rising of the People.—Sketch of Leo X.—He gains Political Power.—The Lateran authorizes Indulgences.—Consequent Corruptions.—St. Peter's in the Problem.—Germany to be plucked.—The Pardon Venders.—Tetzel in Particular.—Coming of Luther.—Sketch of his Youth.—He sees a Monk.—He is destined to Law.—Goes to Eisenach.—Becomes Melancholy.—His Conscience aroused.—Does Penance.—His Studious Habit.—He becomes a Professor at Wittenberg.—His Experiences.—Frederick the Wise.—Luther would not break with the Church.—Tetzel and his Wares.—The Monkish Quarrel.—Luther puts up his Theses.—A Controversy begins.—Leo pleased at First.—Cajetan would quiet the Reformer.—The Pope's Nuncio at Wittenberg.—Almost a Settlement.—Contest of Luther and Eck.—The Reformer backed by the People.—Hutten and Melanchthon support him.—Luther excommunicated.—He burns the Pope's Bull.—Rome appeals to the Temporal Power.—Accession of Charles V.—His Inheritance.—Relations of Elector Frederick.—The Diet at Worms.—Von Frundsberg.—Luther before the Assembly.—The

Bigots would destroy him.—He is carried to Wartburg.—He translates the New Testament.—Returns to Wittenberg.—A New Ritual.—Spread of the New Faith.—Career of Münzer.—Luther quiets the Insurrection.—The Fanatics are dispersed.—The German Language fixed.—Changes in the Papacy.—Clement would suppress the Reformation.—Doctrines of Luther.—War of Charles and Francis.—The Latter makes a Compact with the Pope.—Signing of a Protest.—Diet of Speyer.—Zwingli's Work in Switzerland.—Conference of the Reformers.—Disagreement of Zwingli and Luther, 569-585

CHAPTER XXIX.—CHARLES, HENRY, AND FRANCIS.

Rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.—They Both claim Italy.—Henry VIII.—His Character.—He goes to War with France.—Makes Peace.—Story of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold."—Hollowness of the Pageant.—Buckingham and Wolsey.—Henry writes a Book.—Emperor Charles in England.—He goes to War with France.—First Year of the Conflict.—Chevalier Bayard.—Defection of Bourbon.—Francis besieges Pavia.—He is defeated and captured.—Charles would make Terms with his Prisoner.—Decline of the Latter.—He agrees to the Conditions.—"I am still a King."—The Treaty violated.—The Pope and Henry VIII. side with Francis.—Death of Bourbon.—Charles sorrows for the Pope.—The French Campaign in Italy.—Terms of the Settlement.—Francis and his Court.—Charles promises to suppress Heresy.—Diet of Augsburg.—The Reformers' Creed.—Charles supports the Church.—Ferdinand takes the German Crown.—League of Smalcald.—The Political Condition favors the Lutherans.—The *Religious Peace*.—The Turks threaten the Empire.—Siege of Vienna.—Growth of Protestantism.—The Schismatic Tendency.—Bad Logic of the Reformers.—A King of Zion comes.—Simon Menno.—Charles V. invades Africa.—Diet of Speyer.—Treaty of Crepsy.—Council of Trent.—Last Days of Luther, 586-599

CHAPTER XXX.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

Henry VIII. and Emperor Charles.—Cardinal Wolsey's Game.—He plays double with Henry's Divorce Project.—The King puts Catharine away.—Cranmer serves him.—Fall of Wolsey.—Henry marries Anne Boleyn.—Foundation of an Ecclesiastical Revolt.—Birth of Elizabeth.—The Question between her and Mary.—The Pope declares the Former Marriage Valid.—The English Church breaks from Rome.—Execution of Sir Thomas More.—Ruin of Queen Anne.—The King marries Jane Seymour.—She dies.—Cromwell selects for him Anne of Cleves.—She disappoints her Master.—He takes Catharine Howard Instead.—She is beheaded.—Catharine Parr the Last.—Anglo-German Alliance.—Cardinal Pole

sent to England.—Suppression of the Monasteries.—Assumptions of the King.—Henry and James V.—Battle of Solway Moss.—The King would unite with Scotland.—He becomes a Doltard.—Queen Catharine's Influence.—Destruction of Surrey.—Henry's Death.—The Crown goes to Edward.—Nature of English Protestantism.—Renewal of War by France and Spain.—Henry overreached.—Death of Francis I.—Disappointment of Charles.—He prepares to suppress Heresy.—Maurice of Saxony betrays the Protestants.—The Emperor victorious.—Character of Alva.—Robbery of John Frederick.—Philip of Hesse goes down.—Charles a Spaniard.—The Augsburg Interim.—It is rejected.—Question of the Succession.—Maurice returns to Protestantism.—The Tide turns.—Charles takes to Flight.—The Revolution successful.—Diet of Passau.—Apparition of the Crescent.—Waning of the Imperial Cause.—Germany given up.—Terms of Settlement.—Consideration of the Reformation.—Philosophy of the Movement.—The New Church and the Old.—Persecution by Protestantism.—The Subject considered by Guizot.—Despair of Charles.—His Abdication.—His Residence in San Yuste.—His Death.—Reformation in Switzerland.—Appearance of John Calvin.—His Feuds in Geneva.—Summary of his Theological System.—Results of Calvinism.—Burning of Servetus.—Similar Scenes in England.—Fatal Mistakes of the Reformers.—What the World has gained.—Efforts of Rome to reverse History.—Career of Loyola.—The Society of Jesus.—Policy of the Order.—Zeal of the Jesuits.—Their Ambitions, 599-623

CHAPTER XXXI.—LAST HALF OF CENTURY XVI.

Character of the Period.—Accession of Henry II.—Claude of Lorraine.—Diana of Poitiers.—Burning of Heretics.—War with the Empire.—Invasion of Italy.—Siege of St. Quentin.—Defeat of the French.—Ascendency of the Duke of Guise.—Henry II. killed at Tournament.—Complication after his Death.—Accession of Francis II.—Rise of the Huguenots.—Persecutions against Them.—Conspiracy in Ambois.—Sketch of the Huguenot Party.—Opposed by the Guises.—Catherine de Medici in the Regency.—Death of Francis II.—Affairs of the Court.—The Triumvirate.—Policy of Catharine.—Civil War threatened.—The Outbreak.—Reign of Violence begun.—Condé captured.—Assassination of Guise.—Peace with the Huguenots.—Visit of Isabella and Alva.—The Protestant Uprising.—Battle of St. Denis.—Plot for the Destruction of the Huguenots.—Battle of Jarnac.—Henry of Navarre.—Coligni at Court.—Death of the Queen of Navarre.—Coligni shot.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew.—Character of the Tragedy.—Charles IX. and his Mother.—Other Massacres.—Reaction.—The News in Foreign Countries.—Conduct of Elizabeth.—The Huguenots extort a Treaty.—Prince Henry made King

of Poland.—Terrors and Death of Charles IX.—Henry III. takes the Throne.—Civil War breaks out.—Alençon would take the Netherlands.—Extinction of Royal Houses.—Position of Henry of Navarre.—Death of Condé.—Exposure of the Government.—Mob in Paris.—Assassination of Guise.—Reconciliation effected.—Henry III. assassinated.—Accession of Henry IV.—The New Calendar.—The King driven from Paris.—Battle of Ivry.—Henry besieges Paris.—He abjures Protestantism.—Is accepted as King.—Treaty with Spain.—Grief of the Huguenots.—Edict of Nantes.—Character of Henry IV.—Blessings of Peace.—Maria de Medici.—Assassination of Henry.—Temper of Paris.—Ferdinand chosen Emperor.—The Council of Trent adjourns.—Its Dogmas and Edicts.—Religious Condition of the Empire.—Aggressions of the Turks.—Struggle of the Teutonic Knights.—Maximilian II.—Story of Grumbach.—Death of the Emperor.—Rudolph II.—His Enmity to Protestantism.—Affair of Cologne.—Forbearance of the Protestants.—Kepler and Brahe.—An Impending Conflict.—The Union and the League.—Rise of Matthias.—Edward VI. in England.—Policy of Somerset.—The Reformation promoted.—The English espouse Protestantism.—Marriage Plan for Edward.—Mary Stuart sent to France.—Conspiracy of Seymour.—Project of Warwick.—The King breaks with Mary.—Suppression of Monasteries and Nunneries.—Overthrow of Somerset.—Warwick would make Jane Grey Queen.—The King approves.—Edward dies.—Character of the Age.—Cranmer and the English Church.—The Mock Reign of Lady Jane.—End of Northumberland.—Character of Queen Mary.—Beginning of her Reign.—Pole sent to England.—Mary serves the Church.—She is betrothed to Philip.—The Wyatt Insurrection.—Execution of Lady Jane.—The Royal Marriage.—Plot to extirpate Heresy.—Burning of Latimer and Ridley.—Cranmer at the Stake.—A Childless Queen.—Philip becomes King of Spain.—Death of Mary.—Accession of Elizabeth.—Her Character.—Her Great Talents.—The Religious Reaction.—Who shall have the Queen's Hand?—Shadow of Mary Stuart.—The Latter at Edinburgh.—John Knox and the Scotch Reformation.—Elizabeth and her People.—Her Great Ministers.—Many Suitors but no Marriage.—Not so with Mary Stuart.—She marries Darnley.—Story of Rizzio.—Destruction of Darnley.—Mary marries Bothwell.—Her Overthrow.—End of Bothwell.—Mary flies to England.—What shall Elizabeth do with her?—Intrigue of the Papal Party.—Mary and Norfolk.—Plots of the Former.—Dilemma of Elizabeth.—St. Bartholomew.—Ballard's Conspiracy.—Condemnation of Mary.—Her Last Days.—She is executed.—Resentment of James.—The Catholic World *versus* Elizabeth.—The Invincible Armada prepared.—Mettle of the Queen.—Her Preparations.—Coming of the Armament.—Howard's Method of Defense.—The Great Battle.—The Retreat and the Pursuit.—Triumph of England.—Essex and Raleigh.—Hold of the For-

mer on the Queen.—He is sent to Ireland.—His Failure.—His Impetuous Folly.—Loses his Self-control.—Rebels.—Is imprisoned.—His Condemnation.—Story of the Ring.—Execution of Essex.—Despair and Death of the Queen.—James VI. for the Succession.—Hume's Comments on the Character of Elizabeth.—Religious Results.—New Sects developed.—Rise of Puritanism.—Their Exile.—Intellectual Glory of the Elizabethan Age.—Sketch of Literature from Time of Henry VIII.—Spenser.—Shakespeare.—His Contemporaries.—Bacon in Particular.—Splendor of the Time.—Sketch of Philip II.—His Accession.—Character.—The Hollow Lands.—Taine's Description of the Country.—Wealth of Netherlands.—The People Protestants.—The Inquisition tried.—Duchess of Parma.—William of Orange.—Philip's Course towards the Netherlands.—Interposition of William.—“Long live the Beggars!”—The *Moderation*.—Outbreak of Hostilities.—Alva sent on his Mission.—He deposes the Duchess.—All the People condemned.—The Reign of Proscription.—Death of Egmont and Horn.—The Sea Beggars.—Maximilian interferes.—William's *Justification*.—Victories of the Spaniards.—The Sea Beggars hold out.—Elizabeth supports the Protestants.—Work of De la Marck.—The Dutch Republic.—Policy of the French Court.—Successes of William.—War on the Ice-fields.—Alva recalled.—Requesens succeeds.—Triumph of the Dutch Fleet.—Siege of Leyden.—The Dykes broken.—Heroic Conduct.—Raising of the Siege.—Congress of Buda.—Cities taken by the Spaniards.—Pacification of Ghent.—The Perpetual Edict.—Career of Don John.—Union of Brussels.—Reinforcements from England.—Coming of Farnese.—A Varying Conflict.—Part of the Duke of Anjou.—Fanaticism appears.—Union of Utrecht.—Congress of Cologne.—Division of the Provinces.—Ban against William.—Reply of that Prince.—His Ascendency.—Act of Abjuration.—Progress of Parma.—He is driven away.—Assassination of William.—His Character.—Maurice of Nassau.—Siege and Ruin of Antwerp.—Elizabeth supports Holland.—Siege of Zutphen.—Death of Sidney.—Dukes of Parma and Medina.—End of Philip II.—Close of the War with Netherland.—Feud of the Protestants.—Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants.—Career of Grotius, 623-697

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Variable Success of Protestantism.—A General War portends.—Limits of the Conflict.—Pronouncements of the Outbreak.—Ferdinand as a Persecutor.—Affair at Donauwörth.—The Union and the League.—Who shall have Jülich and Berg?—Usurpation of Leopold.—Quarrel of William and Sigismund.—The Protestants support Matthias.—Duke Ferdinand of Styria.—The Emperor's Councilors thrown out of the Window.—People against Princes.—The Revolt widens.—The War begins.—Vienna threatened.—Ferdinand elected Emperor.—Insurgent Bohemia.—Unwisdom of Fred-

erick V.—Capture of Prague.—Seeming Extinction of Protestantism.—Eccentric Prince Christian.—Apparition of Tilly.— Defeats and Victories of 1622.—Destruction of Heidelberg.—Spirit of the War.—Desperate Condition of Gerinany.—France favors the Protestants.—Also England and Holland.—Battle of Stadtloon.—Peace Possible.—Ferdinand and the Princes prevent it.—Christian of Denmark leads the Protestants.—He gathers an Army.—The Emperor jealous of Tilly.—Rise of Wallenstein.—His Character.—He Defeats Mansfeld.—Tilly does the Same for Christian.—Low Ebb of the Protestant Cause.—John George's Humiliation.—Schemes of Wallenstein.—Siege of Stralsund.—Edict of Restitution.—Rigor of its Enforcement.—Animosity of Wallenstein.—The National Diet.—Style of Wallenstein's Court.—He is deposed.—Gustavus Adolphus appears on the Scene.—His War with the Poles.—He enters Pomerania.—Poorly supported by Sweden.—His Person.—Selfishness of the Protestants.—Gustavus would raise the Siege of Magdeburg.—That City sacked by Tilly's Butchers.—Poltroonery of the Elector of Brandenburg.—Gustavus gains Support.—Battle of Leipsic.—Rout of the Imperialists.—Great Revival of the Protestant Cause.—Honor of the Swedes.—Richelieu looks out of the West.—Assassination of D'Ancre.—Rise of Richelieu to Power.—Battle of Castelnau.—Richelieu fears Gustavus.—Battle of the Lech.—Death of Tilly.—Munich taken.—Straits of Ferdinand.—Wallenstein's triumph.—He raises an Army.—Battle of Zirndorf.—Division of the Imperialist Army.—Ruin of Saxony.—Battle of Lützen.—Death of Gustavus.—Pappenheim slain.—Wallenstein retreats.—Convention at Heilbronn.—Wallenstein in Silesia.—He would be King of Bohemia.—His Officers swear to support him.—A Traitor to Traitors.—The Tragedy at Eger.—New Commanders.—Victories of the Imperialists.—Decline of the Protestant Cause.—Richelieu to the Rescue.—A Seeming Treaty.—Bernhard and Banner fight for the Cause.—Louis XIII. supports them.—Richelieu's Methods.—Character of Ferdinand.—Affair of Breisach.—Further Successes of Bernhard and Banner.—Diet at Ratisbon.—Scheme of Banner.—Negotiations for Peace.—Death of Richelieu.—Execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou.—Coming of Torstenson.—Denmark humbled.—Battle of Tabor.—Successes of the French.—Battles of Turenne.—Waning of the Imperial Cause.—Congresses of Osnabrück and Münster.—How shall the Members sit?—Last Movements of the War.—Ferdinand yields.—Peace of Westphalia.—Woes of Germany.—Terms of the Settlement.—Progress of the Human Mind.—Career of Galileo.—His Work.—Persecuted by the Church.—Relations

with Barberini.—Condemnation of the Philosopher's Books.—Humiliation of Greatness, 697-729

CHAPTER XXXIII.—COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.

Interest of the Old World in the New.—Narvaez in the Country of the Gulf.—Hardships of his Band.—De Soto.—His Preparations.—His Voyage.—The March into the Indian Country.—Fighting and Hardships.—The Mississippi discovered.—De Soto's Band in the West.—The Spaniards desperate.—Death of De Soto.—Melendez sent out.—St. Augustine's Day.—Pizarro in Central America.—He invades Peru.—Subverts the Empire.—Gilbert and Raleigh.—The Former in New England.—Raleigh sends out Amidas and Barlow.—Virginia named.—Excitement in England.—Colony of Ralph Lane.—Raleigh assigns his Rights.—Voyage and Explorations of Gosnold.—Sassafras Trade.—The London and Plymouth Companies chartered.—Leaders of the Enterprise.—Method of Government.—The Plymouth Company make a Failure.—The Londoners succeed.—Jamestown founded.—John Smith in New England.—Pilgrims in Holland.—They seek a Refuge in a New World.—Difficulties of the Enterprise.—Voyage of the *Mayflower*.—The Pilgrim Compact.—Founding of Plymouth.—Terrors of the Winter.—First Voyages of Hudson.—He turns to America.—Ascends the River of New York.—His Second Voyage.—End of his Career.—New Amsterdam founded.—Explorations of Block and Mey.—Colonization of Connecticut.—Enmity of Plymouth and New Netherland.—Boston sends out a Colony.—Teachings of Roger Williams.—He is driven into Exile.—Plants Rhode Island.—His Early Life.—Colonization of New Hampshire.—Clayborne in the Chesapeake.—He plants Settlements.—Enterprise of Baltimore.—He tries New Foundland.—Founds a State on the Chesapeake.—Magnanimity of the Founder.—Name of Maryland.—Cecil Calvert plants St. Mary's.—Heath's Patent.—Virginians colonize Carolina.—Albemarle County Colony.—West and Saylo found Charleston.—First Colonists in New Jersey.—Berkeley and Carteret Proprietaries.—Name of New Jersey.—Penn looks to the West.—He obtains a Charter.—His Purposes.—Markham establishes a Colony on the Delaware.—Extent of Penn's Dominion.—Sketch of his Life.—He arrives in Pennsylvania.—His Treaty with the Indians.—Faith of the Red Men.—Founding of Philadelphia.—Its growth.—The Philanthropist Oglethorpe.—What he would do for English Debtors.—The Name of Georgia.—Sketch of the Founder.—Planting of Savannah.—Summary of Results, 729-752

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, VOLUME II.

PAGE.	PAGE.
HEAD-PIECE FOR BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY, 33	CHARLEMAGNE INFLECTING BAPTISM ON THE
INCOMING OF THE BARBARIANS.—Drawn by H.	SAXONS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, 159
Vogel, 34	CUTTING DOWN A SACRED OAK OF THE SAX-
VICTORY FEAST AFTER A BATTLE.—Drawn by	ONS.—Drawn by H. Leutenren, 161
H. Vogel, 37	BAPTISM OF BARBARIANS IN THE WESER, 163
WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON CASTLES.—	BATTLE IN THE VALLEY OF RONCESVALLES.—
Drawn by A. de Neuville, 40	Drawn by H. Vogel, 165
THE GOD THOR, 43	DEATH OF ROLAND, 167
THE HUNS IN GERMANY, 48	CHARLEMAGNE PRESIDING IN THE SCHOOL OF
ARRIVAL OF THE HUNGARIANS.—After a fresco	THE PALACE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, 173
by Lotze, 49	MANUSCRIPT OF CHARLEMAGNE, 175.
SORTIE OF BELISARIUS FROM ROME.—Drawn by	MARAUDING EXPEDITION OF THE NORTHMEN.
H. Vogel, 59	Drawn by H. Vogel, 181
SAINT AUGUSTINE BEFORE ETHELBERT.—Drawn	THE NORMANS IN THE SEINE, 184
by L. P. Leyendecker, 63	ROLLO BESIEGING PARIS, 186
LANDING OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.—	CONRAD ELECTED KING OF GERMANY, 193
Drawn by F. E. Wolfrom, 68	KING ALFRED IN THE PEASANT'S HUT, 200
THUS DIDST THOU TO THE VASE AT SOISSONS.—	ALFRED THE GREAT, 202
Drawn by A. de Neuville, 71	ALFRED'S MOTHER TEACHING HIM THE SAXON
CLOVIS MURDERS THE MEROVINGIAN PRINCES.—	SONGS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, 205
Drawn by Vierge, 73	ALFRED THE GREAT IN HIS STUDY.—Drawn by
MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF CLODOMIR, 77	A. Maillard, 206
CHARLES MARTEL IN THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.—	CANUTE REBUKING HIS COURTIERS, 216
After a painting by Plueddemann, 80	THE TOWER OF LONDON, 220
LANDING OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN.—	TAIL-PIECE, 222
Drawn by A. de Neuville, 82	HEAD-PIECE FOR FEUDAL ASCENDENCY, 223
DRUIDS OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICE.—Drawn	FEUDAL CASTLE AT ROUEN, 228
by A. de Neuville, 84	FEUDAL CASTLE OF HUNYADI JANOS, IN TRAN-
TAIL-PIECE, 90	SYLVANIA, 230
HEAD-PIECE FOR MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY. 91	FEUDAL CASTLE OF BELEM, PORTUGAL, 232
VIEW OF MECCA, 93	ELECTION OF HUGH CAPET.—Drawn by A. de
THE PROPHET MOHAMMED, 96	Neuville, 235
ARAB READING THE KORAN, 98	A KING GOING TO TOURNAMENT, 240
SEAL OF MOHAMMED, 99	KNIGHTS-ERRANT, 241
PREACHING THE KORAN.—Drawn by Lisc, 102	BAPTISM OF ST. STEPHEN BY SYLVESTER II., 250
DAMASCUS, 104	HENRY III. PRESIDING AT THE SYNOD AT SUTRI, 253
ENTRANCE OF OMAR INTO JERUSALEM.—Drawn	LEO IX., 254
by O. Fikentsher, 109	GREGORY VII., 256
BATTLE OF THE MASTS, 125	ABELARD AND HELOISE, 258
CAPTURE OF AYESHA BY ALI.—Drawn by F.	LANDING OF THE CONQUEROR.—Drawn by A.
Fikentsher, 130	de Neuville, 261
THE ARABS CROSSING THE DARDANELLES.—	BATTLE OF HASTINGS, 263
Drawn by H. Vogel, 136	EDITH DISCOVERS THE BODY OF HAROLD.—
TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS, DAMASCUS, 139	Drawn by A. de Neuville, 265
THE KAABA IN MECCA, 147	WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 267
BATTLE OF TOURS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville, 151	DANISH WARRIORS ON THE HUMBER.—Drawn
TAIL-PIECE, 152	F. W. Heine, 271
HEAD-PIECE FOR AGE OF CHARLEMAONE, 153	DUKE ROBERT RECOGNIZES HIS FATHER.—
MURDER OF GRIMOALD.—Drawn by W. Clau-	Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker, 273
dius, 154	BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 277
CHARLEMAGNE CROSSING THE ALPS.—After the	DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS.—Drawn by A. de
painting by Paul de Laroche, 157	Neuville, 280

	PAGE.		PAGE.
DESTRUCTION OF THE OMMIYADES.—Drawn by		DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.—Drawn by A. de	
F. Lix,	281	Neuville,	396
THE ALHAMBRA,	287	DEATH OF MANFRED IN THE BATTLE OF BEN-	
HALL OF ABENCERRAGES, ALHAMBRA,	288	EVENTO,	398
THE GIRALDA OF SEVILLE,	289	MARCO POLO,	404
THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE,	290	MURDER OF THOMAS à BECKET.—Drawn by L.	
THE CID ORDERS THE EXECUTION OF THE KADI.		P. Leyendecker,	406
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	291	DEATH OF THE RABBI AND THE JEWS IN YORK.	
RURIC THE GREAT,	293	Drawn by H. Leutemann,	408
VLADIMIR,	294	BATTLE OF BOUVINES,	410
YAROSLAV,	295	KING JOHN SWEARING VENGEANCE.—Drawn by	
TAIL-PIECE,	296	A. Maillard,	412
HEAD-PIECE FOR CRUSADES,	297	DEATH OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.—Drawn by A.	
PREACHING THE CRUSADE.—Drawn by A. de		de Neuville,	414
Neuville,	301	CAERNARVON CASTLE,	416
THE FOUR LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—		BATTLE OF VENDÔME,	417
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	306	MURDER OF PRINCE ARTHUR,	418
GATHERING OF THE CRUSADERS.—Drawn by A.		PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES,	419
Maillard,	307	CHAMBER OF HORRORS,	420
PRAYING FOR THE CRUSADERS,	308	SAINTE LOUIS SITTING IN JUDGMENT,	421
CRUSADER'S COAT-OF-ARMS,	309	DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS.	
THE FIRST CRUSADE,	310	Drawn by H. Plueddemann,	422
CRUSADERS ON THEIR WAY TO PALESTINE.—		FUNERAL OF ST. LOUIS,	423
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	311	TAIL-PIECE,	424
BATTLE OF DOGORGAN.—Drawn by Gustave		HEAD-PIECE FOR PEOPLE AND KINGS,	425
Doré,	316	PALACE OF THE DOGE,	430
STORMING OF ANTIOCH.—Drawn by Gustave		MARRIAGE OF THE DOGE WITH THE SEA.—	
Doré,	320	Drawn by H. Vogel,	431
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RHODES,	334	CATHEDRAL OF MILAN,	433
COSTUME OF KNIGHT-TEMPLAR,	335	CATHEDRAL OF PISA AND LEANING TOWER,	436
DEFEAT OF TURKS BY CRUSADERS.—Drawn by		DANTÉ,	437
A. de Neuville,	336	LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT,	437
KNIGHTS GOING FORTH TO THE SECOND CRU-		ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE MEDICI.—	
SADE,	346	Drawn by Ermisch,	438
QUEEN ELEANOR AND HER TROUBADOURS.—		BATTLE OF COURTRAY,	441
Drawn by Gustave Doré,	349	BONIFACE STRUCK BY COLONNA.—Drawn by	
BARBAROSSA AT THE FÊTE OF MAYENCE.—		Vierge,	442
Drawn by H. Vogel,	358	BURNING OF JACQUES DE MOLAY,	443
DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.—Drawn by		BATTLE OF BOUVINES, 1340.—Drawn by A. de	
H. Vogel,	360	Neuville,	447
THE LION HEART AT ACRE.—Drawn by A. de		THE ENGLISH CROSSING THE SOMME,	449
Neuville,	361	BATTLE OF CRECY.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	450
RICHARD I. TAKES DOWN THE BANNER OF LEOP-		CAPTURE OF JOHN II. AT POITIERS.—Drawn by	
OLD.—Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker,	362	A. de Neuville,	452
RICHARD HAVING THE SARACENS BEHEADED.—		DEATH OF DOM PEDRO.— Drawn by Ermisch,	456
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	364	YOUNG CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF MANS,	458
CŒUR DE LION IN THE BATTLE OF AZOTUS.—		ROVING BANDS OF ARMAGNACS.—Drawn by	
Drawn by Gustave Doré,	366	John Shoenberg,	461
BATTLE BEFORE ACRE.—Drawn by Gustave		BATTLE OF AGINCOURT,	462
Doré,	368	MASSACRE OF ARMAGNACS BY BURGUNDIANS.—	
TOURNAMENT OF CHAMPAGNE,	374	Drawn by A. de Neuville,	463
THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE.—Drawn by Gustave		JOAN OF ARC,	464
Doré,	380	CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS,	465
NECROPOLIS AT CAIRO,	382	WOUNDING OF JOAN OF ARC.—Drawn by A. de	
ENTRANCE OF FREDERICK II. INTO ROME.—		Neuville,	466
Drawn by H. Vogel,	384	BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC,	467
FORTRESS OF THE EMIR OF KARAC,	388	BATTLE OF MONTLHERI,	469
BATTLE OF GERMAN KNIGHTS AND ITALIANS.—		CHARLES THE BOLD,	470
Drawn by N. Sanesi,	390	COAT-OF-ARMS OF CHARLES,	471
LANDING OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT,	391	MEETING OF LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES THE BOLD.	
THE COUNT OF ARTOIS IN THE BATTLE OF		Drawn by A. de Neuville,	472
MANSOURI.—Drawn by Gustave Doré,	393	DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD,	473

	PAGE.		PAGE.
JAMES ARTEVELDE,	474	COLUMBUS POINTING TO THE ECLIPSE,	558
LOUIS XI. IN PLESSIS-LES-TOURS,	475	VESPUCCI,	559
BATTLE OF MORGARTEN.—After Plueddemann, 480		SEPULCHER OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA,	559
CAPTURE OF FREDERICK THE HANDSOME.—		BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC.	
After a painting by W. Truebner,	482	Drawn by H. Vogel,	560
HANSEATIC SHIP,	486	CORTEZ,	561
DEATH OF ARNOLD VON WINKLEREID,	487	MONTEZUMA II.,	562
OLD SWISS MOUNTAIN CANNON,	488	BATTLE OF CORTEZ WITH THE MEXICANS,	563
BISHOP CURSING A CROWD OF INSURGENTS.—		SLAUGHTER OF MEXICANS BY THE SPANIARDS	
Drawn by W. Dietz,	490	AT CHIOLULA,	564
JOHN HUSS,	491	MAGELLAN,	565
HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.—After a painting		MERCATOR,	566
by K. F. Lessing,	492	CABOT ON THE SHORE OF LABRADOR.—Drawn	
BURNING OF HUSS,	493	by E. Bayard,	567
FREDERICK OF HOHENZOLLERN,	494	PAPAL COAT-OF-ARMS,	571
OLD STONE BRIDGE AT PRAGUE,	495	ERASMUS,	572
ZISKA VICTORIOUS.—Drawn by W. Camphau-		MICHAEL ANGELO,	573
sen,	496	INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S,	574
ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE WITH THE SUA-		MARTIN LUTHER,	575
BIANS,	499	PREACHERS OF THE REFORMATION,	578
CHARLES VIII. RECEIVES ANNA OF BRITTANY.—		LEO. X.,	584
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	502	DRINKING HEALTH AT THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—	
DESTRUCTION OF PRINTING-PRESSES IN MAY-		Drawn by A. de Neuville,	587
ENCE.—Drawn by H. Vogel,	503	LANDING OF THE ENGLISH FLEET AT CALAIS.—	
BRUCE AND WALLACE,	505	Drawn by Thos. Weber,	588
QUEEN PHILIPPA WITH THE POOR.—After a		CHEVALIER BAYARD,	590
painting by F. Pauwels,	508	DEATH OF CHEVALIER BAYARD.—Drawn by A.	
QUEEN PHILIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE BURGH-		de Neuville,	591
ERS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	511	CAPTURE OF FRANCIS I.—Drawn by A. de Neu-	
DEATH OF WAT TYLER.—Drawn by L. P. Ley-		ville,	593
endecker,	515	CHARLES V. IN THE HOUSE OF FUGGER.—After	
JOHN WICKLIFFE,	517	a painting by Becker,	595
STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC,	525	SOLYMAN II.,	597
MURDER OF YOUNG RUTLAND.—Drawn by L.		CARDINAL WOLSEY SERVED BY THE NOBLES,	600
P. Leyendecker,	528	TRIAL OF CATHARINE,	604
MARGARET INTRUSTS PRINCE EDWARD TO THE		PARTING OF SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGH-	
ROBBER,	530	TER.—Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker,	606
DEATH OF RICHARD III. AND CORONATION OF		CATHARINE DISCUSSING THEOLOGY WITH THE	
RICHMOND,	535	KING.—Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker,	610
ASSASSINATION OF A NOBLEMAN BY BANDITS,	539	CHARLES V.,	612
CESARE BORGIA,	540	PRINCE MAURICE,	614
MACHIAVELLI,	541	EXECUTION OF HERETICS, SIXTEENTH CENTURY, 616	
DEATH OF SAVONAROLA,	542	THE PENITENT OF SAN YUSTE.—Drawn by	
LOUIS XII. AT THE BATTLE OF AGNADELLO.—		Vierge,	618
Drawn by A. de Neuville,	544	ZWINGLI'S DEATH AT KAPPEL.—Drawn by	
THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH.—Drawn by A.		Weekuer,	619
de Neuville,	546	JOHN CALVIN,	620
DEFEAT OF THE KHAN OF KAZAN,	547	LOVOLA,	622
IVAN THE GREAT,	548	HENRY II.,	624
ALEXANDER NEVSKI,	549	THE INQUISITION IN SESSION,	625
DEMETRIUS DONSKI,	549	BURNING OF HERETICS IN PARIS,	626
MONGOLS CROSSING THE DON,	549	THE DUKE OF GUISE,	628
TAIL-PIECE,	550	CATHERINE DE MEDICI,	630
HEAD-PIECE FOR NEW WORLD AND REFORMA-		PRINCE OF CONDÉ,	631
TION,	551	ASSASSINATION OF DUKE FRANCIS.—Drawn by	
NORSE EXPLORATIONS,	553	A. de Neuville,	632
NORSE SEA-KING OF THE ELEVENTH CENT-		MONTMORENCI,	633
URY,	554	FLIGHT OF COLIGNI FROM PARIS,	634
OLD STONE TOWER AT NEWPORT,	554	COLIGNI,	635
COPERNICUS,	555	CATHERINE DE MEDICI AND CHARLES IX,	636
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,	556	ST. BARTHOLOMEW,	637
THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 11TH, 1492,	557	ASSASSINATION OF COLIGNI,	638

	PAGE.		PAGE.
THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE RECEIVING THE HEAD OF COLIGNI,	639	ALEXANDER FARNESE,	689
THE FUGITIVE HUGUENOT IN THE CHAMBER OF THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	640	CANNON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,	690
THE NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	641	AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MAESTRICHT,	691
MORNING AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	642	WILLIAM THE SILENT,	692
FÉNÉLON,	643	SIEGE OF ANTWERP,	694
MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	644	JAN VAN OLDEN BARNEVELDT,	696
ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.,	645	DESTRUCTION OF HEIDELBERG,	702
HENRY IV. AT IVRY,	646	THE BRIDGE OF DESSAU,	705
ENTRANCE OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS,	648	ASSASSINATION OF MARSHAL D'ANCRE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	710
MARIA DE MEDICI,	649	HENRY OF MONTMORENCI AT CASTELNAUDARY. Drawn by P. Philippoteaux,	712
MARRIAGE OF HENRY IV. AND MARIA DE MED- ICI,	650	DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	715
ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.,	651	RICHELIEU,	718
OLD SWEDISH LEATHERN CANNON,	652	RICHELIEU AND FATHER JOSEPH.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	720
LADY JANE GREY,	656	CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU LED TO EXECUTION. Drawn by A. de Neuville,	722
MARY TUDOR,	658	DEATH OF RICHELIEU,	723
ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND,	661	TURENNE,	724
MARY STUART AND FRANCIS II.—Drawn by Vierge,	663	FUGITIVE PEASANTS, THIRTY YEARS' WAR.— Drawn by H. Vogel,	725
MARY STUART,	664	INNOCENT X.,	727
CASTLE OF EDINBURGH,	665	GALILEO BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL,	728
ELIZABETH BORNE IN HER PALANQUIN,	669	DE SOTO IN FLORIDA,	731
SHAKESPEARE,	676	BURIAL OF DE SOTO,	732
PHILIP II.,	677	MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS BY MELENDEZ,	733
WORK OF THE INQUISITION IN HOLLAND,	679	ATAHUALLPA,	734
THE BEOGARS IN COUNCIL,	680	THE MAYFLOWER AT SEA,	739
PROTESTANTS BREAKING THE IMAGES OF THE CATHEDRALS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	682	SIR HENRY HUDSON,	740
DUKE OF ALVA,	683	THE HALF-MOON ASCENDING THE HUDSON,	741
DUKE OF ALVA'S MARCH TO THE NETHER- LANDS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville,	684	PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING GOOD HOPE,	743
THE DUKE OF ALVA DEPOSES THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.—Drawn by R. Ermisch,	685	THE YOUNGER WINTHROP,	744
EXECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHER- LANDS,	686	RECEPTION OF ROGER WILLIAMS BY THE IN- DIANS,	745
		LORD BALTIMORE,	746
		WILLIAM PENN,	750
		JAMES OGLETHORPE,	752

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUMES II. AND III.



PERHAPS the most striking feature of modern civilization is its complexity. It is a web woven of many threads and decorated with an infinity of figures. Not only is our field of view in Modern History widened on all sides to the horizon, but the diversity of aspect is so great as to confuse the faculties and discourage analysis.

The ancient civilizations were uniform. The great states of antiquity arose and succeeded one another like colossi in solemn procession. Assyria is followed by Media; Media by Babylonia; Babylonia by Persia; Persia by Greece; Greece by Rome; Rome by chaos, confusion, and night.

Each of those ancient empires was under the dominion of some single principle. Each was formed around a central core, became organic, is easily comprehended as a unit. In Egypt the hierarchical principle gained the mastery over the other elements of society, and around this principle the state was unified. During the brief Macedonian ascendancy, monarchy was the central fact about which were consolidated all the elements of power. In Sparta it was the aristocracy, and in Athens the democracy, that foreran the other parts of political society and gained control of the commonwealth. In each case the leading feature is unmistakable.

Not so, however, in the complex structure of modern times. Here the diverse elements of society hold each other in check and prevail together. No one is able to gain the mastery over the rest. Each is obliged to be content with the coëxistence of all.

If we glance about over the modern world, we shall find contemporaneous governments of

every rank and order. Switzerland coëxists with Austria, Spain with England, Italy with France, Turkey with the United States. Monarchy, aristocracy, republicanism, democracy, jar against and agitate each other, but neither triumphs. Hence the confusion, the multiplicity, the accordant discord, so to speak, of the grand drama of modern times.

In the midst of this organic complexity it is easy to discover several features of peculiar interest. One of these is the dominance in Modern History of religious motives as influencing the political condition of the world. In the early centuries of our era the Semitic race sent forth to the nations two great streams of religion; and out of this contribution sprang the rival systems of Christianity and Mohammedanism. Each would be all or nothing. Each entered into combination with the political structure of states, and sought, by means of the temporal power, or open proclamation of its own right, to control the institutions and sway the destinies of the world.

The first phase of the struggle which ensued was that in which the powers of primitive civilization were arrayed against each other under the Cross and the Crescent, In the issue Europe fell to Christ; Asia and Africa, to Mohammed. Subsequently the European states divided against each other and fought long and desperately for the supremacy of their respective dogmas. Not until the close of the eighteenth century did religious faction lose its grip on the political destinies of the world. Among ancient states we should look in vain for such a predominance of religion over the secular affairs of men.

A third feature, equally peculiar to the modern history of mankind, is the substitution of science for superstition and the consequent mastery of Man over Nature. The human

mind, having chosen knowledge instead of conjecture, has seized with a tremendous hand those physical forces on which the phenomena of the world depend, and has subjected them to its own masterful energies. The result is that the forces of the natural world have been bound to the car of civilization, and the will and intelligence of man reign with easy sway over the blind tendencies of matter. In this great fact he that runs may read the mighty prophecies of progress and evolution. The dominion of man over nature tells of the extinction of superstition, of the clearing of human thought, of the installation of happiness, of the incoming of the tides of peace, of the subsidence of cruelty, and of the coronation of man.

From a casual survey of the facts, it will readily appear that the treatment of Modern History is more difficult than that of antiquity. The channels of historical events are so many and multifarious that one is lost while another is pursued. Sometimes the current flows with a sudden rush towards the near abyss of revolution, and sometimes a stream is found, which, like *Cæsar's Arar*, is so smooth that the eye may scarcely discover in which direction it is tending. Nevertheless, by patient reflection, even the tangled web of Modern History will be found susceptible of analysis and rational explanation.

The history of the ancient world expires and that of the modern world begins in the great fact of BARBARISM. The Roman Empire was subverted by the fierce races of the North. The old forces of civilization ceased to be felt in the movements of human society. The art, literature, philosophy, politics, religion, and social customs of the Græco-Italic race were buried in hopeless ruin under the deluge of savage invasion. Then followed an epoch of chaos. Wave after wave rolled over districts already devastated by preceding storms and floods. The earliest era of modern times is filled with the struggles of those warring tribes by whose onsets the great monuments of antiquity were destroyed. The First Book of Modern History will therefore embrace an account of THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS—their institutions and the kingdoms which they founded on the ruins of Rome.

Anon on the far horizon of the South-east

appears the figure of the Arabian Prophet. Mohammed is born. The shadow of Islam falls across the ruins of Arabic superstition just as the shadow of the Christ had fallen on the decaying forms of Judaism. The wandering tribes of the desert take fire with the proclamation of Allah. A banner is lifted on high at Medina and Mecca, soon to be borne north, south, east, and west by a victorious host, bathing their swords in the blood of enemies. The Mohammedan conquests spread farther and farther the terror of the Prophet's name, until the pillars of Hercules are passed, and the tents of Abdalrahman are pitched beyond the Pyrenees. The rise and extension of Islam and the establishment of THE MOHAMMEDAN KINGDOMS will furnish the subject-matter of the Second Book.

Meanwhile, a more settled state of society has supervened in Western Europe. The invasions of the savage nations have ceased. The forces of barbarians have subsided and governments have emerged from the chaos. The recollection of the grandeur and glory of the Empire which their fathers had destroyed, lingers in the minds of the barbarian kings and they strive to restore the ancient *régime*. In this endeavor the strongest is most successful, and the strongest is Charlemagne. His appearance on the stage marks an era of revival from barbarism. Not philosopher enough to understand that the restoration of dead institutions is impossible, the great Frankish sovereign attempted to rebuild from his Gaulish capital the colossal structure of Rome. Similar, though on a less gigantic scale, was the effort of Alfred the Great to construct on English soil the fabric of a regular monarchy. The Third Book, under the caption of THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE, will include the history of the events of that disturbed but fruitful period.

With the close of the last-named era—even before its close—we behold the natural culmination of the barbarian ascendancy in the appearance of FEUDALISM. The key to this remarkable system must be discovered in the peculiar institutions of the Teutonic race. The German warriors came from their native seats beyond the Rhine and the Danube, under the leadership of military chieftains. By them the provinces of the Empire were over-

run and divided out to their followers. A condition of lordship and vassalage was universally established. Lands were held by the inferior on condition of military service rendered to the superior. Society was completely broken up. From the king to the serf, a system of subordination of man to man grew up as the only tie binding the state in one. The Fourth Book will be devoted to THE INSTITUTIONS OF FEUDALISM and the history of the events belonging to the centuries during which that system was prevalent.

Near the close of the eleventh century all Europe became agitated with an almost uncontrollable passion against the Mohammedans. The Seljukian Turks, who, by their contact with the Arabs in Western Asia, had imbibed the faith of the Prophet, became its most fiery apostles. The holy places of Palestine fell into their possession. The polite consideration hitherto shown to the Christians by the Moslem authorities of Jerusalem was no longer manifested. The pilgrims from the West were treated with contumely and forbidden access to the tomb of Christ. The establishment of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain and the desperate attempt of the Saracens to gain possession of Western Europe had left in the memory of religious zealots a desire to be revenged on the defilers of the Holy Sepulcher. The European nations rose as if by a common impulse and precipitated themselves upon the East. For nearly two centuries the excited populations of the West flung army after army into Asia Minor, there to perish of destitution and by the sword. These tumultuous movements, known as the CRUSADES, will furnish the theme of the Fifth Book.

Amid the ruins of Feudal Europe, in the age succeeding the Crusades, were planted two institutions which have exercised the widest influence on the destinies of more recent times. These two facts so antagonistic in their nature, yet springing side by side, were the FREE CITIES, the birthplace of political liberty, and MONARCHY, the native seat of political power. On the one side arose the People, and on the other side the Kings. The period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century is largely occupied with these two principal facts in the history of Mediæval Europe; and the Sixth Book of the present volume

will be devoted to their consideration and to subjects connected with their development.

Meanwhile, a NEW WORLD rises out of the waters. The spirit of adventure seeks and finds the Atlantis of Plato. A race of navigators make their way into distant seas, and trace the outlines of unknown shores. Civilization takes flight to lands remote from the old centers of power. While new continents are thus added to the old, another world is also discovered by the human mind. The abuses and absolutism of Papal Rome become too great to be patiently borne. The somber conscience of Germany is first irritated and then inflamed by the tyranny and exactions of the Romish hierarchy, grown sleek and slothful in the soft indulgences of Italy. Anon the resolute monk of Wittenberg raises his voice against the arbitrary authority of the priestly order. The cry resounds far and wide, waking the echoes from the Alps to the Baltic, and from the Irish Channel to the confines of barbarous Russia. The conflict can not be stayed. On either side the nations become a Catholic and a Protestant league. The sword is drawn to enforce what reason can no longer maintain. For a century and a-half the revolution makes headway against Rome, until finally, by a compact of the European states, the existence of Protestantism is guaranteed. The Seventh Book will embrace a history of GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY and THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION.

The great struggle for the freedom of the human conscience was closely followed by another for the freedom of political society. In the conflict between Monarchy and the Free Cities of the Middle Ages, the former had triumphed. Absolutism in the Papal Church had been followed by absolutism in the state. The religious insurrection of the sixteenth century was followed by the political revolt of the seventeenth. The insurgent spirit was first manifested in England. The Stuart kings became the victims of a movement in society which they were impotent to stay. In the latter part of the century the conflict spread to the Continent; and Louis XIV., after having expended the energies of his seemingly interminable reign, was obliged in his old age to behold the diminished disk of absolute authority setting with

the sun of his own life. The Eighth Book will contain the history of THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION, and of the results consequent upon that great movement for political liberty.

The first three-quarters of the eighteenth century constitute a period difficult to grasp and comprehend. It was in one sense an epoch of preparation; in another, an epoch of results. In the earlier part of this span of history the Grand Monarch of France appears in decrepit majesty as one belonging to a vanished age. The most striking fact, however, of this period is the emergence of Prussia from the shadows of obscurity. Of a sudden, the victorious sword of Hohenzollern flashes around the borders of the state, and the foundations of Prussian greatness are laid on an immovable basis. The Ninth Book will contain the history of THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

To this will succeed THE AGE OF REVOLUTION. The last quarter of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century will find Europe convulsed from center to circumference. The long repressed energies of human society burst forth first in the revolt of the American Colonies, and afterwards in terrific violence in the throne-shattering cataclysm of France. Nearly the whole civilized world is swept into the vortex of war. Napoleon becomes the central figure of history. He ascends to glorious empire, and descends to ignominious exile. These great events will furnish the theme of the Tenth Book.

From the subsidence of the last-named conflict to the present time stretches THE NINETEENTH CENTURY with its rapid progress and wonderful development. The vastly expanded civilization of the passing century presents a scene which for its amazing and beneficent activities has no parallel in the previous annals of mankind. The application of actual knowledge to the affairs of human life, the blessed reign of science, has so greatly ameliorated the condition of men, so freely contributed to the happiness of our race, that the mutual congratulation of the nations is an act of permissible vanity. The Eleventh (and last) Book of the present work will embrace a sketch of the political and social developments of the nineteenth century.

If, then, we recapitulate the results of this

General Analysis of Modern History, we shall find a convenient and tolerably natural scheme of the whole subject presented under the following major divisions:—

I. BOOK FIRST.—THE BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY. From the establishment of the Kingdom of the Heruli in Italy, A. D. 476, to the accession of Charlemagne, A. D. 768.

II. BOOK SECOND.—THE MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY. From the birth of Mohammed, A. D. 569, to the battle of Poitiers, A. D. 732.

III. BOOK THIRD.—THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE. From the accession of that sovereign, A. D. 768, to the accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987.

IV. BOOK FOURTH.—THE FEUDAL ASCENDENCY. From the establishment of the Capetan House on the throne of France, A. D. 987, to the beginning of the Crusades, A. D. 1095.

V. BOOK FIFTH.—THE CRUSADES. From the Council of Clermont, A. D. 1095, to the capture of Acre by the Mohammedans, A. D. 1291.

VI. BOOK SIXTH.—THE PEOPLE AND THE KINGS. From the insurrection of the Free Cities, in the twelfth century, to the accession of the House of Tudor in England, A. D. 1485.

VII. BOOK SEVENTH.—THE NEW WORLD AND THE REFORMATION. From the accession of Henry VII. in England, A. D. 1485, to the Treaty of Westphalia, A. D. 1648.

VIII. BOOK EIGHTH.—THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. From the accession of the House of Stuart, A. D. 1603, to the death of Louis XIV., A. D. 1715.

IX. BOOK NINTH.—THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. From the death of Louis XIV., A. D. 1715, to the beginning of the American Revolution, A. D. 1775.

X. BOOK TENTH.—THE AGE OF REVOLUTION. From the revolt of the American colonies, A. D. 1775, to the Congress of Vienna, A. D. 1815.

XI. BOOK ELEVENTH.—THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. From the Congress of Vienna, A. D. 1815, to the establishment of the German Empire, A. D. 1871.

In this order THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD will be considered in the following pages.

CYCLOPÆDIA
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOLUME II.—Part I.

THE MODERN WORLD.

MAP IX.

BARBARIAN EUROPE.

By A. von Steinhilber.

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

Scale of Miles.

0 50 100 200 300 400





Book First.

BARBARIAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER I.—TRIBES OF THE NORTH.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



INCOMING OF THE BARBARIANS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CUSTOMS OF THE GERMANS.—VICTORY-FEAST AFTER BATTLE.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

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

Next to the Goths in importance was the great race of the VANDALS. It appears that they, like the Allemanni, consisted at the first of a confederation of tribes bound together by a community of interests and institutions. Their native seats were in the northern parts of Germany, whence at an early period they migrated into the country of the Riesengebirge and subsequently into Pannonia and Dacia. Some eminent authors have classified the Heruli, Burgundians, and Lombards as different branches of the Vandal race. In the beginning of the fifth century this great people began its movement westward through Germany into Gaul and Spain. Having crossed the Pyrenees they established themselves about the year 410 in the country east and south of the kingdom of the Spanish Suevi. A short time subsequently they pressed their way southward into the ancient province of Bætica, where they founded the still more celebrated kingdom of VANDALUSIA, still known as Andalusia. At the close of the first quarter of the fifth century the great Genseric became king of the Vandals, and during his long reign contributed by his genius and bravery to establish and extend the dominion of his people. In the year 429, while the imbecile and profligate Valentinian III. occupied the alleged throne of the Western Empire, Genseric, as already related in the preceding Volume,¹ was invited by Boniface, governor of Africa, to cross over and support his cause. Easily was the Vandal king persuaded to undertake a measure which promised such large and inexpensive results. With an army of fifty thousand men he subdued the whole coast of Northern Africa as far south as Tunis. The

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

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

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

¹ See Volume I., p. 898.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Next in order may be mentioned the BUR-



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

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tament now deposited in the library of Upsala in Sweden. A second manuscript, known as the *Codex Turinensis*, was discovered by Pfeiffer, in 1866. This parchment also, consisting of but four sheets, contains fragments of the New Testament. A third manuscript, called the *Codex Carolinus*, discovered in 1756, contains forty-two verses of the eleventh to the fifteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans. All the other fragments of Gothic are of the same character with those here described. The remains have been sufficient, however, for the reconstruction of the grammar and a considerable portion of the vocabulary employed by the Gothic people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE GOD THOR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See Volume I., p. 899.

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

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



THE HUNS IN GERMANY.

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

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

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

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

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



ARRIVAL OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THEIR NEW HOME.
After the Fresco of Lotze, in the National Museum of Pesth.

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

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

¹ See Vol. I., pp. 907-914.

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II.—BARBARIAN KINGDOMS IN ITALY.



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

¹ See Vol. I., p. 924.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



SORTIE OF BELISARIUS FROM ROME.
DRAWN BY H. VOGEL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE ETHIELBERT.

Drawn by L. P. Lyendecker.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.—KINGDOMS OF THE VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, AND FRANKS.



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

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

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

PERSIA.

32. Chosroes II., THE GREAT; he has all the vices of his pre- but surpasses them in his great qualities. 40. He lays waste Syria, and Justinian pays him 500 pounds for the sake of peace. 54. He renews the war and cuts to pieces a Roman army of 50,000 men.

decessors. roes III.; he murders his father.

10. Library of Alexandria (700,000 volumes) destroyed by the command of Omar. 45. Dhimian. He subdues Bactriana and Arabia. 60. Moawiyah (Ommlas), first CALIPH OF THE OMMIYADES.

ARABIA.

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

Mohammed,

12. Begins to propagate his doctrines. 27. He is saluted king. 55. Ali, a brave and virtuous caliph of Arabia, and Mawia, caliph of Syria. Ali removes his seat from Mecca to Cuja.

65. Justin II., a weak prince.

27. Justinian I., celebrated for his famous code of laws and for the victories of his generals, Belisarius and Narses.

22. The Hegira, or flight of Mohammed, the era from which followers reckon time.

32. Abu-Beker, his father-in-law, succeeds him as caliph; takes Damascus.

33. Omar. In one campaign he conquers Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, and Chaldæa in the next, the whole of Persia. His successors subdue Egypt, Libya, and Numidia.

EASTERN EMPIRE.

73. Tiberius III. He defeats the Persians.

34. Belisarius takes Carthage, and ends the Vandal kingdom in Africa. Dreadful pestilence, many cities wholly depopulated.

82. Mauritius.

10. Heraclius. The Persians make great ravages in the empire. He defeats them in five campaigns. 2. Phocas, usurper. 6. He makes some concessions to the bishop of Rome, which forms the beginning of the temporal power of the Pope. 41. Heraclius II. 42. Constans II. or CONSTANTINE. 38. Edict of Heraclius, called the "Ethesis or Exposition," by which he prohibits any dispute upon the question of one or two wills in Jesus Christ.

VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM.

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

83. The Suevi conquered by the Visigoths.

40. Heildibadus. 41. Eraric. 36. Vitiges. 53. Narses defeats the Goths at the battle of Autun, being recalled.

WESTERN EMPIRE

26. Athalaric. 37. Belisarius takes Rome. 34. Theodatus. 46. Totila the Goth takes and plunders Rome. 49. Rome retaken by Belisarius. 50. Again recovered by Totila. 73. Clephes. The Gothic king of the Adriatic. 75. Anarchy. 91. A. 84. Antharic.

AND

30. The order of Benedictines instituted.

KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

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

Middle Ages Begin.

16. Computation of time from the Christian era, introduced by Dionysius, the monk.

50. Extreme unction introduced, and the invocation of the Virgin and saints.

55. Fifth General Council, at Constantinople, where the errors of Origen, as well as the errors of Theodorus, Theodoretus, and Ibas, "the Three Chapters," are condemned as heresies.

GAUL

OR

FRANCE.

MEROVINGIAN HOUSE.

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

62. Chilperic has Soissons, Charibert has Paris, Grotan has Burgundy, and Sigebert I. has Austrasia.

84. Cloataire II. succeeds Chilperic. He establishes the Merovingian house after reuniting the kingdom.

SAXON HEPTARCHY.

27. ESSEX, founded by Sigobert.

81. MURCIA, founded by Crida.

LOMBARDS IN ITALY.

Latin Language ceases to be spoken in Italy. 15. Adalaidus. 60. Gundebertus.

Latin government begins. 25. Ariovaldus. 36. Rotharis. 52. Rodoaldus. 53. Ariberius. 86. Cunberius.

4. Sabinianus. 40. Severinus. 55. Eugenius I. 72. Adeodatus. 1., the GREAT. 40. John IV. 57. Vitalianus. 76. Donus I. 85. John VI. 6. Boniface III. 49. Martin I. 78. Agaiho. 86. Callixtus I. 7. Boniface IV. 42. Theodore. 87. Stephen I. 25. Honorius I. 83. Benedictus.

7. The Pantheon at Rome dedicated as a Christian Church. 80. Sixth General Council, and seventh ecumenical.

stantinople, where the errors of Origen, as well as the errors of Theodorus, Theodoretus, and Ibas, "the Three Chapters," are condemned as heresies.

32. Dagobert commits all the real power into the hands of the mayor of the palace, which accounts for the character of the succeeding kings, aptly denominated "sluggards."

38. He dies, and his dominions are divided between his two sons.

38. Clovis II. has Neustria, and Dagobert II has Austrasia. 65. Cloataire II. 73. Thierry II.

WALES.

13. Cadwan. 34. Cadwall. 78. Cadwallader. 86. Idwal.

SCOTLAND.

4. Kenneth (of CLENETH) I. 36. Donald IV. 68. Malcolm. 88. Eugene I. 50. Ferchard II. 92. Eugene II.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART No. IV. BARBARIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCIES.

From 500 to 900 A. D.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

COPYRIGHTED, 1865.

SARACEN EMPIRE.

49. Abul-Abbas, first of the ABBASSIDES.

79. Al Modj. 81. Musa 'l Hadi.

7. Al Amia. 11. Al Mamun, a great and our nger of learning. 13. Al Motasem.

61. Al Montaser. 62. Al Mostaim. 63. Al Motaz. 68. Al Mohtadi.

43. Walid. 44. Yezid III. 45. Merwan II.

86. Haroun Al Raschid, a brave and benevolent caliph; he does much for science.

41. Al Wathek. 69. Al Motamed.

16. Al Motawakkel.

30. After conquering Spain they invade Gaul. In consequence of this, Araba loses much of its importance.

7. Haroun sends Charlemagne a clock, the first ever seen in Europe.

50. Turkish we formed to the body-guard of the Caliph. 61. After the murder of the caliph the Turkish guards disperse of the towns at their pleasure.

41. Constantine V. COPRONYMUS.

75. Leo IV., iconoclast or image-breaker. 81. Constantine VI. Irene is regent in She restores image-worship, but Irene negotiates a marriage with Charlemagne, but Irene murders her son, and is proclaimed

2. Nicephorus.

11. Michael I. CUPROPALATES. 13. Leo V., THE ARMENIAN. 20. Michael II., THE STAMMERER.

67. Basil I. has a vigorous reign; restores in some measure the falling honor of the empire; founds the MACEDONIAN RACE.

42. Michael III., THE DRUNKARD.

86. Leo VI., THE PHILOSOPHER.

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a learned writer, d. 86.

12. The Visigoths conquered by the Saracens, who, having extended their dominion along the northern coast of Africa, invade Spain from Mauritania, whence they are called Moors. The Goths retire into Asturias. 53. The kingdom or caliphate of Cordova founded by Abderrahman of the House of Omeyyads. He and his successors encourage literature and science.

22. Abderrahman II. 32. Mohammed I. 89. Abdallah, a blind and enlightened prince. 60-81. Rebellion of Omar, a race of pirates from Scandavia, who during two centuries from 800 to 1000, ravage almost every coast in Europe.

18. Pelagias forms the kingdom of ASTURIAS.

ASTURIAS.

44. Hildabrandus deposed for his vices. Rachisus. 74. Is deposed by 56. Desiderius, annexes Italy

Charlemagne, who to his empire, and threatens Rome;

75. Charles the Bald, king of France; 77. Carloman. 91. Lambert. 80. Charles the Fat, emperor in (emperor.) 81. 89. Guy of Spoletto, and Berenger of Friuli dispute the crown

12. Ansprandus.

49. Astolphus; he retakes Ravenna and is defeated by Pepin.

of Pepin confirmed by Charlemagne.

41. Sergius II.

82. Martin II.

Contests with the pope.

74. The donation and enlarged 55. Pepin rewards Pope Stephen by confirms the exarchate of Ravenna

referring upon 24. Eugenius II. 47. Leo IV. 72. John VIII. Stephen VI. and Pentapolis. 27. Valentine. 55. Benedict III. 91. Formosus.

41. Sergius II.

82. Martin II.

7. 8. Constantine. 41. Zachary. 57. Paul I. 67. Stephen III. 95. Leo. John VII. 81. Gregory III. 50. Stephen II. 72. Adrian I.

PAPAL CHURCH.

15. Gregory II.

87. Seventh General Council (Second of Nice).

48. Eighth General Council at Constantinople.

Constantinople, at which Pope Honorius bishops are solemnly anathematized.

49. The Saracens besiege Rome; are repulsed by Leo IV.

65. Louis II. 66. He goes against the Saracens, who had invaded Italy, and he defeated them among his sons; they revolt. 75. Charles II., THE BALD, King of France. 81. Charles the Gross, grandson of Louis I. 87. Arnold, great-grandson of Louis I., proclaimed. 96. He takes Rome

declares war against the pope with reference to the deposition of Childeric III. The decision is that "As Pepin possesses the power, he shall also bear the title of king." The last of the Merovingians is therefore dismissed into a convent. 71. Carloman dies.

40. Charles II., THE BALD. GREAT, crowned emperor of the West; brave and industrious; a statesman and patron of learning. The Normans overthrow all the western provinces, burning and destroying. 77. Louis II., THE STAMMERER. 79. Louis III, and Carloman.

14. Charles Martel succeeds his father as mayor.

11. Dagobert III. 15. Chilperic II. 47. Chilperic III. 72-803, Charlemagne subdues the Saxons seven times. 73. He defeats Desiderius, who had invaded the dominions of the pope.

and Charlemagne, or CHARLES THE GREAT, crowned emperor of the West; brave and industrious; a statesman and patron of learning. The Normans overthrow all the western provinces, burning and destroying. 77. Louis II., THE STAMMERER. 79. Louis III, and Carloman. 87. Charles deposed for cowardice, and the imperial dignity transferred from France to Germany. 81. Charles II., THE GREAT. 80. Normans besiege Paris.

CARLOVINGIAN. IMPERIAL.

Egbert the Great reigns in Wessex and Sussex. 19. Conquers Kent. 38. Ethelwolf, defeats the Danes in eight battles, divides England into counties, and establishes trial by jury. 57. Ethelbald. 27. Finishes the conquest of the other kingdoms, and remains sole king. 86. Founds Oxford University. 58. Fresh invasions of the piratical Danes. 60. Eihelbert. 66. Eihelred.

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

20. Roderic I.

53. Conan.

Britons, having been totally subdued by the Saxons, had before this time retreated into Wales and Cornwall.

18. Merwin Uriel, King of Man, and his wife Eayth, heirs of Wales. 41. Roderick II., THE GREAT. 77. He divides the kingdom of his sons into three principalities: viz., North and South Wales and Powy's Land.

berkeleth. 21. Mordach. 61. Fergus III. 87. Achelus or Eugene VII. 30. Etfinus. 61. Eugene VIII. 67. Salvathus

ARCHAIC. 19. Congal III. 24. Dongal. 57. Donald V. 74. Ethus. 91. Donald VI. 38. Constantine II. 73. Gregory the Great. 43. He usurps the throne, and takes the title of king of Scotland, Dan's and Wales.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See Book First, p. 38.

held in subjection, returned quickly to their allegiance, and Boniface with an army of veterans would gladly have coöperated with the constituted authorities in driving the Vandals beyond the sea. But Geuseric soon annihi-

lated the forces of Boniface, and carried his victorious banners far and wide until only the cities of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Rhegius remained in the possession of the Romans.

The religious condition of Africa contrib-



THE LANDING OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.

Drawn by F. E. Wolfrom.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See Book First, p. 39.

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

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



"THUS DIDST THOU TO THE VASE AT SOISSONS."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CLOVIS MURDERS THE MEROVINGIAN PRINCES.

Drawn by Vierge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

usages of his nation were reduced to statutory form.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the death of Chilperic the crown descended to a second Clotaire, who, at the ripe age of four months, was left to the regency of his mother, Fredegonda. At this time the Austrasian government was under the regency of the Princess Brunehaut, who governed in the name of her grandsons. Between the two regents a war broke out, kindled with the double ferocity of barbarism and womanhood. In the year 613 Brunehaut was overpowered by the nobles of Burgundy and delivered into the hands of Clotaire, who put her to death with an excess of cruelty. Her extinction removed the last obstacle to the reuniting of

the kingdom of Clovis in a single government.

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



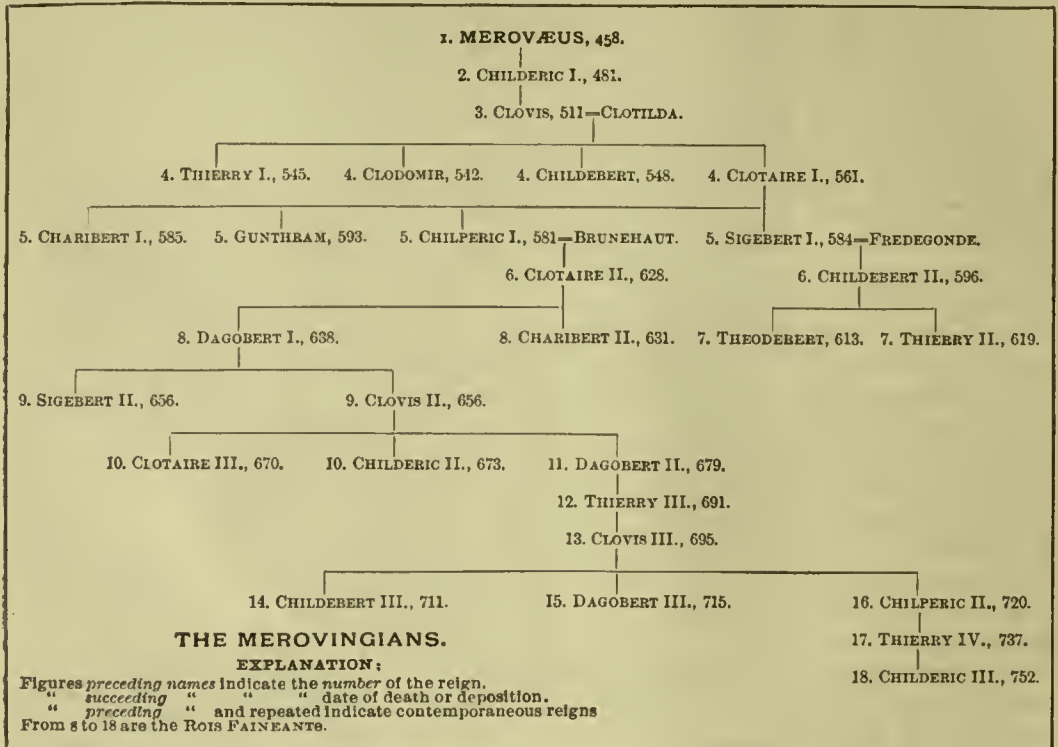
MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF CLODOMIR.

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

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

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

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



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

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

this province in the battle of Testry, and inflicted upon them a defeat so signal as to complete at one stroke the conquest of Northern Gaul, or "Roman France," as that territory was then called.

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

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

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

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

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

sion, playing the part of puppets. But when, in 737, the last of this imbecile dynasty died, Charles refused to continue the farce, and no successor was appointed. He, himself assumed supreme direction of affairs, and the *Rois Fainéants* were dispensed with. The new monarch, however, declined to accept any title of royalty, merely retaining his rank as Duke of the Franks.

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

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

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

¹ See Book Second, pp. 112-150.

on the 3d of October, 732, was fought one of the great battles of history, in which the religious status of Europe was fixed. All day long the conflict raged with fury. The Arabian cavalry beat audaciously against the ranks of the heavy-armed German warriors, who with their battle-axes dashed down whatever opposed. At sunset the Arabs retired to their own camp. During the night some

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



CHARLES MARTEL IN THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

After a painting by Plueddemann.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV.—THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



LANDING OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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

“Pirate at first: of all kinds of hunting

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



DRUIDS OFFERING HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first *Britwalda*, or ruler of Britain, is said to have been Ella, the conqueror of Sussex, who held that rank until 510. After this for a considerable period no prince was pre-eminent. Then arose Ceawlin, king of Wessex, who became *Britwalda* in 568, but his right of sovereignty was disputed by Ethelbert, fourth king of Kent, and a descendant of Hengist. Hostilities broke out between the two princes; but Ceawlin held the primacy until his death in 593. The office then fell to Ethelbert. This prince took for his queen the beautiful Bertha, daughter of Charibert, one of the *Rois Faincants* of Paris. It was the fortune of Ethelbert to be in authority at the time when the forty Christian monks sent out by Gregory the Great came into Britain and set up the standard of the cross. Now it was that the Anglo-Saxons were induced to abandon the superstitions and practices of paganism and accept of Christianity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the first quarter of the eighth century, a dubious contest was waged between the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex. The tide seemed to set against the latter, and the kings of Wessex were reduced to a kind of vassalage. In 737, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was recognized as monarch over the whole country south of the Humber, excepting Wales. In the fifth year of that monarch's reign, however, the Saxons of the West Kingdom rose against the Mercians and defeated them in a great battle at Buxford, in Oxford-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finding that the great Egbert was dead,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





Book Second.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER V.—CAREER OF THE PROPHET.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

such wrangles as he had lately witnessed at Mecca.

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

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

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

It is related that at this juncture Moham-

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

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

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

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

After a brief proclamation of his doctrines



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE PROPHET MOHAMMED.

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

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

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

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

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

It will thus be seen that at the birth of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



ARAB READING THE KORAN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



SEAL OF MOHAMMED.

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

CHAPTER VI.—CONQUESTS OF THE FIRST CALIPHS.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

them familiar with the abundant resources of the province, no less than with its comparatively defenseless position. Accordingly, in the second year of his reign, Abu Beker

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



PREACHING THE KORAN.

Drawn by Lisc.

issued to the chiefs of the Two Arabias the following proclamation:

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. Abdallah Atheek Ibn Abu Kahafa to all true believers health, happiness, and the blessing of God. Praise be to God and Mohammed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



DAMASCUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



ENTRANCE OF OMAR THE GREAT INTO JERUSALEM.
Drawn by O. Fikensher.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

protested that the Greeks and Arabs were brethren.

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

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

It will be remembered that on the accession

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In making an inventory of the treasures of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of ancient times, was taken with the other booty to Medina. What disposition should be made of this most beautiful and costly trophy? Should it be spread out and used on state occasions by the Caliph? or should it be cut up and distributed with the other spoils? Omar decided that justice required the partition of all booty. The beautiful carpet was accordingly divided without respect to the design or workmanship, and parceled out in scraps to those who had taken the palace.

¹The town of Cufa was deservedly famous in the traditions of the Semitic nations. There Noah, when the world was about to be drowned, entered the ark of safety, and there the serpent that tempted Eve was banished under the curse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VII.—OTHMAN AND ALI.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile Egypt had remained quietly

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BATTLE OF THE MASTS.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Absurd, for Ayesha had no children.

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

For the prosecution of his Syrian campaign

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

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



CAPTURE OF AYESHA BY ALI.

Drawn by F. Filkentsher.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VIII.—OMMIADES AND FATIMITES



AFTER the death of Ali his son HASSAN was chosen to the Caliphate without opposition. He was well fitted by the excellence of his character and the benevolence of his pur-

poses for the sovereignty of a great state; but the times were distracted with rebellion and turmoil, and Hassan was little disposed to war. Nevertheless, in his inaugural ceremony he pledged himself to uphold the Book of Allah, to follow the tradition of the Prophet, and to make war against all opposers. The people, in their turn, pledged themselves to support his government, both in peace and in war.

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

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

Notwithstanding the anger of the war-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ See Volume I., p. 935.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



TOMES OF THE CALIPHS, DAMASCUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So signal had been the successes achieved by Al Hejagi that the Caliph next sent him to assume the duties of governor in Babylonia. He at once repaired to the city of Cufa, spoke to the people from the door of the mosque, and gave them to understand that their turbulence and treason would now be brought to an end. Nor was his threatening oration unbacked by equal severity of action. Beginning with the old enemies of the Caliph Othman, he proceeded with unsparing hand to weed out the elements of discontent. Among those who were singled out for destruction was the late prime minister of the province, the veteran Musa Ibn Nosseyr, who in order to save his life fled first to Damascus and thence into Egypt. At Bassora he was equally severe. An insurrection broke out under his despotie rule, but the same was quickly suppressed, and eighteen of the leaders lost their heads.

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

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

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

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

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

dition unattended with success. Several cities were taken by the invaders, and Alid returned to Damascus laden with an immenso amount of booty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE KAABA IN MECCA.

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

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

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

the Christians of Syria had delighted to deposit the bones and relics of the saints. At first the polite Caliph offered to purchase the church for forty thousand dinars of gold; but this being refused by the owners, Waled took forcible possession of the building and would pay therefor not a farthing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

detachment of the Saracen army. Taric meanwhile continued his victorious march through the Sierra Morena until he came to the city of Toledo, which at once capitulated. The conduct of the conqueror was such as to merit praise even on the page of modern history. The Christians were permitted to continue their worship—the priests to officiate as usual. Nor were the Goths driven from civil authority, but were allowed to remain in the subordinate offices of the kingdom. Especially were the Jews, long and bitterly persecuted by the Christians, rejoiced at the fact of deliverance.

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

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

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

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

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

In a short time after the conquest Spain became the most prosperous and civilized country of the West. Manufactures and commerce sprang up. Cordova became a royal seat. The city contained six hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand dwellings. Within the limits of the kingdom were eighty cities of the first class and three hundred of the second and third, and the banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand hamlets and villages.

Having thus securely established themselves in the Spanish peninsula, the Arabs soon began to look for other fields of conquest beyond the Pyrenees. They aspired to the dominion of all Europe. Having conquered the barbarian kingdoms north of the Alps, they would carry the Creseent down the banks of the Danube until the Greek Empire, pressed on the east, and the west by the victorious evangelists of the Koran, should col-

lapse, and the banners of Islam be set up around the entire Mediterranean. Such was the outline of a purpose which wanted but little of fulfillment.

To the north of the Pyrenees lay the kingdom of the Franks, fallen into decline under the last of the Merovingians. The condition of the country was such as to provoke an invasion by the men of the South. Pepin the Elder, mayor of the palace, had died, and after a brief contention among his illegitimate children, his rights had descended to Charles, who was destined soon to win the sobriquet of the Hammer. Fortunate it was for the destinies of Christian Europe that the *Rois Faineants* had been dispossessed of the throne of the Franks and the power transmitted to one who was able to defend it against aggression.

It has already been noted that in the first years of their Spanish ascendancy the Arabians carried their arms to the north of the Pyrenees and overran Septimania or Languedoc. By degrees the limits of their Frankish territory were extended until the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone was included in the Moslem dominion.

This realm, however, was by no means as broad as the ambition of Abdalrahman, the Arab governor of Spain. To him it appeared that the time had now come to honor the name of the Prophet by adding Western Europe to his heritage. He accordingly determined to undertake a great expedition against the Frankish kingdom. In the year 721 he raised a formidable army and set out on his march to the north. Having crossed the Pyrenees he proceeded to the Rhone and laid siege to the city of Arles. The Christian army which came forth for its defense was terribly defeated on the banks of the river, and thousands of the slain and drowned were carried by the swift and arrowy Rhone to the sea. Meanwhile the valiant Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, mustered an army at the passage of the Garonne, where a second great battle was fought with the same result as the former. The Christians were again defeated with the loss of many thousands.

The progress of the Mohammedans northward had now continued unchecked a distance of more than a thousand miles from Gibraltar.

Another similar span would have carried the Crescent to the borders of Poland and the Scottish Highlands; and in that event the conjecture of the sedate Gibbon that the Koran would to-day be used as the principal textbook in the University of Oxford, would appear to be justified.

Destiny, however, had contrived another end. The battle-axe of Charles, the bastard son of the elder Pepin, still showed its terrible edge between Abdalrahman and the goal. The Frankish warrior was already hardened in the conflicts of twenty-four years of service. In the great emergency which was now upon the kingdom, it was the policy of Charles to let the Arabian torrent diffuse itself before

of the other, and forbore to close in the grapple of death, victory inclined the rather to the banner of Islam; but, on the seventh day of the fight, the terrible Germans arose with their battle-axes upon the lighter soldiery of the South and hewed them down by thousands. Night closed upon victorious Europe. Charles had won his surname of the Hammer; for he had beaten the followers of the Prophet into the earth. Abdalrahman was slain. In the shadows of evening the shattered hosts of Spain and Africa gathered in their camps, but the Moorish warriors rose against each other in the confusion and darkness, and ere the morning light the broken remnants sought safety by flight. On the morrow the Mo-



BATTLE OF TOURS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

attempting to stem the tide. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the delay of the great mayor in going forth to meet the enemy was partly attributable to his willingness that his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, should suffer the humiliation of an overthrow at the hands of the Mohammedans.

Meanwhile, Abdalrahman advanced without further resistance to the center of France, and pitched his camp in the plain between Tours and Poitiers. Here, however, he was confronted by the army of the Franks. Europe was arrayed against Asia and Africa; the Cross against the Crescent; Christ against Mohammed. For six days of desultory fighting, in which each party, apparently conscious of the crisis in the affairs of men, seemed wary

hammedan camp was taken by the Christians, and the spoils of one of the greatest battles of history were gathered by the Franks.

The Arabs hastily retired across the Pyrenees. Count Eudes recovered his province of Aquitaine, and all Europe breathed freely after escape from a peril which was never to be renewed. Thus, in the year 732, precisely a century after the death of Mohammed, did the invincible valor of the Teutonic race oppose an impassable barrier to the hitherto victorious progress of Islam.¹ The triumphant

¹ It would have been supposed that Charles Martel would have received the highest honors which the Christian world could bestow. But a different result followed his victory. In raising and equipping his army, he had been obliged to

Franks, however, attempted not to press their advantage by an invasion of Spain. There the Mohammedans remained for many centu-

appropriate the treasures of several churches, and for this sacrilegious act the clergy could never forgive him. A Gaulic synod subsequently declared that Charles had gone to perdition. One of the saints had a vision, in which the hero of Poitiers was seen roasted in purgatorial fires, and a tradition gained currency that when his tomb was opened, the spectators were affrighted with the smell of sulphur and the apparition of a dragon.

ries in peaceable possession of the country. Cordova became the seat of art and learning. The Arab philosophers became the sages of the West. With the subsidence of prejudice the unlettered peoples beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps began to repair to the Mohammedan schools to receive an education which could not be obtained in the barbarous institutions of the North. The seeds of learning were scattered by the scholars of Islam, and the Crescent taught the Cross the rudiments of art.



MAP X
CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.
 From Thalheimer's Medieval and Modern History.

Boundaries showing the three divisions
 of the Empire made by the treaty of
 Verdun. A. D. 843.
 Boundaries of the Great Fleets

Scale
 0 50 100
 Miles
 0 50 100
 Kilometers

- ABBREVIATIONS:**
 KDM.....Kingdom
 DM.....Dukedom
 M.....Margravate
 CO.....Countyship





Book Third.

THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

CHAPTER IX.—THE FIRST CARLOVINGIANS.



THE Aryan nations again claim our attention. After a long sojourn among the tribes of Ishmael—after following the flaming Crescent to its zenith over the field of Poitiers—

let us turn to the peoples north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and, taking our stand in the great KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS, trace out the course of human affairs in the west of Europe.

The career of Pepin of Heristal, duke of the Austrasian Franks, has already been sketched in the First Book of the present volume.¹ It will be remembered that after the battle of Laon, A. D. 680, in which conflict his brother Martin was killed, Pepin became sole ruler of the Austrasians. In the years that followed he was engaged in several desultory wars with the German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine, and in 687 invaded the province of Neustria. The fate of this country was decided in the battle of Testry, in which Pepin was victorious. Roman France, as the northern part of Gaul was called, yielded to

the Austrasians; and Duke Pepin was acknowledged as the sovereign of the Frankish empire.

It was now the heyday of the *Rois Faineants*. The kingly Donothings still occupied the alleged throne of the Franks. They had, however, been gradually reduced to the condition of puppets in the hands of the powerful mayors of the palace. For reasons of policy Pepin chose not to disturb the royal show, and the *Faineants* were kept in nominal authority. Thus the puny race was lengthened out during the so-called reigns of Thierry III., Dagobert II., Clovis III., Childebert III., and Dagobert III. Once a year, namely, at the great national assembly in May, Pepin would bring forth the royal manikin, show him to the people, and then return him to the villa, where he was kept under guard.

For a quarter of a century (687-712) Pepin was engaged in almost constant wars with the Frisians and Alemanni dwelling on the Rhine. The hardest battles of the period were fought with these barbarians, who, after many defeats, were subdued by the Frankish king. It was, however, in the great family which he was about to establish, rather than

¹ See Volume II., p. 80.

in his wars, that Pepin was destined to distinguish himself as one of the chief personages of his times. But the founding of his family was attended with many troubles. Besides his wife Plectruda, he had a mistress, Alpaïda, upon whom he lavished the greater part of his attentions. A bitter feud was thus

obliged to appease public indignation and private wrath by putting in prison the son of his mistress, afterwards known as Martel. That bold and impetuous spirit, however, could not long be kept in confinement. Regaining his liberty he soon overthrew the regency which Pepin had left to his widow during the minor-



MURDER OF GRIMOALD.

Drawn by W. Claudius.

created in the mayor's palace between the lawful and the unlawful wife of the ruler. In these rivalries Alpaïda gained the ascendancy, and Plectruda, with her children, was thrust into the background. Finally Grimoald, her son, and the heir expectant of Pepin's rights, was murdered, and the party of Alpaïda was involved in the crime. The mayor was

obliged to appease public indignation and private wrath by putting in prison the son of his mistress, afterwards known as Martel. That bold and impetuous spirit, however, could not long be kept in confinement. Regaining his liberty he soon overthrew the regency which Pepin had left to his widow during the minor-

ity of Grimoald's son, and seized the mayoralty for himself. The career of Charles Martel down to the battle of Poitiers has already been narrated in the two preceding Books.¹ After that great event his prudence forbade any reckless

¹ See Volume II., Book First, p. 79, and Book Second, p. 151.

pursuit of the Arabs, who, though overthrown north of the Pyrepees, were still in full force in Spain. He afterwards renewed the war with the Arabian emirs, who still retained a foothold on the Gallic side of the mountains, and the intruders were gradually forced out of the country. The annexation of Aquitaine to the Frankish kingdom followed; nor was there any longer a likelihood that the Saracens could regain what they had lost within the limits of Gaul. Charles continued in authority until his death. Like his father, however, he chose to be recognized as Mayor of the Palace rather than as King of the Franks. The assumption of the latter dignity remained for his son and successor, Pepin the Short.

At his death Charles Martel bequeathed his authority to his two heirs, CARLOMAN, who received Austrasia, and PEPIN, who inherited Neustria. The measures by which the latter circumvented his brother and became sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom have been already narrated. Pepin soon took upon himself the title of king. Childeric III., the last of the *Rois Faineants*, was sent to the monastery of Sithien, at Saint Omer, and Pope Zachary consented to the substitution of the CARLOVINGIAN for the MEROVINGIAN dynasty. Pepin was anointed and crowned by Saint Boniface at Soissons, in the year 752.

It was at this time that the province of Septimania, which had been overrun by the Mohammedans, finally submitted to the Franks. In 753 Pepin enforced the payment of tribute upon the Saxons, and also obliged them to receive with civility the Christian ministers who had been sent among them. At this juncture the relations existing between France and Italy were greatly strengthened and extended by the favor of the Pope to the Carlovingian dynasty. Stephen III. crossed the Alps and visited Pepin, with a view to securing his aid against the Lombards. Astolphus, the king of that people, had become the oppressor of the papacy, and the Pope naturally looked for help to the Most Christian King of the Franks. Pepin received the great ecclesiastic with as much dignity as an uncourtly barbarian could be expected to maintain. He readily assented to lend the powerful aid of the Franks in upholding the dignity and honor of the Church.

A large army was at once collected and led across the mountains to Pavia, where Astolphus was besieged and brought to his senses. The Lombard king sought earnestly for a peace, but it soon appeared that his earnestness was in direct ratio to his fears. For no sooner had Pepin consented to cease from hostility and withdrawn his army than Astolphus repudiated the compact and threatened, should he again be disturbed, to capture and pillage Rome. But Pepin was a monarch whom threats merely excited to belligerency. He hastily recrossed the mountains and completely broke the power of Astolphus. The exarchate of Ravenna was overrun, and that province, together with the Pentapolis, was given to Pope Stephen. Thus, in the year 755, was laid the foundation of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes of Rome.

Five years later, the chieftain Waifar raised a revolt in Aquitania. The province was declared independent, and the Aquitanians defended themselves with great heroism. For eight years Pepin and his Franks were seriously occupied with the rebellion. Nor did the king succeed in bringing the refractory state to submission until he had procured the removal of Waifar by assassination. Pepin, however, did not long survive this crime. He died in 768, and left the kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Karl, or Charles.

The elder son of the late king of the Franks exercised but a small influence on the destinies of the state. His character was without the element of greatness, and his early death, which occurred only three years after that of his father, cut short any small plans of ambition which he may have entertained. In 771 his younger brother, soon to be known as CHARLEMAGNE, or Charles the Great, became sole sovereign of the kingdom of the Franks, which now embraced the whole of Gaul and the western parts of Germany. But even this widely extended territory was by no means commensurate with the ambition of the young prince who occupied the throne. He soon developed a genius which, alike in war and peace, shone with such extraordinary luster that its brilliancy flashed into the courts of the East.

Charlemagne appears to have been one of those men of whom Guizot has said that to them

“the spectacle of society in a state of anarchy or immobility is revolting and almost unbearable. It occasions them an intellectual shudder as a thing that should not be. They feel an unconquerable desire to change it, to restore order; to introduce something general, regular, and permanent into the world which is placed before them. Tremendous power! often tyrannical, committing a thousand iniquities, a thousand errors; for human weakness accompanies it. Glorious and salutary power, nevertheless, for it gives to humanity by the hand of man a new and powerful impulse.”

In the very beginning of his career the new sovereign of the Franks was confronted with the necessity of a war with the Lombards. The ascendancy attained by his father south of the Alps was about to be lost by the ambitions and intrigues of the Lombard king, Desiderius. The jealousy between the two monarchs was mutual and based upon causes which mediæval kings were very prone to observe. Before his accession Prince Karl had married Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius; but after becoming king—being offended at the conduct of his father-in-law—he sent the queen home to her parents, for whom he took no pains to conceal his contempt. For his part, Desiderius received and protected the nephews of Charlemagne—an act which seemed to discover a purpose of supporting the claims of the family of Carloman. Desiderius also added to his offenses by unfriendly conduct towards the Pope, whose partiality for the Carolingians was notorious. It was not likely that Charlemagne would permit any indignity offered to the Holy Father to pass without adequate punishment. The personal anger of the king was combined with his religious prejudices, and both were excited by the loud call of Pope Adrian I., who besought the Frankish monarch to come to the rescue of the newly established but now imperiled patrimony of Saint Peter.

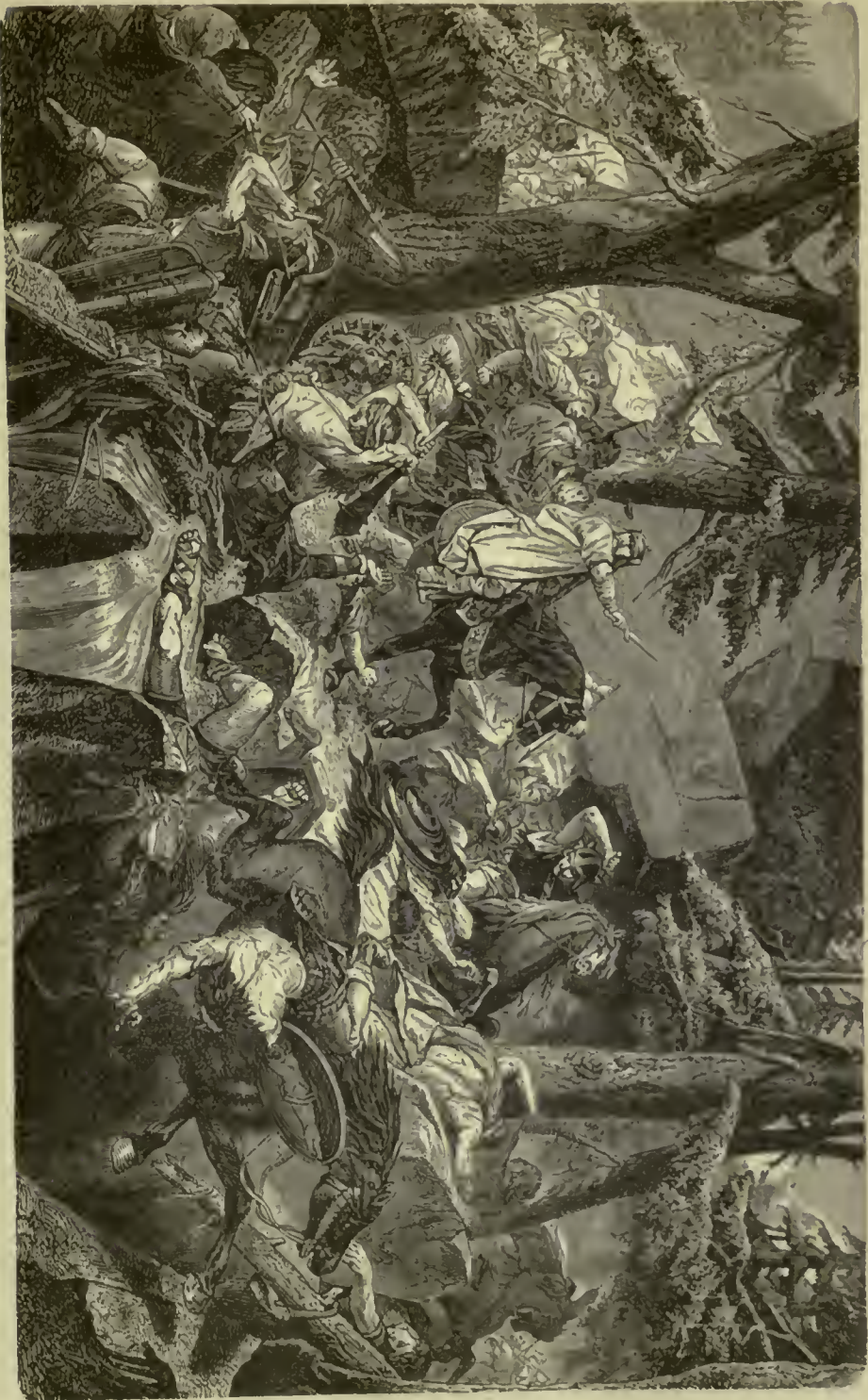
At the first, Charlemagne, preserving the appearance of peace, sent envoys to Desiderius requesting that that monarch should regard the rights of the Pope; but the Lombard refused, and Charlemagne immediately prepared for the invasion of Italy. One army, led by the king in person, crossed the

Alps by way of Mont Cenis, and the other descended upon Lombardy, by way of Saint Bernard. On the other side of the mountains Desiderius made a brave resistance, but was soon obliged to take refuge within the walls of Pavia. Charlemagne at once advanced to the siege. The defense was conducted with obstinate courage. The assaults of the Franks were several times repelled, and the king of the Franks was obliged to sprinkle cool patience on his ardor. Finding that the investment was to continue during the winter, he converted his camp into a royal head-quarters, and built a chapel for the appropriate celebration of the Christmas festivities. He then sent for the Queen Hildegarde, a Suabian princess whom he had married instead of the discarded Desiderata, and with her made the hours of the siege less tedious. Winter wore away and the spring came, and still the Lombards held the city.

Meanwhile Pope Adrian was all anxiety to secure the presence of Charlemagne in Rome. The dream of the nuptials of the Holy See with the great Frankish bridegroom had risen in full splendor upon the vision of the pontiff, and he would fain make it real by a consummation of the ceremony. Charlemagne was induced by the Romish ambassadors to leave the siege of Pavia to his lieutenants and to hasten forward to the city of St. Peter.

On approaching the battlements of the ancient capital, the Frankish sovereign was met by the magistrates and people, who poured forth through the gates to welcome their great champion from beyond the mountains. The children of the schools came in processions, carrying palms and singing hymns of praise. He was cordially welcomed by the Pope, who, with a strange mixture of affection and dignity, heaped honors and distinctions on his guest. He gave to Charlemagne a book containing the canons of the Church from its foundation to the current date, and inscribed upon the title-page a copy of verses containing the following anagram: Pope Adrian to his most excellent son, Charlemagne, the king.

For some time the king of the Franks continued in conference with the Holy Father at Rome. The Pope took all pains during the sojourn of his distinguished guest to impress



CHARLEMAGNE CROSSING THE ALPS.
After the painting by Paul de Larocbe.

his mind as much as possible with the pageant of the Imperial city and the spectacle of the Imperial faith. He urged him to continue his conquests in the name of religion, but dissuaded him from incorporating Lombardy with his own dominions. As soon as the conference was at an end, the king returned to his camp before Pavia, and the siege of the city was presently brought to a successful conclusion.

The capital of Lombardy was surrendered to the Franks. The whole country fell before the conquering arms of the Carlovingian. The various dukes and counts, who had hitherto, after the German fashion, maintained themselves in a state of semi-independence, hastened to make their submission, and resistance was at an end. The only exception was in the case of Aregisius, duke of Beneventum, who for a season held himself in hostility. Desiderius himself was taken prisoner and led into France, where first at Liège and afterwards at Corbie he found leisure to repent of his rashness in lifting his arm against Charles the Great.

It appears that his visit to Rome and the magnificent and holy things there witnessed made a profound impression upon the mind of Charlemagne. It should not be forgotten that this great personage was still in manners and purposes but half emerged from barbarism, and his dispositions were peculiarly susceptible to such influences as the adroit Bishop of Rome was able to bring to bear. The Holy See at this time made the discovery that the presentation of moral truth and obligation to the barbarian imagination was less effective than splendid shows and gilded ceremonies. She therefore adopted pageant instead of moral expostulation, and converted the barbarians with spectacles.

After tarrying at Rome until the spring of 774, Charlemagne returned to France. Having satisfactorily regulated the affairs of Italy, he now conceived the plan of extending the empire of religion in the opposite directions of Saxony and Spain. In furtherance of this purpose he convened at Paderborn, in the year 777, a general assembly of his people, and there the scheme of conquest was matured. The German chiefs had generally obeyed his summons and were present at the assembly, but

Wittikind, king of the Saxons, was conspicuous by absence.¹

Charlemagne had already had occasion to note the obstinacy of the Saxon people. Of all the barbarians these were most sullen in their refusal to accept the doctrine and practice of Christianity. As early as 772 the king of the Franks had felt constrained to make war on the tribes dwelling north of the Elbe. He invaded Saxony, wasted the country with fire and sword, captured the fortress of Ehresburg, and overthrew the great idol whom the pagans called *Irmisul*.² These offenses, however, rather excited than allayed the belligerent spirit of the Saxons, who henceforth lost no opportunity to repay the Christian Franks for the injuries which they had inflicted. The border of the Elbe became a scene of constant depredation, inroad, and destruction of villages and towns. The fierce Saxons stayed not their hands wherever they could find the hamlets of their recreant countrymen, who had betrayed the faith of their pagan fathers.

Such were the antecedents of the contest which Charlemagne was now about to undertake with the barbarians of the North. The subjugation of Saxony became indispensable to the peace and safety of the kingdom, and it was manifest that no conquest could be effectual which did not include the substitution of Christianity for paganism. The Saxons fought not only for national independence, but for the whole myth and tradition of the German race. The Franks, on the other hand, entered the conflict under the full in-

¹ It was at this assembly of the Saxon chiefs that Charlemagne gave his refractory subjects their option of baptism or the sword. The impenitent barbarians, yielding in action but obdurate in mind, were compelled to kneel down at the bank of a stream while the priests who accompanied Charlemagne's army poured water upon their heads and pronounced the baptismal ritual. The king soon had cause to learn the inefficiency of such a conversion from paganism.

² It appears that the effigy called *Irmisul* (German, *Herrmann-Säule*, or Herrmann's Pillar) was so named in honor of the great hero Arminius, who, by the destruction of the legions of Varus (see Vol. I., p. 830), had made Imperial Rome tremble for her safety. On this great feat of the German arms Saxon patriotism had reared a pagan superstition.

fluence of a new-born religious zeal not unlike that which had fired the Saracens in the conquests of Islam. In courage and indomitable will the combatants were not unlike, being of the same blood and proclivities. The struggle was destined to continue with varying vicissi-



CHARLEMAGNE INFLECTING BAPTISM UPON THE SAXONS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

tudes for more than a quarter of a century, and to end with the triumph of the Franks.

In beginning the war Charlemagne adopted the policy of military occupation. Wherever he made a conquest he built a fortress and left a garrison. By the side of every castle rose a church, and at the right hand of every Frankish chieftain stood a priest. But victory under such circumstances and over such a foe could not insure permanency. As soon as the march was resumed into another district the pagans rose as if from the earth behind the conqueror. They stormed his castles, burned the churches, slaughtered the garrisons, and sacrificed the priests and missionaries to the gods of the North.

In the midst of these bloody scenes the priest was more audacious than the soldier. The missionaries in the very face of death made their way into the Saxon woods and preached the gospel to the barbarians. It was, however, a gospel of the sword rather than of peace. A certain priest, named Saint Liebwin, made his way to the banks of the Weser, and warned the general assembly of the Saxons to make peace with the powerful prince, who, as the captain of heaven's army, was about to fall upon them. "The idols ye worship," said the priest, "live not, neither do they perceive: they are the work of men's hands; they can do naught either for themselves or for others. Wherefore the one God, good and just, having compassion on your errors, hath sent me unto you. If ye put not away your iniquity I foretell unto you a trouble that ye do not expect, and that the King of Heaven hath ordained aforetime; there shall come a prince, strong and wise and indefatigable, not from afar, but from nigh at hand, to fall upon you like a torrent, in order to soften your hard hearts and bow down your proud heads. At one rush he shall invade the country; he shall lay at waste with fire and sword and carry away your wives and children into captivity."

So great a rage followed this denunciatory prophecy that many rushed into the forest and began to cut sticks on which to impale the priest alive; but a certain prince, Buto, appealed to the assembly of chiefs to respect the sacred rights of embassy. So Liebwin escaped with his life.

The Saxon nation at this time consisted of three or four different populations. These were the Eastphalians, the Westphalians, the Angrians, and the North-Albingians—though the latter were sometimes classified as a distinct people. Each of these principal nations was subdivided into many tribes, each with its own chieftain and local institutions. Charlemagne was thoroughly familiar with this German constitution of society, and well understood how to avail himself of the feuds and jealousies of the Saxon people. He adopted the plan of making war upon each tribe separately, and of preventing, as far as possible, any cohesion of the nation as a whole. If a given chieftain could be induced to submit and to accept Christianity, the king would treat with him separately and make peace on terms favorable to the tribe; and if others offered a stubborn resistance, they were punished with more than the usual severity. In a general way, however, the Saxons made common cause against the invader, and in doing so they found a leader worthy of the German name.

WITTIKIND, son of Wernekind, king of the Saxons north of the Elbe, appeared as the national hero. Besides his own hereditary rights and abilities as a chieftain, his relation with the surrounding states was such as to make him a formidable foe. He had married the sister of Siegfried, king of the Danes, and was in close alliance with Ratbod, king of the Frisians. He it was who now, in the year 777, refused to attend the assembly of chiefs called by Charlemagne at Paderborn; and by his refusal gave notice of his open hostility to the king of the Franks.

The previous disturbances of his country had made it necessary for Wittikind to find refuge with his brother-in-law, the king of the Danes. From this vantage-ground, however, he directed the council of the Saxon chiefs and encouraged them to a renewal of their rebellion. Following his advice, the people again rushed to arms, and the Franks recoiled from the fury of their assaults. In 778 the barbarian army advanced to the Rhine, and destroyed nearly all the towns and villages on the right bank of that river from Cologne to the mouth of the Moselle. No age, sex, or condition was spared by the

bloody swords of the enraged pagans. The Frankish forces met the insurgent barbarians on the Rhenish frontier, and for three years

The revolted tribes fell back from the Rhine and were driven to submission. Many of the chiefs sought peace, and accepted reconcilia-



CUTTING DOWN A SACRED OAK OF THE SAXONS.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

the struggle with them continued almost without cessation.

Gradually, however, the superior discipline and equipment of the Franks triumphed over the obstinacy of their enemy.

VOL. II.—11

tion with the king on condition of professing the Christian faith and receiving baptism. Wittikind returned into Denmark; but the politic Siegfried was now anxious for peace, and the Saxon king was obliged for a season

to make his head-quarters among the Northmen. Within a year, however, he again crossed into Saxony and incited his countrymen to another revolt. In 782 Charlemagne's armies were twice defeated on the banks of the Weser, and the king himself was obliged to take the field. Unable to meet his great enemy, Wittikind again fled to the Northmen, and the brunt of the king's hostility fell upon those who had participated in the revolt. Four thousand five hundred of the Saxons were brought together at Werden, on the river Aller, and were all beheaded by the orders of Charlemagne. Having thus soaked the river banks in blood, the king retired into France and made his winter quarters at Thionville.¹

The terrible vengeance taken by the king of the Franks was by no means sufficient to terrify the now desperate Saxons. On the contrary, their anger and determination rose to a greater height than ever. During the winter of 782-83 the tribes again revolted, and held out against the most persistent efforts of Charlemagne till 785. In the latter year the king's victories were more decisive, and it seemed that the pagans must finally submit. The king took up his residence at the castle of Ehresburg, and from that stronghold sent out one expedition after another to overawe the rebellious tribes.

Charlemagne had now learned what the barbaric despair of the pagan Saxons was able to do in war. Nor did he lack that kingly prudence upon which the desire for personal vengeance was made to wait in patience. He adopted diplomacy where force had failed. He sent across the Elbe a distinguished embassy to the place where Wittikind had his camp, and invited that austere warrior and his friend, the chieftain Abbio, to come to him under protection and to confer on the interests of Saxony. At first the great

barbarian feared to trust himself to the good faith of his foeman, but was finally induced to accept the invitation. He accordingly presented himself to the king at the palace of Attigny, and so considerate was the reception extended by Charlemagne, and so favorable the proffered conditions of peace, that Wittikind was induced to accept them for himself and his countrymen. He accordingly professed the Christian faith and underwent the rite of baptism. He received at the hands of Charlemagne a full amnesty and the title of Duke of Saxony, though the sovereignty was thenceforth to be lodged with the king of the Franks.

Wittikind ever faithfully observed the conditions to which he had pledged his honor. So exemplary was his life, so tractable his disposition under the teaching of the priests, that some of the old chroniclers added his name to the calendar of the saints. In the year 807 he was killed in a battle with Gerold, duke of Suabia, and the tomb of the old Saxon hero is still to be seen at Ratisbonne. Nor is the tradition wanting that the great House of Capet, destined, after two centuries, to supplant the Carlovingian dynasty on the throne of France, had Wittikind for its ancestor; for the legend runs that he was the father of Robert the Strong, great-grandfather of Hugh Capet.

But the pacification of Saxony was not completed by the action of Wittikind. The old spirit of paganism was not to be extinguished by a single act. Through a series of years insurrections broke out here and there, and were suppressed with not a little difficulty and bloodshed. In some instances the king found it necessary to remove whole tribes to other territories, and to fill their places with Christian, or at least Frankish, colonists. Nevertheless it was not doubtful after the surrender of Wittikind, that the conquest of Saxony was virtually accomplished, and Charlemagne might with propriety consider the country beyond the Elbe as an integral part of his growing empire.

The task of Charlemagne on the German side of Gaul was by no means completed. Many of the populations which had already been subdued continued in a state of turbulence, and the utmost vigilance of the king

¹History has her pictures and contrasts. It was on this same river Weser that Charlemagne, on a previous occasion, had gathered an entire tribe of the barbarians for wholesale baptism. The program was unique, the ceremony expeditious. The Church militant stood on the shore; a priest lifted up the cross, and the ministrants poured water on the penitent Saxons as they waded across the river. On this occasion Charlemagne tried a baptism of blood.

was necessary to keep them in tolerable subordination to authority. The Frisians had to be reduced by force of arms, and only then consented to a sullen peace. On the distant horizon of the north and east lay the still more savage peoples—the Avars, the Huns, the Slavonians, the Bulgarians, and the Danes—all bearing down from their several quarters of the compass upon the frontiers of the Frankish empire. Nothing less than the most strenuous activity and warlike genius of

successful warfare with the savage races who came upon him from the north and east, and to give them a permanent check. Viewed with respect to the general destinies of his age, the king of the Franks may properly be called the Stayer of Barbarism.

In the year 781 Charlemagne found a conspicuous occasion on which again to recognize and honor the majesty of the Pope. Four years previously Queen Hildegarde had brought to her lord a royal son, who re-



BAPTISM OF BARBARIANS IN THE WESER.

Charlemagne was requisite to hurl back the barbarian races to their own dominions, and to keep a solid front on the side of barbarism.

The monarch proved equal to every emergency. In his contests with the more distant nations he had the advantage of a Germanic barrier between himself and the foe. Before a barbarian army could inflict a wound on any vital part of the dominion it must traverse Saxony or some other frontier state which the king had established as a break-water between himself and the wild ocean beyond. He thus was enabled to carry on

ceived the name of Pepin, and who was now presented to Pope Adrian for baptism. The rite was administered to the Carlovingian scion, and he was anointed by the Holy Father as King of Italy—this title being conferred out of deference to the Pope's advice that Lombardy should not be incorporated with the kingdom of the Franks.

Meanwhile, on the south-west, events had taken place of but little less importance than those which were happening on the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Weser. The forty years following the battle of Poitiers had witnessed

but few disturbances along the Spanish frontier of Gaul. The Christians and Mohammedans coming to a better understanding, and having a tolerable regard for each other's rights, had maintained a fair degree of peace. With the accession of Charlemagne, however, the ambitions of the Franks and the jealousies of the Saracens had in a measure revived. The one, perhaps, cherished the dream of an early expulsion of the Mohammedans from Europe, and the other looked with ill-concealed enmity at the rapid progress and overwhelming influence of the barbarian Emperor on the other side of the Pyrenees. Nor might it well be forgotten or forgiven that he was the grandson of that other Charles, at whose hands the great Abdalrahman had met his fate.

Mixed with these general motives was a specific act of treason. Among those who in 777 had convened at the assembly of Paderborn was a certain Ibn al Arabi, the Saracen governor of Saragossa. Having a difficulty with the Caliph, he sought the aid of the Christian Franks, and would fain make common cause with them against the Mohammedans. For this reason came he to the assembly called by Charlemagne.

The king of the Franks was quick to seize the opportunity thus afforded of extending his dominions on the side of Spain. Though still embarrassed with his German wars, he gladly accepted the invitation of Ibn al Arabi to become his champion and avenger.

In the spring of 787 the Frankish sovereign, having divided his army into two parts, as in the Italian campaign, set out on the Spanish expedition. One division of his troops, under command of Duke Bernard, was directed to seek the eastern passes of the Pyrenees, and traverse the peninsula by way of Gerona and Barcelona to Saragossa. The other division, led by Charlemagne in person, was to pass to the west, enter Spain by the valley of Roncesvalles, and march by way of Pampeluna to the place of meeting before the walls of Saragossa. In carrying out his own part of the campaign, Charlemagne traversed the provinces of Aquitaine and Vasconia, at this time ruled by Duke Lupus II., son of that Duke Waifar who will be recalled as a formidable antagonist of Pepin the Short.

The reigning prince was descended from the Merovingians, and could neither by blood kinship or political inclination be expected to favor the cause of the Carolingian conqueror. The latter, however, soothed Duke Lupus, and by generous treatment secured from him an oath of fealty. But the event soon showed that the pledge was given with the mental reservation to break it as soon as circumstances might seem to warrant the act of perfidy.

After this brief but necessary detention Charlemagne hurried forward to prosecute his work in Spain. Passing through the valley of Roncesvalles, he arrived before Pampeluna, and received the surrender of that city; for the Arab governor deemed himself ill able to make a successful defense against the Franks. The king then pressed forward to Saragossa, where he expected to receive a similar surrender at the hands of his friend Ibn al Arabi. But as has so many times occurred in the history of the world, the recreant governor had promised more than he could fulfill. It was one thing to agree and another to deliver. For, in the mean time, the old Arab spirit was thoroughly aroused from its dream of peace. The local quarrels of these ambitious towns of the Western Caliphate were suddenly hushed in the presence of the common danger. The Saracens rushed forward to the succor of Saragossa, and Charlemagne found that he must take by a serious siege—should he be able to take at all—the prize which the officious Arabi was to have delivered with such facility.

In a short time there was a greater scarcity of provisions outside than inside the walls. The besiegers were constantly beset by new bodies of troops arriving from various parts of the peninsula. Diseases broke out in the camp of the Franks, and they found themselves more endangered by the invisible plagues of the air than by the swords of the Saracens. At the same time intelligence came that the Saxons on the opposite side of the kingdom had again risen in arms, and were threatening to undo the entire work of conquest on the north-east. It was, therefore, fortunate for Charlemagne that at this juncture the Arabs sought to open negotiations. The king gladly accepted their offer of a large ransom

to be paid in gold and guaranteed by hostages in lieu of the besieged city. Such an offer gave him a good excuse for the abandonment of an enterprise which would soon have had to be given up without even a show of success.

As soon, therefore, as a settlement had been effected with the authorities of Saragossa, Charlemagne began a retreat out of Spain. On arriving at Pampeluna, he ordered the walls of the city to be leveled with the ground, in order that any future

lives in the engagement. Eginhard, master of the king's household; Anselm, count of the palace; and the chivalric Roland, prefect of Brittany, and greatest knight of his times, were among the slain. Nor was Charlemagne in any condition to turn upon the mountain guerrillas who had thus afflicted his army. He was obliged to continue his march and leave the Basques to the full enjoyment of their victory.¹

Though Charlemagne was not able to pun-



THE BATTLE IN THE VALLEY OF RONCESVALLES.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

revolt of the people might be attended with greater hazard. The king's army then reëntered the passes of Roncesvalles, and had partly escaped through the defiles when the Basques, having taken possession of the heights, began to hurl down upon the soldiers in the pass huge masses of stone. The discomfiture of those who constituted the rear-guard of the army was complete. Very few of the Franks escaped from their dangerous situation. The Basques fell upon the baggage-train and captured a great amount of booty. Several of Charlemagne's captains lost their

ish the mountaineers of Vasconia for their perfidy in the affair of Roncesvalles, he failed not to take vengeance upon the people of Aquitaine. Duke Lupus, who was thought to have had a hand in the insurrection, was

¹The defeat of the Franks in the passes of Roncesvalles gave rise to a cycle of heroic legends, some of which are still popular in the south of France. *The Song of Roland*, reciting the exploits and tragic death of that hero, became a favorite with his countrymen, and was chanted by the soldiers as an inspiration to victory. The men of William the Conqueror sang the hymn as they marched to the battle of Hastings.

seized and hanged. The lives of his two sons were spared only on condition of vassalage. But while Aquitaine was thus reduced to a dependency, the politic king took pains that the province should still be left sufficiently free to constitute a bulwark against the Arabs. The national vanity of the Aquitanians was flattered with the rule of a native duke, but the real purpose of such a concession was the making of a defense against the Andalusian Arabs.

During his absence on the Spanish campaign Queen Hildegarde added another son to the royal household. The child received the name of Louis, and was afterwards known as the Debonair. In 781 the child, then three years of age, was taken with his brother Pepin to Rome, and was anointed by the Pope as King of Aquitaine. Within less than a year he was taken by the courtiers to his own province. In order that the farce might be as imposing as possible the child was clad in armor, mounted on a horse, and conducted by his councilors to the royal seat of government. The administration of the affairs of Aquitania was henceforth conducted in Louis's name, though the real authority proceeded from the court of Charlemagne.

One of the leading principles in the policy of the king of France was the establishment of a secure frontier around his empire. In this work he was measurably successful. From

the eastern borders of the Frankish dominions the Huns and Slavonians were driven back against the borders of the Empire of the East. The Saracens were confined to Spain and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. On all sides a boundary was so well established as to secure comparative exemption from foreign invasion. In the mean time the king had found it desirable to transfer the seat of government to his new capital of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was favorably situated on the side of the kingdom next the German peoples. At this place the court of the monarch became the most important, if not the most splendid, in all Christendom. Hither came embassies bearing presents from the great potentates of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Neither the emperors of the East nor the Caliphs of Baghdad failed to respect in this way their fellow sovereign of the West. So great had been his activity and so signal his success, both in war and in peace, that by the close of the eighth century Charlemagne had taken and held a rank among the greatest monarchs of the age.¹

In the year 799 intelligence was brought to Aix-la-chapelle of serious and most disgraceful riots at Rome. It was said that a band of conspirators had been organized, that Pope Leo III. had been attacked, that his eyes and his tongue had been cut out, and himself shut up in the castle of Saint Erasmus. The intention of the Holy Father, thus

¹ As illustrative of the prodigious military activity of Charlemagne the following table of his *fifty-three* campaigns is here appended.

SYNOPSIS OF THE FIFTY-THREE CAMPAIGNS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

No.	Date.	AGAINST WHAT ENEMY.	HOW CONDUCTED.	No.	Date.	AGAINST WHAT ENEMY.	HOW CONDUCTED.
1	769	The Aquitanians.....	Charlemagne at Dordogne.	28	796	The Arabs.....	Conducted by King Pepin.
2	772	The Saxons.....	Advances beyond the Weser.	29	797	The Saxons.....	On the Lower Elbe and Weser.
3	773	The Lombards.....	Crosses Alps to Pavia and Verona.	30	797	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
4	774	The Same.....	Takes Pavia; goes to Rome.	31	798	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Elbe.
5	774	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Weser.	32	801	The Lombards.....	Conducted by his son Pepin.
6	775	The Same.....	"	33	801	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
7	776	The Lombards.....	Reaches Treviso.	34	802	The Saxons.....	Conducted by his sons.
8	776	The Saxons.....	At the sources of the Lippe.	35	804	The Same.....	Between the Elbe and the Oder.
9	778	The Arabs of Spain.	In person at Saragossa.	36	805	The Slavonians.....	Conducted by his son Charles.
10	778	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Weser.	37	806	The Same.....	" " "
11	779	The Same.....	In the country of Osnabruck.	38	806	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his son Pepin.
12	780	The Same.....	On the Elbe.	39	806	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his son Louis.
13	783	The Same.....	At confluence of Weser and Aller.	40	807	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his generals.
14	783	The Same.....	On the Elbe.	41	807	The Arabs of Spain.	" " "
15	784	The Same.....	On the Sale and the Elbe.	42	808	Danes and Normans.	" " "
16	785	The Same.....	On the Elbe.	43	809	Dalmatian Greeks...	Conducted by his son Pepin.
17	785	The Thuringians.....	Conducted by his generals.	44	809	The Arabs of Spain.	Conducted by his generals.
18	786	The Bretons.....	" " "	45	810	Dalmatian Greeks...	Conducted by his son Pepin.
19	787	The Lombards.....	In person at Capua.	46	810	Saracens of Corsica.	Conducted by his generals.
20	787	The Bavarians.....	Goes to Augsburg.	47	810	The Danes.....	In person on the Weser.
21	788	The Huns or Avars.....	Goes to Ratisbon.	48	811	The Same.....	" " "
22	789	The Slavonians.....	On Lower Elbe and the Oder.	49	811	The Avars.....	By his generals.
23	791	The Huns or Avars.....	Confluence of Danube and Raab.	50	811	The Bretons.....	In person.
24	794	The Saxons.....	Beyond the Elbe and the Weser.	51	812	The Slavonians.....	On the Elbe and the Oder.
25	795	The Same.....	" " "	52	812	Saracens of Corsica.	By his generals.
26	796	The Same.....	" " "	53	813	The Same.....	By his generals.
27	796	The Huns or Avars.....	Conducted by King Louis.				

brutally treated, was announced to appeal to the king of the Franks as the defender of the insulted Church. In a short time his Holiness came in person to Paderborn, and poured out his grievances in the ready ear of Charlemagne. Nor was it doubtful that the latter would uphold the cause of the Pope with all the resources at his command. Having tarried for a brief season in the Frankish dominions, Leo returned to Rome.

the sanctuary of the apostle. Some time was spent in examining the charges made by and against the Pope. Two monks, sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem, brought to the great Carlovingian the blessing of their master and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Finally, on Christmas day, when the king came into the basilica to attend the celebration of mass, even as he was bowing down to offer prayer, Pope Leo placed upon his head the golden



DEATH OF ROLAND.

The first months of the year 800 were spent by the king in the usual affairs of government; but in midsummer he announced to the national assembly his purpose of making another visit to Italy. The journey was undertaken in the autumn, and late in November the king arrived before the walls of Rome. The Pope came forth and received him with every mark of obsequious favor. He was led into the city and given a reception on the steps of the basilica of Saint Peter, from which place, followed by the shouts of the multitude, he was taken into

the crown of the Empire, while the people shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" Charles assumed to be astonished at the crowning and the proclamation. He even declared that, had he known of what was intended, he would not have entered the church, even to attend the Christmas festivities. But his faculties were not sufficiently confused or his humility sufficiently shocked to prevent him from paying adoration to the Pope, according to the old-time method at the coronation of the em-

perors. Nor did he fail thereafter to relinquish his title of Patrician of Rome, and to assume that of Emperor and Augustus. It can not reasonably be doubted that the whole tableau and ceremony had been arranged by Leo and Charlemagne on the occasion of the recent visit of the former to France.

It was now clear that a principal element in the mutual admiration of the Holy See and the king of the Franks was the project to restore the Empire of the West. The scheme met with a favorable reception, especially in Italy, where the Popes and Bishops became conspicuously obsequious to their great ally and supporter north of the Alps. It remained for the Emperors of the East to exhibit their jealousy over an event which they were impotent to hinder. But Charlemagne could well afford to veil under a kingly suavity and prudent ambiguity his contempt for the imbecile rulers of Constantinople. His communications with the eastern emperors were accordingly couched in polite and conciliatory language, such as might well turn aside their enmity or even provoke their admiration. By such means he avoided any open rupture with the effete political power which from the palace of Constantinople still claimed to be the Empire of the Cæsars.

In the internal affairs of his government, no less than in his foreign wars, Charlemagne exhibited a genius of the highest order. By the close of the eighth century, his conquests had made him master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Ebro, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the northern parts of Italy and Spain were included in his dominions. At his accession to power the diverse hostile tribes inhabiting these wide domains were but half emerged from barbarism. The Emperor of the Franks imposed upon himself the herculean task of civilizing these perturbed nations, and of giving to them the advantages of a regular government.

It was impossible in the nature of things that even the masterful spirit of Charlemagne should succeed at once in giving order and rest to the barbaric society of Western Europe. The genius of confusion still struggled with the spirit of cosmos, and the evolution of regular forms was slow and painful. The

administration was one of adaptation and expedients. Whatever the Emperor found to be practically available in carrying out his mandates, that he retained as a part of his administrative system. Whatever failed was rejected. The king struggled like a Titan with the elements of disorder around him. Whenever the superhuman energies of his will were manifested, there peace and quiet reigned for a season. But no sooner would the imperial presence be turned to some other quarter of the kingdom than the old violence would reassert itself, and the reign of chaos would begin anew.

The efforts of the Emperor to form his subjects into a single nation and government were beset with special difficulties. The people of his empire spoke many languages. Their institutions were dissimilar; their progress and civilization variable. In some of the states the authority was in the hands of assemblies of freemen; in others, military chieftains held the chief authority. No fewer than four class distinctions were recognized in society. First, there were the *Freemen*; that is, those who, acknowledging no superior or patron, held their lands and life as if by their own inherent right. The second class was composed of those who were known as *Luedes*, *Fideles*, *Antrustions*, etc.; that is, those who were connected with a superior, to whom they owed fealty as to a chief or lord, and from whom they accepted and held their lands. Third, *Freedmen*; that is, those who had, for some signal act of service or as an act of favor, been raised from serfdom to a condition of dependence upon some leader or chief to whom they attached themselves in war, and near whom they resided in peace. Fourth, *Slaves*; that is, those who, being the original occupants of the soil, had been reduced to bondage on the conquest of the country, or those who, taken captive in war, were converted by the captors into serfs.

But these classes were by no means fixed. Many of the people sank from a higher to a lower level; some rose from a lower to a higher. Weak Freemen would attach themselves to some distinguished leader and become his vassals. Ambitious Antrustions—even Slaves—would not only achieve their emancipation, but would themselves conquer

estates and become independent. It was with this vast, inorganic, and shifting mass that Charlemagne had to deal, and it was out of this heterogeneous material that he labored to create a great and stable state.

The Frankish Emperor was by no means a theorist. However anxious he may have been to see a regular system of authority established over the peoples whom he ruled, he was preëminently willing to be taught by circumstances. However eager he was to govern by reason and law, he none the less retained the sanction of force as the means of preserving order. In an epoch of transition, while the winds of barbarism blew from all quarters of the compass and met in his capital, he opposed to their fury the barrier of his will, saying, "Thus far, but no farther." He was thus enabled, by personal energy, sternness of decision, and inveterate activity, to build up in a boisterous age the fabric of a colossal monarchy, well worthy to rival the Empire of the Cæsars. In all his methods and work there were, of course, the inherent vices of absolute power; but the system established by Charlemagne was the best that the times would bear or the people were able to receive.

If we look more closely into the nature of the Imperial administration, we shall find first of all the central government established at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the Emperor reigned; here held his court; here summoned his ministers to council. Beside those dignitaries who were immediately associated with him in the government, by whom he dispensed his authority, and upon whose judgment he relied somewhat in conducting the affairs of state, the general assemblies, composed of the chief men from all parts of the kingdom, constituted a notable feature of the political system. According to the judgment of modern historians, indeed, the national councils of Charlemagne were the distinguishing characteristic of his reign. No fewer than thirty-five of these great assemblies were convened by royal authority. Sometimes one city and sometimes another was named as the place of the council. Worms, Valenciennes, Geneva, Paderborn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Thionville were in turn selected as the seat of the assemblies. Many of the dukes and counts answered the edict of the king with great reluctance; but

the Emperor's overwhelming influence was generally sufficient to secure a large attendance. The meetings, when convened, were in the nature of congresses, in which measures were proposed and debated after the manner of more recent times. It was the wish of Charlemagne to make his chiefs and nobles participants in the government, and to concede to them such freedom of expression as might at least enable him to apprehend the wishes of the people.

In regard, however, to the measures discussed by the assemblies, the right of proposing the same was reserved by the king. It does not appear that at any time the initiative of legislative action might be taken by the assembly itself. Every thing waited on the pleasure of the sovereign, who wrote out and laid before his congress the subject matter to be debated. The assembly which convened in the early spring was called the March-parade; and the principal convention of the year, which was appointed for the first of May, was known as the May-parade. In the interval between one meeting and the next Charlemagne was wont to note down such matters as he deemed it prudent to lay before the assembly, and it not infrequently happened in times of emergency that special sessions were convened to consider the needs of the state. Modern times are greatly indebted to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who flourished near the close of the ninth century, for a full and satisfactory sketch of the great Frankish assemblies and of the business therein transacted. Both the subject-matter and the style of this venerable chronicler may justify the quotation of a few paragraphs from his work. He says:

"It was the custom at this time to hold two assemblies every year. In both, that they might not seem to have been convoked without motive, there were submitted to the examination and deliberation of the *grandees* . . . and by virtue of orders from the king, the fragments of law called *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up under the inspiration of God or the necessity for which had been made manifest to him in the intervals between the meetings."

The next paragraph from Hincmar shows conclusively that not only the initiative but also the definitive or final act in legislation

rested with the Emperor. The chronicler continues:

“After having received these communications, they [the counselors] deliberated on them two or three days or more, according to the importance of the business. Palace messengers, going and coming, took their questions and carried back the answers. No stranger came near the place of their meeting until the result of their deliberations had been able to be submitted to the scrutiny of the great prince, who then, with the wisdom he had received from God, adopted a resolution, which all obeyed.”

The talkative archbishop thus further describes the workings of the Imperial government:

“Things went on thus for one or two capitularies, or a greater number, until, with God’s help, all the necessities of the occasion were regulated.

“Whilst these matters were thus proceeding out of the king’s presence, the prince himself, in the midst of the multitude, came to the general assembly, was occupied in receiving the presents, saluting the men of most note, conversing with those he saw seldom, showing towards the elders a tender interest, disputing himself with the youngsters, and doing the same thing, or something like it, with the ecclesiastics as well as the seculars. However, if those who were deliberating about the matter submitted to their examination showed a desire for it, the king repaired to them and remained with them as long as they wished; and then they reported to him with perfect familiarity what they thought about all matters, and what were the friendly discussions that had arisen amongst them. I must not forget to say that, if the weather were fine, every thing took place in the open air; otherwise, in several distinct buildings, where these who had to deliberate on the king’s proposals were separated from the multitude of persons come to the assembly, and then the men of greater note were admitted. The places appointed for the meeting of the lords were divided into two parts, in such sort that the bishops, the abbots, and the clerics of high rank might meet without mixture with the laity. In the same way the counts and other chiefs of the state underwent separa-

tion, in the morning, until, whether the king was present or absent, all were gathered together; then the lords above specified, the clerics on their side and the laics on theirs, repaired to the hall which had been assigned to them, and where seats had been with due honor prepared for them. When the lords laical and ecclesiastical were thus separated from the multitude, it remained in their power to sit separately or together, according to the nature of the business they had to deal with, ecclesiastical, secular, or mixed. In the same way, if they wished to send for any one, either to demand refreshment, or to put any question, and to dismiss him after getting what they wanted, it was at their option. Thus took place the examination of affairs proposed to them by the king for deliberation.

“The second business of the king was to ask of each what there was to report to him or enlighten him touching the part of the kingdom each had come from. Not only was this permitted to all, but they were strictly enjoined to make inquiries, during the interval between the assemblies, about what happened within or without the kingdom; and they were bound to seek knowledge from foreigners as well as natives, enemies as well as friends, sometimes by employing emissaries, and without troubling themselves much about the manner in which they acquired their information. The king wished to know whether in any part, in any corner, of the kingdom, the people were restless, and what was the cause of their restlessness; or whether there had happened any disturbances to which it was necessary to draw the attention of the council-general, and other similar matters. He sought also to know whether any of the subjugated nations were inclined to revolt; whether any of those that had revolted seemed disposed towards submission; and whether those that were still independent were threatening the kingdom with any attack. On all these subjects, whenever there was any manifestation of disorder or danger, he demanded chiefly what were the motives or occasion of them.”

In this description it is easy to discover the real preponderance of Charlemagne himself in all the affairs of the Frankish kingdom. The assemblies were convened by his edict. He

initiates the law and completes it. He is advised, but decides the matter according to his own preference. He consults with his dukes and counts, not to derive authority from them—for that he already has—but to obtain information of the real condition of the empire, to the end that he may adjust the clumsy machinery of state to the work to be accomplished. Nor is it proper to suppose that any true public liberty was couched in the national assemblies. They were not a vehicle for the maintenance of popular rights, but for the transmission of royal authority. They were the means which the greatest sovereign of the age adopted for the purpose of reforming society by the introduction of regularity and law in the place of caprice and violence. The government of Charlemagne was absolute, but salutary.

Turning from the general to the local administration of affairs, and passing from the capital into the provinces, we are able to discover the scheme of the Frankish Emperor in practical application. To secure obedience and unity, he recognized in the provincial governments two classes of agents, the one local, the other general; the one native and to the manner born, the other appointed by the king as his resident representatives. In the first class may be enumerated the dukes, counts, vicars, sheriffs, and magistrates—the natural lords and leaders of the political society of the provinces. These were employed by the Emperor as his agents in dispensing authority. Nor did he omit any reasonable means to secure their fidelity and coöperation in maintaining the order and unity of the kingdom. In the second class were included those beneficiaries and vassals of the Emperor who held their lands and properties directly from him, and were therefore more immediately dependent upon him than were the native provincial dukes and counts. Politically, the royal vassals were the agents of the government. Their interest, to say nothing of loyalty, inclined them to the support of the throne, and they thus constituted a powerful influence to counteract or suppress local rebellions.¹

¹The relations of the native dukes and the royal beneficiaries in the administrative system of Charlemagne were not dissimilar to those of State

A third class of officers, over and above the former two, were the royal messengers, called the *Missi Regii*, whom the Emperor appointed to travel into every part of his dominions, to find out and punish wrong-doing, to superintend the administration of justice, and especially to inform the sovereign of the actual condition of affairs throughout the empire. The office of these important agents was not only informatory, but administrative. They stood wherever they went for the king in person. They exercised authority in his name, and in general their acts required no confirmation from the royal court.

There was thus extemporized, so to speak, out of the crude materials of Frankish political society, and by the genius of an extraordinary man, a huge monarchy, rude but powerful—a government of adaptation and expedients, rather than a government of constitutional form. The motive of Charlemagne was single. He desired to introduce order into human society, to restore in some measure the symmetry of that social constitution which he saw dimly through the shadows of the past. He thus became a reformer of the heroic type, and laid about him with an energy and persistency that would have been creditable in any, even the greatest, characters of history.

The personal character of the Frankish sovereign may well be illustrated from the memoranda which he left behind him of *Capitularies*, or statutes either actually adopted by the national assemblies or intended to be discussed by those august bodies. In these notes and suggestions of laws we find a strange intermixture of ethics, religion, and politics. Sometimes the royal note-book contains a principle like this: "Covetousness doth consist in desiring that which others possess, and in giving away naught of that which one's self possesseth; according to the Apostle it is the root of all evil." Again the king says briefly: "Hospitality must be practiced." Soon afterwards, however, he adds: "If mendicants be met with, and they labor not with

and Federal officers in the government of the United States. The local counts and sheriffs represented the State system under our American constitution, while the royal vassals stood in the relation of Federal appointees.

their hands, let none take thought about giving unto them." Much of the Emperor's thought seems to have been given to economic questions, and it is instructive to see this great mind considering various projects for putting a fixed price on provisions. He was jealous of the justice of his administration and the reputation of his court. The royal headquarters were not to be made an asylum for criminals: "We do will and decree that none of those who serve in our palace shall take leave to receive therein any man who seeketh refuge there and cometh to hide there by reason of theft, homicide, adultery, or any other crime. That if any free man do break through our interdicts, and hide such malefactor in our palace, he shall be bound to carry him on his shoulders to the public quarter, and be there tied to the same stake as the malefactor."

It was in the latter rather than in the earlier part of his reign that Charlemagne became conspicuous as a legislator. Of the sixty-five statutes attributed to him, only thirteen are referable to that part of his reign before his coronation at Rome. The remaining fifty-two are all included between the years 801 and 814. We are thus afforded another example of a military leader who, having conquered a peace with the sword, was anxious to preserve by law what had been so hardly achieved.

Any sketch of the life and times of Charlemagne would be incomplete if notice were omitted therefrom of his attitude towards learning. Instead of that jealousy which so many of his predecessors and contemporaries manifested towards scholars and philosophers—instead of that contempt which the small rulers of the human race have ever shown for the big-brained, radical thinkers of the passing age—the great Carolingian took special pains to seek the acquaintance and cultivate the esteem of the learned. Upon scholars and teachers he looked with the greatest favor. He invited them to his court. He made them his counselors. He sought their advice in the gravest emergencies. He bestowed favors upon them, and made no concealment of his wish to be indebted to them for a knowledge of letters and the arts.

In the midst of such surroundings, he found

time and opportunity to lay in his own rough and powerful intellect the foundations of exact knowledge. He obtained the rudiments of science. He studied grammar, rhetoric, logic, geometry, astronomy, and even, to a certain extent, the recondite problems of theology. He even, in some measure, assumed the duty of teaching these branches to his children and members of his household, and it is amusing to find in his correspondence many interesting references to such small questions of scholarship. Thus, in a letter to the learned Alcuin, being troubled, forsooth, because he could no longer discover the planet Mars, he writes: "What thinkest thou of this *Mars*, which, last year, being concealed in the sign of Cancer, was intercepted from the sight of men by the light of the sun? Is it the regular course of his revolution? Is it the influence of the sun? Is it a miracle? Could he have been two years about performing the course of a single one?"

Nearly all of the distinguished men of the eighth and ninth centuries were grouped about the court of Charlemagne. These were employed by the Emperor, either as his political advisers or as the instructors of his household. Some were sent to Pepin in Italy to superintend that prince's education, and some to Aquitaine to teach young Louis the rudiments of learning. Those who remained at Aix-la-Chapelle were organized into a body known as the SCHOOL OF THE PALACE. Over this Charlemagne presided in person. Here questions of scholarship, theories of learning, and speculations of metaphysics were discussed with all the vigorous zeal for which the men and the times were noted. At the head of this group of scholars and philosophers stood the two most distinguished literary men of the age. These were **ALCUIN**, the principal director of the School of the Palace, and **EGINHARD**, who was distinguished as a historian and biographer of his sovereign. Among the other most eminent scholars may be mentioned the bishops Angilbert, Leidrade, Adalhard, Agobard, and Theodulph, who were at the head of the Sees of St. Requier, Lyons, and Orleans. Of all these, Alcuin stood highest in the confidence of the Emperor. To his sovereign he was wont to say: "If your zeal were imitated, perchance one might see arise

in France a new Athens far more glorious than the ancient—the Athens of Christ.” Eginhard was made master of the public

works, and was also intrusted with the education of Prince Louis.

The School of the Palace had its affecta-



CHARLEMAGNE PRESIDING IN THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE.
Drawn by A. de Neville.

tions. Antiquity was worshiped and imitated. The names of the ancient philosophers were adopted by the scholars of the court. Aleuin was called Flaccus; Angilbert, Homer; Theodulph, Pindar. Charleuagne himself selected his model out of Israel, and chose to be known as David. But these small vanities and imitations may well be forgiven to men who made life a serious business and with whom public office was never a sinecure.

In his habits, manners, and preferences Charlemagne remained essentially German. The old Frankish stock was ever honored by his own and the example of his court. He spoke German, and looked with little favor upon that incipient French which, by the blending of the corrupt Latin of the Gauls with the Frankish dialects, was beginning to prevail as the folk-speech of France. It was at this time that the two great divisions of French, the *Langue d'oc* of the South, soon to be modified into Provençal, and the *Langue d'oïl* of the North, which was the real foundation of modern French, took their rise as permanent varieties of human speech. As for Charlemagne and his court, they held stoutly to the rougher tongue of their Frankish fathers.

As the Emperor grew old his activities were somewhat abated. More and more he intrusted to others the management of the affairs of state, and more and more he gave himself to enjoyment, recreation, and religious devotions. He found delight in the warm baths of Aix-la-Chapelle. To these resorts he invited his family, his friends, and many of the nobility of the kingdom. His old fondness for riding and the chase never forsook him. Of milder joys he preferred the exhilaration of music, and to the end that he might be thus inspired and soothed, he brought to his capital the most distinguished musicians of Italy. In the midst of such exercises and amusements he forgot not the near approach of the inevitable hour. Several times he made and unmade or modified his will. He provided with the greatest care not only for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, but also for the distribution of his own estate. His property he divided into three major portions. The first two-thirds were given to the twenty-one principal churches of the empire.

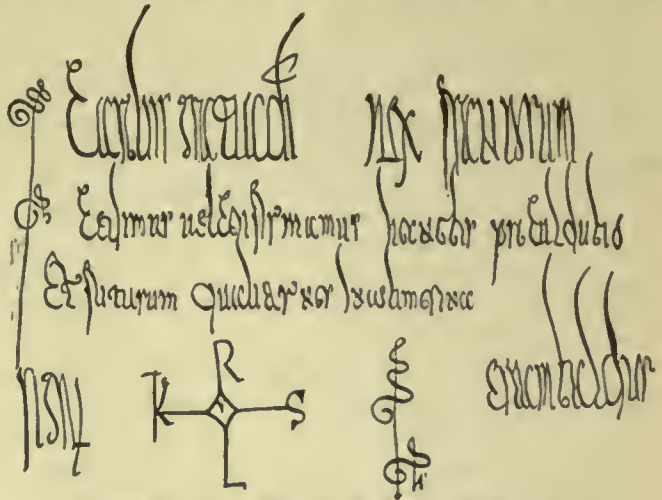
The remaining third was reserved for himself during life, and was then to be distributed to his family, or bestowed in alms on the poor.

Having attended to his personal affairs, the aged Emperor, in the year 813, set about the settlement of the succession. Three years before this time he had lost by death his second son Pepin, king of Italy, and in 811 his eldest son Charles, whom he had intended as his successor in France, had died. Prince Louis was now summoned by his father to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be publicly recognized as his successor. The principal bishops, abbots, counts, and laic noblemen of the kingdom were ordered to convene and ratify the Emperor's choice. Of what follows, the biographer Eginhard says: "He [the Emperor] invited them to make his son Louis king-emperor; whereto all assented, saying that it was very expedient, and pleasing, also, to the people. On Sunday in the next month, August, 813, Charlemagne repaired, crown on head, with his son Louis, to the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, laid upon the altar another crown, and, after praying, addressed to his son a solemn exhortation respecting all his duties as king towards God and the Church, towards his family and his people, asked him if he were fully resolved to fulfill them, and, at the answer that he was, bade him take the crown that lay upon the altar and place it with his own hands upon his head, which Louis did amidst the acclamation of all present, who cried, 'Long live the Emperor Louis!' Charlemagne then declared his son Emperor jointly with him, and ended the solemnity with these words: 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, who hast granted me grace to see with mine own eyes my son seated on my throne!'" The ceremony being completed, the prince returned into his own province, there to await the event which all foresaw as near at hand.

In the beginning of the year 814 the Emperor was taken ill of a fever. The resolute old monarch adopted the usual methods which he had previously used in sickness, but in this instance to no avail. On the seventh day after his attack, having received the communion at the hands of the bishop, he quietly expired, being then in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-seventh of his remarkable reign.

In so far as the energies of Charlemagne were devoted to the great work of erecting a barrier against barbarism, and of giving to reviving Europe a state of quietude in which the arts of peace might once more flourish, his career was one of the most successful of all history. The barbarians were brought to bay. On the north and east the still half-savage tribes, scarcely improved since the days of Julius Cæsar, were compelled to give over their wandering life and to settle within fixed limits of territory. On the south-west the fiery cohorts of Islam were thrust back into the peninsula of Spain. Nor was it any longer to be supposed that a Mohammedan army would dare to make its appearance north of the Pyrenees. In these respects the services rendered to civilization by the Emperor of the Franks can hardly be overestimated. But if we scrutinize the other great purpose of Charlemagne, namely, the restoration of the Roman Empire of the West, we shall find nothing but the inevitable failure. In this respect the Emperor's political theory was utterly at fault. He apprehended not that

the dead is dead, and that the artifice and purpose of men can never avail to restore a system which human society in its growth has left behind. In the west of Europe the civilization of the Græco-Italic race had expired nearly three centuries before Charlemagne became a sovereign; and his grand scheme of restoration, kindled as it was in



MANUSCRIPT OF CHARLEMAGNE CONTAINING HIS SIGNATURE.¹

the flame of his own ambition and fanned by the perpetual encouragement of the Church, could but prove a delusive dream—an idle vision of the impossible.

CHAPTER X.—SUCCESSORS OF CHARLEMAGNE.



DURING the reign of Charlemagne the Carlovingian race reached its highest glory. None of his successors proved to be his equal in king-craft and valor. From the death of Charlemagne to the overthrow of the Carlovingian dynasty, a period of a hundred and seventy-three years elapsed, and this epoch may in general terms be defined as one of decline and retrogression. The only substantial fact which remained to testify of the grandeur of the times of Charles the Great was the permanent repression of the barbarian

migrations. So efficient had been the work accomplished in the last quarter of the eighth century that the territorial foundations of modern France and Germany were laid on an immovable basis. Though the barbarian invasions were renewed or attempted throughout the whole of the Carlovingian ascendancy, yet the restless tribes of the North could never again do more than indent the territorial lines which had been drawn on the map of Western Europe by the sword of Charlemagne.

Another general fact to be noted respect-

¹The signature consists of the cross with the four letters "K L R S" at the ends of the bars.

ing the period upon which we now enter is that to it belong the efforts of the piratical Northmen to obtain a footing within the limits of the more civilized states of the South. During the ninth and tenth centuries no fewer than forty-seven incursions of the Sea-kings into France are recorded. These desperate bands of corsairs were from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Ireland; and their murderous forays contributed not a little to check the civilizing forces which had received so great an impetus during the reign of Charlemagne. The formation of North-western Europe was such as specially to favor the movements of the pirates. They penetrated the country by way of the rivers. At first they ascended the Scheldt, and robbed the hamlets on his banks. The Seine furnished the next inlet for the guerrillas of the North Sea, and then the Loire. Before the middle of the ninth century they had ascended the Garonne and sacked his villages. In 845 the city of Saintes was burnt by the sea-robbers; and in the following year Limoges was taken and sacked. Following up their advantages, the piratical craft next appeared in the rivers of Aquitaine, and the city of Bordeaux, after making one successful defense against their assaults, was captured, plundered, and given to the flames. Tours, Rouen, Angers, Orleans, Meaux, Toulouse, Saint Lo, Bayeux, Evreux, Nantes, and Beaubais were sooner or later pillaged by the insatiable Northmen. More, however, will be added in detail with respect to these incursions when we come to consider the times in which they occurred.

Resuming the narrative, we find LOUIS, the third son of Charlemagne, seated on the throne vacated by his father's death. He is known in history as the *Debonair*, though by his contemporaries he was called the Pious. Perhaps the name of the Weak would have suited him better than either. He was altogether wanting in that physical energy and immoral robustness which had constituted the salient features in the character of his father. It should not be overlooked, however, that in the single matter of moral rectitude, the new sovereign far excelled his predecessor; but his political incapacity rendered his domestic virtues of but small or even negative value.

In the beginning of his reign the new Emperor attempted to institute certain reforms in the manners and habitude of the court. The excesses of the preceding reign had been endured because of the magnificent strength with which they were accompanied. A code of austerity was now substituted in the palace, and throughout the empire some feeble attempts were made to throw off certain abuses which had flourished during the preceding administration. The subjugated, though still sullen Saxons, were restored to a portion of their liberties. Royal messengers were sent into various provinces with authority to mitigate the hardships of the preceding reign. But none of these measures were backed with that degree of administrative energy which was essential to any real reform.

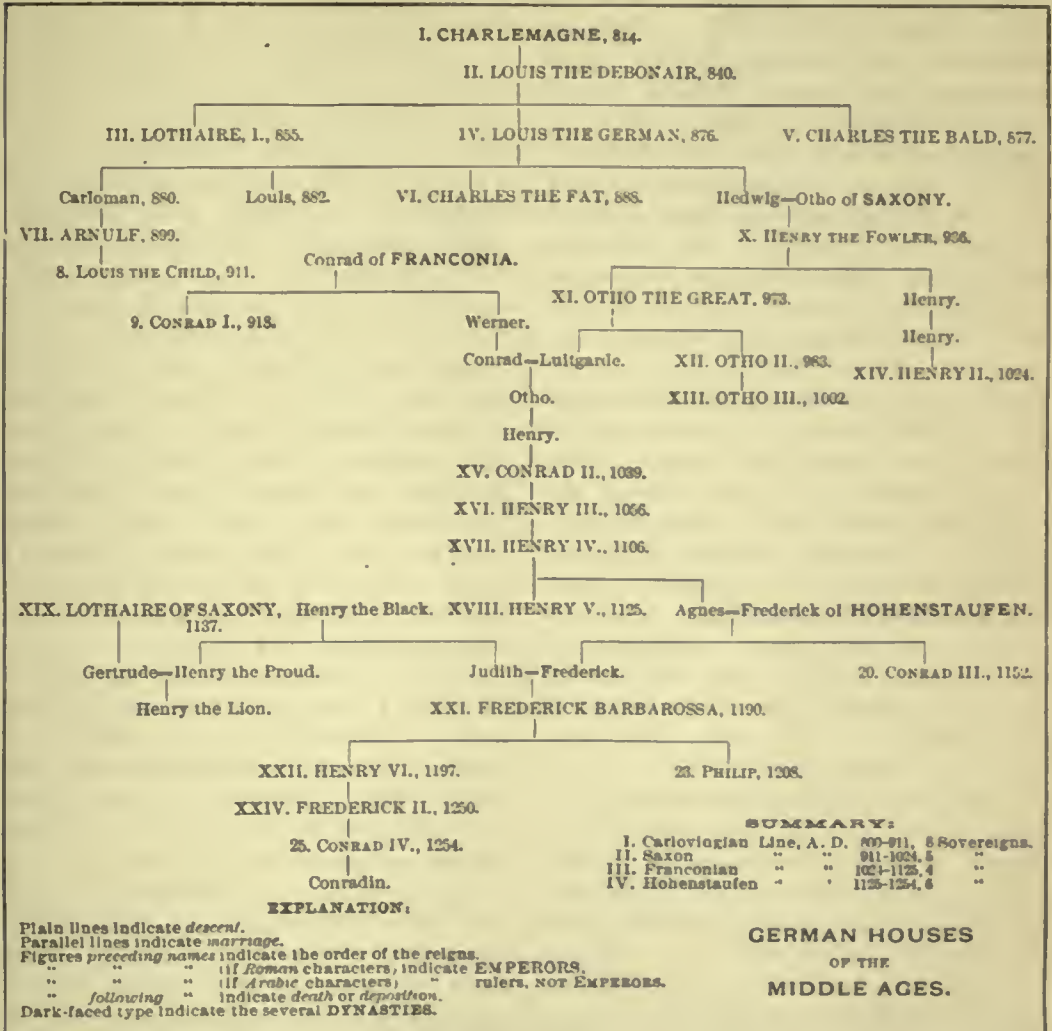
Before his accession to the Imperial throne Louis had already been presented by the queen Hermengarde with three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. These princes, at the date of their grandfather's death, were already advancing towards manhood, the elder being nineteen years of age. Three years after coming to Imperial power Louis convened a national assembly at his capital, and announced to that body his purpose of sharing the throne with Lothaire. The measure was coupled with the assertion of the Emperor that he did not by any means purpose to break up the unity of the great kingdom which he had received from his father; but the merest novice in statecraft could not fail to see the inevitable effect of the joint sovereignty thus instituted in the empire.

Coincident with the elevation of Lothaire to Imperial dignity, the other two sons of the emperor—Pepin and Louis—were crowned as kings, the former receiving Aquitaine, Southern Gaul, and Burgundy; and the latter, the countries beyond the Rhine. The rest of Gaul and Germany, together with Italy, fell to Lothaire, and the subordinate rulers were directed to repair to him from time to time and receive their authority at his hands. During the remainder of his life Louis the Debonair was to retain the home kingdom, having Lothaire as his associate in the government. The two junior sons of the Emperor, youths as they were, repaired to their respective provinces and assumed the duties of

government, the one in Aquitaine, the other in Bavaria. Thus, within five years after the death of Charlemagne, were made the beginnings of the great three fold division of Western Europe into FRANCE, GERMANY, and ITALY.

At the very commencement of his reign, the weakness and subserviency of Emperor

lovingian had set on these occasions was replete with dignity and kingly self-assertion. He had shown due deference, but no abasement, in the presence of the Holy Father. But not so with the subservient and pious Louis. As Stephen drew near to Rheims, the Emperor went forth to meet him, and prostrated himself *at full length* before him.



Louis were manifested. Two years after his accession, Pope Stephen IV. was invited to come into France and perform the ceremony of consecration. The Roman pontiffs had already on several occasions performed like service for the Most Christian Kings of France. Charlemagne had been crowned by Leo III., and his sons consecrated at Rome. The example, however, which the great Car-

There he lay until the Pope stretched forth his hand and lifted up the groveling ruler from the dust.

It was not long until the inherent weakness of the government gave occasion for insurrection. The mountaineers of Vasconia first rose in revolt. Meanwhile Bernard, who, before the death of Charlemagne, had succeeded his father Pepin in the kingdom of

Italy, was loath to see the crown transferred to his cousin Lothaire, more particularly since the latter had no better claim on the throne of Italy than might be found in the caprice of the Emperor Louis. The prince Bernard undertook to maintain his rights by force; but the rebellion received little countenance, even south of the Alps, and Bernard was quietly put aside. The Vascons were also easily reduced to submission. In Brittany, however, a revolt occurred of more serious proportions. The country was still covered with heavy forests, and many facilities of resistance were afforded to an insurgent population. In the year 818, the inhabitants chose for their king one of their chieftains named Morvan. They renounced their allegiance and refused to pay tribute to the Franks.

At the very time when the Emperor Louis was presiding in a national assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, Count Lambert, governor of Brittany, made his way to the capital, and reported that his province was in a state of revolt and that France was invaded. Thereupon a Frankish monk, named Ditar, was sent to the Breton king to know his grievances and to command submission. A haughty answer was returned, and the Frankish monarch was obliged to go to war. A battle was fought in the dense woods of Brittany, and the rebels were utterly routed. Morvan was slain, and his bloody head was brought by the slayer to Ditar for recognition. The revolt was quickly extinguished in blood.

After the death of the Empress Hermengarde, Louis chose for his second wife the princess Judith of Bavaria, daughter of Count Guelf—a family destined to the highest distinction in the subsequent annals of European monarchy. In the year 823, the new Empress presented her lord with a son, who became known among the rulers of France as Charles the Bald. There was thus added to the king's household of heirs another expectant, who, backed by the absorbing passion and brilliant abilities of his mother, was from the first an object of dread to the three princes upon whom the Emperor had already settled the succession.

Nor was it long until good reason was shown for their jealousy. In the year 829 the king, now completely under the influence of Queen Judith, went before a national assembly at

Worms and openly annulled the settlement which he had made twelve years previously. He took away from Pepin and Louis the provinces of Burgundy and Alemannia and assigned them to the young prince Charles. This flagrant act led to an immediate revolt on the part of Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, and to the bitterness of this rebellion were added the disgraceful quarrels which prevailed at the royal court. An ambitious Septimanian nobleman, named Bernard, was advanced to the position of chamberlain of the palace. He soon engaged in an intrigue with Queen Judith which scandalized the court and increased the opposition to Louis and his government. A conspiracy was organized, including many of the chief men of the kingdom. The Empress was seized and shut up in a convent. Louis was obliged to go forth from his capital and give himself up to the insurgents. By them he was deposed from office and the crown confirmed to Lothaire. The old act of 817, by which the distribution of the kingdom among the sons of Hermengarde had been determined, was restored; and the more recent act of Emperor Louis, relative to Prince Charles, was annulled. Thus, by a sudden outburst of popular indignation, the ambitious schemes of Queen Judith were brought to naught.

Soon, however, there was a great revulsion of public feeling in favor of the dishonored king. It was tardily perceived that he had been more sinned against than sinning. The princes Louis and Pepin, moreover, became bitterly jealous on account of the Imperial dignity conferred upon Lothaire. They accordingly went over to their father's side; nor were the ecclesiastics slow to repent of the course which they had recently pursued towards their sovereign. Another national assembly was convened at Nimeguen, and the acts which had been adopted by the former body were abrogated. Louis the Debonair was restored to his rights, and the two princes, Pepin and Louis, were reinstated in their former rank.

Now it was that the Emperor was obliged to maintain his authority by force. He accordingly mustered an army and marched against his refractory sons. Prince Pepin, of Aquitaine, had been already overthrown by

his brothers Lothaire and Louis, and his kingdom given to Charles the Bald. It was now the father's turn to try the issue of battle with his own offspring. The two armies met at a place called the Field of Red, situated between Colmar and Bâle. But when the battle was about to begin a large part of King Louis's forces abandoned him and went over to Lothaire. The monarch was thus left naked to the mercy of his sons. The name of the Field of Red was changed to the Field of Falsehood.

The victorious princes, however, received their father with the consideration due to his rank, but their filial respect did not extend to his restoration to power. On the contrary, Lothaire convened a national assembly and had himself proclaimed Emperor. In a short time another convention of *grandees* and bishops was held at Compiègne, and Louis the Debonair was again formally deposed. He was obliged to hear the decree of his own dethronement, in which the charges of incapacity and weakness were openly set forth, read aloud to the multitude. He meekly accepted the situation which had been imposed by his subjects, and retired to the convent of Rheims.

It now appeared that the affairs of the Empire were permanently settled; but though the Emperor Louis was dethroned the party of his supporters was by no means annihilated. In a short time rebellions in his favor occurred in various parts of his kingdom, and the usurping sons found it difficult to retain the power which they had seized by force. The beautiful and ambitious Judith was still at liberty, and her intrigues prevailed to win over many friends to the cause of her dishonored husband. Not a few of the clergy rallied to his support. In the year 834 two national assemblies were held, and the acts of the convention of Compiègne were formally revoked. The Imperial dignity was again conferred on Louis, and the kingdom continued in a ferment of revolt as before.

Four years after this second restoration of the Emperor to power Pepin of Aquitaine died. The problem of the Empire was thus somewhat simplified. In 839 an assembly was called at Worms. The general condition of the dynasty and the distribution of political

power again came up for discussion. It was resolved to make a new territorial division of the kingdom. Bavaria and the circumjacent regions were left as before to the Prince Louis, henceforth known as *Louis the German*. The western portion of the Empire was divided into two parts by the Rhone and the Meuse, the eastern division falling by his own choice to Lothaire. The western part was assigned to Charles the Bald. The German, however, was by no means satisfied with the distribution. He took up arms to undo the settlement, and his imbecile father in his old age was obliged once more to attempt the maintenance of peace by war. At the head of his army he set out towards the Rhenish frontier; but on arriving near the city of Mayence he fell sick of a fever and died at the castle of Ingelheim. Thus in the Summer of 840 the question of the settlement of the kingdom was still further simplified by the course of nature.

In his last hours the expiring monarch transmitted the Imperial crown and sword to his son Lothaire. To Louis of Bavaria he sent the assurance of pardon, and to both princes the earnest admonition that the rights of the Queen Judith and the young King Charles the Bald should be faithfully observed.

Of little avail, however, were these charitable injunctions of the dying Emperor. For in the mean time the prince Pepin II., son of the deceased Pepin of Aquitaine, had usurped the government of his father's province. With him Lothaire now entered into a conspiracy for despoiling Charles the Bald of his inheritance. The latter took the alarm, and made an alliance with Louis the German, who, like himself, was imperiled by the ambition of Lothaire. The Empress Judith went on a mission to the Bavarian prince, and the latter, as soon as practicable, sent an army to the aid of Charles. In the next summer after the death of the Debonair the forces of the rival brothers, Charles and Louis on one side, and Lothaire and his nephew Pepin II. on the other, met near the village of Fontenailles, where the destinies of the Carlovingian empire were again to be decided. The two armies are said to have numbered three hundred thousand men. For four days the antagonists maneuvered, dreading to come to battle. In the beginning of the conflict

victory seemed to incline to the banners of Lothaire; but the forces of Charles and Louis rallied from their temporary repulse, and inflicted on their enemy an overwhelming defeat. Hardly ever in the previous history of France had such fearful carnage been witnessed. The overthrow of the old Imperial party was ruinous to the last degree, and well might the aged poet of the court of Charlemagne bewail the irreparable disaster.¹

Notwithstanding his discomfiture Lothaire made most strenuous efforts to restore his fortunes. He appealed to the Saxons and promised the restoration of paganism if they would espouse his cause. Several of the tribes revolted in his favor; but Louis and Charles were little disposed to lose by negligence the fruits of their great victory. The two princes met in a public assembly on the right bank of the Rhine, between Bâle and Strasbourg. Each came at the head of his army, and there, in the most solemn manner, they renewed their covenant against Lothaire. The alliance thus made was publicly celebrated by the officers and soldiers of the two armies in a series of games, military sports, and joustings, the same being, perhaps, the beginning of those knightly tournaments which became one of the leading features in the social history of the Middle Ages. The two kings themselves, clad in armor, entered the lists, attacked each other, as if in battle, pursued, retreated, and performed feats of fictitious daring.

But neither the league between Louis and Charles nor the royal sports which they instituted for the delight of their soldiers could overawe the courageous Lothaire. In spite of the efforts of the allied princes he made such headway on the side of Saxony that they were obliged to recognize his rights and to consent to a new territorial adjustment. The three brothers met in a conference in the summer

¹ Angilbert thus utters his anguish over the battle of Fontenailles: "Accursed be this day! Be it unnumbered in the return of the year, but wiped out of all remembrance! Be it unlit by the light of the sun! Be it without either dawn or twilight! Accursed, also, be this night, this awful night, in which fell the brave, the most expert in battle! Eye ne'er hath seen more fearful slaughter: in streams of blood fell Christian men; the linen vestments of the dead did whiten the champagne even as it is whitened by the birds of autumn."

of 843, and it was agreed that Italy, Aquitaine, and Bavaria should remain in the hands of their present possessors, and that to Louis should also be given the three cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spire, on the left bank of the Rhine. The eastern part of Gaul, bounded by the Rhine and the Alps and the rivers Meuse, Saône, and Rhone, was assigned to Lothaire. The remainder of the Gaulish territory was given to Charles the Bald, and to him also fell the provinces of Vasconia, Septimania, and the French possessions beyond the Pyrenees.

This settlement of affairs made at Verdun, in the year 843, gave the finishing stroke to the project of restoring the Empire of the West. The name of *Emperor* was still retained and has continued for many centuries as a sort of traditional factor in the politics of Europe. But it was the shadow without the substance. The Empire itself became a myth, into which not even the greatest minds could do more than breathe the breath of a fitful and evanescent vitality.

In the midst of the great civil disturbances to which the Frankish kingdoms were thus subjected the Northern Pirates came in to reap their abundant harvests of spoil. They made their way at times to the very gates of Paris. The abbey of St. Germain and St. Denis were captured and sacked. The outer quarters of the city were several times in the hands of the sea-robbers, to whom all treasures, both sacred and profane, were alike. In the year 850 Pepin of Aquitaine made a league with the Northmen and consented to their capture of Toulouse. The marauders went from place to place through the province of Aquitaine, seizing what they liked and destroying what they would. Nor did it appear that either Pepin or Charles the Bald had the courage requisite to scourge the Northmen out of their territories.

One of the most audacious of the piratical leaders was the sea-king HASTINGS. Several times he appeared with his fleet in the rivers and harbors of France. Not satisfied with the spoils of the western coasts, he made his way into the Mediterranean. On the shore of Tuscany he despoiled a city which he mistook for Rome, but being unable to take the place by assault, he resorted to stratagem.

Pretending to repent of his past life, he sent for the Christian bishop, and was baptized as a convert. Soon afterwards he caused the re-

port to be circulated that he was dead, and his followers claimed for him the rights of burial. The body was borne to the cathedral,



MARAUDING EXPEDITION OF THE NORTHMEN.

Drawn by H. Vogel

but while the priests, with dolorous accent, were chanting his requiem, up sprang the prostrate Hastings, drew his sword, and slew the ecclesiastics right and left. His men, at the signal, joined in the bloody work. The cathedral was plundered, and the robbers made away with their spoils before the stupefied population could realize what was done.

At a later date Hastings and his band ravaged the provinces of Anjou and Brittany. He then sailed up the Seine and appeared before Paris. Chartres was taken, and Charles the Bald was obliged to entrench himself at St. Denis. So great was the terror which the Northmen had spread abroad that the king—though against the advice of many of his harons—entered into negotiations with Hastings, and consented to purchase a peace. It was agreed to cede to the triumphant robber and his followers the county of Chartres, on condition that he would cease from his piracies and become a Christian. It seems that the rapacity of Hastings was at last satisfied, and he accepted the overtures of the Frankish king. But his fellow-chieftain Biorn, not yet satiated with plunder, could not be reconciled. He sailed away with a cargo of booty, was wrecked on the coast of Friesland, and soon afterwards died. There was then a lull in the tempest of northern invasion, and the kingdom of the Franks for a while flowed in the more quiet currents of history.

Three kingdoms issued from the treaty of Verdun—Italy, Germany, and France. Political causes—the accidental circumstance of many sons in the family of Louis the Debonair—had combined with the general facts of geography, language, and race-kinship to divide the descendants of the subjects of Charlemagne into Italians, Germans, and French. The imbecility of the Emperor Louis had cooperated with the tongue of Clovis in the formation of nations; and the jealousy of the queens, Hermengarde and Judith, had made a league with the Alps.

Among the various immediate successors of Charlemagne the most distinguished were Charles the Bald and Lothaire. The former inherited the brilliant faculties of his mother, and added a judgment and will of his own. He maintained about his capital and court

something of the culture which had been planted by his great ancestor. Men of learning were again encouraged. Philosophers were patronized. The School of the Palace was reëstablished; but since the administration of Charles was so clearly the fruit of the planting of Charlemagne, some of the people, not without a flash of semi-barbaric wit, called his learned institution the Palace of the School. As to Lothaire, his energies and ambitions have been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding narrative. If Louis the Debonair had had no other son but him, the Empire founded by the greatest of the Carolingians might have preserved its unity for a season.

It will now be desirable to note briefly the principal events in the history of the three kingdoms of Italy, Germany, and France, from the middle of the ninth century to the accession of Hugh Capet. Taken altogether, the period is one of the least interesting and instructive in the whole course of Modern History. During its continuance men appear with little heroism, and events are projected on a stage so little dramatic as scarcely to excite a passing interest.

Charles the Bald continued his reign from 850 to 875 with scarcely a notable incident. After the settlement of Hastings at Chartres, the kingdom, though frequently menaced, suffered for the time not much actual injury from the incursions of the Danes. In the year 875 Louis II. of Germany died. For some years that sovereign had borne the Imperial title; for Lothaire had ceased to be Emperor in the year 855. On the death of Louis, Charles the Bald seized the title; but so small had already become the influence of this traditional dignity that the French king was rather weakened than made strong by its assumption. Shortly afterwards a much more important event occurred in the establishment of the hereditary principle among the noble families of France. Hitherto the dukes, counts, and grandees had held and exercised their authority by the royal prerogative. In 876 Charles was obliged to sign a decree by which the tenure of the noble titles of the kingdom, with the landed estates thereunto belonging, was remanded to the law of descent. Thus as early as the last quar-

ter of the ninth century were laid in France the foundations of the feudal system, which was destined in the course of time to obtain the mastery of almost the whole of Western Europe. In the following year, 877, Charles the Bald died in a village at the foot of Mont Cenis; nor was the suspicion wanting that his life was taken by poison administered by his Jewish physician, Sedecias. A fitting epitaph for himself and his reign is furnished in the pungent comment of one of the old French chroniclers: "Fortune in conformity to his humor made him happy in appearance and miserable in reality."

The late king had been exceedingly unfortunate in his family. Of his four sons, namely, Louis, Charles, Lothaire, and Carloman, the eldest two proved to be rebellious and turbulent princes. It was the purpose of the father that Lothaire and Carloman should be devoted to the service of the Church. The thought was uppermost in his mind that his own sins might thus be vicariously expiated. The Prince Lothaire, being weak and lame, submitted to his fate and entered a monastery, but Carloman refused obedience. He broke off from the enforced obligations of the monastic life and fled into Belgium. Here he raised a revolt, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and laid waste the country. The forces of the king were called out against him, and the prince was defeated and taken prisoner. Convicted of violating his religious vows, he was condemned to have his eyes put out; but escaping from confinement, he made his way into Bavaria, and found refuge with his uncle, Louis the German. Charles and Lothaire soon died, and Louis was thus left as the heir expectant of the kingdom and the empire. On the death of his father he quietly ascended the throne, taking the title of Louis II., and receiving the sobriquet of the Stammerer.

The new reign was brief and inauspicious. No event of importance occurred during the two short years in which he held the royal power. He died in 879, leaving two sons, named Louis and Carloman, and a posthumous heir who received the name of Charles. Louis took as his inheritance the kingdom of Neustria, and Carloman obtained the province of Aquitaine. All the rest of the territories

recently governed by Charles the Bald, with the exception of Provence and Burgundy, were given up to the sons of Louis the German. The excepted districts were seized by Bozon, Count of Provence, who had married a daughter of the Stammerer. This usurpation was recognized by Pope John VIII., and Bozon was crowned as king. Thus, by a bold and successful, though bloodless, usurpation, were laid the foundations of the little kingdom of Provence, which was destined to flourish for several centuries, and to become the most polite and refined center of culture north of the Pyrenees.

King Louis, like his predecessor, was destined to a brief and inglorious reign. He came to a premature death in the year 882, and was succeeded by the exiled Carloman, who held feebly to the crown for the space of two years. The posthumous Prince Charles, being now but five years of age, was considered by the not over-loyal barons as too young to assume the burdens of the state. They therefore sent a deputation to Bavaria, and tendered the French crown to Charles, the youngest son of Louis the German. This prince had already received the Imperial diadem at the hands of the Pope, and thus, by a concurrence of fortuitous events, all the dominions of Charlemagne, with the exception of the kingdoms of Provence and Aragon, were again united in a single government.

To their new sovereign the French gave the surname of LE GROS, or THE FAT; for he was corpulent to the last degree. Nor was he more energetic in mind than in body. More even, perhaps, than his predecessors, did he become the tool of the intriguing courtiers by whom he was surrounded. Neither did the humiliating position into which he was forced arouse his pride, nor the distresses of his people awaken his sympathies.

Now it was that France was destined, more than ever, to feel the scourge of the hands of the Northmen, and to experience the full humiliation arising from the imbecility of a ruler who was incompetent to defend her. The piratical Danes had in the meantime found a leader greater and more warlike than Hastings. The new chieftain bore the name of ROLF, or ROLLO, who by native courage and brawn had obtained an easy ascendancy over

the imaginations and passions of his turbulent countrymen. It now became his ambition, as well as that of his warriors, to capture the city of Paris and bring the French monarchy in the person of its king to a supple compliance with their wishes. Two armies of Northmen were organized, one led by Rollo in per-

converted and the unconverted Northman ended with the expostulations of the one and the defiance of the other. Hastings returned to the Frankish army, and preparations were renewed for the impending conflict.

At this juncture an episode occurred worthy of note. A certain Count Thibault,



THE NORMANS IN THE SEINE.

son and the other by his associate chieftain, Siegfried. The latter was to ascend the Seine, and the former, having captured the city of Rouen, was to join him before the towers of Paris. In the emergency that was upon him, Charles the Fat sent for Hastings and employed him as an ambassador to the chief of the Danes. But the interview between the

who had greatly coveted the estates which were held by Hastings, availed himself of the situation to play upon the fears and credulity of that reformed pirate. The count told his victim that King Charles had purposed his death, and that his only safety lay in flight. Hastings thereupon sold to his informer at a trifling price his town of Chartres, fled to his

countrymen, and lapsed into the more congenial pursuits of piracy.

Meanwhile, the Northmen gathered before the walls of Paris.¹ Their fleet consisted of seven hundred huge barks and obstructed the Seine for the distance of two leagues. The forces of Rolf and Siegfried numbered fully thirty thousand men, and every one was a weather-beaten warrior, hardened by every species of exposure, and expert in all the dangers of land and sea. But even this wild and daring host was astonished at the walls and towers of Paris. Everywhere new fortifications had been reared, and a defiant soldiery looked down from the ramparts. Great towers of stone stood here and there, and the solid walls of St. Denis and St. Germain were seen in the distance. Even the dauntless Siegfried forbore for a season to make an assault upon the impregnable bulwarks of the city, but rather sought to gain his end by parley and negotiation.

The city of Paris was at this time held and defended by Count Eudes, eldest son of Robert the Strong, of Anjou. Of him the Danes made the demand of a free passage through the city, and promised, if this were granted, to refrain from all injury and violence. But neither Eudes himself nor the bishop Gozlin, by whom the negotiations were conducted, was silly enough to be entrapped by the wiles of a pirate. So the baffled Danes were obliged to give over their stratagem and resort to open force.

A siege ensued of thirteen months' duration. Eight unsuccessful assaults were made by the Danes. The old Abbe, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, has left on record a poem, recounting the progress and daring exploits of the struggle. The leaders within the city were Eudes and Gozlin. The latter died during the siege, and Count Eudes, quitting the city, made his way to the Emperor Charles, calling for reinforcements. On his return with three battalions of troops, he was obliged to cut his

way from the heights of Montmartre through the Danes to the gates of the city. The investment continued until the autumn of 886, when Charles the Fat came with a large army to the succor of the besieged. But it was a fatal succor which he brought to Paris. On his arrival he agreed to purchase with a heavy ransom the retreat of the Northmen, who were induced for the winter to retire into Burgundy.

So pusillanimous was this conduct of the king that a diet, convened in the following year on the banks of the Rhine, passed a decree of deposition, and the Imperial dignity was conferred upon Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, brother of Louis III. At the same time the title of king was conferred on Count Eudes, who had so bravely defended Paris, and the monarch-elect was presently crowned by the archbishop of Sens. Another claim to the crown of France was at the same time advanced by Guy, duke of Spoleto, whose alleged rights were founded on the fact that he was descended from Charlemagne in the female line. The duke hastened over from Italy, and was proclaimed by the bishop of Langres. But the accession of Eudes was already a fact accomplished, and Guy returned to his own place as hastily as he had come.

Meanwhile, Bozon, king of Provence, died and was succeeded by Boso, duke of Arles. At the same time, Count Rodolph was given the title of king in Transjuran Burgundy, and was crowned at St. Maurice. All the while the young Prince Charles, son of Louis the Stammerer, and legitimate heir of the Carolingian House, was overlooked and well-nigh forgotten. He was, as yet, only a child, and the ambitious dukes and counts, themselves eager to seize some petty crown, were little disposed on the score of loyalty to hunt up and honor the feeble scion of the stock of Charlemagne.

Having retired from his unsuccessful siege of Paris, the chieftain Rollo renewed in Western France his career of cruising and pillaging. It appears, however, that his contact with civilization began to react upon his faculties; for he was a man of genius. Before entering upon his French conquests he had already made an expedition into England,

¹ It will be remembered that the outskirts of Paris had been already several times taken and pillaged by the Danish pirates. But the heart of the metropolis, that is, so much of Paris as is situated in the *Ile de la cité*, had not thus far been penetrated by the marauders. It was this center of the city that was now assailed by Rolf and his robbers.

where he conceived a great admiration for the valor and wisdom of King Alfred the Great. It had been noticed that after his capture of

Rouen he forbore to destroy the city, but chose rather to restrain his followers, and to repair as far as practicable the injury which



ROLLO BESIEGING PARIS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

had been done in the capital. Only when he met with obdurate resistance did the old violence of his nature break forth against his foes.

This change in the character and sentiments of the Danish chief led to a corresponding change in the manner of warfare. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the struggle between King Eudes and Rollo continued with varying fortune. The former gained a great victory over the Danes at Montfaucon, but was in his turn defeated at Vermandois. In the latter conflict the veteran Hastings again appeared as the leader of the Northmen. Rollo, now master of many towns, began to treat the subject populations with kindness and justice. At times he showed himself disposed to forbear from further excursions and maintain the existing status. On one occasion he went over to England, and there renewed his old-time friendship with King Athelstane, who had succeeded Alfred on the throne. So great became the reputation of Rollo for increasing wisdom and humanity that Eudes was obliged to recognize and deal with him as king with king.

In the year 898 the French monarch died, and CHARLES THE SIMPLE, the legitimate Carolingian prince, now nineteen years of age, was raised to the throne. Rollo and the Danes still held their own in the western parts of France, and it became more and more apparent that their expulsion from the country was a remote, if not impossible, event. In the first years of the tenth century the question of some satisfactory settlement with the Northmen was many times debated in the councils of the king, and Rollo himself was by no means an unwilling hearer of the premonitory rumors of peace. Nevertheless, the great Danish chieftain was not at all disposed to relinquish aught of his advantages.

In the year 911 Charles was advised by his counselors to open negotiations with Rollo with a view to securing the permanent settlement of the question between the two peoples, even by the cession of territory. Franco, archbishop of Rouen, acting on behalf of the king, was authorized to offer the Dane a considerable part of Neustria and the hand of Gisèle, daughter of Charles the Simple, on condition that Rollo would become the king's

vassal and embrace Christianity. The Northman regarded this proposition in so favorable a light that he consented to a three months' truce in order that the negotiations might continue. A day was appointed for a conference between Rollo and the French monarch. A meeting was held at St. Clair-sur-Epte, Charles taking his station on one side of the river and the Dane on the other. The king offered to cede Flanders, but this was refused. Nor would the Northman accept only the maritime parts of Neustria. He demanded, also, that those districts of Brittany which had been seized by the French should be added to the cession, and that the dukes of the ceded provinces should become his vassals. To these demands the king at last consented, and a treaty was formed accordingly.¹ The question of a century was settled by the admission of a nation of invaders within the borders of France.

Thus it was that the pacified Northmen ceased to threaten. Having now a country of their own to defend, they troubled their neighbors no longer. The piratical habit was abandoned, and the agricultural life was substituted for predatory warfare.

On the southern border of France, for the last half century, the Saracens had not ceased to trouble. Time and again were the provinces of Aquitaine, Septimania, and Provence invaded by bands of brigands and robbers. The Mohammedan banditti appeared now on the Rhone at Arles, in Camargne, in Dauphiné, Rouergue, and Limousin. Against these incursions the imbecile successors of Charlemagne seemed impotent to defend the people. Each province had to protect itself as best it might. To this end towers and fort-

¹ An amusing tradition has been preserved of the ratification of the terms of this settlement. The Franks insisted that Rollo in token of his vassalage should kiss the foot of Charles, but the Dane indignantly refused. After much parleying it was agreed that the kissing should be done by proxy, and a certain Northman was appointed by Rollo to perform the ceremony; but the warrior so selected was as haughty as his master. Bend the knee he would not. The king stood upright and so did the Dane. At length the warrior stooped down and taking hold of the royal foot lifted it so high and suddenly that Charles fell backwards on the ground. It was fortunate that the ridiculous scene ended in laughter.

resses were built in many parts, and into these, when the cry of the "Saracene" was raised in the country, the people would flee for shelter.

On the whole, however, the disturbance on the southern border was provoking rather than dangerous. The incursions were made by hordes of robbers, who expected to plunder and fly rather than plunder and fight. Nor were the Mohammedans of Spain pressed from behind by other hosts out of Africa, as were the Northmen, driven from their homes by innumerable swarms of Asiatic barbarians. Thus it happened that, while the northern and western frontier of France was broken in and a large part of her territory taken by the audacious Danes, the southern border was preserved from serious infraction.

As to the new province thus ceded by Charles the Simple to Rollo and his countrymen, the same soon became one of the most prosperous districts in France. The great Danish chieftain was recognized as Duke of NORMANDY. Nor should the pen of history here fail to note that William the Conqueror, whose valorous blood has flowed into the veins of all the English kings and queens who have reigned since the Norman conquest of 1066, was himself—though illegitimate—the eighth in regular descent from Rolf, the Danish pirate turned reformer and civilizer.

After the settlement between Charles the Simple and Duke Rollo, the kingdom enjoyed peace for the space of ten years; but in 922 the ever-growing ambition of the French barons led to a revolt against the feeble-minded Charles and in favor of Count Robert, brother of Eudes. Civil war broke out between the rival parties, and Charles, in attempting to maintain his rights, half redeemed his forfeited fame. He took the field in person, met Count Robert in battle and slew him with his own hand. But the cause of the rebellion was taken up by Hugh the Great, son of the slain count, and the king was soon disastrously defeated. Hugh, already Count of Paris, was ambitious to be the maker of kings rather than be king himself. He would fain restore that ancient *régime* in which the Mayor of the Palace stood behind the throne and directed the affairs of the kingdom. Accordingly, after

the defeat and flight of Charles the Simple—for the latter with all speed sought refuge with Herbert, count of Vermandois—Hugh brought it about that the French crown should be conferred on Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to whom his own sister had been given in marriage. So predominant was the influence of the great count that Rodolph's nomination was ratified by the barons, while the deposed Charles was shut up as a prisoner in the Château Thierry. Elgiva, the wife of the dethroned monarch, who was a sister to Athelstane, king of England, escaped with her son Louis and sought protection with her brother.

The status thus fixed by revolution was maintained until 929. In that year Charles the Simple died, his taking-off being ascribed to poison. Rodolph continued to reign until 926; but the real power of the kingdom was wielded by Hugh the Great. Rodolph died childless, and the crown of France was again at the disposal of the great leader, who again refused to claim it for himself. Nor can it be doubted that in his policy Count Hugh was guided by a desire to secure the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. In looking about for a new sovereign he failed not to take note of the absent Prince Louis, who with his mother was still sojourning with his uncle Athelstane, of England. A message was sent to the English court, requesting the exiled queen to return with her son, in order that he might receive the crown of France. As was natural, the sincerity of the count was distrusted, and the queen at first refused to put herself at his mercy. King Athelstane also shared his sister's apprehensions; but the fears of the exiles were at length quieted, and Louis returned with his mother to France. They were received by Hugh with profound respect, and were conducted by him to the cathedral at Rheims where the prince was solemnly crowned with the title of LOUIS IV. Nor did the imaginative French fail to find for their new sovereign an appropriate sobriquet. He was called *D'Outremer*, or the Stranger; for his youth had been passed *beyond the sea*.

It was not long until King Louis showed in the management of public affairs an ability and prudence greater than had been exhibited

by any previous king since the days of Charlemagne. Had his character been as sincere as his sagacity was profound, the greatest good might have been expected to the kingdom; but he was dishonest, and in some respects vicious, to the extent that his great abilities bore little fruit. The foreign affairs of the kingdom, moreover, were now of such a sort as to require the full resources of the state.

In the year 937 France was invaded by the Hungarians, who were with difficulty repelled beyond the border. Two years afterwards the people of Lorraine, who had rebelled against the authority of Otho I. of Germany, made a voluntary transfer of their allegiance to King Louis. That monarch had married Otho's sister Gerberge; but this affinity did not prevent the rival brothers-in-law from going to war. In the struggle that ensued, it was Louis's misfortune to have alienated many of his great counts and barons. In the very beginning of his reign he had attempted to shake off Count Hugh of Paris; but that powerful nobleman was not to be easily disposed of, and the sympathies of the other nobles were naturally attracted to his cause. It thus happened that while King Louis gained the inhabitants of Lorraine and went to war to defend his acquisition, the great vassals of France went over to Otho and proclaimed him king. The war became one between Louis and his own subjects. A battle was fought before Laon, in 941, and the king's army was defeated. Hugh of Paris was on the eve of again becoming master of the situation when Otho, satisfied with the humiliation of his rival, interfered in his behalf and saved him from ruin. The war was brought to an end. The German Emperor received back the province of Lorraine, and then with the aid of the Pope mediated a peace between Louis and his barons.

The next complication in the affairs of France was in respect to the duchy of Normandy. In the recent civil war William Longsword, duke of that province, had taken sides with Count Hugh against the king. But Arnulf, count of Flanders, supported the royal cause. The two nobles were thus brought into antagonism, and after the cessation of hostilities William was assassinated by

his enemy. The young Duke Richard fell into the hands of King Louis, who, under the pretense of educating him at the capital, would have taken away his liberty, and perhaps his life. But the boy's governor, Osmond, perceiving what was intended, persuaded his ward to feign illness, and while the king and his officers were off their guard, carried the young duke away from the castle in a truss of hay. He then escaped with his charge, and took the lad for protection to his uncle, the count of Senlis. Soon afterwards this nobleman succeeded in making King Louis himself a prisoner, and obliged him to surrender those places of Normandy which he had unjustly seized. Richard was restored to his dukedom, and by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Hugh the Great, soon became a powerful ruler. Nor was his goodness of character less than his courage was notable. He received the surname of the Fearless, and such were the beauty of his person, the affability of manners and the generosity of his conduct, as to make him at once the favorite of his own people and the praise of foreign tongues. It was one of the caprices of this amiable prince to prepare his own coffin, which was hewn of stone. Until what time it might be used for its ultimate purpose, the sarcophagus was on every Friday filled with wheat and coins, which were distributed to the poor. When about to die, he gave orders that the open coffin should be set under the eaves of the church of Fécamp until the rains should wash his bones clean and white.

The reign of Louis D'Outremer continued until the year 954. While still in the full strength of manhood, he journeyed one day from Laon to Rheims. A vagrant wolf crossed the pathway before him, and the king, spurring after the beast with all his might, was thrown from his horse and killed. He left as his heirs two sons, Lothaire and Charles, the latter being in his infancy. The elder son, now at the age of fourteen, received the crown by the right of succession, and with the consent of the counts and barons. The unfortunate policy of dividing the kingdom among the sons of the deceased monarch—a political method which had prevailed from the times of Louis the Debonair—was now abandoned, never to be revived.

The undivided sovereignty of France was conferred upon **LOTHAIRE**, and Charles, his younger brother, was left to abide his time.

The education of the new sovereign had been carefully conducted by his mother and her brother, the celebrated St. Bruno. His character, thus formed, was above the standard of the Carlovingian kings; but his ambitions were sometimes ill-directed, and his reign was on the whole less successful than that of his father.

Two years after the succession of Lothaire, Hugh the Great died. He had maintained his ascendancy in the affairs of France for nearly half a century, and the hour of his death found him in full favor with the people. He had persisted in the policy of refusing the crown for himself, being content with the duchy of Paris. But this peculiarity of his ambition rather increased than diminished his power. His contemporaries were justified in speaking of his *reign*; for though not bearing the title of king, his authority was regal.

In the year 973 the Emperor Otho the Great died, and bequeathed his rights, kingly and Imperial, to his son Otho II. This transfer of power to a young and inexperienced prince gave opportunity to King Lothaire to reassert his claims to the province of Lorraine. He accordingly raised an army, and without any notification of his intentions to the Germans, marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, the then capital of the Emperor. The Prince Otho was taken completely by surprise. He was obliged to spring from the dinner-table and speed away, in order to escape from the city. Lothaire captured and pillaged the palace, and then returned to France. Otho, however, soon showed himself worthy of his place. Having raised an army, he proceeded against his cousin to repay the insult which he had received. He marched on Paris, wasting the country as he went; but the Count Hugh Capet, who had succeeded to the authority of his father, Hugh the Great, had put the city in such a state of defense that Otho durst not assault the ramparts. Being unable to effect a conquest and to "repay the visit" of Lothaire, as he had threatened, he contented himself with nonsensical menaces. Having taken possession of the heights of

Montmartre, he drew up his army and made them sing a Latin canticle. The performance was like the lowing of a herd of buffaloes, and the *music* reverberated through Paris! It was the first German opera, performed before an audience of French!

Having inflicted this terrible insult upon his foe, Otho marched away towards Germany. Lothaire sallied forth in pursuit, and overtook his cousin's forces on the banks of the Aisne. One division of the army had already crossed to the other side. The river rose in the night, and the French were thus enabled to fall upon and destroy the remaining division with little danger to themselves. In this emergency Otho sent a challenge to Lothaire to meet him in single combat; but the French barons, distrusting the puissance of their king, sacrificed their chivalry to prudence, and induced him to decline the battle.

Having at length fatigued their own capricious ambitions with marching, countermarching, and indecisive conflicts, the two monarchs agreed to a treaty of peace. The province of Lorraine was divided, one part being returned to Otho and the other assigned to Prince Charles, brother of the French king. The latter, in the year 986, died, leaving his crown to his only son, **LOUIS V.**, surnamed the Sluggard. This prince was twenty years of age at the time of his father's death, but so feeble were his faculties that the ministers were obliged to put him under the guardianship of Hugh Capet. It appeared that the drama of a puppet king with the real monarch behind the throne was about to be reënacted. But the French barons were now tired of the ridiculous farce which had been performed at intervals since the days of the *Rois Faineants*, and they determined to have a real king or none. Loyalty to the Carlovingian dynasty was now almost extinguished, and the people—if the word people may be properly applied to the inhabitants of a European state in the tenth century—were ready for a revolution.

The logic of events at this crisis was assisted by the early death of Louis V., who reigned but little more than a year. His brother Charles, duke of Lorraine, was now the sole male survivor in the line of Charlemagne. Such, however, was the insipid character of this prince that he ceased, by his own worth-

lessness, to be a quantity in the problem. The event was ripe for consummation. The nobles looked to Hugh Capet as a king nominated by nature and approved by destiny. A race which had held the throne of France for two hundred and forty-six years, and which had really contributed to history but one great ruler, was now to give place to another, from which were to spring some of the greatest sovereigns of Europe.

Turning, then, to another branch of the Carolingian House, we find in Germany a list of princes not unlike those of France. It will be remembered that with the death of Louis the Debonair the empire of Charlemagne was divided among his three sons—Lothaire, Louis, and Charles. To the second of these princes was assigned Germany. He made his capital in Bavaria, and reigned until 876. German history may properly be said to begin with the treaty of Verdun in 843. The nature of the struggle among the three sons of the Debonair has already been sufficiently narrated in the history of the French Carolingians. It will be remembered that, in 869, Charles the Bald and Louis the German divided between them the territory which had fallen to Lothaire II., the line of division running between Verdun and Metz, thence along the Vosges, and terminating at the Rhine, near the city of Bale. It may also be recalled that the settlement of a succession in the House of the German was attended with as much difficulty as the Debonair had experienced with his sons. For Carloman and Louis, the heirs of the Emperor, were already before their father's death engaged in intrigues against each other or their father. It was partly to free himself from the presence of a dangerous aspirant that the Prince Carloman was sent by Louis to make war on the Wends and Slavonians, who were threatening the frontier of the Elbe. The year 875 was marked by another attempt on the part of the rulers of France and Germany to obtain possession of the kingdom of Italy. In this ambition Charles the Bald was more successful than his rival, and Louis, inflamed with jealous anger, prepared to make war on the French king. But in the year 876 he died, being then at the age of seventy-one.

With this event the German kingdom was partitioned among the three sons of the late sovereign, Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat. Hoping to avail himself of the distracted condition of the country, Charles the Bald marched against the German princes, but he was met at Andernach, on the Rhine, and terribly defeated by an army under command of Louis the Younger. The three brothers then peaceably adjusted their own differences. Bavaria, Carinthia, the Danubian provinces, and the half-sovereignty of Bohemia and Moravia were assigned to Carloman. Louis the Younger received all of Central and Northern Germany, while Charles the Fat became king of Suabia.

As soon as this settlement had been effected, Carloman proceeded to seize the kingdom of Italy; but before he could establish his authority he was struck with apoplexy and died, A. D. 880. As soon as he learned of the decease of his brother, Charles the Fat, who had already crossed the Alps with an army, compelled the Lombards to acknowledge his sovereignty, and was crowned by the Pope with the title of Charles III. In Germany Louis the Younger was recognized as the successor of Carloman, and Arnulf, legitimate son of the latter, was made Duke of Carinthia.

This condition of affairs continued until 882, when, by the death of the childless Louis the Younger, all Germany and Italy became united under Charles the Fat. It will be remembered that shortly after this consolidation of power in the East and South, the French Louis and Carloman, sons of Charles the Bald, died, leaving the crown of France to the imbecile stripling, Charles the Simple. Nor will it be forgotten that, when the latter intensified the folly of childhood by the absence of intellect, the French nobles offered the sovereignty to Charles the Fat, who by its acceptance became monarch of the reunited empire of Charlemagne.

The story of the invasion of the Northmen, and of the utter incapacity of the Emperor Charles to repel them from his dominions, need not be repeated. Such were his feebleness and timidity that he soon lost all hold upon the confidence of his nobles, in so much that a conspiracy was organized against him,

and in 887 he was driven from the throne, to spend the remaining year of his life on an estate in Suabia.

At this crisis nature again asserted her superiority over legitimacy. Duke ARNULF, the bastard grandson of Louis the German, was recognized as the successor of Charles the Fat in Germany. The Frankish dominions, as already narrated, began to be dismembered. The kingdom of Burgundy was founded, with Arles for its capital. In Italy, Berengar, duke of Friuli, seized upon the inheritance of the Carolingians; while Eastern France and Western Switzerland were given to Duke Conrad, grandson of Louis the Debonair. As for King Arnulf, he adopted the policy of attending strictly to his own dominions. He successfully and finally drove back the Danes from his northern and the Bohemians from his eastern frontiers. Against the latter people he pursued his advantage by making an invasion of their country. Half-barbaric Bohemia was thus ground between the upper and the nether mill-stone. For at this juncture the fierce, blood-drinking Magyars, most savage of the Finnish race, had burst out of Hungary on the east, and were rivaling the hordes of Attila in their devastating course.

Having completed his conquest in Bohemia, Arnulf returned into his own kingdom, and in 894 was called to Italy to assist Berengar against a dangerous rival. But the most important of Arnulf's acts related to the Church. Ambitious to be made Emperor, and therefore eager to secure the support of the popes, the king favored the ecclesiastical body to the last degree. He issued an edict that the civil officers should execute the decrees of the clergy; and to this was added another that those who were excommunicated should forfeit all civil rights. The hitherto but half-avowed purposes of the popes to claim a temporal dominion over the nations, began to be more openly advanced under the stimulus thus afforded by the secular ruler of Germany. In the mean time a series of documents, called the *Isidorian Decretals*, were brought to light and gave still further encouragement to the ambitions of the Roman pontiffs. These celebrated parchments received their name from Bishop Isidorus, of Seville, by whom they were said to have been written.

They purported to be a reproduction of the decrees of the ancient councils of the Church, and in them the claims of the popes to be regarded as the vicars of Christ, the vicegerents of God on earth, and the rightful arbiters of all human affairs, whether ecclesiastical or civil, were unequivocally asserted. Upon these claims the Church now planted herself, and looked here and there for the means with which to maintain her position.

King Arnulf soon found his reward. The Pope Formosus was at this time in the power of a Lombard prince, on whose head he had been compelled to place the crown of empire. Under the pretext of liberating His Holiness from bondage, the German king led an army into Italy, set free Formosus, captured Rome, and was himself crowned as Emperor. Here, however, his good fortune came to a sudden end. Shortly after his coronation he was poisoned, and though he lingered for three years before death put a period to his sufferings, he had little further control of public affairs. He died in 899, and was succeeded by his son, known as LOUIS THE CHILD, the last prince of the Carolingian line in Germany. He occupied the throne from his father's death until the year 910, when he and the German army were defeated in a great battle with the Hungarians. The young king fled from the field of his overthrow, consented to pay tribute as a condition of peace, and died in the following year.

On the extinction of the Carolingian House in Germany, the crown of that kingdom would, according to the terms of the treaty of Verdun, have descended to Charles the Simple, then on the throne of France. But the German nobles had become too independent to submit themselves again to a Frankish sovereign. They accordingly met in a diet at Forcheim and chose for their king Duke Conrad of Franconia. He belonged by family to the Salian Franks, and thus was established what is known as the SALIAN DYNASTY, instead of the Carolingian. Pope Stephen III. had threatened to anathematize all who acknowledged allegiance to any Emperor not a descendant of Charlemagne. But King Conrad, fearing him not, accepted the honor conferred by the diet, and was crowned by Hatto, archbishop of Mayence.

The new king of Germany soon showed himself to be a brave and generous ruler. Great was the favor with which he was received by his subjects, and great his abilities in court and field. But the success of his government was by no means equal to his deservings. The Hungarians again invaded the country, and were defeated in a great battle by the Bavarians and Suabians; but the

monarch despaired of upholding the kingdom. He accordingly, when near his death, ordered his brother Eberhard to bear the crown and scepter to HENRY OF SAXONY, whom he declared to be the only prince capable of ruling Germany. The ambassadors found their prince expectant netting finches in a valley near the Hartz, from which circumstance they gave him the sobriquet of *the Fowler*. In the



CONRAD ELECTED KING OF GERMANY.

counts, Arnulf, Berthold, and Erchanger, who commanded the king's forces, now set their sovereign at defiance and would fain rule as independent princes. Conrad succeeded in deposing them; but Arnulf fled to the Hungarians and incited them to march again into Germany. The king, thus badgered and distressed, appealed to the Pope for succor; but the latter replied that Conrad should pay tithes. Being wounded in a battle with the Hungarians, the unfortunate

year 919 he was, after the old German fashion, lifted upon the shields of the nobles and proclaimed as king. When it came, however, to the ceremony of anointing he refused to accept the rite, the king declaring that he was only a ruler of the people. Thus was a lineal descendant of Wittikind, the old foe of Charlemagne, seated on the throne of Germany.

The new king justified the expectations of his subjects. Though war broke out almost immediately in Suabia, Bavaria, and Lor-

raine, Henry easily succeeded, rather by pacific conduct than by open force, in bringing his rivals to submission. In like manner was settled a difficulty with Charles the Simple, of France, with whom, in the year 921, a treaty was made defining the territorial boundaries of the two kingdoms. Three years afterwards the Hungarians again invaded Conrad's kingdom, and over them he likewise obtained the advantage by a superiority of wit. Having had the good fortune to capture one of the Hungarian chiefs, the king would accept as the condition of his liberation nothing less than a nine years' truce. A breathing-time was thus obtained in which to prepare for the next outbreak of war.

King Henry labored incessantly to bring his army to a better discipline and his people to a better government. In both of these duties he was preëminently successful. The Saxon warriors, hitherto accustomed to fight only on foot, were exercised as horsemen until their skill became equal to that of the best. The frontier of the kingdom on the side of danger was carefully surveyed, and the fortified towns of Quedlinburg, Merseburg, and Meissen were founded within supporting distance of each other. The people were ordered to store within the fortified inclosures one-third of the products of their fields, and regular markets were instituted in order to facilitate the transfer of supplies.

Having now a well-disciplined army, Henry tried the mettle of his soldiers in a campaign against the Slavonians beyond the Elbe. In 928 he conquered the province of Brandenburg, which was destined in after times to expand into the kingdom of Prussia. His conquests in Bohemia were extended to the river Oder; and in 932 Lusatia, or East Saxony, was added to his dominions, thus advancing his frontier line from Stettin, on the Baltic, to Vienna, on the Danube.

Finally, when the nine years' truce with the Hungarians had expired, King Henry, who, in order to secure the truce, had agreed to pay tribute in the interim, sent as his annual contribution to the Hungarian treasury *a mangy dog!* The insult was easily understood, and the Magyars rushed to the conflict with such fury that the king's forces were at first stunned by the shock; but they soon

rallied and inflicted one defeat after another on the enemy until, in 933, the contest was decided by a great victory, in which the Hungarian army was well-nigh annihilated.

A short time afterwards Henry made a successful war on Gorm, the king of Denmark. The latter was driven back across the Eider, and Schleswig was annexed to Germany. Having thus conquered a peace throughout his dominions, the king seemed destined to a long and glorious reign; but in the year 935 he fell under a stroke of apoplexy and came to his death. While he lingered, however, he called a diet at Erfurt, and his second son Otho, afterwards known as OTHO THE GREAT, was chosen for the succession. Though the king had two other sons, no attempt was made again to divide the kingdom, the unity of which had been achieved only after a century of turmoil.

Henry the Fowler died in the summer of 936. Otho was accepted without opposition, and was crowned with a splendid ceremony in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The dukes of Lorraine, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria served as chamberlain, steward, cup-bearer, and marshal at the coronation. Nor was there wanting any circumstance of pomp to this royal spectacle, which so critical a thinker as Bayard Taylor has declared to be "the first national event of a spontaneous character which took place in Germany."

Without the prudence and patience of his father, King Otho equaled that monarch in energy and surpassed him in genius. Great, however, as were his abilities, and distinguished as was his reign, he failed—could but fail—to give unity and nationality to the German people. The various parts of the Teutonic race were still discordant, belligerent. Nor could it be hoped that a German king of the tenth century could do more than hold together by the force of his will and the magic of his sword the as yet heterogeneous parts of his people.

The first duty of Emperor Otho was to repel the Bohemians and Wends, who had made their way into Brandenburg. The wars that ensued were of considerable duration, but victory remained with the Germans. The Hungarians were also defeated in Thuringia and Saxony. But while these successes crowned

the king's arms abroad, a civil feud of serious proportions disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Eberhard and Thankmar, the son of a divorced wife of Henry the Fowler, and therefore half-brother to Otho, conspired with Giselbert, duke of Lorraine, to achieve independence in their respective provinces. The Saxon nobles, also, were offended because of the preëminence of the king's favorite general, Count Hermann, and joined the insubordinate dukes. The situation portended great peril to the king; but the conspirators failed to act in concert, and Otho was victorious. Thankmar was killed and Eberhard obliged to put himself at the mercy of his sovereign. Meanwhile, however, the king's younger brother, Henry, had been tempted into sedition, and the revolt suddenly broke out anew. This time the insurgents were headed by Giselbert, Eberhard, and Prince Henry. Otho again took the field and marched to the Rhine; but while part of his forces were on one side of the river and part on the other, he was attacked by the rebel dukes. For the time it seemed that every thing was lost. But Otho exhibited the greatest heroism; his men rallied to the charge, and the insurgent army was annihilated.

Now it was that the defeated princes sought aid of Louis d'Outremer of France. Nor was the petition refused. A French army penetrated Alsatia. All of the territory west of the Rhine was overrun. The fate of the Emperor again hung in the balance, but his courage was equal to the occasion. Marching to the frontier, he gained the day in several minor engagements, and finally won a great victory in the battle of Andernach. Eberhard was slain and Giselbert drowned in the river. The French fled towards Paris, whither they were pursued by Otho; but the fortifications of the city bade defiance to the Germans. Negotiations were presently opened between the two monarchs, and a definitive treaty was made, by which Lorraine was assigned to the Emperor and the other boundaries reëstablished as before.

Otho again showed his magnanimity by pardoning his brother Henry. The prince was sent to be governor of Lorraine; but unable to defend himself in the position to which he had been assigned, he entered into a plot with

the archbishop of Mayence to assassinate the Emperor. But their treason was discovered, and the conspirators, with the exception of Henry, were put to death. The prince himself was thrown into prison; but having at length made his escape, he was a third time pardoned by Otho.

Meanwhile the German dominion was firmly established beyond the Elbe. The Slavonian and Wendic tribes were beaten back into remoter territories. The Emperor himself made an expedition against Harold the Blue-tooth, king of Denmark; and marching to the end's-land of Jutland, threw his spear into the sea as a token of his dominion even to the brine of the North.

In the year 946 Emperor Otho was called upon by Louis, king of France, to assist him in that war which he was then waging with Hugh the Great and the barons. The two monarchs were brothers-in-law, and this affinity, together with the natural interest of the German ruler in seeing the ambitions of the nobles curtailed, led him to accept the invitation. He marched an army of thirty-two thousand men into Normandy; but no great success attended the movements of the allied monarchs, and Count Hugh held out several years before he was brought to submission.

In the mean time, a complication had arisen in Italy which drew the Emperor's attention. After the times of Charlemagne, that unfortunate country had been left to the mercy of the winds. The Saracens, Greeks, Normans, and Hungarians had assailed the Italian coasts at will. Neither the impotent Pope nor the shadowy Roman Emperor beyond the mountains was able to afford relief. In this condition of affairs, Berengar, duke of Friuli, one of those strong and turbulent spirits that arise from the great deep in times of anarchy, had himself proclaimed king of Italy. He demanded in marriage the Princess Adelheid, sister of Conrad of Burgundy. But she refused to accept so rough a lord, and was thrown into prison. She managed from thence to send a message to Otho, who at once conceived the double project of liberating the princess and claiming her for himself. For his English queen, Edith, was now dead.

The Emperor accordingly crossed the Alps

with a large army, defeated Berengar, captured the cities of Verona, Pavia, and Milan, married Adelheid, and assumed the title of king of Italy. Berengar was permitted to retain the crown of Lombardy on condition of surrendering the country from Venice to Istria.

Soon after this event another revolt, headed by the princes Rudolf of Suabia and Conrad of Lorraine, broke out in Italy. For nearly four years the country was plunged into civil war. At length the rebellious princes permitted the Hungarians to pass unopposed through their provinces to the end that the invaders might fall upon the Emperor. This action aroused the Teutonic spirit against the rebels, and the revolt was brought to an end in the year 954.

The Hungarians, however, were not yet conquered. In 955 they returned to the attack, but were defeated by Otho in a great battle near Augsburg. So signal was the overthrow of the barbarians that but few of them escaped to their own country. Nor did they ever afterwards dare to renew the conflict. In a short time Prince Henry of Bavaria died, as did also Rudolf, son of Otho. Civil war came to an end in Germany. In the lull that ensued Otho found opportunity to gratify his ambition by a coronation at Rome. Pope John XII., then a youth but seven years of age, officiated at the ceremony, and the title of *Roman* Emperor was again borne by a prince of Germany.

It was not long, however, until the boy Pope repented of his action and would fain destroy the traditional rights which he had conferred on Otho at the coronation. He sought to stir up the whole world against him. He wrote to the Emperor of the East to aid him in deposing Otho from power. He incited all Italy to revolt, and tried to induce the Hungarians and the Saracens of Corsica to make war on the Germans. The Emperor, however, met the emergency with great boldness. He marched into Italy, captured Rome, deposed the Pope, drove Berengar into exile, reduced the country to quiet, and in 965 returned in triumph to Aix-la-Chapelle.

The ambition of Otho was greatly inflamed by these successes. He began to neg-

lect the real interests of the German people for the fictitious splendors of a court. He demanded as wife for his son Otho the Princess Theophania, daughter of the Emperor of the East; and when the latter was reluctant to comply, the German sovereign attempted to overthrow the Byzantine rule in Italy. Theophania was at length given to the Prince Otho, and was sent to the German capital in the year 972. In the following year the successes of the Emperor were duly celebrated at a great Easter festival in the city of Quedlinburg. No pageant so splendid had been witnessed since the days of Charlemagne. The dukes and counts of the Empire, the kings of Bohemia and Poland, ambassadors from the Emperor of the East, from the Caliph of Cordova, and from the kings of Bulgaria, Russia, Denmark, and Hungaria were present at the fête. Soon afterwards the Emperor, foreseeing his end, retired to Memleben, in Thuringia, and there was presently stricken with apoplexy. He lingered for a brief season, died sitting in his chair, and was buried in Magdeburg.

Having thus traced the history of Germany from the accession of the Carlovingian line to the death of Otho the Great, it will be appropriate to turn to another field of observation. The consolidation of the English Heptarchy and the growth of a regular monarchy on the ruins of the Saxon states of Britain may now well claim our attention. It is only necessary, before concluding the present chapter, to remark that, as will have already been observed by the careful reader, the history of Italy, the third of the Carlovingian kingdoms, during the ninth and tenth centuries, is so intimately involved with that of Germany and France that a separate sketch from the Italian point of view is altogether superfluous. As a matter of fact, Italy had already become—as she was destined to remain—an appanage of the greater states north of the Alps, and her local annals during this, the epoch of her ruin and decay, are devoid alike of interest and instruction. In the following Book the history of France will be resumed with the triumph of the House of Capet, and that of Germany with the accession of Otho II.

CHAPTER XI.—ALFRED AND HIS SUCCESSORS.



F the career of Egbert, the powerful king of Wessex, a sketch has already been given in the First Book of the present volume.¹ It will be remembered that in the first quarter of the ninth century this distinguished ruler succeeded in bringing under one sovereignty all the states of the Heptarchy. He disclaimed for himself, however, the title of king of *England*, being content with that of *Wessex*. The peace of his long reign was by no means undisturbed; for now it was that the Northmen began to prey upon the coasts of England. In the year 832 a band of these audacious pirates captured and ravaged the island of Sheppey. In the next year Dorsetshire suffered a similar fate. The method of the Danes was to fall upon a given coast, rob, devastate, and fly. Attempting to protect his shores, King Egbert was himself at one time in imminent danger of capture. In 834 the Northmen invaded Devonshire, being joined on the expedition by the rebellious people of Land's End. Others of the old Britons espoused the cause of the Danes; but Egbert, equal to the emergency, met the enemy at Hengsdown Hill, and defeated them with great slaughter. So decisive was the victory that for two years the pirates kept aloof; but the career of Egbert was already at an end. He died in the year 836, and was succeeded by Ethelwulf, his oldest surviving son.

At this time might be noticed in the rising monarchy of England the same disposition which has so many times been remarked in the history of Germany and France, to divide among several sons the political power which had been held by the father. Such was the policy of Ethelwulf, who, on coming to the throne, gave up Kent, Sussex, and Essex to be held as a separate kingdom by his son Athelstane. For himself he retained *Wessex* and *Mercia*, but the latter soon revolted and

became independent. Nor were the Danes slow to perceive the broken-up condition of England. They returned like birds of prey. They took and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. In 851 a congress of the Saxon Thanes was held at Kingsbury, and measures of defense were planned against the Danes. In the course of the ensuing struggle Barhulf, king of Mercia, was killed. But the West Saxons, led by Ethelwulf, won a great victory over the enemy in Surrey. Athelstane, king of Kent, was hardly less successful in a battle at Sandwich, where he took nine ships from the pirates. The men of Devonshire also gained a victory at Wenbury, and the sea-robbers, thus baffled at every point, turned from the island, which seemed to bristle with Saxon spears, and fell upon the more inviting fields and hamlets of France.

The devout Ethelwulf now found opportunity to make a pilgrimage to Rome. In 853 he crossed the Alps, and was received with honor in the Eternal City. On his return he fell in love—for such is the phrase of man—with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and her he took in marriage. In the mean time Athelstane, king of Kent, died, and the king's next oldest son, Ethelbald, engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone his father. The ostensible reason for the treasonable plot was found in the fact that Ethelwulf had had his new French wife crowned as queen in the cathedral of Rheims. He had actually eaten with her at the table! Such insults were not to be borne by Anglo-Saxon patriotism. Thus came it to pass that when Ethelwulf returned with his bride to England, he found his hostile subjects in arms to oppose him. The aged monarch would not go to war to maintain his rights, but agreed to a compromise, by which the western and better portion of *Wessex* was given up to his rebellious son. In 857 the old king died, and Ethelbald succeeded to his whole dominions.

On his succession to the full crown of *Wessex*, King Ethelbald claimed his father's

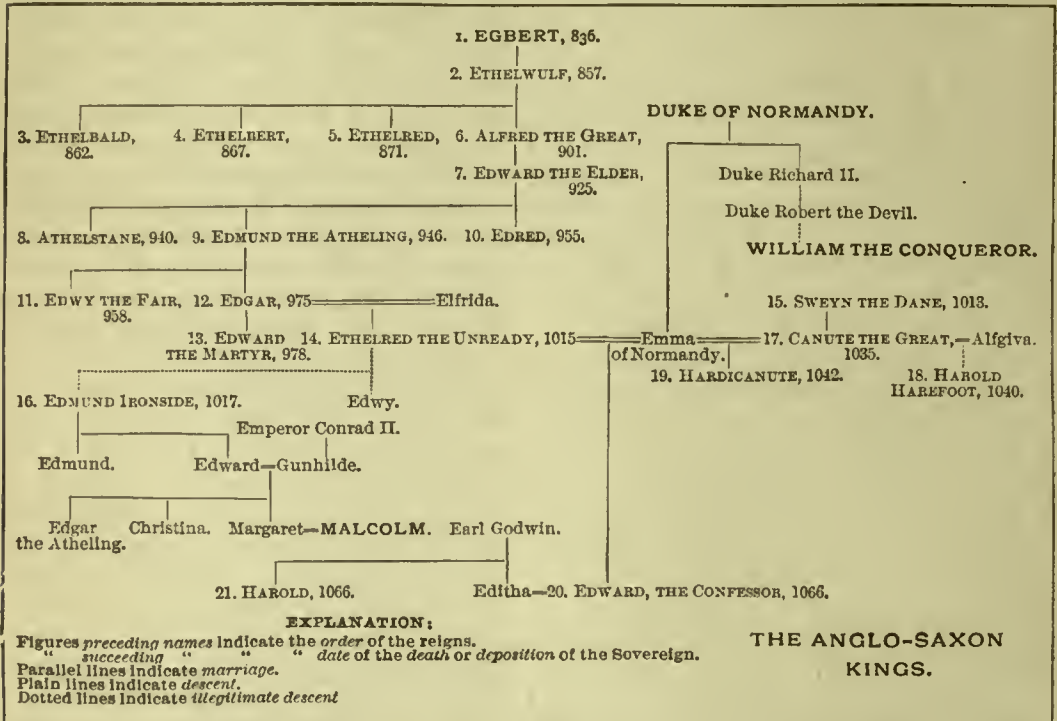
¹ See Vol. II., Book First, p. 88.

widow for his wife, from which it appeared that his antipathy to a French queen did not apply to his own case. The Romish Church, however, was horrified at this forbidden marriage, and soon compelled its abrogation by divorce.¹

Ethelbald was succeeded in the kingdom by Ethelbert, who, after a short and inglorious reign, died in the year 866. The crown thereupon descended to the third brother, Ethelred, in whose reign the Danes again swarmed in innumerable hosts along the shores of England. They had already invaded Wes-

sex the mass was over, Alfred threw himself with his West Saxons upon the on-coming Danes, and thus saved the king's cause from ruin. In the battles of Basing and Mereton, which were fought soon afterwards, Ethelred was defeated. In the last-named conflict he received a wound from which he presently died, and in 871 the crown descended without opposition to the popular Prince ALFRED.

The new king was destined to an inheritance of war and glory. Within a month after his succession he was obliged to fight a terrible battle with the Danes. Near night-



sex and burned Winchester, which was then the capital. They had established themselves in the Isle of Thanet, from which they now went forth to ravage, plunder, and destroy. Ethelred is said to have fought nine pitched battles with these ferocious marauders. It was in the course of these furious conflicts that the military genius of Prince Alfred, youngest but greatest son of Ethelwulf, began to be displayed. In the hard-fought battle of Ashton, while the pious Ethelred was at his prayers and refused to go into the fight until

fall the field was won by the Saxons; but the pagans, seeing by how few they were pursued, turned and regained as much as they had lost. Nevertheless, so great had been their losses that they were fain to conclude a treaty. Withdrawing from Wessex, the Northmen went to London, and there passed the winter. In the following year they ravaged Lincolnshire, and then, repairing to Derby, took up their quarters at Repton. In 875 Northumbria was overrun by the Danes as far as the friths of Clyde and Forth, where they came into contact with the Scots. Halfdane, leader of this marauding host, di-

¹ For the subsequent career of Queen Judith, see Vol. II., Book First, p. 89.

vided Northumbria among his followers, who, mingling with the Anglo-Saxons, were, in the course of some generations, united into a single people. Another army of Northmen captured Cambridge, which they fortified and converted into a camp. Having thus overrun the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, the Danes again looked to the West Saxons and their king, between whom and themselves a contest was now to be waged for the mastery of England.

The prudent Alfred, having now had the advantages of a three years' truce, had employed the interval in preparations. Especially had his wisdom been revealed in the construction of a fleet, which, though small and rude, may be regarded as the beginning of England's greatness on the sea. Originally the Anglo-Saxons had been as skillful and courageous seamen as the Danes themselves. But in the course of four centuries from the coming of Hengist and Horsa their followers had given over the maritime life, forgotten the management of ships, and degenerated into swineherds and peasants. Not, indeed, that the warlike valor of the race was in any wise abated, but the settled life had superseded the piratical habit, and the mastery of the sea had passed to their kinsmen of the North.

Meanwhile the Danes, breaking from their winter camp at Cambridge, swore by their golden bracelets that they would drive the West Saxons from the land. In Dorsetshire they surprised the castle of Wareham and devastated the surrounding country. Soon afterwards, however, the Danish squadron was attacked and destroyed by Alfred's rude flotilla. The effect was electrical upon both parties, being inspiration to the Saxons and paralysis to the Danes. The latter speedily agreed to make peace and evacuate the kingdom. King Alfred made his enemy swear upon the relics of the saints that they would abstain from further injury. But on the very next night, as the king was journeying with a small band of followers towards Winchester, the oath-breaking pagans fell upon him, and he narrowly escaped with his life. The Danes then retired to Exeter, where they were joined by others of their nation, and the war was renewed with more violence than ever.

It now became the policy of the Northmen to incite the people of Cornwall to revolt. In order to strengthen the insurrection in the West a Danish fleet put to sea from the mouth of the Thames. But Alfred's courageous navy unattacked and destroyed the hostile squadron. The army of the king had in the mean time marched against Exeter. Here Guthrun, king of the Danes, was besieged; but learning that his flotilla had been destroyed, he gladly capitulated, and, giving hostages to Alfred, retired with his army into Mercia.

In these fierce conflicts between Alfred and his antagonist it soon became apparent that the faith of the Danes even when supported by the most solemn oaths, was utterly valueless as a basis of trust or action. No sooner had King Guthrun returned into Mercia than he prepared to renew the war. His maneuvers exhibited such skill as in a civilized ruler would have indicated a chief of diplomacy. He advanced his head-quarters to Gloucester, a position as near as practicable to that of Alfred. At this place his followers rallied in great numbers, and their presence was a source of constant alarm to the kingdom of Wessex.

The time had now come for a new departure by King Guthrun. Hitherto the devastating excursions of the Danes had always been conducted in summer. In winter they shut themselves up in some fortified town and spent the frozen season in drinking and carousing, after the manner of the men of the North. On the first day of January, 878, the king of the Danes issued to his followers a secret order to meet him on horseback at a certain rendezvous. King Alfred was at that time in his capital at Chippenham, little anticipating the impending attack. While he and his Saxons were observing the feast of the Epiphany the Danes suddenly burst through the gates with an overwhelming force, and the king barely saved himself by flight. Accompanied by a small band of faithful followers, he fled into the woods and concealed himself in the somber moorlands of the West. Chippenham was pillaged by the victorious marauders, who then rode in triumph from one end of Wessex to the other. Some of the inhabitants made their way to the Isle of Wight. Some escaped to the continent. Most of the peas-

antry remained and were reduced to an ignominious servitude by their Danish masters.

In the county of Somerset a heroic band still upheld the banners of the king; but when Alfred came among them he was obliged, for fear of treachery, to hide himself in the fenlands. He found a lurking-place in the forests of Prince's Island, which was then the haunt of wild beasts and the home of outlaws. Here the king was obliged to maintain himself as best he could by fishing and the chase. Sometimes he and his companions would sally forth by night, and, falling secretly upon the

In this extremity of his fortunes the king was discovered by others of his faithful friends. Many rallied around him as the hope of Saxon England. The islet where they gathered, was fortified, and Alfred began to look forward to an escape from his shameful subjection. His spirit was also strengthened by a vision of St. Cuthbert, who came to him in the guise of a pilgrim, begging alms. With him the king divided his only loaf, and the pilgrim went away; but he returned by night and comforted the king with assurances of success.—Such is a pious tradition of the times.



KING ALFRED IN THE PEASANT'S HUT.

Danes, plunder some exposed camp and then return to covert. To this epoch of extreme hardship belongs the story of Alfred's visit to the hut of the swineherd, where he lodged for some time unknown to the peasant and his wife. One day, while the king sat moody by the hearthstone, and the woman of the hovel was baking bread, he noticed not that the loaves were burning. The housewife, at length discovering the ruin of her bread, rushed upon him with angry gesture and exclaimed: "You man! you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it!"

Meanwhile, the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire took heart against the Danes and flocked to the camp of Alfred, now no longer concealed. The courage of the gathering army was still further kindled by an event in Devon. Hubba, one of the Danish chiefs, had landed with a large force in that province; but the men of Devon rose upon them in great might, slew the king with nine hundred of his followers, and captured their banner, embroidered with the terrible raven of Denmark.

Already the king ventured forth and skirmished with the enemy. Determining to as-

certain the number and resources of the Danes, he adopted the hazardous expedient of going into their camp in disguise. He accordingly clad himself as a minstrel (called *gleeman* by the Anglo-Saxons), and gained an entrance in this garb to the camp of King Guthrun. There he entertained the warriors with ballads and songs; but he carefully noted the condition of the camp, and was delighted to observe the security in which the Danes were resting. He obtained full information of their plans and purposes and then returned to his own retreat in safety.

Believing that the time had come to strike a decisive blow, Alfred now sent word to the warriors of Wessex to rendezvous in Selwood forest. His faithful subjects flocked to the designated spot, knowing not, however, that their king had sent the summons. Great was the joy of the army on the sudden appearance of the beloved Alfred among them. The enthusiasm of the Saxons rose to the highest pitch, and the king, perceiving that the auspicious hour had come, marched rapidly upon the Danes at Ethandune. Here a great battle was fought, in which the enemy, taken completely by surprise, was utterly routed. Guthrun, with the remnant of his forces, fled to his fortifications, whither he was immediately pursued and besieged by the Saxons. After a fortnight the supplies of the Danes were exhausted, and Guthrun was obliged to capitulate. Not hoping to drive the enemy out of England, Alfred demanded that the Danes should evacuate all Wessex, and that their king should receive Christian baptism. The enlightened policy of the Saxon king was clearly shown in the conditions which he imposed. Guthrun accepted the terms which were offered, and Alfred, with the consent of his Thanes, made to him a cession of all the eastern part of the island from the Thames to the Humber.¹ The kingdom of North Umbria, lying beyond the Humber, was already under the dominion of the Danes; so that after the treaty their territories, which now

¹The language of King Alfred's cession to the Danes is as follows: "Let the bounds of our dominion stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water; and thence straight unto Bedford, and finally going along by the river Ouse let them end at Watlingstreet."

took the name of *Danelagh*, extended from the Thames to the Tweed. The policy of Alfred, as it respected the foreigners in England, evidently contemplated their fusion with the Saxons and the consequent production of a single people in the island. At the baptism of the Danish king, his generous conqueror answered for him at the font. He received the name of Athelstan, and in 878 was dismissed to his own territory, loaded with presents.

After this treaty between the Danes and Saxons, the two peoples lived in comparative peace; but this was true only of the Northmen already in the island. Other pagan hordes kept pouring in from Denmark and infesting the shores of Saxon England. It was the epoch when Holland, Belgium, France, and Britain were alternately assailed by the northern pirates, and the success of any of these countries in beating back the marauders was generally an index of the inability of some other to beat them off. Thus when Alfred repelled them from his shores, they redoubled the fury of their assaults in the Low Countries and in France.

In his relations with the English Danes, Alfred exhibited his liberality and prudence. The laws of the two peoples were gradually assimilated. It was agreed that Danish subjects should be regarded as under the protection of Saxon statutes. If an Englishman slew a Dane, he was punished in the same manner and degree as though his victim had been of the homicide's own race. All fines were assessed in the money of both people and were payable in that of either. The intercourse between the Saxon and Danish soldiery was carefully regulated to the end that incursions, reprisals, and retaliations might be avoided.

Now it was that King Alfred began to display his qualities as a civilizer. In his boyhood he had been taken by his father to Rome, and had there imbibed a taste for the culture of the South. He longed to see his own people humanized and refined by the influence of letters. With a view to planting the seeds of learning, he invited Asser, a monk of St. David's, who was then esteemed the greatest philosopher in England, to come to his court, that he might profit by the con-

versations and instructions of one so learned. For a long time Asser remained with the king, reading with him out of the best books and teaching him from the abundance of his lore. The ties between the distinguished monk and his sovereign became as enduring as they were affectionate. The royal mind and the mind of the scholar coöperated to kindle in the fogs of our ancestral island, even

soon, though on the immediate frontier of Danelagh, became one of the most important cities of the kingdom.

In the mean time the fleet of England had been steadily extending the Saxon dominion on the sea. At the first the king had found it necessary, on account of the inexperience of his own sailors, to employ foreign captains for his flotilla. Many Frieslanders, skillful in the management of vessels, were procured as officers, and the king's squadron, thus manned and commanded, became equal, if not superior, to the fleets of the Danes. In the year 882, and again in 885, decisive victories were gained by the English armament.

By his wisdom in administration and his successes in war, Alfred so strengthened his kingdom that his enemies were kept at bay. For a period of seven years, during which time the attention of the pagans of the North was almost wholly occupied in Flanders and in France, the realms ruled by the king of the West Saxons had peace and plenty. Already in the green pastures of England were seen those flocks and herds which for more than a thousand years have constituted a leading feature of the

wealth of the island. But while this prosperity prevailed in the insular kingdom, certain parts of the continent, particularly those which were infested by the Danes, were distressed with a grievous famine. This condition of affairs soon led the Northmen to abandon the regions of starvation for the realms of plenty. The very prosperity of England became a bait to allure once more to her shores the wolfish pirates of the Baltic.

In the year 893, the most formidable fleet of Danes ever thus far seen in English waters appeared off the coast of Romney Marsh. The armament consisted of two hundred and



ALFRED THE GREAT.

in the darkness of a gloomy and violent age, that torch of gentle radiance which shineth in the darkness.

In the year 886, while the piratical Danes were engaged in the siege of Paris, King Alfred availed himself of the opportunity to rebuild and fortify the city of London. This ancient municipality, the founding of which is said to antedate the Roman conquest, had been burned by the Danes, and the place was reduced almost to a waste. Under the patronage of the king, the city arose from her ashes and soon became more populous than ever. Ethelred, earl of Mercia and son-in-law of the king, was made protector of London, which

fifty ships, every vessel being filled with warriors and horses gathered out of Flanders and France. The fleet anchored at the eastern termination of the Wood of Anderida, near the mouth of the river Limine, into which they towed their vessels. The invaders then marched inland and constructed a fortified camp at Appledore. In the same year, the celebrated Hastings, commander-in-chief of the Danish fleet, sailed up the Thames with a squadron of eighty ships and debarked at Milton. Here, also, a strong fortification was constructed. For the Danes had now grown wary of the English king, and acted on the defensive. The aged Guthrun was dead, and his conservative influence was no longer felt in the movements of his countrymen. Every thing conspired to stake once more the fate of England on the issue of battle. In the struggle that ensued, the military skill and valor of King Alfred were fairly weighed against the prowess of the brave and audacious Hastings.

The genius of the king now appeared conspicuous. According to Saxon law, the militia of the kingdom could only be called into the field for the space of forty days. This short period of service seemed an insuperable difficulty in the organization of an army. To remove this embarrassment, the king adopted the plan of organizing his forces into two divisions, whose duties alternated between the home service and the service of the field. He thus succeeded in producing a more permanent and thoroughly disciplined army than had been seen in Britain since the days of the Romans.

Having in this manner prepared himself for the conflict, the king advanced into Kent and secured a position between the two divisions of the Danes. His station was chosen with so much skill and held with so much courage that the two armies of the Northmen could in no way form a junction. From his camp he sent forth small detachments of troops to scour the country in all directions, and cut off supplies from the Danes. The latter were thus brought to the extremity of breaking up their camp and leaving the kingdom. But this movement of Hastings was only a feint.

The Danish army, encamped on the Limine, instead of sailing away, marched rapidly

to Alfred's rear. When the king turned about and followed this division of the enemy, Hastings, who had apparently put to sea, returned to Beufleet in Essex. Alfred, however, continued his pursuit of the other army, and overtook them at Farnham, in Surrey. Here a great battle was fought, in which the Saxons were victorious. Those of the Danes who escaped were pursued through Middlesex and Essex across the river Coln into the Isle of Mersey. Here they were besieged by Alfred and compelled to sue for peace. They surrendered on condition of an immediate departure from England.

But before Alfred could enforce the terms of capitulation the men of Danelagh rose in revolt, and created such a diversion that the attention of Alfred was immediately drawn to other parts of his kingdom. A large Danish fleet bore down upon the coast of Devon, and the city of Exeter was besieged. Another armament, equipped by the enemy in Northumbria, sailed around Scotland, and, descending the western coast as far as Bristol Channel, entered that water, and laid siege to a fortified town on the Severn. The king was thus obliged to make all speed from Essex to the West. On reaching Exeter he attacked and overthrew the Danes, driving them pell-mell to their ships. In like manner the Saxons fell upon the enemy at Severn, and obliged the raising of the siege. While these movements were in progress the king's son-in-law, Ethelred, rallied the soldiery of London, attacked the fortified post of the enemy at Benfleet, captured the Danish encampment, and made captives of the wife of Hastings and his two sons. With a generosity unusual, perhaps unequalled in those half-barbaric times, the king ordered the prisoners to be returned to the Danish chieftain. It was an act which would have been expected in vain at the hands of Charlemagne, or even of Otho the Great.

It appears that Hastings had but a feeble appreciation of the chivalrous conduct of his adversary. In a short time he reappeared with his fleet in the Thames, and then marched to the West. He traversed the country as far as the Severn, and established himself at Buttington. But the Welsh as well as the Saxons were now thoroughly aroused, and with them made a common cause against the

invader. Hastings was surrounded and besieged. Supplies were cut off, and Alfred soon had the pleasure of hearing that the pent-up Danes were reduced to the extremity of filling their insatiable maws with the flesh of their own half-starved horses. The Danish leader, however, knew no such word as despair. Summoning all his resources for the effort, he dashed himself upon the line of the besiegers and succeeded in breaking through. But the desperate exploit cost him the larger part of his forces. With the remainder he retraced his course and reached his fleet on the coast of Essex.

In the following winter Hastings was reinforced by men out of Danelagh. With the opening of spring he made an expedition into the central counties of the kingdom. He gained possession of the town of Chester, fortified of old by the Romans, and here established himself in a position impregnable to assault. So skillful, however, were the maneuvers of Alfred that Hastings in a short time found his supplies cut off, and, dreading a repetition of his experience at Buttington, left Chester and marched into the north of Wales. In that country they were confronted and turned back by an army of Welsh and Saxons. On the retreat the Danes traversed Northumbria, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and finally reached their winter quarters in Essex.

In the following year Hastings ascended the river Lea and erected a fortress at Ware. Here he was attacked by the men of London, but the latter were defeated with great losses. Alfred was obliged to protect the people of the city by encamping between it and the position of the Danish army. At this juncture the genius of the king stood him well in hand. Taking possession of the Lea at a point below the town of Ware, he threw up fortifications and then digged three deep and broad canals from the river to the Thames. The waters of the Lea were thus drained into the parent stream, and the Danish fleet, left high and dry, was rendered useless. Perceiving his critical condition, Hastings abandoned every thing, broke from his camp by night, and made for the Severn. Here he took up a strong position at Quatbridge, and having fortified his camp, remained therein during the

winter. Meanwhile the men of London made their way to the Lea, seized the stranded fleet, destroyed what ships they could not drag away, and floated the rest down to the city.

It was now evident that the career of Hastings on English soil was well-nigh at an end. His expeditions had been gradually restricted to the poorer districts of the country, and his ill success during the last three years had destroyed his prestige with his own people. While in their winter quarters at Quatbridge, the Danish leaders quarreled, and with the opening of the spring of 897, these restless followers of the raven of Denmark left their fortifications, broke up into small detachments and scattered in all directions. A few who still adhered to the fortunes of Hastings made their way to the eastern coast, where they equipped a small fleet and sailed away to France.

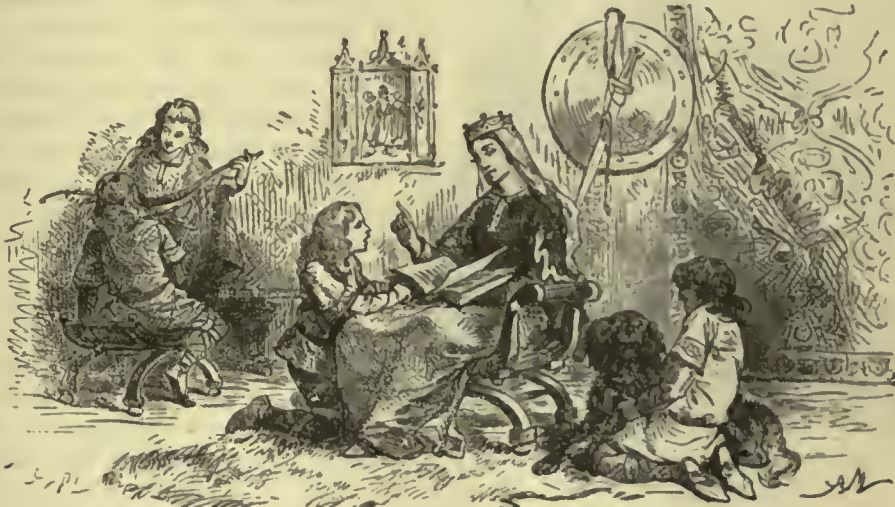
So rapid had been the progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the building and management of ships, that King Alfred's navy was now greatly superior to any which the Danes could bring against him. The form of the English ships had been improved and their size enlarged to almost double the dimensions of the craft of the pirates. The shores of England were now protected by more than a hundred ships, and it was only occasionally that a Danish fleet durst anywhere come to land. The king, moreover, adopted a more severe policy with respect to his enemies, who, the hope of conquest being now abandoned, could be regarded only as robbers. In one instance a severe sea-fight occurred off the Isle of Wight. Two of the enemy's ships with their crews were taken and brought to shore, whereupon the king ordered the last man of them to be hanged. In the following three years, the same severity was shown in the case of twenty other ships captured from the enemy; and this conduct, so at variance with the humane disposition of the king, was justified on the ground that the Danish crews so taken were traitors out of Danelagh and not honorable pagans from abroad.

During the period of the Danish invasions of England, the country suffered besides the calamities of war the ravages of pestilence. The contemporaneous famine on the continent seems not greatly to have distressed the

British Islands. But the horrors of the plague counterbalanced the immunity from famine. Many of the best and noblest Saxons, including not a few of the most powerful Thanes in Wessex, were carried off. At the same time the murrain broke out among the English cattle, so that death in the city was answered by death in the field. It was in the midst of these dangers, distresses, and sorrows that the virtues of the greatest and wisest of the early English kings were tried in the fire and found pure gold.

The career of Alfred was already drawing to a close. His labors in the camp, the field, and the court were as unceasing as those of

goodness of character was acknowledged by his contemporaries and has been confirmed by the judgment of modern times. His genius was equalled by his beneficence, and his wisdom by his success. In his childhood he was carefully trained by his mother. He accompanied his father through France and Italy to Rome. Nor is it doubtful that, though but eight years of age, his mind was deeply impressed with the superiority of the art and refinement of the South. One year of his boyhood was spent in the Eternal City and one in Paris. The active mind of the prince could but have been much occupied with the painful contrast between the colossal struc-



ALFRED'S MOTHER TEACHES HIM THE SAXON SONGS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Charlemagne; but the equable tempered English monarch was a man of far finer fiber and mould than his great Frankish contemporary. In his boyhood Alfred was enfeebled by disease, and about the time of reaching his majority he was attacked by another and painful malady, which afflicted him through life. Even in times of his greatest activity he was seldom free from pain. Soon after the retirement of the Danes from the kingdom, his health began rapidly to decline. In the month of October, 901, the good king, being then in the fifty-third year of his age, died and was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Winchester.

The estimate of the life and work of Alfred the Great can hardly be overdrawn. His

tures of stone in the old and the new capital and the poor wooden houses and low, mud huts of his own country.

These episodes in the boy-life of the great king, no doubt, did much to inspire within him the love of letters. He conceived the great project of raising his people from barbarism and bringing them to the light. He began this work with the cultivation of his own mind. He listened with delight to the gleemen as they recited in his father's court the wild and warlike ballads of the Anglo-Saxons. He learned his country's songs by heart, and his own poetic genius, even in boyhood, was thus kindled into a flame.

Having mastered his vernacular, the prince then undertook the learning of Latin, the

classic language of his times. He became a skillful translator and sought diligently to improve the taste of his people by rendering the works of the Latin authors into the Anglo-Saxon vernacular. He urged the same work upon the scholars who frequented his court, and on one occasion addressed to the bishops of the kingdom an earnest appeal, in which he recommended that "all good and

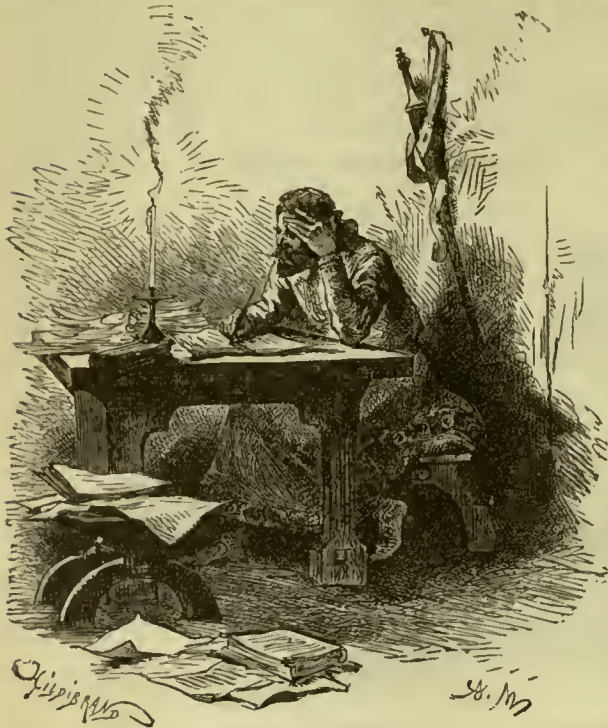
Danes. The once flourishing schools of Northumberland were either destroyed or had fallen into decay. The ignorance of the English people was amazing for its grossness. At the time of the death of Ethelred there was scarcely a professional teacher in all Wessex, and the Anglo-Saxon language could not boast of a single text-book. In his efforts to organize public schools the king was obliged to send to Mercia for teachers, and even in that kingdom none were found competent for the work except the priests. A few instructors were brought over from France. Bishop Asser, upon whom Alfred most relied in the prosecution of his educational enterprises, was a Welshman. In order to supply the text-books necessary for his people, the king recommended the translation of works already existing in Latin or French; and thus by precept and example he sought to implant in the nascent mind of England the fundamentals of culture and learning.

The reputation of King Alfred as a diligent scholar, no less than a warlike sovereign, is as wide as the fame of the English race. It is a matter of surprise how, amid the arduous duties of government and the dangers and disasters of war, this benign sovereign found time and opportunity for those laudable pursuits in which he so greatly delighted. Nothing

but the most methodical division of his time could have enabled him, with the meager facilities at his command, to make so great progress in scholarship and literature.¹

The greatest of King Alfred's works as an author are his translations of Boëthius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English*. Measured by modern standards, neither of these works would be considered preëminent as a translation. The king sought to reproduce the spirit rather than the letter of the original. The work of Boëthius was rendered by the king at Wood-

¹The king's daily program of duty and rest was as follows: eight hours for meals, exercise, and sleep; eight hours for the affairs of government; and eight for study and devotion.



ALFRED THE GREAT IN HIS STUDY.
Drawn by A. Maillard.

useful books be translated into the language which we all understand; so that all the youths of England, but more especially those who are of gentle kind and easy circumstances, may be grounded in letters—for they can not profit in any pursuit until they are well able to read English."

The king was not by any means content with the culture of his court. He availed himself of every opportunity to sow the seeds of enlightenment in all parts of the kingdom. He conceived the grand project of popular education, and his work in this respect far surpassed that of Charlemagne in France. On his accession to the throne the outlook for English culture was by no means encouraging. The seats of learning had been ravaged by the

stock, in Oxfordshire, and was called by him—from its adaptation to the common affairs of life—the *Handbook* or *Manual*. The rendering of the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede was a work of the highest importance to the young nationality of England, for the story was of such sort as to affect the still half-barbarous Anglo-Saxons much as Homer's song of ancient Troy may be supposed to have swayed the passions of the old Hellenes.

Time would fail to narrate the swift transformation of England effected by the genius of Alfred the Great. He found his country without a navy and his countrymen ignorant of the management of ships. When he died, the English fleet was the best on the western coast of Europe. By the most unwearied efforts he obtained a fair geographical knowledge, not only of his own country, but also of most of the nearer states and kingdoms of the continent. Whatever could be gathered in the way of information was carefully reduced to writing. Travelers and voyagers were sent abroad for the express purpose of deciding disputed points in geography. On such a mission even so distinguished a person as Swithelm, bishop of Sherburn, was dispatched overland to India! Not less astonishing is the fact that the journey was safely performed, and that the adventurous bishop came happily home, bringing with him gems and spices from the East.

Among the other enterprises of Alfred may be mentioned the better style of building which he introduced; the general prevalence of human comfort which he encouraged; the rebuilding of desolated towns and the founding of others; the construction of fortifications and harbors; the survey of the coasts and rivers of England; the erection of strong towers and castles in different parts of the kingdom; the revision of the Anglo-Saxon laws; the development of the *Witenagemot* into a regular parliament, upon which, jointly with himself, was devolved the care of the state; the institution of a system of police so effective that it was said bracelets of gold might be hung out of doors without the least danger of theft; the establishment of an efficient judiciary; and the general stimulus which he afforded to all kinds of industry in

the kingdom. It is not wonderful, in view of the prodigious activities, kindly genius, and generous character of Alfred, that even after the times of William the Conqueror the Norman kings and nobles were accustomed to refer to this illustrious ruler as the chief glory of early England.

On the death of Alfred the Great, in the year 901, the succession was disputed by his son Edward and his nephew Ethelwald, son of that Ethelbald who had preceded Alfred on the throne. Each of the claimants gathered an army; but the forces of Ethelwald were found so much inferior to those of Edward that the former, forbearing to fight, fled into Danelagh, where he was recognized as king. Prince EDWARD then ascended the throne of England, and received the surname of the Elder.

The turbulent Danes had long fretted under the strict law of Alfred, and many restless spirits among the Saxons had chosen the North as the more congenial scene of their lawlessness. All of these malcontent elements of the rising English society combined around the standard of Ethelwald. Between him and Edward, in the year 905, a terrible battle was fought, in which Ethelwald was slain; but the general result was so indecisive that the Danes were enabled to treat on equal terms with the Saxon prince. The project of the complete independence of Danelagh was entertained by the rebels; nor were they without a hope of regaining their ascendancy over the whole island. For six years the war continued with varying successes; but in 911 Edward met the Danes on the river Severn, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat.

In the mean time a peculiar complication had arisen in the earldom of Mercia. In that country the Princess Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great and wife of Ethelred, had succeeded her deceased husband in authority. Nor did she hesitate to assert and maintain the independence of her country of her brother Edward's rule. She raised an army and commanded like a warrior. It was evident that her father's spirit was upon her. She made a successful defense against the claims of her brother, and then drove the Danes out of Derby and Leicester. In battle she commanded in person, and even led successful

storming parties against seemingly impregnable fortifications. She conducted an expedition into Wales and made prisoner the wife of the king. After a brilliant career of eight years she died in 920, whereupon the kingdom of Mercia was given up to Edward. This gave the king a great advantage in the North, in so much that all the country between the Thames and the Humber was presently overawed by the Saxon arms. From this vantage ground King Edward made campaigns against the people of Northern Danelagh. He subdued the Welsh and the Scotch. He made successful warfare upon the inhabitants of Strathclyde, Cumbria, and Galloway, thus extending further than ever before the dominions of England in the North.

After a successful reign of twenty-four years Edward died, and in 925 was succeeded by his son **ATHELSTANE**. The court of this king is represented as having been more brilliant than that of any preceding sovereign. His policy was to carry forward the civilization of England—a work so well begun by his father and grandfather. The great event of the earlier part of his reign was the conquest of Wales, which country at this time became more subjected than hitherto to the authority of the English kings. So marked were the successes of Athelstane in the West that the Welsh were compelled to make payment of heavy tribute, and droves of beeves from the pastures of Wales were now first driven into London and Oxford. A like subjugation of the people was effected in Cornwall, and the warlike tribes beyond the river Tamar were reduced to obedience.

Meanwhile the people of Danelagh, always restive under English rule, had again gathered head for an insurrection. A leader was found in the Prince Olaf, or Aulaf, of Northumbria, who had of late carried on a successful war in Ireland, where he took the city of Dublin, and compelled the Celtic nations of the island to pay tribute. After these exploits the Danish chieftain returned to Northumbria, and sailed up the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sail. He effected an alliance with Constantine, king of the Scots, and was joined by the men of Strathclyde and Cumbria. The whole North rose in arms and bore down upon King Ath-

elstane, who came forth and met his enemies on the field of Brunenburg. Here the English gained a glorious victory. Five Danish princes of royal rank and seven earls were slain in this battle. A handful led by Olaf fled into Ireland. Constantine made his way north of the Frith of Forth, wailing out his grief for the death of his son. So decisive was the victory of Athelstane that none durst any longer resist his authority. The consolidation of the kingdoms and peoples of the island was now so complete that Athelstane felt warranted in assuming the title of "King of the English," a dignity which had not been claimed by either Edward or Alfred the Great.

The application of the term England to the growing monarchy is no longer inappropriate. The court of Athelstane was hardly less splendid than that of the later Carolingians. Several foreign princes, either for observation or safety, made their home for a season with the English monarch. As already narrated, Louis d'Outremer found with his mother a safe retreat in London. Haco, son of King Harold of Norway, also abode with the courtiers of Athelstane. The counts of Brittany and Armorica, driven from their native possessions by the fury of the Danes, waited in England for the subsidence of the storm. Rulers of distant nations sent to the English king many and costly gifts, and the givers sought diligently to ally themselves with the Saxon blood by seeking the sisters of Athelstane in marriage.

In his patronage of letters and art Athelstane emulated the example of his grandfather. The translation of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon—a work which had been well begun in the reign of Alfred—was now diligently promoted, and the rising literature of England had no cause to complain of the want of royal patronage. After a brilliant reign of fifteen years, Athelstane died, and was succeeded in 940 by his brother **EDMUND**, surnamed the Atheling.

The new king proved to be a prince worthy of his stock. His character, however, showed itself in a fondness for the pursuits of peace rather than the carnage of war. Edmund was compelled, none the less, to lead his people in the long-continued struggle with

the Danes; for the great leader, Olaf, now returned from his retreat in Ireland, and again incited his countrymen to rise against the English. In the struggle that ensued the fortune of war turned in favor of the Danes, who gained several victories over Edmund's forces. The king was obliged at last to consent to a peace on the basis of resigning to the Danes the whole country north of Watlingstreet.

Scarcely, however, had this brief settlement been effected when the Danish leader died, and King Edmund succeeded in regaining the countries of the North. The kingdom of the Scots by this time began to show signs of vitality and progress. With Malcolm, king of that realm, Edmund deemed it expedient to cultivate friendly relations, and the two sovereigns made an alliance against the Danes. The English ruler soon showed his faith by his works. He made an invasion of Cumbria, whose people were in rebellion, and having reduced them to submission, made a present of the province to Malcolm. In the course of his war with the Cumbrians, Edmund made prisoners of the two sons of the king, Dummail, and them, in a manner wholly at variance with the usual clemency of the Anglo-Saxons in victory, he barbarously deprived of their eyes. Nemesis, however, soon brought her retribution for the deed. At the festival of St. Augustine in that year, while the king caroused with his nobles and Thanes, he recognized in the company a noted outlaw named Leof, who had been banished. Edmund ordered his expulsion from the festival, but the bandit stood his ground. The king, already heated with wine, sprang from his seat, seized Leof by his long hair, and attempted to lay him low, but the robber could not be handled. He drew a dagger and stabbed Edmund to the vitals. Thus, in the year 946, the crown of the kingdom was transferred by the sudden death of the king to ELDRED, another son of Edward the Elder.

This prince was already by the ravages of disease a physical wreck, and on account of his debility was nicknamed *Debilis Pedibus*, or Weak Feet. Fortunate it was for the new administration that the resolute Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, was one of the king's counselors, as was also the able Torkatul, chancellor of the kingdom.

On the accession of Eldred, the people of Danelagh, in common with the other inhabitants of the North, took the oath of allegiance to the new king. But it was not long until, incited by Eric, prince of Denmark, they took up arms against the Saxons. By this time the English army had become a veteran soldiery, and the discipline of Eldred's forces triumphed over the audacity of the Danes. Several bloody battles were fought, in which the English were victorious. Northumbria was more completely subjugated than ever before. The title of king was abolished, and the province was incorporated with the other realms of Eldred. It was not long, however, after these marked successes until the king died, without offspring, and left the crown (A. D. 955) to his brother EDWY, a youth but fifteen years of age.

The incapacity of the new sovereign was manifested in one of the first acts of his reign. He appointed his brother Edgar sub-regulus, or under king, of the old realm of Mercia, thus laying again the foundation for a possible dismemberment of the kingdom. The recent chastisement of the Danes and the generally quiet condition of affairs in the North gave promise of a peaceful reign. It happened, however, that a domestic embroglia arose, almost as ominous as a foreign war. The youthful king became enamored of his cousin Elgiva, whom he might not marry without violation to one of the most deeply seated prejudices of the Church. The prince, however, took the law into his own hands and married the maiden of his choice. Dunstan, already referred to as wielding a powerful influence in the state, set his face against the union. At the nuptial festival, when the monks and bishops, in common with the Thanes, had imbibed wine until they were uproariously drunken, the young king, less intemperate than his courtiers, slipped from the banquet hall and sought the chamber of his queen. His absence was at once remarked by the banqueters, who were deeply offended at their monarch's withdrawal. Dunstan was at once dispatched to bring him back. The monk accordingly broke into the bridal chamber, seized upon Edwy, dragged him from the side of Elgiva, and hurried him back to the banquet. The queen, also, and

her mother were obliged to lend their presence; and when they reached the hall where the revelers were carousing, they were insulted with filthy and disgusting language. This conduct struck fire from the indignant spirit of Edwy, and he determined to be revenged on the indecent churchmen who had disgraced his nuptials.

At this time the English Church was rent with fends and quarrels over the question of the celibacy of the clergy. Some maintained—and to this class the secular clergymen mostly belonged—that the priests might marry without offense to the divine law; but the monks on the contrary, held that the marriage of a priest was a thing most horrible in the sight of heaven. The leaders of the latter party were Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monk Dunstan. It appears that the king had espoused the opposite doctrine, and this fact added fuel to the quarrel which had broken out at the marriage feast. Dunstan, who had been treasurer of the kingdom during the reign of Eldred, was charged with pecculation and driven into exile. He fled into Flanders, and it is said that the king made an unsuccessful attempt to have the monk's eyes put out by the people of Ghent. Archbishop Odo remained in Northumbria. Himself a Dane, he appealed to the people of his race to rise in revolt against the impious Edwy. In order to encourage a civil war, the insurgent party proclaimed Edgar king of the whole country north of the Thames. Dunstan, hearing of the insurrection which had been so successfully begun, returned from his exile.

While these events were taking place, the enemies of the king accomplished his domestic ruin. A company of knights, or more properly bandits, employed by the archbishop of Canterbury, broke into the royal residence, seized the beautiful Elgiva, branded her in the face with a hot iron, and dragging her away, cast her, a disfigured exile, into Ireland. The people of that island had compassion upon her in her misfortunes. They carefully nursed her back to health and beauty—for her wounds healed without scars—and sent her back to England. But the relentless Odo was on the alert. His brigands again seized the unfortunate queen. By them she was

barbarously mutilated. The tendons of her limbs were cut; and in a few days the suffering princess expired in agony. This shock was more than the high-spirited Edwy could bear. In a short time, being in despair, he died. Nor is the suspicion wanting that the expiring agonies of the royal heart were hastened to a close by an assassin.

Thus in the year 959 Prince EDGAR came to the throne of England. The event, viewed politically, was the triumph of the monkish party, headed by Odo and Dunstan. A relentless warfare was now waged against the married clergymen of the kingdom. They were everywhere expelled from the abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. The doctrine of celibacy was enforced with merciless rigor. The monkish party ruled both king and kingdom. The youthful Edgar became a pliant tool in the hands of the old foxes, who were loose in the pastures and gardens of England. In the midst of this progressive retrogression several circumstances conspired to improve the condition of the kingdom. The king had been reared among the Danes, and was by them looked upon as their own prince. His accession to the throne was regarded as a kind of Danish ascendancy in the island. This fact contributed greatly to the general peace of the realm. Nor can it be denied that Odo and Dunstan administered the affairs of state with great vigor and ability. The kingdom was more thoroughly consolidated than ever before. The English army was better disciplined, and the fleet was increased to three hundred and sixty sail. The ministers of the king induced him to adopt a policy of journeying in person into all parts of England, making the acquaintance of the people, holding courts, and encouraging enterprise. So great was his reputation that eight kings are said to have rowed his barge in the river Dee.

This actual augmentation of power was reflected in the high-sounding titles which Edgar assumed. He was called Emperor of Albion, King of the English and of all the islands and nations around. It was the good fortune of his reign not to be disturbed by a single war, and from this auspicious circumstance the king received the surname of the Peaceable. His policy was conciliatory. The

Welsh tribute was commuted into three hundred wolf-scalps annually. He called in the worn and mutilated coin of the kingdom, and reissued a new money in place of the old. Many other beneficent measures attested the progressive character of the times. In his private life, however, the king was any other than a temperate or virtuous ruler. His court was the resort of profligate men and abandoned women. Notwithstanding the fact that the king, as the willing instrument of Odo and Dunstan, enforced the celibacy of the clergy with a rigor never before known among the Anglo-Saxons, he himself failed ingloriously as an exemplar of the domestic canons of the church. He bore the character of a profligate, surrounding himself with concubines and converting the court into a harem. Not satisfied with ordinary flagitiousness, he abducted from the monastery of Wilton a beautiful nun, named Elfreda, and made her his paramour. Notwithstanding this outrageous conduct the monkish chroniclers of the age bestow great praise on Edgar as a virtuous and godly prince! Forsooth it was sufficient that he countenanced them in their doctrines and practices, and supported the profligate race of shaven scribes who lauded his fictitious and sham morality.

The story of Edgar's second marriage is illustrative of the character of the times. Or-gar, earl of Devonshire, had a beautiful daughter named Elfrida. The fame of her charms was borne to the ears of the royal voluptuary. Imagining himself already in love with the lily of Devon, he sent thither one of his courtiers named Athelwold to spy out the hidden beauty of the West, and to recite to him her varied attractions. The *cour-tier d'amour* found the princess even as she had been represented, and then, after the manner of men, fell in love with her himself. Concealing the true object of his mission, he sought and obtained the hand of Or-gar's daughter in marriage. He then hurried back to his master and reported that the princess of Devon was indeed wealthy, but that her beauty was a myth. The king, however, suspected his spy of lying, and determined to resolve with his own eyes the question of El-frida's charms. Athelwold was ordered to return to Devon and to make straight a path

for the king. The courtier, thus brought into a narrow place, and knowing not what to do, ordered his wife to put on coarse attire and demean herself like a peasant; but she, perceiving that she had taken a courtier when she might have married a king, was not unwilling that her beauty might dazzle the royal vision. It thus happened that the double-dealing Athelwold was hoisted on his own petard. Presently afterwards he was found murdered in the woods, and the ambitious Elfrida was taken by the king. It was not long until Edgar's son by his former wife was also disposed of, and the way thus cleared for the succession of Elfrida's offspring to the throne.

A few years after the perpetration of these crimes King Edgar died, and was succeeded in 975 by his son, called EDWARD THE MARTYR, at that time but fifteen years of age. He it was whose claims were resisted by Elfrida. She advanced the charge that Edward was of illegitimate birth. The right of her own son Ethelred was boldly advanced by the unscrupulous queen, and the two half-brothers were soon arrayed against each other in war. Now it was that the anti-celibate party in the priesthood rallied from obscurity and banishment, and espousing the cause of Ethelred, sought the restoration of their fortunes. On the other hand, Dunstan, who had now succeeded Odo as archbishop of Canterbury, upheld the claims of Edward. In the struggle that ensued the latter was at first successful; but Elfrida was by no means content to see her son displaced. She made a league with Alferc, the eolderman of Mercia, and organized a conspiracy among the Thanes of the North. For three years the hostile parties faced each other, but did not proceed to the extremity of war. Elfrida and her son, meanwhile, resided at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire. On a certain occasion, the king, hunting in this neighborhood, resolved to pay a visit to his half-brother. Elfrida received Edward with smiles at the castle gate, and gave him a cup of wine to drink; but as he was raising the cup to his lips, one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse and fled, but presently fainting and falling from the saddle, he was dragged by one foot through the woods until life was extinct.

This bloody outrage left the boy Ethelred the rightful heir to the throne; rightful, for it appears that in the murder of his half-brother he had no part or sympathy. It is even related that when he wept on account of Edward's death, the furious Elfrida beat him with a torch until he was well-nigh dead himself. The personal innocence of the prince, however, did not shield him from the popular odium engendered by his mother's crimes. Taking advantage of this fact, the able and crafty Dunstan again appeared on the scene, and rallied the monkish party against the throne. He found a claimant to the crown in the Princess Edgitha, daughter of Edgar and that lady whom he had abducted from the nunnery of Wilton. Edgitha, however, had taken the veil and refused to exchange her quiet life for the dangers and passions of the court. The celibate party was therefore obliged to consent that the crown should be worn by the imbecile son of Elfrida, upon whom they vented their spleen by giving him the nickname of the Unready.

The personal character of several of the recent kings, and the crimes and murders which had been committed by rival claimants of the crown and their partisans, no less than the disgraceful church broils of the celibate and anti-celibate parties, had by this time almost extinguished the hearty Saxon loyalty with which the people had regarded the House of Alfred. Why should sturdy Englishmen any longer uphold the degenerate representative of that illustrious family? Meanwhile, in the course of the last half century, the ancient and terrible animosity between the Saxons and the Danes had subsided. Each had come, in a certain measure, to regard the other as countrymen. Affinity of race and language had been supplemented by hundreds and thousands of inter-marriages. It thus happened that the Saxon Thanes and yeomanry of Wessex and the South began to look with favor upon the project of substituting an able Dane for a degenerate Saxon on the throne of England. And while this feeling grew apace in the country south of the Thames, certain general causes, having their roots in the political condition of Norway, Denmark, France, and England, also conduced to a change of dynasty.

For in the mean time Prince SWEYN, son of the king of Denmark, having quarreled with his father, was banished from the kingdom. Such, however, were his talents, ambition, and personal influence, that a large company of warriors and adventurers gathered around his banner and followed his fortunes on the sea. After a few preliminary adventures, the audacious Dane made a descent on England; and though at first the expedition was intended rather to discover the condition of affairs and try the spirit of the people than to undertake a serious conquest, yet it was not long until Sweyn conceived a larger and more alarming enterprise. In the year 981 he fell upon and captured the city of Southampton. From hence he proceeded to Chester and London. These important places were also taken and pillaged. The ominous raven of Denmark was seen now here, now there, as far as the borders of Cornwall. The incompetency of Ethelred to defend his kingdom against these aggressions was painfully manifested. His attention in the great crisis which was upon the country was absorbed with local difficulties and the quarrels of the monks. Alfrede of Mercia was now dead, and the earldom had descended to his son, Alfric. Him the king had first banished and then recalled; but the earl nursed his revenge until the day of judgment. That day was now at hand, and Sweyn the Dane was the precursor.

In the year 991 the English were defeated in a great battle fought in East Anglia. Alarmed at the situation of affairs, Ethelred had recourse to the fatal expedient of purchasing a peace. The payment of ten thousand pounds of silver procured the temporary retirement of the enemy from the country. In a short time, however, the Saxon Witenagemot adopted measures for the enlargement and better equipment of the fleet, and the English soon found themselves again masters of the sea. But the command of the squadron was given to Alfric, who now found ample opportunity to be revenged. As soon as an engagement with the Danes could be brought about he went over with a large part of the fleet to the enemy. Ethelred was reduced to the miserable expedient of seizing Alfric's son and putting out his eyes.

In the year 993 all of ancient Danelagh was overrun by the native insurgents combined with foreign marauders. Meanwhile, the king of Denmark was slain, and Sweyn ascended the throne. He formed an alliance with Olaf of Norway, and in the following year the two monarchs made a formidable descent upon the southern coasts of England. Ethelred was again obliged to buy off his assailants, who now exacted sixteen thousand pounds as the price of peace. The miserable and now priest-ridden spirit of the Saxons found some solace in a clause of the treaty which required the victors to be baptized. To this the Danes readily assented. To them it was no more than a plunge in the water. Sweyn himself had already several times received the rite at the hands of the zealous priests, anxious for the welfare of his barbaric soul. One of the other leaders made a boast that he *had been washed twenty times!* In the case of Olaf, however, it appears that a genuine conversion from paganism was effected. At any rate he honestly observed his oath not to trouble the English further.

The same could not be said of his countrymen, who took only to break the oath. From 998 to 1001 the country was constantly vexed with Danish incursions. Meanwhile, the military resources of the kingdom, under the puerile management of Ethelred and his council, rapidly declined until the only available means of preventing the ascendancy of the Danes was the gold of the treasury. On one occasion as much as twenty-four thousand pounds was paid to secure the departure of the enemy. This tremendous burden was lifted by a tax, known as the *Dane-geld*, which was levied upon the Saxon yeomanry.

While this deplorable state of affairs existed at home, Ethelred managed to embroil the kingdom in foreign complications. He quarreled with Richard II., duke of Normandy, and the two princes were proceeding to war when the Pope commanded the peace. Ethelred then sought the hand of the Princess Emma, sister of the Norman duke, and by this marriage of the English king with her who was known as the Flower of Normandy was laid the foundation of that claim which, in 1066, led to the conquest of the British Isles by William the Conqueror.

The general condition of the Danes and Saxons in England and their relations with each other, living in many parts intermingled as a common people, have been already described. In the North the Danish population was generally predominant; in the South, the Saxon. In the central districts the two peoples were mixed together. The situation was such as in case of treachery to expose the victims of a plot to the greatest hardships.

It appears that King Ethelred was as perfidious as he was weak. The situation of the Danes seems to have suggested to him the horrible project of exterminating them by a wholesale massacre! It can not be denied that the foreigners and their descendants in the island had behaved with great harshness towards the native population. The severity and outrage peculiar to the early years of the Danish domination had, however, at length given place to a milder, more tolerable condition of affairs. Quiet and orderly habits had at length become prevalent among the grandsons of those old pirates who had made England red with the light of their burnings. This state of his people, however, seems to have had no effect upon the bloody mind of Ethelred and the scarcely less perfidious spirit of his Saxon subjects.

In the latter part of the year 1002 the king sent out secret orders into all the cities and towns, appointing a day and hour in which the Saxons should everywhere fall upon and destroy the Danes. The time set for the great atrocity was the feast of St. Brice, namely, the 13th of November. With a horrid precision the murderous scheme was carried out. At the appointed hour the unsuspecting Danes in every town and hamlet were attacked and cut down by their neighbors. No mercy was shown to any. All ages and conditions were hewed down together. Even Gunhilda, sister of King Sweyn, herself a Christian, and married to an English earl of Danish descent, was obliged to look on while her husband and child were put to death, and was herself then murdered. No wonder, when the news of this bloody work was carried to Denmark, the heart of Sweyn grew hot within him, and he resolved to visit on the treacherous English such a vengeance as should never be forgotten.

A Danish armament was now fitted out by far greater than any that had ever been seen off the coasts of England. An army of chosen warriors, all in the prime of life, was embarked, and the squadron set sail for its destination. The first landing was effected near the city of Exeter. That place was soon taken and plundered. The work of vengeance was now begun in earnest. In every town through which the invading army passed the Danes compelled the Saxons to furnish them a feast. As soon as the warriors had eaten their fill they slew their hosts and set fire to the houses. When at last a Saxon army of nearly equal strength was brought out to stay this desolating inroad, it was commanded by that same Alfric of Mercia who had already betrayed an English fleet into the hands of the enemy. How or why he had again been restored to the king's favor does not appear. At any rate, when a battle was imminent, the traitor got in his work by feigning sickness until what time King Sweyn succeeded in securing his booty and made his way unmolested to the coast. In the year 1004 England was reduced to famine, and the Danes, not liking the prospect of starvation in a foreign island, sailed away to the Baltic.

In the mean time that train of events was carried forward which portended the establishment of the Norman ascendancy in England. Ethelred had hoped, by his marriage with the Princess Emma, to obtain an alliance with the Normans against the Danes. In his emergency he appealed to Duke Richard for help. The latter heeded his call, but only in such a way as to promote the interests of his country. Those Normans who came over to the island for the ostensible purpose of taking up Ethelred's cause against the northern invaders were more concerned about the establishment of their master's influence in England than about the chastisement of the Danes. In the mean time the king's conduct towards his wife had been such as to give mortal offense to her womanly pride. She laid her cause before her brother, the duke, and found in him a ready listener to the story of her wrongs. A violent quarrel broke out between him and Ethelred. The latter was on the eve of invading Normandy, and was only hindered in his purpose by the distracted condition of the

kingdom. The duke, upon his part, seized upon all the English in his realm, killed some, and cast the rest into prison. Thus was engendered between England and Normandy a state of hostility which was not likely to be appeased, except by the conquest of one of the countries by the other.

While these events were in progress King Sweyn again returned into England, further to appease his vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen. The Witenagemot, knowing the warrior with whom they had to deal, and thoroughly distrusting their own sovereign, adopted the usual expedient of purchasing a peace. But the triumphant Sweyn now demanded thirty thousand pounds as the price of his forbearance. This enormous sum was raised and paid; but the people began at last to see that the spoliation of the country was as dreadful under the policy adopted by the king as if the land were left a prey to the Danes.

In 1008, only two years after the former levy, another assessment was made upon the lands of the kingdom. The object in this instance was to rebuild the English fleet; but after this work was accomplished the squadron was soon broken up by the dissensions and treachery of the commanders. A certain courtier named Edric had obtained such an ascendancy over Ethelred's mind that he virtually ruled the kingdom. Bithric, a brother of this magnate, was also in high favor. The latter made a conspiracy against Earl Wulfnoth, who was obliged to save himself by flight. He took with him, however, twenty ships of the English navy, and when pursued by Bithric, with eighty vessels, had the good fortune to see his enemy's squadron wrecked in a storm. The remainder of the English armament was dispersed by mismanagement or accident, and the kingdom was thus left naked to her enemies.

As soon as it was known in Denmark that the preparations for defending the island had come to naught, a large fleet was equipped and an army put on board, under command of a leader named Thurkill. For three years this host ravaged England at will. The kingdom had no peace or security except such as was afforded by brief truces purchased from the Danes. During this period the adherents

of Ethelred's government fell awry until he was left without supporters. As for himself, he still pursued the policy of quieting the enemy with bribes. It is said that he paid to Thurkill the sum of forty-eight thousand pounds. By this means the Danish leader was induced to consent to a peace, and even to ally himself with Ethelred. It appears, however, that his motives were treacherous, and that he was really acting in concert with Sweyn, who now contemplated the complete subjugation of England. Presently Thurkill quarreled with Ethelred, and undertook a new expedition; but the Danish king now appeared on the scene, and avowed his purpose of reducing both Thurkill and the Saxon monarch to submission. With the appearance of Sweyn on the Humber the people of Danelagh rose and joined his banners. Most of the army of Thurkill did the same. The central counties of England quietly submitted. Oxford and Winchester opened their gates to receive him. Ethelred meanwhile took refuge in London, and here the valor of the citizens kept the Danes at bay for a season. All the West soon submitted to the Danish king.

Seeing that the rest of the kingdom had fallen away, the Londoners at length gave up the contest, and Ethelred fled with his family and sought protection at the court of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Normandy. In the beginning of the year 1013 Sweyn was acknowledged as the king of England; but a few weeks afterwards he died at the town of Gainsborough. Thereupon the Saxon Thanes reasserted themselves, and invited Ethelred, after his six weeks' banishment, to return to the throne. The Danish party meanwhile proclaimed the Prince CANUTE, son of King Sweyn, as monarch of the country. Civil war again broke out, and for a season there was a reign of bloodshed and burning.

At length, completely despairing of relief at the hands of their unready sovereign, the Saxon nobles set aside the claims of Ethelred and his legitimate children, and selected for their king his natural son, the warlike EDMUND, surnamed Ironside. It was the misfortune of this valorous prince to receive at the hands of his supporters an already exhausted country. Nevertheless he did as much as courage might to retrieve the for-

tunes of Saxon England. Twice he attempted to relieve the beleaguered city of London. He fought with the enemy five pitched battles, but the Danes were generally victorious. As a last desperate measure of defense he challenged Canute to mortal combat. The latter, however, durst not meet his stalwart antagonist in personal battle, but proposed instead the division of the kingdom between them. The proposition was accepted; Edmund Ironside ruled over the South, and Canute received the rest of the island.

This settlement, however, was of only two months' duration. Within that time after the treaty the Saxon monarch died, and in 1017 the whole kingdom passed under the dominion of Canute. This distinguished ruler began his reign with measures of conciliation, but his course in this respect was more politic than sincere. The House of Ethelred was bitterly persecuted, and many of that family and its Saxon adherents were hunted down and slain. Edward and Edmund, the infant sons of Edmund Ironside, were seized and sent to Sweden. The king of that country, having compassion upon their misfortunes, sent them to distant Hungary, where Edmund died. The Prince Edward, however, married the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, of which union were born Edgar Atheling, Christina, and Margaret. The last named was married to Malcolm, king of Scotland, and thus through a Scottish House the blood of King Alfred was transmitted to aftertimes.

Meanwhile the warrior King Canute was menaced by a specter out of Normandy. In that country the two princes, Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred and Emma, were supported by Duke Richard, their uncle. The latter demanded of the Danish king that the rights of his nephews should be respected; and when this demand was treated with contempt, the Norman duke offered his sister, the widowed Emma, to the Dane in marriage. It appears that Duke Richard, the widow herself, and Canute were equally anxious to consummate this unnatural union. Nor was it with a view to securing the rights of her sons so much as again becoming queen of England that the Flower of Normandy went up gladly to the bed of the royal Danish ruffian by whom her former husband had been destroyed.

As for the exiled princes, to them no further thought was given. They grew up in Normandy, forgot the language of their father, and ceased to be regarded in the realm over which they might have reigned.

Thus it happened that the crowns of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were

the North was brought to a successful conclusion, the kingdom enjoyed an interval of peace more beneficent in its results than any epoch since the times of Alfred the Great.

The despotic CANUTE relaxed the rigor of his reign. His revengeful nature found no further cause of offense, and in his old age, forgetting to be cruel, he sought

comfort for his soul in a pilgrimage to Rome. In the year 1030 he assumed the pilgrim's garb and journeyed to the Eternal City. Returning from his holy visit, he went into Denmark, where he tarried for some time. From that country he sent his commands to England by the abbot of Tavistock, and thus maintained his authority over his English realms.

Of King Canute tradition has fondly repeated a famous incident. At the height of his power, struck one day with remorseful reflections on the brevity and follies of human greatness, and disgusted with the excessive flatteries of the sycophants about the court, he ordered them to bear him down to the seashore in his chair of state. Having seated himself in the very edge of the surf as the tide came roaring in he demanded to know of his courtiers whether the sea would obey him and stand back. After the manner of liars, they answered that the great deep would shrink at his gesture of command. The



CANUTE REBUKING HIS COURTIERS.

king then sat silently awaiting the issue, while the tide rolled in around him. "Ocean," said he, "the land and the sea are mine. Presume not to wet the edge of my robe." The surf rose higher and the king was obliged to wade dripping from the waters. Thereupon he turned and rebuked the fawning flatterers, whose ill-timed adulation had magnified the greatness of the weak.

combined on the head of Canute. In the northern kingdoms, however, his claims were much disputed, and he was involved in several foreign wars. The last of his expeditions was undertaken in the year 1017 against Duncan, king of Cumbria. The war lasted for two years; nor could the Cumbrians and Scots be subdued until the king's resources were strained to the utmost. After this conflict in

In the year 1035 Canute died, and was buried at Winchester. He left to the realm another disputed succession; for the claims of **HARDICANUTE**, his son by the widow of Ethelred, were disputed by his two illegitimate sons, named Sweyn and Harold. As to these two princes, the scandal of the time declared that they were not of the royal blood at all. It was said that *Alfgiva*, the mistress of Canute, had imposed on him two bantlings not his own; the gossip of the times was perhaps a true interpretation of the facts. Nevertheless, the credulous Canute recognized Sweyn and Harold as joint heirs with Hardicanute, and purposed to divide his kingdom among them. He accordingly provided that England should fall to **HAROLD**, Denmark to Hardicanute, and Norway to Sweyn. When the king died, two of his sons, Hardicanute and Sweyn, were in the north of Europe, only Harold being in England. The claims of Hardicanute to the English crown were ardently supported by the old Saxon party in the island, for he was the son of the widow of Ethelred, and therefore allied to the royal family. In the Danelagh, however, the people recognized Harold. Civil war was again imminent, and was only obviated by the interference of the Witenagemot, which body convened at Oxford and divided the realm between the rival claimants. Harold should have the country north of the Thames, with London for his capital, and Hardicanute should rule the South.

The latter prince, being still in Denmark, sent his mother, Emma, as regent of England. With her the powerful Earl Godwin was to share the authority during the absence of the king. Harold, however, perceiving the weakness of the situation, resolved to usurp his brother's throne, and the condition of affairs in the southern kingdom favored such an enterprise.

Meanwhile Prince Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, still residing in Normandy, advanced his claims to the crown once worn by his father. Hearing of the death of Canute, he set sail for England and landed at Southampton. From his mother's friends he had expected a cordial reception and support; but that unscrupulous lady was now engaged in an intrigue to secure the succession for her son

Hardicanute. Edward was obliged to beat a hasty retreat from the island. Soon afterwards both of the sons of Ethelred were invited by a treacherous letter, purporting to have been written by their mother, to return to England and claim their inheritance. Edward was wary of the invitation, but the young Alfred, attended by six hundred followers, accepted his mother's call, and landed opposite to Canterbury. Here he was met by the powerful Earl Godwin, who swore allegiance to the prince and began to conduct him inland. When the party had advanced as far as Guildford, while Alfred and his friends were sleeping unarmed at night, they were suddenly assailed and massacred by the barbarous soldiers of King Harold. The eyes of the prince were torn out, and he died in agony. The ruler of England had thus put out of the way another of his possible rivals. Nor was it long until he secured for himself the full title of the King of England. He received the surname of Harefoot. Of his reign there is little to be recorded other than the quarrels of the clergy and the intrigues of the Saxon and Danish parties to obtain an ascendancy in the affairs of state.

After a reign of four years, Harold died and in 1040 was succeeded by his half-brother, Hardicanute. It was the happy fortune of this prince to be acceptable to both the English factions—to the Saxons, because he was the son of Emma; to the Danes, because he was the son of Canute. As for the prince, he favored his father's people. He chose his courtiers from among his countrymen of the North, and his army and navy were Danish. During the early years of his reign there were several insurrections, chiefly traceable to the king's partiality for men of his own race. For his predecessor, however, he manifested such contempt that the Saxons were delighted. The body of Harold was dugged from the grave, insulted, decapitated, and thrown into the river. In his tastes the king manifested all the gluttonous excesses of his people. Four times a day he feasted, and then held a carousal at night. Meanwhile, the affairs of government were managed by Earl Godwin and the queen-mother Emma. At length, after a reign of nearly two years, in the midst of a revel by night, Hardicanute, al-

ready drunken, fell down dead on the floor of his banquet-hall.

After his foolish attempt to secure the throne of England, the Prince Edward had retired to Normandy, and there devoted himself to more congenial pursuits. Fain would he have become a holy man and retired from the world. With the death of Hardicanute, however, a plain way was opened before his feet, and in 1042 he ascended the throne of England. The Danes had now no descendant of Canute to advance against Edward's claims, and many of their nobles retired from the island. Even Earl Godwin forebore to oppose the accession of EDWARD, who received the surname of the Confessor, and began a prosperous but not untroubled reign.

One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to accept in marriage the daughter of Godwin. It is believed that the stern father-in-law himself dictated this union with a view to increasing his own power in the kingdom. This circumstance may in part account for the fact that in no long time the report went abroad that King Edward treated his wife with great harshness. As to his mother, the royal severity was mingled with scorn. Perhaps the treatment was not unmerited; for the belief was prevalent that the death of the Prince Alfred might be traced to a plot having its seat in the bosom of Emma.

In the year 1043 an attempt was made by Magnus, king of Denmark, to restore the fortunes of his House in England. A Danish fleet once more appeared off the coast; but the Saxons were now prepared to receive their enemy, and the latter deemed it prudent to retire to the Baltic. The Saxon monarchy had now come to rest on so firm a basis that an overthrow was no longer to be feared at the hands of buccaneers and marauders.

Notwithstanding the general quiet of Edward's reign, his authority over his subjects had in it an element of feebleness. The great Earl Godwin and the other Thanes and nobles of the kingdom had so augmented their power as to make their ruler a king by sufferance. By them most of the lands of the kingdom had been appropriated. By them courts were held, judges appointed, and levies made of troops and money. The combined power of this nascent, feudal nobility was greater than

that of the monarch, and but for their jealousies and quarrels, they might have at any time compassed his dethronement.

Another element of weakness specially to be noted in the government of Edward was his preference for the Normans. He could but see that those polite gentlemen of Rouen, in whose society he had passed the greater part of his life, were greatly superior in manners and culture to even the most refined of his rough, untutored countrymen. He preferred the language and dress of his adopted country to those of his native land. The royal predilection in these regards furnished a sufficient motive for constant communication with the gay court of Rouen. Many scholarly and courtly Normans came over to Edward's capital, and brought with them the sunlight of Normandy. For these ample provision was made by the king, and it was not long before this dawning Norman ascendancy was felt in all parts of the kingdom.

However agreeable this state of affairs may have been to the king himself, it was gall and wormwood to the Saxons. The already overgrown power of Earl Godwin was thus greatly increased; for he was regarded as the leader of the native nobility against the Norman innovations. In 1044, however, a circumstance occurred which for a while greatly injured the earl's popularity and power. His oldest son, bearing the famous name of Sweyn, proved to be a brigand and adventurer. Contemptuous of all law and sanctity, he violated an abbess and was banished from the kingdom. He improved his exile by becoming a terrible pirate, which vocation he plied until what time his father procured for him a pardon from the king. In the delay incident to such a business Sweyn became impatient and laid the blame upon his cousin Beorn, then residing at the court. Him, on returning to England, he first conciliated and then murdered. But his father's influence was able to secure a second pardon, and Sweyn was restored to his estates.

In the year 1051 Count Eustace, of Boulogne, who, by his marriage with the Lady Goda, daughter of Ethelred, became brother-in-law to the king, paid a visit to Edward and his court. Here he found every thing conformed to the style and manner of Nor-

mandy. It was not wonderful that he conceived for the Saxons a sentiment of profound contempt. On departing after his sojourn the count, with his retainers, entered the town of Dover, and there became embroiled in a bloody riot with the inhabitants. Eustace thereupon returned to the capital and laid his grievances before the king. The latter ordered Earl Godwin to proceed forthwith to the punishment of those who had insulted his Norman brether-in-law.

Instead of doing as he was bid the earl espoused the cause of the men of Dover, and told the king plainly that the Normans were they who deserved the punishment. Edward thereupon summoned Godwin himself before his foreign court at Gloucester, there to answer for his contumacious conduct. Incensed at this summons, the earl took up arms. At this time the whole country south of the Thames was under his sway. His eldest son, Harold, appeared on the scene. This young prince and his brother Sweyn, as well as their father, led large bands of armed men to Gloucester, and demanded that Count Eustace should be given up. The king, in this crisis, sought to gain time by negotiation. Meanwhile Siward, earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, earl of Mercia, who were rivals of Godwin, came to the rescue of Edward. The two armies came face to face; but it was now discovered that the fierce animosity so long existing between the Saxons of the South and the Anglo-Danes of the North had so far died away that the angry leaders could not precipitate a battle. Godwin and the king were obliged, by a popular sentiment, to make peace and to refer their difficulties to the Witenagemot for settlement. But before the time of the meeting of that body the tide had so turned against Godwin that he was unable to sustain his cause, and he was banished. Together with his wife and three of his sons, he set sail for Flanders, where he was cordially received by Baldwin, count of that province. The princes Harold and Leofwin escaped from the western coast and made their way to Ireland.

Having thus freed himself from the presence of the male members of the House of Godwin, the king next turned his anger upon his wife Editha, who, as will be re-

membered, was a daughter of the banished earl. From her Edward took away her estates and jewels, and then, when she was completely broken in spirit, confined her in the monastery of Wherwell.

Thus, for the time, was the Saxon party overthrown and scattered. Relieved of the presence of his most formidable opponents, Edward gave free rein to his preference for the people and institutions of Normandy. The Norman nobles came over in great numbers, and settled at his court. Even Prince William, the illegitimate son of Duke Robert, availed himself of the opportunity to tarry for a season with Edward and his friends. Nor is it doubtful that this ambitious aspirant, who was destined to play so important a part in the history of mediæval England, was already, on the occasion of his visit, looking to the possibilities of the future. King Edward was childless, and it was said that he was under a sort of monastic vow to remain so. The Norman rage, already prevalent in the upper circles of English politics, pointed even now to a not remote contingency of a Norman dynasty in the island. The Prince William was cousin to the reigning king, and the circumstance of his being the son of a tanner's daughter had little weight, so long as he was also the son of the Duke of Normandy. He was received by Edward with every mark of esteem and preference. He was taken into the private counsels of the king, and it is hardly to be doubted that then and there it was understood that after Edward's death the crown of England should descend to William.

Meanwhile, however, the great Earl Godwin, now exiled in Flanders, was neither idle nor despairing. In 1052 he got together a powerful fleet and boldly returned to England. Landing on the southern coast, he was cordially welcomed by the Saxons, who everywhere rose in his favor. Harold and Leofwin returned from Ireland and joined his standard. Presently the earl's fleet sailed up the Thames, and on approaching London was reinforced by many of the men and ships of Edward. Godwin behaved with much moderation, merely demanding a revocation of the edict of exile against himself and family and a redress of grievances. This the king obstinately refused. But the crisis in the royal household soon be-

came so threatening that the monarch was obliged to consent to negotiations. Then it was that the Norman favorites of the court of Edward suddenly took to flight. No longer were the fogs of London or its spectral Tower congenial to the elegant Messieurs of Rouen. Some took refuge in castles along the coast, but the greater part fled to Normandy.

To complete what revolution had already accomplished, the Witenagemot assembled and passed a sentence of outlawry against the Normans. Godwin and his sons were legally

with the king. In the midst of the banquet, while the carousal was at its height, the earl was struck with apoplexy, and fell dying from his seat. In a few days he expired, and his estates and title descended to Prince Harold, best and bravest of his sons.

Many circumstances now conspired to turn the attention and expectancy of the kingdom to the son of Godwin. Siward, the earl of Northumbria, died; his eldest son, Osberue, was slain in battle with the Scots, and the younger was too immature to succeed to his



THE TOWER OF LONDON.

restored to their estates. Queen Editha was taken from the monastery and brought back in triumph to London. Only Sweyn, the brigand, was excluded from the pardon. Finding that the blood-stains of his crimes could not be washed away, the bandit son of Godwin made the most of the situation by putting on a pilgrim's garb and walking barefoot to Jerusalem!

By this counter-revolution the Saxon party again became dominant in the kingdom. Godwin, however, did not long survive his triumph. Having regained a kind of enforced favor at the court, he feasted one day

father's titles. Meanwhile the thoughts of the king were turned more and more from this world to the next, and he resolved as a measure preparatory to his exit to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The Witenagemot, seeing their childless king about to depart, recalled his pious thoughts to the fact that no succession had been provided in case of his death. This emergency in the state brought out from long obscurity the Prince Edward Atheling, son of Edmund Ironside, and set him forth as heir expectant of the crown. Edward was sent for, and brought with many acclamations to London. Shortly after his arrival, however,

he suddenly sickened and died, and the suspicion was blown abroad that the means of his taking-off was poison, and the cause the jealousy of Harold. Be this as it may, the problem of the succession was reduced to this: whether Harold, as the representative of the Saxon party but of no blood kinship to the former kings of England, should succeed Edward on the throne, or whether the crown, after the demise of Edward, should descend to William of Normandy.

Now are we come to the complications which immediately preceded the establishment of a Norman dynasty in the British Islands. King Edward is *said* to have made a will in which he bequeathed his crown to Duke William, his cousin. It is *said* that this will was executed before the recall of Edward the Atheling. It is *said* that the nature of this instrument was kept a profound secret for years, and that Harold remained in ignorance of the scheme which had been concocted to thwart his ambition. It is *said*, on the other hand, that the king's will was not made until 1065, the year before his death; and that Harold, instead of being kept in ignorance of its contents, was himself dispatched by the king to reveal the provisions of the instrument to Duke William. Certain it is that Prince Harold found his way—whether by accident or design does not appear—to the Norman court; that he was wrecked at the mouth of the river Somme; that he was seized by the Count of Ponthieu; that he was imprisoned in the castle of Beaurain; and that he appealed in his distress to Duke William for help. The latter quickly saw his advantage. He demanded that Harold should be released and sent to Rouen. In order to secure this result he gave to the Count of Ponthieu a large sum of money and a fine estate. It was not long until he had Harold in his power, but the crafty Norman preferred to gain his end by policy rather than violence. He made known to Harold, who now perceived the extreme peril of his situation, his purpose of claiming the crown of England in accordance with a long-standing pledge made to himself by Edward the Confessor.

Harold was dumfounded and—helpless. He was in the power of his great rival. William proceeded to extort from his guest a

promise that the latter would promote his scheme for the assumption of the English crown. He induced the prince to promise that in the event of Edward's death he would aid him in obtaining the kingdom. Albeit the promise was given with mental reservation; but what could Harold do, being in the clutches of his rival? To make assurance doubly sure, William contrived that Harold should swear to fulfill his pledges. Nor was either the moral character of the Norman duke or the spirit of the age above resorting to a ridiculous subterfuge in order to give additional sanctity to the oath. A meeting was appointed for the ceremony. William sat in his chair of state and the Norman nobles were ranged around according to their rank. When Harold appeared the Duke arose and said, "Earl Harold, I require you, before this noble assembly, to confirm, by oath, the promises you have made me—to wit: to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England, after King Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adele, and to send me your sister, that I may give her in marriage to one of mine." The prince had no alternative but to swear. He laid his hand upon the Bible and took the oath, being in evident trepidation. Then, at a signal from the duke, the cloth which covered a table was jerked aside, and there was revealed a box filled with the bones of saints and martyrs. Over this terrible heap of osteology, the son of Godwin had sworn away his own right to the throne of England!

Prince Harold, thus duped and overreached, was permitted to depart. He returned to England loaded with presents and accompanied by Haco, one of the Saxon nobles whom Godwin had given as a hostage to Edward the Confessor, and by him had been sent for safe keeping to his cousin, William of Normandy. The other hostage was detained at Rouen as a guaranty for the fulfillment of Harold's oath.

On his return to his own country, the English prince, though humiliated, was received with honor. He became again the recognized head of the Saxon party, by whom he was openly upheld for the succession. The event was now at hand which was to determine the value of his claims. The childless Edward came to his death-bed. It is said

that, in his last hours, he renewed in the presence of his nobles and attendants the provision of his will by which the crown was to descend to William of Normandy. "Ye know right well, my lords," said he, "that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy; and are there not those here who have plighted oaths to secure William's succession?" Again it is said that in the last scene the dying king named Prince Harold as his successor. Be that as it may, Edward

died in January of 1066, and the question of the succession remained to be decided by the rival claimants to the crown.

We are now in the day-break of the Norman conquest of England. That great event will be fully narrated in the succeeding Book. Here for the present we pause. The narrative will be resumed at the proper place, beginning with the death of Edward the Confessor and the consequent struggle of Harold and William for the English crown.



FEUDAL EUROPE.

By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300

- Abbreviations:
 Kdm. = Kingdom
 Dm. = Duchédon
 Pr. = Principality
 M. = Margravate
 Co. = Countship





Book Fourth.

THE FEUDAL ASCENDENCY.

CHAPTER XII.—FEUDALISM PROPER.



ABOUT the close of the ninth century the still half-barbaric society of Western Europe began to be transformed into a new condition. The movement was apparently retro-

grade. The unity which had been attained in several states and kingdoms began to be broken up, and the people seemed to prefer a return to tribal independence. General government, in a measure, disappeared, and was replaced by local institutions. Gradually this process went on, now in France and Germany, and finally in England, until the whole face of society was changed. By the close of the eleventh century the great governments which had been established by such rulers as Charlemagne and Alfred the Great were seen no longer. But in their stead had risen a multitude of dukedoms, counties, and petty dependencies, dotting the whole face of the country, and bound together—if bound at all—by ties which had been voluntarily assumed and might generally be renounced at will. The state of society which thus super-

vened, and which prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe, from the epoch of the Carolingians to the times of the Crusades, is known as the FEUDAL SYSTEM, and will now claim our attention.

The social condition which thus presents itself for analysis and review is, perhaps, the most difficult to grasp and understand of all the aspects in human history. Why it was that the political power, seemingly so well established by Charlemagne and others, should suddenly be loosened in all its bonds and fall back as if into the very chaos from which it had emerged, is a problem which has occupied the attention of the greatest thinkers and perplexed the pen of history. Certain it is that the fact existed, and that in the times of which we speak, when all human expectancy would have looked in the other direction and predicted the growth and development of great states out of the energetic materials of barbarism, a sudden collapse and decline appeared in the affairs of the Western nations, and a subtle social chemistry, seizing upon the elements of society, resolved them into the primitive condition. It is the first duty of the

historian to explain, if he may, the causes which led to the establishment of Feudalism on the ruins of the barbarian monarchy.

First among these causes may be mentioned *the spirit of national independence* which prevailed among the tribes of the North. It was in the very nature of barbarism that it despised restraint. While the Græco-Italic peoples rejoiced in citizenship and took pride in political and social organization, the Teutones looked with disfavor upon both. To the imagination of the northern warrior strength and honor resided in himself. Distinction was not derived, but inherent. Courage and all the manly virtues were not drawn from the state, but were personal and peculiar to him who possessed them. Under these feelings and beliefs a type of character was produced hitherto unknown in Europe. During the epoch of barbarism the natural impulses of the northern peoples were nurtured into full strength. The migratory habit encouraged freedom and discouraged association. Fixed territorial limits are necessary to the idea of a state. The barbarians had no established territories. They were driven from their homes by other tribes more savage than themselves. For a while they raged around the borders of the Roman Empire, and then burst through. Now it was that the necessity of combination was forced upon them. In order to battle successfully with the Romans they must have union, leadership. Great was the importance which the German kings attained by means of war. The tribes came to understand that safety and success lay in the direction of union and subordination. Very hard was this lesson to be learned. How restless, how sullen, how terrible with suppressed anger was the German warrior under the restraints of military command and civil authority! His logic of the situation was that he would suffer the ills of obedience until the enemies of his nation were overthrown, and *then* he would teach a lesson to those who were despoiling him of his rights. The recovery of his freedom was merely postponed. He looked forward to the time when he should break the bonds of that galling restraint under which necessity had placed him, and regain the glorious license which his fathers had enjoyed in the forests of Germany.

It was with sentiments such as these that the Frankish tribes bowed to the scepter of Charlemagne. The greatness of his personal will had much to do with their temporary subordination. While this constrained order existed, a new element was introduced into the problem, which tended at once to stimulate and to discourage the idea of personal and local independence. The barbarians obtained a fixed residence on the soil. Territorial boundaries were marked out by the sword of Charlemagne. The tribes ceased to jostle upon each other and to migrate from place to place. As it related to foreign enemies, this fact made the personal virtues of barbarian dukes and counts of less value and importance than hitherto; but as it related to the king, the attainment of local fixedness was unfavorable to his prerogatives. To the German chiefs a monarch was desirable in the emergencies of war, but distasteful in the safety and security of peace.

The first cause, then, of the institution of Feudalism was the revival of the sense of personal right and importance among the Frankish nobles, leading them to claim and achieve local independence of their sovereign. This was the beginning of the universal break-up of political society. The great duke declared his independence of the king; the count, of the duke; the lord, of the count; the petty vassal, of the lord; and so on, until the social fabric was dissolved into its elements.

The next general cause of the social disintegration of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries may be discovered in *the religious and philosophical beliefs* which had superseded those of paganism. Christianity everywhere supplanted the mythology of the North. The monks and priests, perceiving that the barbarians were creatures of sense, converted them by means of shows and spectacles. The mystic concepts of the Christian system were interpreted literally to the barbarian imagination. The figurative sense of the Scriptures was entirely lost upon the pagans who now accepted the new faith for the old. With them the history, prophecy, and ethics of the Biblical record were received as the literal account of the things done and to be done in the scheme of the salvation of man. All the

ferocious honesty of the barbarian nature became pledged to the absolute fulfillment of the law and the prophecies.

Among the prophetic utterances relating to the future, and indeed above them all, was that ominous prediction which foretold the end of the world. The earth and all that therein dwells were to pass away in a catastrophe of fire. The universe was to be rolled up as a scroll. As soon as the thousand years from the birth of Christ should be fulfilled, a consuming flame should wrap the world, and a throne of judgment should be set in heaven. The *Dies Iræ*, that terrible crisis in the destinies of mankind, should suddenly flash up through the ashes of nature; and the cowering ghosts of men, flocking in spectral shoals from the four quarters of the burnt-up ball, should bow before the inexorable Judge and receive the everlasting sentence of their doom.

The effect of this prophecy, accepted by the barbarians in all its literal horror, was destructive of all hope and fatal to all progress. As the end drew nigh, all general interests ceased. Human life became an individual concern. Each must save himself in the hour of catastrophe. The king with his council, the peasant with his flocks, must both alike ere long suffer the pangs of the transforming fire.

In the shadow of this awful foreboding the race of man sat dumb. The brilliant activities of former times gave place to dolor and gloom. A belief in the impotence and decadence of man became universal. The vision of the old world, glorious afar off, full of great cities, splendid works of art, and marching armies, was dimly seen in recollection—a beautiful dream of the delusive past. As for the world which now lay doomed under the curse, it was ready by its sins and crimes for its imminent perdition. These gloomy thoughts sank deeper and deeper into the hearts of the deluded millions, and they sat in dumb despair awaiting the day of fate.

It was impossible under such a system of belief that any great human interests should flourish. That which the mind of man conceives of as real becomes in some sense reality. Mankind have bowed to specters more than they have bowed to facts. In the tenth cen-

tury, all classes of people from the king to the serf were haunted with the belief that the world was soon to be destroyed, and this belief acted as a paralysis upon all the energies and aspirations of the people. What was the Empire of Charlemagne—so reasoned the monks and fanatics—since the *Dies Iræ* was at hand? Why should any fabric of human greatness and folly be longer maintained in the shadow of the impending catastrophe? With such a cataclysm just before, the mass-book was better than a constitution, and an ascension robe more important than the robe of a king.

Added to these general influences were many special circumstances which contributed to the political disintegration of Western Europe. Among the principal of these may be mentioned the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE LATER CARLOVINGIANS. Nearly all of these sovereigns were, as individuals, contemptible. With the exception of D'Outremer and two or three others, not a single one of the descendants of Charlemagne had the courage and talents requisite in a king. Most of them were imbeciles and blockheads—a second race of *Faineants* of the same grade with the Do-nothings of the old Merovingians. One of the Carlovingian neuters was the Simple, and another was the Fat. One was the Stammerer, another the Child. It was impossible that the old Frankish warriors and their descendants should look with favor upon this degenerate line of royalty. Here a duke and there a count came to understand the simple lesson that nature makes the great men and society the manikins. That artificial loyalty and absurd devotion to fictitious greatness, which had done so much of old to support the gilded thrones of the East, found no place in the breasts of the nobles of the Middle Ages. For a while they looked on with disdain while the ridiculous farce was enacted, and then turned their backs upon the pageant of the court and struck for independence. As soon as the swords of a few of the bolder lords had cleft a passage through the royal harness and freed themselves from the domination of some kingly simpleton, the less courageous were inspired to do the same. Provinces fell away. Counties became independent. Personal ties, voluntarily assumed,

took the place of imposed authority, and government gave way to—Feudalism. The Empire of Charlemagne was made into three, then into four, and then into seven kingdoms. Each of these in its turn was divided into great fiefs, of which there were in the aggregate, at the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine in France alone, and at the close of the tenth, no fewer than *fifty-five*! Over each of these some duke, count, or viscount established himself in almost independent sovereignty. He held his own courts, issued his own edicts, and in many instances coined his own money. He sublet his fief to his vassals, and exacted of them taxes, fealty, and homage. From the times of Charles the Bald, 877, the greater nobles of France claimed and exercised the right of transmitting their estates to their sons, according to their pleasure. Landed property became the basis of all the dignities of the state. The crown and prerogatives of the king fluctuated between real facts and myths. Though the constitution of the kingdom still gave to the nominal monarch the right to distribute benefices to his nobles, the hereditary principle in the noble houses themselves had really gained the upper hand, to the extent of substituting the law of descent for the royal prerogative. Thus it was that the Feudal system was substituted for the greater fact of nationality in France, Germany, and finally in England.

The word feudal, thus used to define the state of society which prevailed in Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century of our era, is derived from the Low Latin *feodum*, and more remotely from the German word *vieh*, meaning cattle, or, more generally, goods, money, or property. In other words, the thing defined was the *property* system, as contradistinguished from the political system which it supplanted. In its broader sense, feudalism was a type of social organization based on the ownership of land. In the nature of the case the system implied several things:

First, that the lands of the state should be concentrated in the hands of a few;

Secondly, that political rights should be made dependent on landed rights; and—

Thirdly, that all public relations should be deduced from the private relations of those who held them.

It will readily be seen from this general outline of the system that in its essential nature feudalism reversed the old theory of society by putting the Man before the State. Nor will the close connection of the system, historically considered, with the primitive institutions of Germany fail to be noted by any one accustomed to trace out the sequence of events. The real transformation of the society of ancient Germany into that of Mediæval Europe reached no further than this—that the political organization from being *personal* in the former became *territorial* in the latter. In the language of another, *land* became the sacramental tie of all public relations. The poor man depended on the rich, not as his chosen patron, but as the owner of the land which he must cultivate, the lord of the court to which he must bring his suit and service, and in war the leader whom he was bound to follow.

It is only by a stretch of language that the word *system* can be applied to the feudal state of Europe. Theoretical writers have been pleased to see in the European king of the eleventh century the suzerain or head of graduated orders ranged around this central figure, and sloping down in all directions until they rested on serfs and peasants. Nor is this view of the situation wholly devoid of truth. But, like so many other theories of human affairs, it is constructed out of imagination rather than out of the facts. True it is that during the prevalence of feudalism the king was, in general terms, the suzerain or sovereign of all the nobles of the kingdom. In this sense he was the head of the system. But the feudal scheme was much more irregular and broken than what is here implied. Many of the dukes and marquises held their lands in entire independence of the king. Even lords of lower rank sometimes possessed estates for which they paid no tax and did no homage to any superior. In hundreds of instances one duke or count held his lands of another, and it not infrequently happened that while the nobleman A held certain lands of the nobleman B, the latter also held certain other lands of the nobleman A. At one season of the year A did homage to B as a pledge of the renewal of his fealty and service, and then in like manner would B do homage to A. The king himself held estates in many parts of the king-

dom, and these he let to his vassals without much respect to their rank. Lords of low as well as lords of high degree were thus bound directly to the king, so that the supposition of a graduated order ranged around the sovereign would be no adequate representation of the fact. In truth, during the prevalence of the feudal system the whole structure of society was bound and rebound with ties and cross-ties, without either the appearance or intention of regularity or systematic gradation.

The conditions on which feudal lands were held in the Middle Ages are well understood. They were, in general, three in number—homage, taxation, and military service. The act of homage was intended to indicate the submission of a vassal to his lord. It could be received by the lord only, in person. When the relation of dependence was sought or enforced, the person about to become a vassal presented himself to his liege with uncovered head, and prayed that he might be allowed to enter into the feudal relation with him. The request being granted, the vassal took off his sword and spurs, ungirt his belt, knelt before his lord, placed his own two hands in his, and said: "I become your man from this day forth, of life and limb, and will hold faith to you for the lands I claim to hold of you." The oath of fealty was then administered, and the ceremony of investiture followed. If the homage had been done on the lands received by the vassal, the lord gave to him a handful of earth or a stone in token of the transfer of right; and if the ceremony was performed off the estate referred to, the superior generally gave to the vassal a bit of turf taken from the estate.

As already said, feudal rights were generally hereditary. On the death of a vassal the estate fell to his eldest son. But the latter must immediately repair to the manor and repeat the act of homage done by his father. It was possible for an infant to do homage by proxy. But in this instance the act must be repeated as soon as the vassal had reached his majority.

As to the taxes imposed by a suzerain upon his vassal, the same might be discharged either in money or in the products of the estate. In the case of the king and the greater nobles, money was generally exacted; for the

royal chamberlains preferred to purchase provisions for the king's household from the mediæval market. But in the case of the lords of low degree, who dwelt perhaps upon the estates cultivated by their vassals and serfs, their suzerains might well choose to accept the annual stipend in products of the land. Ever and anon, the peasants and villagers were seen gathering from the fields and hamlets the tithes belonging to the master and conveying the same in rude carts to the store-house of the baronial castle.

Most of all, however, did vassalage depend upon the condition of military service. The vassal was solemnly bound to rally at the call of his lord, to accompany him in all his enterprises of war, and to fight his battles to the death. The Middle Age was in some sense a camp as wide as Western Europe. As a rule the peasant must bring from his hamlet the armor and supplies necessary for the campaign. Woe to the wight who failed to arm himself for the fray. Sometimes the expedition was long and full of hardships. Generally it was undertaken at the caprice or whim of the suzerain, who, tired of the gluttony of peace, sought instinctively the noble sport of slaughter. What cared the well-fatted king, the duke, the marquis for the hutchery of the low-born serfs and cattle whom they drove into the fight? It was enough that some petty spite, engendered of kingly malice, or some bitter jealousy born in the kingly bed, should be propitiated with the base blood of serfs.

It can not be doubted that Feudalism was a necessity of the social condition of Europe in the tenth century. The universality of its adoption would of itself be a sufficient proof that the system sprang naturally and inevitably out of the existing condition of political society. With the cessation of barbarism, the feudal principle began to assert itself. It sprang up, as if from the soil. Wherever a given situation was present, there the feudal tenure prevailed more and more until the whole social machinery of Western Europe was conformed to a common type of action. Every existing institution adopted the feudal form. Monks hated it. Kings dreaded it. Both embraced it. Even the Church put off her imperial habit and donned the garments

of Feudalism. Cathedrals and monasteries took on the relation of sovereigns and vassals. One city became the suzerain of another. The king himself was only a feudal lord of larger growth. Not only lauded estates, but rights, prerogatives, privileges—the surplice fees of the Church, the revenues derived from the baptismal rite, the privilege of fishing in a given river or of cutting wood in a given forest—all were conceded by the superior to the inferior after the feudal manner. The system took complete possession of society, and

organization of the family, the household, the estate of a feudal baron of the Middle Ages.

He was himself a warrior. He was ignorant, brave, and gloriously brutal. He came as the leader of a band out of the North. At the time of his appearing the inhabitants of the country were those half-Romanized Celts, who in the cities and towns had wholly, and in the country districts partly, substituted the Latin language and institutions for the primitive usages of their fathers. These once warlike peoples, long subject to the iron scepter



FEUDAL CASTLE AT ROUEN.

constrained every other institution to accept its form, if not its spirit.

Looking more closely into the social condition of Feudal Europe, we find much of interest and instruction. Modern times have been and are still largely influenced by conditions which were native to the soil of Feudalism. The family of to-day is essentially feudal in its character and sentiments, and the nature of land-ownership in most of the states of the West is derived from the same origin. From these considerations it may be interesting to sketch in outline the peculiar

of Rome, had become tame and timid. They were trodden under foot by the mighty warriors of the German woods. The work of subjugation was quickly and easily accomplished. A powerful barbarism sat down with crushing weight upon the abject Celtic peasantry of Western Europe.

The leader of this conquering band was now destined to become a feudal lord. He settled in the country which he had conquered. He chose for himself an estate with a limit proportionate to his power and ambition. The inhabitants of these lands—vil-

lagers, farmers, shepherds, peasants—cowered in terror at the sight of his naked sword. Resist him, they durst not. He entered and took possession, and it was astonishing to see the Celtic serfs gathering around him for protection! They huddled around his dreadful plume, preferring his savage domination to a probable conquest by another still more terrible and cruel.

The first work of the incipient baron was to create for himself a permanent residence. To this end he selected some solitary spot, a high hill, an almost inaccessible crag, or defensible position by the water side, and there laid the foundations of his castle. With the aid of his companions and the subject peasants, he reared the huge walls of stone. The battlements and towers appeared. A deep moat was drawn around, and draw-bridge and portecullis completed what part of the defenses had been omitted by nature. Within were capacious and high chambers, finished in imperishable oak. Within the stone-girt inclosure were stables, kennels, and store-houses. Nothing was wanting to complete the isolation, solitude, and defensibility of the massive pile in which the warrior chief now took up his abode.

With him into his castle came his family. This consisted, first of all, of his German wife and children. Them he held in all the love and honor of barbaric tenderness. Besides these, there were generally in the baron's household a number of dependent kinsmen—some feeble uncle or indifferent cousin, who had been unable to conquer an estate for himself, and who preferred the safety of hanging on, rather than the dangerous glory of independence. The same disposition was shown by many other freemen who chose to associate themselves with the master and to obey his commands in return for a safe abode in his castle. Thus was created about the new baronial lord a body of retainers, who constituted a principal element in the feudal society.—Such was the small, isolated family or community which constituted the nucleus of power in the new system which had taken possession of Europe.

At the foot of the hill on which stood the castle of the lord were clustered the village and hamlets of the serfs and peasants. They

drew near to their master as to a rock of safety. They dreaded him, feared him, respected him, hated him—for who ever loved a master? They huddled together and looked up at the height; it was inaccessible. They accepted their lot; and then began that weary career of toil, servility, and despair through which the peasantry of Europe has held its suffering way even to the present hour.

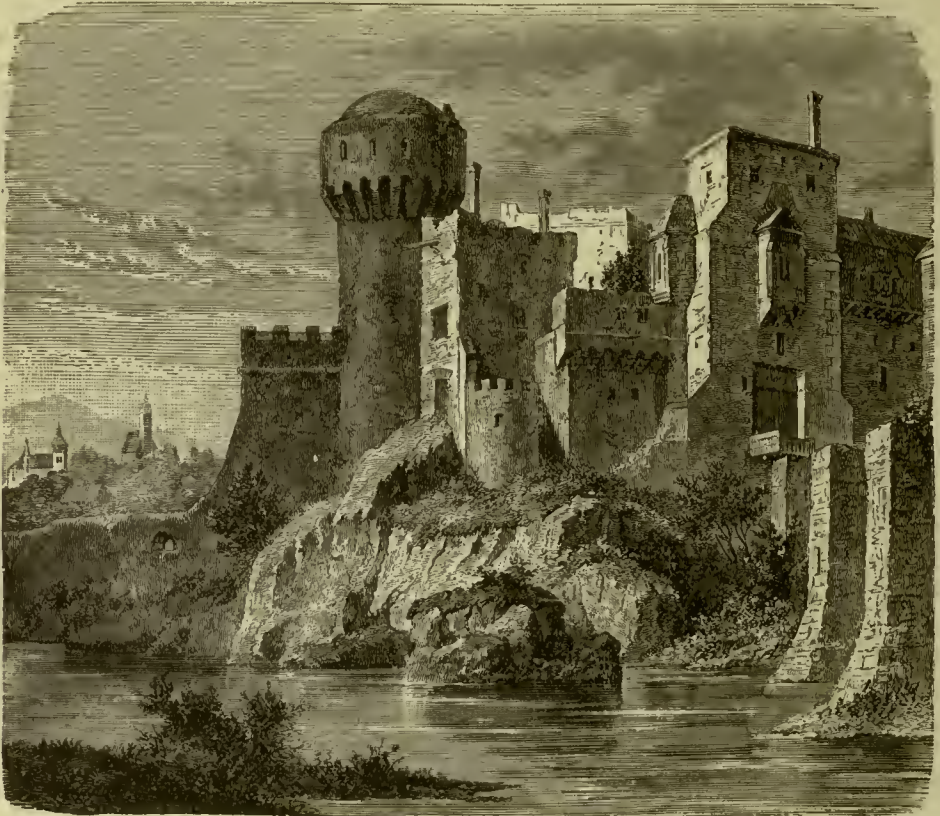
At the first there were few ties existent between the master and his servants. Perhaps the first real bond which came to unite them in interest and feeling was the tie of a common religion. The Christian priest insinuated himself into the new situation. For a while the castle wall kept him at bay, and he was obliged to content himself with a residence among the peasants of the village. To them he ministered in holy things. He baptized their children, solemnized their marriages, soothed them in affliction, and ministered consolation at the grave. It was from these benevolent ministrations that the Christian priest of the Middle Ages gained and held so powerful an ascendancy over the peasant mind of Europe. But with the baron in the castle the expositor of religion was far less successful. The manners and sentiments of the early feudal family were pagan rather than Christian. It was not to be expected that the baronial chief, who had thrown off all restraint, who held his estates in his own rights and contemned even the prerogatives of the king, would patiently give up his soul to the management of a priest. To be sure, the baron became nominally a Christian; but his instincts, opinions, and manners were not much curbed by the restraints of the faith which he professed. He held the priest aloof or tolerated his interference as a necessary evil.

If we look into the sentiments and feelings of the feudal family, we shall observe several traits of marked importance. In the first place, the situation was such as to encourage in the possessor of a fief the idea of his own personal greatness and his vast superiority to those around him. No other condition of man ever so powerfully conduced to engender pride and a sense of personal consequence as did the institution of Feudalism. The baron saw himself lifted vastly above the common herd. He saw himself deferred to, feared,

obeyed, approached with awe and obsequiousness. He appeared to himself as the source and fountain of authority and honor. His importance was not derived, but inherent. He had conquered his estate with the sword. He had built his castle without permission even of the king. His greatness belonged to himself alone, or, at most, to his family. To his son he looked as his successor, and instilled in him the same lessons of haughty self-assertion which he himself had learned

was a system in which the chieftain was the father of a family proper, set in an inaccessible position above a subject people, between whom and himself (for they were not of the same race) there existed no ties of kinship or friendly feeling and few bonds of common interest.

The situation of the feudal family was such as to bring into play and develop the domestic and chivalrous sentiment in a measure unequalled in any other social institution of



FEUDAL CASTLE OF HUNYADI JANOS IN TRANSYLVANIA.

first in war and afterwards on his baronial estate.

As to the feudal family, it was unlike any other presented in history. It was not a tribe after the patriarchic fashion—a gray and venerable sage, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the shepherds who gathered around his tents; nor was it a clan after the manner of the primitive society of Scotland—a chief living apart from his followers and pursuing a different life, leading his men in war and commanding them in peace: but it

the world. The members of the family, placed as they were in complete isolation, *must* hold each other in love and honor. With each nightfall the draw-bridge was thrown up, and all the household gathered in the banqueting-hall and around the baronial hearth. Wine and laughter and song ruled the hours of the gloomy night. There hung the arms of the master and the trophies which he had gathered in war. There the baron's beautiful daughter took part in her brother's games and listened with them to the

warrior father's epic recital of the deeds done in the fire of his youth. The mother, too, was in the midst of the scene, still strong-limbed and glorious after the battles of many an expedition and the victorious struggles of maternity. It was not strange that WOMAN here and now became the idol of a nascent civilization, honored, adored, worshiped as she had never been before. The sentiment of *Ideal Love* gained here an ascendancy over the mind of man, and about his life began to be woven those magic cords of chivalrous devotion which he has gladly and nobly worn for nearly a thousand years. May many another thousand be added to the past before those strong and tender cords shall be broken and the soul of man, so hardly emerged from the old fenlands and sloughs of lust, be remanded again to the level of brutality and the horrid styes of animalism!

Another circumstance to be noted in connection with the feudal institution was the growth therein of the principle of inheritance. The baronial lord naturally looked around to discover some means or expedient whereby to preserve in its integrity the estate which he had won by the sword. The suggestion of substituting the law of descent for the law of conquest arose naturally in his mind; and since the division of an estate among several sons would have destroyed the very system which it was intended to conserve, the principle of primogeniture came in as the inevitable concomitant of the law of inheritance. The complication arose with respect to the younger sons of the feudal family. What should be done in the case of him who had the misfortune not to be the first-born of the household? The only solution of the difficulty seemed to rest in the fact that the younger son, if born to the inheritance of valor and ambition, might go forth and conquer an estate of his own. The world was wide. Many provinces still lay in the waste of half-savagery. He who would and could, might take and keep a domain of his own. Missing this opportunity of conquest, the only alternative remaining to the younger scion of feudalism was either to win the only daughter of some sonless baron or to become the hanger-on of an elder brother.

As it respected the small community of

serfs, the government of the feudal lord was arbitrary and tyrannical. The peasants were regarded as destitute of rights. All the powers and prerogatives which modern society has delegated to the magistrate were exercised and abused at will by the baronial master. He made the law and executed it. He levied and collected taxes. He inflicted punishment and treated his tenants as slaves.

There was thus established over the peasantry of Mediæval Europe a tyranny the most galling, as it has been the most persistent, known in the annals of mankind. The most bitter hardship of the system lay in the fact that the despotism of the feudal baron was *personal*. He did not pretend to derive his authority from the consent of the governed. Neither the concession of the king nor the permission of heaven was recognized as a necessary antecedent of his authority. He ruled in his own right. It was man over man—the most odious of all the species of tyranny. Hence has arisen and continued throughout Western Europe the deep-seated aversion or positive hatred of the peasant classes for the system of feudal domination. Nor can it well be doubted that the day will come when this aversion of the subject for the ruling classes in European society will result in substituting everywhere the government of reason and consent for the government of personal will.

The feudal family, as described in the preceding paragraphs, constituted a part of a general society. The face of Europe was dotted with castles. Though the isolation of each was complete, the common origin and character of all produced a like situation on the face of Europe. The people in all parts became divided into lords and vassals. Ties, first of kinship and afterwards of political interest, were gradually established between the possessors of fiefs. Obligations of service and counter-service stretched from castle to castle, from province to province, from state to state. The new social condition which had gradually oozed out of barbarism became organic, was converted into a system. True it is that these ties and obligations, mutually and voluntarily imposed upon each other and their serfs by the feudal lords, never became constitutional, never were de-

veloped into statutory forms. But they existed. Man was bound to man. The one conceded rights, the other rendered service. Ideas and sentiments hitherto unknown sprang up and prevailed. Honor and loyalty came in as the sanctions of human conduct which hitherto had had no guaranty but violence. The principles of fidelity were substituted for the argument of force, and personal devotion took the place of written statutes and maxims of the crown.

As it respected the feudal baron and his family, it can hardly be denied that this pe-

was the twitter of the adventurous bird in the gray light of the early morning. Albeit the untutored baron and his sons and daughters wist not that in the general destinies of the world they were entertaining the wierd precursor of the mighty bards of the future.

Not so, however, respecting the intellectual development of the serfs. To them the system was wormwood and despair. They must toil and give to another. They must patiently endure the brutal treatment and exactions of the lords. They must live without ambition and die without encomium. They must trans-



FEUDAL CASTLE OF BELEM, PORTUGAL.

culiar system which took possession of Europe was beneficial—salutary. The character of the lord and his household grew and expanded under the stimulus of the institution which he had created. The baronial castle became the seat of sentiment and affection. Here the wandering minstrel, that forlorn, idealistic spirit, drifting up and down the ways and byways of half-barbaric Europe, found a resting-place at night. Here he was entertained by the amused lord and his household. Here that long-haired harper of the dawn sang the first songs and ballads of the new era by and by to break upon the world. It

mit their hard estate to a household of squalid wretches like themselves. They must consent without a murmur to half-starvation of the body and total starvation of the mind. They must accept a life with no tradition except the memory of hardship, with no fruition except the sour bread of poverty, and with no prospect except a gloomy mass of shadow and cloud out of which shot two tongues of fire, the one in the shape of a sword and the other in the shape of a lash.

The great system which has thus been sketched in outline gained possession of almost the entire social fabric of Western Europe.

France became feudal. As early as the treaty of Verdun in 843 two princes divided the Frankish lands with Charles the Bald. The king of Aquitaine took his portion of the territories, and the Duke of Brittany did likewise. The action of Charles in 876, in recognizing the hereditary rights of his lords, has already been narrated in the preceding Book.¹ By the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine great fiefs had been established in Carlovigian France, and in the century following the number was increased to fifty-five. During the tenth century the disruptive tendency in society everywhere displayed itself in full force. The ties between the great dukes and lords on the one side and the king on the other were either greatly weakened or wholly abrogated. But little was wanting to the complete independence of the petty states into which the kingdom was resolved. In process of time the only obligation recognized by the lords and nobles was the insignificant act of fealty performed by them in the presence of a shadowy king.

In Germany, also, the break-up under the successors of Charlemagne lacked little of completeness. Here Feudalism as a system became a definite political form, which in some parts has remained with few changes unto the present day. In the first place, Saxony and Bavaria asserted their independence. The Suabian and Saxon dukes became suzerains and united the interests of their subjects with their own. Feudal government—that graduated system of jurisdiction in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class of persons next below him—was substituted for that legal system which had been established by Charlemagne.

In England there were symptoms of an indigenous Feudalism as early as the time of Alfred the Great. Under Canute the Great

all Britain was divided into four great earldoms. East Anglia was given to Thurkill; Mercia, to Eadric; Northumbria, to Eric; while West Saxony was reserved by Canute. Whether the system thus fairly inaugurated in Danish England would have come to full flower and fruitage under the auspices of the Saxons and the Northmen, can only be determined by conjecture. At the time of the Norman Conquest, the institutions of the island were in a semi-feudalized condition. With the coming of William the Conqueror, the native tendencies were suddenly arrested. He introduced into England a great central administration, to which the country had hitherto been a stranger. He took the lands of the kingdom in his own right, and became the lord-paramount of all England. The administrative functions of the old Saxon and Danish earls were transferred to the sheriffs of the king. Vainly did the native barons resist the encroachments upon their rights. They were overpowered and put down by the arm of one more powerful than themselves. Norman nobles were insinuated into the places of the expelled Danish and Saxon proprietors, and the new order was established, which has remained the basis of land tenure, and, in some sense, of the general constitution of England, to the present day.

Having thus drawn an outline of the feudal system itself—having considered that peculiar institution in its origin, growth, and tendencies, and noted the sentiments and ideas which sprang naturally from the bosom of that society, forecasting, here and there, the influences which the system might be expected to exert on the destinies of modern times—we will now proceed to sketch the social and political progress of the various states of Europe over which Feudalism asserted its sway.

¹ See Book Third, pp. 182, 183.

CHAPTER XIII.—FEUDAL FRANCE.



LOUIS V. of France died childless. With him the French Carolingians became extinct. Even before his death that once illustrious line of kings had sunk to a level with the earth. The blood of Charlemagne no more asserted itself as a living force in the state. For many years the powerful HUGH CAPET, son of Hugh the Great, had wielded the power of the kingdom. Louis the Slug-gard was no more than putty in his hands. Now that the puppet king was dead, now that only a distant collateral and discredited representative might claim the crown, the issue was squarely made whether Hugh would himself accept an election to the throne or allow the choice to fall upon another.

As soon as King Louis was dead the French nobles assembled at Senlis. The tide of public opinion ran strongly in the direction of the choice of Hugh Capet. A feeble effort was made by the remaining descendant of the Carolingians, Duke Charles of Lower Lorraine, to obtain the royal power for himself; but his claims were treated with contempt. In June of 987 the *grandees* reassembled at Senlis and proceeded to an election. Count Hugh was present among them and addressed the assembly. The nobles were of one opinion as to him who should be raised to the seat of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet was unanimously elected, and on the following day was crowned king of the Gauls, the Bretons, the Normans, the Aquitainians, the Goths, the Spaniards, and the Basques. Thus, in the year 987, the Capetian line was substituted for the Carolingian on the throne of France.

One of the first cares of the new king was to establish the succession. He proposed to the nobles that to secure the stability of the kingdom his son Robert should be associated with himself in the royal power. At first the proposal was met with opposition. In the recent interval between the death of the Slug-

gard and the election of Hugh it had been urged by the champions of the latter that the hereditary principle ought not to prevail over fitness in the choice of a king of France. Now there was a manifest disposition on the part of the supporters of the king to reverse the late rule of action and restore the law of descent. After some debates Duke Robert was solemnly crowned in the basilica of Sainte-Croix, and associated with his father in the government.

The election of Hugh Capet to the throne of France was the substitution of a feudal kingdom in the place of the constitutional monarchy established by Charlemagne. King Hugh was the greatest feudal chieftain of his times. He was duke of the country called France, and count of the city of Paris. His coronation as king of the French was a public recognition of the fact that the Imperialistic claims of the Carolingians had given place to Feudalism as the essential principle of the state. The very nobles who had elected Hugh to the throne forbore not presently to assert their independence of it. A certain Adelbert, who had participated in the recent royal election, fell into an altercation with his sovereign, and hot words passed between them. "Who made thee Count?" demanded the king of his vassal. And the vassal replied with the equally pertinent question, "*Who made thee King?*" The incident is illustrative of the fact that feudal insubordination had already triumphed over monarchical prerogative.

Duke Charles of Lorraine made a spasmodic and inglorious attempt to regain the throne of his fathers. The struggle was vain, being in the face of fate. A new order had taken possession not only of France, but of all Western Europe. In the year 992 the Duke Charles died, and his family fell into still greater obscurity than ever. King Hugh, meanwhile, entered upon his reign with wisdom and moderation, and the throne was soon securely established in his House. From the very first, however, it was evident that the

incipient struggle was on between the independent claims of the feudal baron and the assertion of kingly authority. It was the beginning of a conflict which was to continue for centuries, and which was finally to be decided in favor of the crown by the triumph of Louis XI. over Charles the Bold.

The reign of Hugh Capet was of nine years' duration. He administered the affairs of state wisely and well. He had the advantage of continuing the policy which he himself had instituted during his uncrowned career before the death of the Sluggard. Under his auspices the civilization of France, destined to remain under the direction of his

matters. It happened that Robert and his queen were cousins in the fourth degree, and this relationship was, according to the canons of the church, an insuperable obstacle to marriage. Pope Gregory V. issued an edict ordering an immediate divorce under pain of excommunication. But the twain clung together even under the dire anathema of Rome.

They remained in the palace, abandoned by their friends, destitute, suffering, starving; for none durst bring them food or minister to their necessities. The whole kingdom was placed under an interdict. Still the law of love prevailed in the royal bosom. At length the queen became a mother, but her child



ELECTION OF HUGH CAPET.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

House for eight hundred years, began to move forward with rapid strides, and the kingdom soon surpassed in refinement and culture any other state north of the Alps. In 996 Hugh Capet died, and was quietly succeeded by his son ROBERT, already king-elect of France.

The new sovereign of the new feudal kingdom entered upon a long, obscure, and inglorious reign. No regular annals of the period are in existence, and the partial records which have been preserved are confused and contradictory. In the year before his accession to the throne the king had taken in marriage Bertha, the widow of Eudes, count of Chartres, for whom he had long cherished a romantic affection. The Church of Rome, however, was little given to romancing in such

was born dead. Thereupon the monks proclaimed that it was the curse of God upon the kingly pair for their unholy marriage. They circulated the report that the dead child was a monstrous deformity, having no semblance to the offspring of man. Terror now seized upon the mind of King Robert, and he consented to divorce the queen. Bertha was sent in her sorrow to a convent, and there passed the remainder of her life as a nun.

In abilities and energy Robert, who now received the surname of the Pious, was greatly inferior to his father. He paved his way with good intentions, but the superstructure of his reign was reared of weakness and folly. The king mixed an amiable disposition and kindly designs with foolish misconcep-

tions and chimerical projects. It is said that his charities were so administered as to encourage idleness rather than to relieve the needy. His mildness in the exercise of authority was understood as a license by the vicious, and his religious sentiments were so shallow as to be satisfied with forms and ceremonies.

After the divorce of Bértha, King Robert married the Princess Constance of Provence. Very unlike his former queen was the vain and insolent woman whom he now took to the throne. She would have her own way in the palace. She brought with her to Paris a retinue of her gay and delightful friends from the South. Their bright dresses flashed in the eyes of the sedate courtiers with whom the king had surrounded himself. Their free and joyous manners were horrifying to the pious Robert; but to the queen all this was life. She filled the palace with minstrels and troubadours. She contrived exciting sports and amusements, and made the monk-shadowed hall ring with the high glee of jocularly. The despairing king sought refuge with his priests. He assisted them in the church services. He went on lonesome pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints. He sought the companionship of filthy beggars, and was in the habit of *washing their feet* as a token of his humility.

The reign of Robert the Pious is noteworthy in French history as the time when the first flush of the crusading fever was felt in Western Europe. At the very time when Queen Constance was holding high revel with her troubadours in the palace at Paris, and the disconsolate king was wandering here and there in search of some balm for his dyspeptic spirit, vague rumors floated westward and the east wind began to whisper the story of outrage done by the sacrilegious Saracens at the tomb of Christ. It was said that the holy places of Jerusalem were defiled by Infidel dogs, who spurned with the foot of contempt the lowly Christians of Palestine. It was the peculiarity of this premonitory excitement, which, after smouldering for nearly a century, was destined to wrap all Europe in its flames, that the wrath of the Western Christians was at first directed against the Jews. It was said that these people, still hating

Christ and his followers, had instigated the outrages which had been committed by the Mohammedans in Palestine. They had carried on a secret correspondence with the Infidels of the East, and had suggested the extermination of the Asiatic Christians. Pope Sylvester II., though now in his old age, vehemently proclaimed the duty of Europe to destroy the perfidious Jews and proceed against the defilers of holy Jerusalem. The time, however, had not yet come when such an appeal could fire the multitudes and fling them headlong into Asia.

In the year 1002 Robert became embroiled with the princes of Burgundy. Duke Henry of that province, uncle of the French king, died and left no children; but after his death his step-son Otho came in and claimed the dukedom. King Robert also laid claim to Burgundy as the nephew of Duke Henry. But the king was not fitted, either by disposition or experience, for a conflict which must be decided by force of arms. He accordingly called in his great vassal, the Duke of Normandy, to aid him against the Burgundian usurper. The latter in the mean time raised an army, advanced to meet his foe, and took possession of the abbey of St. Germain, near the city of Auxerre. The army of French and Normans came on from the west, and were about to attack the Burgundians at the abbey when a priest came forth and warned the king not to incur the anger of God by assaulting his earthly sanctuary. At that moment a thick mist arose up from the river. It was the spirit of St. Germain himself come from the deeps to reënforce the appeal of his priest!

The pious King Robert could not stand before such an apparition from the unseen world. He and his army turned and fled. The rebel Otho was left master of the situation. In 1003 the king made a second abortive attempt to reduce the Burgundian to submission. The campaign ended with as little success as before, and Otho continued to rule the province for a period of eleven years. At the end of that time he made a voluntary submission to the king, whose vassal he became, with the title of Count of Burgundy.

King Robert held the throne of France until the year 1031. His eldest son Hugh

was recognized as his successor, and was crowned as the expectant heir while still a child. But this prince died six years before the death of his father. Endes, the second son of Robert, was an idiot; so Henry, the third son, was chosen for the succession, though this act was done against the violent opposition of Queen Constance, who desired that the crown should be bestowed upon her favorite, the Prince Robert, youngest of the four brothers. In the year 1031, King Robert, being then in his sixtieth year and the thirty-fourth of his reign, was attacked with a fever while on his return from a pilgrimage. He died at the town of Melun, and was succeeded by Prince HENRY.

No sooner was the new king seated on the throne than the partial and implacable queen-mother stirred up a revolt against him. So great was her influence in the court and capital, and so critical became the aspect, that Henry fled from Paris and sought the protection of Robert the Magnificent, the reigning Duke of Normandy. That country had recently been the scene of tumult, intrigue, and crime. The Duke Richard II. had died in 1027, and was succeeded by his son, Richard III. With him his brother Robert, ambitious to gain the duchy for himself, raised a quarrel, and the two princes took up arms to decide the controversy. Richard at first gained the advantage, and Robert was besieged in the castle of Falaise. The latter, finding himself pent up, resorted to treachery. Pretending to desire reconciliation, he opened the gates to his brother and invited him and his nobles to a banquet. Thereupon Richard sickened and died, the probable cause being poison.

An accusation was brought against Robert, and he was excommunicated by his brother, Archbishop Manger, of Rouen. Presently afterwards, however, the sentence was removed, and he gained the title not only of Duke of Normandy, but also of the Magnificent. To him King Henry now appealed as to a protector against the malice of his delightful mother. Robert at once espoused the cause of the royal appellant, marched on Paris, brought the queen-mother to obedience, and shut her up in a convent. There she had leisure to recall the pleasures of youth, and to hear again in dreams the thrumming

of mediæval guitars in the hands of her troubadours.

As a reward for service rendered, King Henry gave to his friend, Duke Robert, the provinces of Pontoise and Gisors. These were annexed to Normandy. At the same time he appeased the ambition of his own brother Robert by bestowing on him the crown of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards the Duke Magnificent discovered an alarming balance against his soul in the ledger of conscience. He dreamed of the treacherous banquet at Falaise, and saw his brother's face in the shadows. Fain would he abandon the splendor which he had so foully won, and regain the favor of heaven by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But what of the succession to the dukedom? He had no children save one and he was—illegitimate. Robert had been enamored of the daughter of a tanner! Feudalism would hardly recognize the offspring of so base a union. But Nature had set on the brow of the youth the seal of genius. The father was anxious to have him acknowledged as his successor. At last the reluctant barons consented. They came into the presence of the bastard boy and swore allegiance to him who was presently to become WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR! Then the penitent Robert, in pilgrim's garb, wended his way to the holy places of the East, and died in Palestine.

No sooner was Duke William acknowledged as the rightful ruler of Normandy than he began to display the great qualities of ambition and daring for which he was so greatly distinguished. The Norman nobles became proud of their young suzerain, and the bishops blinked the story of his birth. Meanwhile, King Henry of France, surprised at seeing thus to bud from the bosom of a tanner's daughter a plant which seemed likely to overshadow the realm, bitterly repented the part which he had taken in favor of Robert and his base-born son. He accordingly conspired with Archbishop Manger, uncle of the aspiring duke, to reverse the order of events and transfer the Norman duchy to another. But William was so firmly established in the respect and affections of his subjects that the plot against him came to naught. Nature went forth to victory, and legitimacy sat mouthing.

King Henry occupied the throne of France from 1033 to 1060. His reign, on the whole, was weak, if not contemptible. Three times was he married. The first two unions were with queens who brought him no children; but in the third marriage he took to the palace the Russian princess Anne, daughter of the czar, and by her he had three sons. This third marriage of the king with the daughter of a royal House then scarcely known in Western Europe was an event the motives of which it would be difficult to discover. But such was the wifely and the queenly character of the foreign princess thus oddly introduced into the palace of the Capets that all cavil against the king's caprice was quieted. The three sons born to King Henry were PHILIP, who succeeded him; Robert, who died in childhood; and Hugh, who became count of Vermandois.

Now it was that the disk of Feudalism grew large and bright. At the same time the sun of royalty waned, as if to its setting. The splendor of the king's court was actually eclipsed by the superior brightness of the courts of many of his vassals. The great counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Anjou outshone their king in magnificence, and were fully his equals in the field. The Count of Champagne and Blois, half-brother to King Henry, maintained a court in rivalry to that of Paris. He even set up a pretension of royalty, and in 1037 fought a bloody battle with the Emperor Conrad of Germany. He claimed from that monarch the territories which had belonged to Conrad the Pacific; but the count was slain in battle, and his claims were thus blown away. The elder of his two sons was permitted to inherit the earldom of Champagne, and the younger became Count of Blois.

The reign of King Henry, however undistinguished in itself, was a noted epoch for two considerations. The first was the formal effort which was now put forth by the Romish See to reform the abuses of the Church, and the second was the growth and development of CHIVALRY. For a long time ecclesiastical affairs, especially in France, had been sinking deeper and deeper into confusion and disgrace. The conduct of the Gallic clergy had been such as to cover the cause of religion with reproach and shame.

It will be remembered that the celibate party had, in the great struggle of the ninth century, won the day over the supporters of a married clergy. For a generation or two the celibate monks rejoiced in their victory; but by and by they began themselves to be restless under the system which they had succeeded in enforcing. Many of them broke their vows and left the monasteries. The Church was greatly scandalized. Other abuses added to the disgraces of the organization. Benefices were frequently sold to the highest bidder. Even the Papal crown itself had been so disposed of. The folly of the earthly kingdoms in permitting children and boys to occupy thrones was witnessed also at Rome, where Benedict IX., a stripling but ten years of age was raised to the seat of St. Peter. The more serious and sincere ecclesiastics felt keenly the shame consequent upon these corruptions. The cry of reform was raised. The conscience of Germany was deeply stirred at the existing condition of affairs. In the year 1049 the celebrated Bruno was chosen Pope, under the auspices of Henry III. The new dignitary was a man of sanctity and learning. Under the name of Leo IX. he undertook a renovation of the Church. He passed over into France, and convened a great council at Rheims. Here the prelates of the kingdom were summoned, and a more rigorous enforcement of the canonical and moral law was made against those who had been guilty of crime.

As a further measure of reform in the Church, St. Bruno instituted the order of Carthusian monks, the same being a branch of the Benedictines, already established. A wild and solitary spot near the city of Grenoble, in the department of La Chartreuse, was chosen as the site of the first monastery. The observances of the new order were austere and penitential in the last degree. Nor was it long until the Carthusians gained a reputation for benevolence and sanctity above that of any contemporary establishment. Their monasteries soon appeared in various parts of France, Germany, and England. One branch of the brotherhood was established in the Thermæ of Diocletian at Rome. Great was the industry displayed by the shorn brothers of Chartreuse in the works peculiar to the monastic life.

Another feature of the religious history of these times was the spread of various heresies. The doctrines of the Church were denied or assailed by many of the clergy. Persecutions for opinion's sake were already frequent. Sects of fanatics, anxious by some extraordinary method and discipline of life to merit the special favor of heaven, arose in different parts of the country. Of these, the characteristics were some almost intolerable form of penance, or unusual rigor of restraint upon the natural appetites. It was the peculiar tenet of one of the heretical sects to fast to the last extreme, with total abstinence from all animal food. Under this severe self-denial the devotees of the community were presently wasted until they were more like wan specters than men of flesh and blood. To be so reduced in body was regarded as the highest evidence of sanctity, and the haggard visage was thought to be the only countenance worthy the name of Christian.

Turning from these peculiar aspects of the religious history of the eleventh century, we note the rise of CHIVALRY. This institution, like Feudalism, of which it was a concomitant development, grew naturally out of the social condition of Western Europe. As early as the days of Tacitus the sentiment of honor was noticeable as a characteristic of German life. Under a system where the man was every thing and the state was little it was necessary to the very existence of tribal society that truth and devotion should prevail over the intriguing and treacherous spirit. In such a state trust was an antecedent of action.

When the Frankish tribes gained possession of Gaul, and, giving over the wandering life, fixed their residence on the soil, they began almost from the very first to cultivate those sentiments which they had come to regard as the best traits of German character. When the Frankish youths were first presented with the weapons which they were to wear in manhood, they were made to take an oath that they would be brave, valiant, and honorable soldiers. Even in those early times the worst stigma which could be affixed to the tribal name was a dishonorable act on the part of its chief. Such were the fundamental facts upon which the chivalrous institutions of the Middle Ages were founded.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Frankish society having then taken on a definite form and Feudalism having become the basis of the state, the Church discovered in the chivalrous sentiments of the Franks the means of giving a new impulse to religion. Many of the pious nobles who had been actual warriors by profession were induced to become ideal soldiers of the Cross. They consecrated their swords to the cause of virtue, truth, and religion. They took upon them vows to defend the innocent and uphold the weak. They became the sworn foes of oppression, the enemies of wrong-doing wherever and whenever found. The old warlike impulses thus found a vent, and the restless energies of the barbarian character, still present in the descendants of the Teutones, flowed in a newer and broader channel. Just at the time when the consciousness of Western Europe was reviving from its long, barbaric sleep, just at the time when the human imagination began to paint an aureole about the gross head of the feudal chieftain, Chivalry came with its refinement of thought and generosity of action to add new radiance to the morning of civilization.

The noble principles and high ideals which thus began to gain an ascendancy in mediæval society soon became organic in an institution. An Order of Knighthood was established as the conservator of the new heroism of nascent Europe. Laws and regulations were adopted and a discipline established for the better development of chivalrous sentiments and the proper direction of knightly ardor. The order opened its portals to none but men of noble birth. The vulgar peasantry was absolutely excluded. What dreams of heroism and generosity, of honor, virtue, and truth, of the rescue of the helpless and the defense of the weak, could agitate the unimaginative brains of ignoble serfs? So reasoned and queried the suzerain, the royal warrior, the baronial lord and his aspiring sons, riding forth to tournament or going abroad in search of heroic and adventurous excitement.

The ceremonial of knighthood was interesting and elaborate. The aspirant to knightly honors, after a period of probation, came at length to the day when he was to be admitted among the noble order. The candi-

date was first carefully bathed, in order that he might be presented pure before the ministrants. After the washing he was clothed in a white tunic, over which in a later part of the ceremony was placed a crimson vest. Finally he was encased in a coat-of-mail. His waist was bound with a belt. Spurs were affixed to his boots and a sword girt at his side. The various parts of his dress and armor had a speculative significance as well as an actual use. The white tunic was symbolical of the new life which the knight had vowed to lead. The red vest, symbol of blood, indicated that his business was war. His armor, which was of a sable hue, was to

noble Houses were put for preparatory discipline into the halls of the most eminent knights. There they did service and took lessons of the master, imbibing his courtly manners and emulating his chivalrous deeds. The sentiment of heroic adventure became the one absorbing passion of Feudal Europe, and the armor of the returning knight, coming home victorious over the enemies of truth and chastity, was regarded as the most honorable emblem of the age.

Nor should failure here be made to mention the part which woman naturally assumed under the chivalric *régime* which now prevailed instead of the barbaric rule of the past.



A KING GOING TO TOURNAMENT.

remind him of the blackness of death. His belt signified that he was girt with chastity, and his spurs that he should fly to the rescue of the innocent. When the ceremony of clothing the initiate was completed, he knelt before the officiating knight, who thereupon struck him a blow on the shoulder with the side of his sword, and exclaimed: "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight. Be brave, bold, and loyal. Rise, Sir!" For Sir was the knightly title.

Great was the popularity immediately attained by the chivalrous orders. The one overmastering ambition of the noble youth of Europe was to be admitted to knighthood. To this end the sons of the feudal lords were carefully bred and trained. The scions of the

She was the radiant and adored goddess of the chivalrous age. To her, in some sort, the whole system was directed. Weaker than man, her protection, from being an instinctive sentiment, became the open and avowed duty of the knight. Religion said that the knight should be true to God; humanity, that he should be true to woman. The times were still full of violence. Lawless passions still sought to be gratified at the expense of virtue, unable to defend itself against the strong. The feudal situation was such as to encourage the sentiment of ennobling love. Woman was secluded from base familiarity. She grew up in the castle halls. The baron's daughter was rarely seen abroad. From her father's castle to the castle of her possible

lover was the space of fifty, perhaps a hundred, miles. It was hill country, dark woods, and deep rivers—hills without a roadway, woods infested with brigands and robbers, and rivers without a bridge. Her lover must come to her at peril of his life. She had never seen him; he had never seen her. They had only dreamed and imagined each other's loyalty and devotion. Their fathers, perhaps, were friends—old-time companions in the perils and hardships of war. Perhaps

his caparisoned steed, fling the reins to a groom, and walk, in full and shining armor, into the echoing hall of her father's castle. It was the beginning of that great romance which for a thousand years has been the dream of the human heart, gilding the gloom of action and adorning the coarseness of life with the beauty and tenderness of ideal love.

The institution of chivalry, thus established in the beginning of the eleventh century, spread rapidly throughout the western



KNIGHTS'-ERRANT.

they were enemies! May be between them yawned a chasm which had been rent open by the deadly feuds of a hundred years. The young baron saw the divinity of his life afar. He must blow his bugle outside of the moat. The warder must announce a stranger and let down the drawbridge if he was welcome. Up must be flung the portcullis, and in must ride the aspiring lover, who would fain behold and worship the goddess of his dreams. Meanwhile she, after the manner of her sex, looked down into the court from her high and narrow window and saw *him* dismount from

part of Europe. Knighthood in France became the dominant aspect of society. In a short time a class of champions known as knights-errant became prevalent, and the representatives of this Order might be seen in almost every part of the country. In Spain the business of the knight was more serious and less ideal. There the Moors were to be confronted. There the banner of the Cross was to be lifted against that of the Crescent. There in a thousand private encounters and deadly personal battles the metal of the Christian sword was to be tested against that

of the Mohammedan. It thus happened that the sentiment of hatred and contempt of Infidels prevailed over nobler motives in the chivalry of Spain. Of all the countries of Europe, insular and practical England was least favorable to the reception of knighthood. The knightly branch of the military service was less important to the English kings than were those sturdy yeoman archers, whose long bows of yew were so terrible to the enemy. In the succeeding Book, the influence of the chivalrous orders will again demand our attention as one of the leading impulses of the Crusades. It was in those marvelous movements of Europe to the East that the knightly spirit of the West found its broadest and most congenial field of activity.

After his death in the year 1060, King Henry was succeeded on the throne of France by his son Philip I. This prince was a mere child, being but seven years of age at the time of his accession. The late king had taken the precaution to appoint as regent Earl Baldwin of Flanders during the minority of Philip. In 1067 the protector died, and the young king was left to his own resources and responsibilities.

The domestic relations of the new prince were no more fortunate than those of his father. Two years after the death of the regent, Philip took in marriage the Princess Bertha, daughter of the Count of Holland. Six years afterwards she brought to her lord a son, who was destined to succeed him with the title of Louis the Fat. After twenty years of married life, the king made the convenient discovery that he and the queen were within the prohibited degrees of kinship. He therefore put her away by divorce, and she went into banishment at Montreuil-sur-Mer. Nor was it long until the nature of the king's conscientious scruples were amply revealed. He had conceived a violent passion for the beautiful Bertrade, fourth wife of his vassal, the Count of Anjou.

But no sooner was Queen Bertha disposed of than the king set out for Tours, made known his so-called love for Bertrade, who presently left her consort and joined her alleged lover at Orleans. The bishops and priests were properly shocked at these proceedings on the part of their sovereign. Scarcely

could the king discover one of the clergy sufficiently bold and unscrupulous to perform the marriage ceremony. The whole Church of France was up in arms against it. The Pope promptly joined his authority with that of the Gallican bishops who refused to recognize the validity of the union. Then followed a desperate struggle between papal and kingly prerogative. One excommunication after another was launched at the heads of the king and his few adherents, but all to no avail. He kept his queen and mocked at the Holy Father's authority. Philip's spirit rose with the persecution against him. The priests refused to perform religious services in any town where he was sojourning, and when he departed from a town the bells rang a peal of joy for his departure. Thereupon he was accustomed to say with a laugh to her who was the cause of the insult, "Dost hear, my love, how they are ringing us out?"

This social disturbance in the king's house soon distracted the affairs of the whole realm. The kingdom was put under an interdict by the Pope. For twelve years France lay smitten with the awful displeasure of the Holy See. Not until the First Crusade had drawn the attention of both Church and king to the more serious question of expelling the Infidels from Palestine did Philip finally yield to the dictation of the Church. In the year 1104, in a great convocation of the bishops at Paris, the king went humbly before the body, confessed his sin, renounced his wife, and promised to expiate his crime with meek and penitential works. In like manner, Bertrade yielded to the inevitable and took the oath of renunciation and future obedience. Nevertheless, it is more than probable that both king and queen, in abjuring their past lives, swore falsely even on the Gospel. A short time afterwards the audacious twain were living as before, and publicly journeying together from place to place in the kingdom.

It appears, however, that King Philip was not wholly engrossed with his vices. In the early part of his reign he drew his sword in a war with Robert, duke of Friesland, who had seized upon the duchy of Holland. But the event soon showed that the king of the French was by no means a match for Count Robert and his northern warriors. A peace was ac-

cordingly made, on terms altogether favorable to the Duke of Friesland. Robert stipulated that the young king should accept in marriage his daughter Bertha. For she was that Bertha who has already been mentioned as the first wife of Philip.

It was already the daybreak of the Crusades. The reader will readily recall that part of the narrative in the Second Book of the present Volume wherein an account is given of the more friendly relations which were gradually established between the Christians and Mohammedans in the East. Nor is it likely that the old flames of animosity would have burst out anew if the mild-mannered Saracens of the East had remained in possession of the Holy Sepulcher. It was needed that the prejudice of race should be added to the prejudice of religion before the ancient fires could be rekindled. But this missing condition necessary to wrap all Europe in a conflagration was presently supplied in the conquest of Palestine by the Seljukian Turks. In the latter part of the eleventh century these fierce barbarians, themselves the followers of the Prophet, but a very different people from the refined and philosophical Arabs who controlled the destinies of Islam in the South and the West, gained possession of the city of Jerusalem, and began a career of violence and persecution which was almost as repugnant to the Saracens as to the Christians themselves. What should be said of the despicable wretches who, without compunction or fear, converted the churches of the city of David and Christ into cow-houses and stables?

The news of what was done in Palestine created the greatest indignation and rage. The Christian pilgrims, who escaped from the atrocities of the Infidels in Asia, returning, spread the story of the sacrilegious crimes done by Turks on the followers of Christ. It will be remembered that at this juncture of affairs the Empire of Constantinople trembled to its base. The menacing Turks were even then at the threshold. The Emperor Michael VII., distrusting his own ability to save the Greek Empire from destruction, sent a hurried embassy to Pope Gregory VII., imploring his aid against the common enemy. The Holy Father thereupon dispatched letters to the va-

rious Christian states of Europe, calling loudly upon them to rally to the standard of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile a certain Peter, a devout monk of Picardy, had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he had been maltreated and abused according to the manner of the conscienceless Turks. The monk saw with indignation and shame his countrymen and brethren insulted and spit upon in the same manner as himself. Going to the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, he laid before him the story of his wrongs. But the patriarch was unable to redress his grievances. He told Peter, moreover, that the Greek Emperor was as impotent as himself to protect the pilgrims from the fury of the malignant Turks. The monk thereupon returned to Italy and flung himself before the successor of St. Peter, beseeching him to rally all Christendom against the defilers of the tomb of Christ.

Meanwhile the Church of the West was rent with a violent schism. In 1088 Gregory VII. was succeeded on the papal throne by a Benedictine monk named Otho de Lagny, who took the title of Urban II. But Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, refused to recognize him, and put up Clement III. as anti-pope. The latter was presently expelled by the Romans, and he and Henry were excommunicated by Urban. In 1091 the Emperor marched an army to Rome, restored the anti-pope, and obliged the Pope to fly into Apulia. Two years later, however, Urban regained the papal crown, and in 1095 called a great council at Piacenza. There were present at the assembly two hundred bishops, three thousand of the inferior clergy, and thirty thousand laymen. While this great convocation was busy with the affairs of the Church ambassadors arrived from Alexius Comnenus, Emperor of the East, who joined his voice with that of Peter of Picardy in imploring the aid of Western Europe against the Turks. Urban lent a willing ear to the appeal, and called upon the Christian princes to draw their swords against the Infidels. The agitation spread everywhere. The council of Piacenza adjourned, and the bishops returned to their several countries, fired with the rising spirit of crusaders. Before the end of the same year—namely, in November of 1095—Pope Urban II. called

another great council at Clermont, in Auvergne, and there the first formal step was taken for the rescue of the Holy Land from the Turks.—Here, then, we pause in the

feudal history of France to sketch the course of events in the surrounding states before entering upon the history of that tumultuous movement called the Crusades.

CHAPTER XIV.—FEUDAL GERMANY.



THE course of German history has already been traced from the division of the Carolingian empire to the death of Otho the Great, in the year 973. That distinguished sovereign was succeeded on the throne by his son OTHO II., surnamed the Red. The prince who thus came into the kingly and Imperial dignity was at the time of his accession but seventeen years of age. It was the first fate of his reign to fall under the regency of his mother, Adelheid, who exhibited great abilities during the minority of her son. But Theophaia, the wife of Otho, became inflamed with jealousy on account of the ascendancy of her mother-in-law, and the latter was presently obliged to descend from her preëminence and retire into Burgundy.

In the first years of the reign of Otho the Emperor's cousin, Henry of Bavaria, headed a revolutionary movement against the crown, with a view of securing the independence of his own state. The revolt made considerable progress, and Henry was crowned at Ratisbon; but the tide presently turned against him, and in 976 he was overthrown in battle. The ambitious purpose of the barbarians was brought to naught, and they had the chagrin to see their country united with the province of Suabia. By this union of the two German states, effected in the last quarter of the tenth century, were laid the foundations of the modern kingdom and empire of AUSTRIA.

The next complication demanding the attention of Otho arose on the frontier of Bohemia and Denmark. With both of these states he went to war and was so successful as to maintain the boundaries established by his father. But while the Emperor's encrygies

were thus absorbed in the North-east, Lothaire, king of France, seized the favoring opportunity to possess himself of the lower province of Lorraine. In the summer of 978, he succeeded in capturing Aix-la-Chapelle and thus established himself in the ancient capital of Charlemagne. Great was the wrath which these events excited throughout Germany. An army of sixty thousand men was raised; and Otho, turning upon the Franks, drove them back more rapidly than they had come. The Emperor pursued the retreating Lothaire to Paris and besieged him in his own capital. Then it was that the German army, encamped on Montmartre, performed an exquisite piece of bravado by bellowing the Latin litany in the ears of the Parisians.¹ After a war of two years' duration, a personal interview was had between Otho and Lothaire, and their difficulties were settled by the restoration of Lorraine to Germany.

The next trouble in which the Empire was involved was on the side of Italy. The Eternal City had for some time been the scene of turmoil and confusion. In the year 891 Otho found it necessary to go to Rome in order to quiet the disturbances in the government. While engaged in this duty he had personal interviews with Conrad, duke of Burgundy, and the great count, Hugh Capet of France. His mother, the ex-empress Adelheid, also met him at Pavia, and the two were reconciled. At this time the coasts of Italy were assailed by both the Greeks and the Saracens. It was necessary for Otho, in virtue of his Imperial title, to defend the South against the ravages of her enemies. Notwithstanding the fierce animosities existing between the Greeks and the Saracens, an alliance was made between them for the purpose of resisting the

¹ See Book Third, p. 190.

German Emperor. For one year a desultory war was carried on between the belligerents of Italy; but in the summer of 982, a great and decisive battle was fought on the coast of Calabria. The army of Otho was utterly routed by the Saracens, and he himself only escaped destruction by flinging himself into the sea and swimming to a ship. The vessel was found to be a galley of the Greeks, but Otho induced the captain to put him ashore at Rosano, where he was joined by the Empress. Thence the Imperial pair made their escape into Northern Italy, and in the following year Otho summoned the Diet of the Empire to meet him at Verona.

The call was obeyed with alacrity. The princes assembled from most of the states of Western Europe, and the Diet was the most imposing deliberative body which had been convened for centuries. The kings of Hungary and Bohemia sat side by side with the dukes of Saxony, France, and Bavaria. One of the first duties devolving on the assembly was the establishment of the succession. The choice fell naturally on the Emperor's son, then a child but three years of age, afterwards to be known as Otho III. Great preparations were then made for prosecuting the war with the Saracens. The national spirit of the Germans was thoroughly aroused, and the energies of the Empire were bent to the destruction of the Mohammedan buccaners in the Mediterranean. But before the preparations for the conflict could be completed the Emperor Otho fell sick and died, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

The ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle were engaged in the coronation of Otho III.—following in that matter the decree of the Diet at Verona—at the time when the news came of his father's death. The establishment of a regency became an immediate necessity, and a violent dispute arose between the queen-mother, Theophania, and the queen-grandmother, Adelheid, as to which should have the guardianship of the Imperial scion. Duke Henry of Bavaria also came forward, and claimed the regency, being actuated thereto by the ill-disguised motive of obtaining the crown for himself. The German princes, however, were not at all disposed to favor

this ambitious project, and the vision of the aspiring Henry was soon reduced to his own dukedom of Bavaria. The regency went to Adelheid and Theophania, the latter exercising authority in the name of her son in Germany, and the former doing likewise in Italy. In both countries these royal women wielded their authority with prudence and success. After eight years Theophania died, and the now aged Adelheid became sole regent of the Empire. Choosing the dukes of Saxony, Suabia, Bavaria, and Tuscany as members of her council, she continued for three years longer to sway the Imperial scepter, and was then succeeded by her grandson, who, on reaching the age of sixteen, took into his own hands the reins of government.

In this period of thirteen years since the death of Otho II. the Empire was almost constantly menaced with war. The Wends in Brandenburg again revolted and fell upon the German settlements beyond the Elbe. Nor, for the time, was any effective aid rendered by the Imperial army to the people of this exposed frontier. The Saxons themselves, however, proved equal to the emergency, and the Wendish revolt was suppressed after a severe and bloody struggle. Nor were the relations of the Empire on the side of France more peaceable than in the Northeast. Though open hostilities were not resorted to, the sentiment of war prevailed during the whole minority of Otho III. This was the epoch in French history when the House of Charlemagne was in the slow agonies of extinction. Duke Charles, last of that degenerate line, was setting up his feeble and ridiculous claim to the crown of the kingdom, while the great Hugh Capet was quietly taking to himself the royal dignity, with the ample consent of the nobles and people of France.

Little was the German Empire benefited by the transfer of the scepter from the withered but virtuous hand of Adelheid to that of her facile and capricious grandson. Though the education of Otho III. had by no means been neglected, his instruction had been Greek rather than German. Like many another upstart stripling, he preferred his foreign to his native culture. He affected to be—and perhaps was—ashamed of his Saxon

lineage, and was fool enough to style himself a Greek by birth and a Roman by right of rule. Albeit but little good might be expected to flow from the Imperial scepter while wielded by a prince so fantastic in disposition and absurd in his royal mannerisms.

In accordance with his theory of regarding himself as a Roman rather than a German Emperor, young Otho made all speed to the Eternal City to receive his crown at the hands of the Holy Father. The papal chair was at that time occupied by Pope John XVI., whom Otho had recently aided in a struggle with a certain Roman noble named Crescentius, who had endeavored to usurp the government of the city. The Pope, however, died while the Emperor was *en route* into Italy; and the latter found it necessary to create his own creator by appointing to the papacy his cousin Bruno, who took the seat of St. Peter with the title of Gregory V. By him Otho was crowned a few days after his arrival in the city. How, indeed, could the Pope do otherwise, when he himself had been raised up for that especial duty?

It soon appeared that the Pope had the worst of the bargain. When the ceremony of coronation was done, and Otho had retired from Italy, Crescentius rose against the Pope, expelled him from power, and set up a new creature of his own. On arriving in Germany Otho found that the Wends of Prussia were again in insurrection, and that his northern frontier had been broken in by the Danes. Notwithstanding this alarming condition of affairs, the Emperor left his own country to defend herself against her enemies, and hastily recrossing the Alps, fell upon the enemies of Gregory. The rival Pope was seized and barbarously mutilated. Crescentius was taken and beheaded, and Gregory reinstated in the papacy. The triumph of the latter, however, was of short duration. He died in 999, and his place was taken by Gerbert of Rheims, whom Otho now raised to the papal chair, with the title of Sylvester II.

The new pontiff had been the teacher of the Emperor in boyhood, and was greatly esteemed for his learning, though not at all for his piety. Indeed, the Pope's scholarship, especially in matters of science, was such as to gain for him the bad fame of being a magi-

cian. It was held by the people that he practiced the Black Art and was the servant of his master, the Devil. Already were discoverable the symptoms of an outbreak between the calm-spirited, benevolent founders of science and the ignorant zeal of bigoted credulity.

For three years Otho III. remained in Germany, occupying his time with the religious pageants of the city and cultivating the acquaintance of the celebrities of the Church. In A. D. 1000 he returned to Germany, where his aunt, the Princess Matilda, had held rule during his absence in the South. Here his attention was at once absorbed with the religious affairs of the Empire. One of the most serious questions of the times was the setting up of an independent Church by the Poles. These people, under the lead of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, demanded and obtained from the Emperor the separation of their diocese from that of the Empire. The concessions made by Otho in this respect were so many and important that the authority of the German Empire over the rising kingdom of Poland was presently denied.

During the negotiations of Otho with the Poles, he turned aside from the principal business in hand to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Adalbert at Prague. Afterwards he made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there gratified his morbid fancy by entering the sepulcher of Charlemagne. It was one of the dreams of Otho that he should become the restorer of the Roman Empire of the West. That, too, had been the delusive vision which flitted before the fancy of the greatest Carovingian. Now the German prince entered the gloomy vault where the body of Charlemagne had lain for nearly two hundred years, believing that the spectral lips would speak to him and teach him how his object might be accomplished.

It was not long until the condition of affairs in Italy again demanded the presence of the Emperor. Sylvester was not much more kindly received by the Romans than had been his predecessor. A strong party of the Italian clergy openly denounced the scandalous proceeding of Otho in the appointment of the last two Popes. In the year 1001 the Emperor returned to Rome and established his

court on the Aventine. But his presence was illy brooked by the insurgent people. Moved partly by his unpleasant surroundings and partly by curiosity, Otho slipped out of the city by night and made a visit to Venice. On his return to Rome, however, he found the gates closed against him. Enraged at this inhospitable reception, he gathered a force and began a siege of the city. But before he could make any impression upon the defenses he sickened and died, being at that time in the sixth year of his reign and the twenty-third of his age. His body was taken in charge by his followers, who cut their way through the Roman insurgents, bore their lifeless burden across the Alps, and buried it in the royal tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In the following year, A. D. 1003, Sylvester II. died, and the papal seat was seized upon by the counts of Tusculum. By them an effort was now made to apply the hereditary principle to the Holy See, and to establish a papal succession in their own family. One of the counts, then a youth but seventeen years of age, was raised to the pontifical dignity with the title of John XVII., and in the course of the following nine years he was succeeded by three others as immature as himself. Thus, while the Imperial crown of Germany, so ably and honorably worn by Otho the Great, descended to a fantastic strippling incapable of any great and serious enterprise, the papal tiara in like manner declined from the broad brow of Leo VII. to rest on the ridiculous heads of the boyish incompetents, John XVIII. and Sergius IV. Such was the waning and eclipse of the magnificent dream of Charlemagne to reestablish the ancient empire in state and Church.

At the death of Otho III. the Imperial crown was claimed by three of the German princes. The choice fell at length upon the late Emperor's cousin, Duke Henry of Bavaria, great grandson of Henry the Fowler. The election of this prince was seriously opposed by the dukes of Saxony, Suabia, and Lorraine; and for a season the Empire was threatened with disruption. But in due time the refractory electors submitted, and the authority of Henry was recognized throughout Germany. Not so, however, in the South. The disposition to regard Italy as a separate

kingdom was more and more manifest, and the Italians were quick to perceive the difference between a powerful sovereign like Otho the Great and the present wearer of the Imperial crown.

During the greater part of his reign HENRY II. was vexed with the complication of his affairs south of the Alps. But a more pressing demand was made upon the military resources of Germany in repelling the aggressions of the Poles. For Boleslau, the reigning Duke of Poland, a brave and warlike prince, undertook to unite Bohemia and all the Slavonic countries eastward of the Elbe into an independent kingdom. The German territories in this region were thus about to be wrested away from the parent state and absorbed in a foreign dominion. The first sixteen years of Henry II.'s reign were almost wholly consumed in warfare with the Poles. One bloody campaign after another was waged, until at last, in 1018, peace was concluded by the acceptance of a dependent relation on the part of Poland. But to compensate for this humble position as a tributary of the German Empire, the Saxon province of Meissen was forced into a like relation of dependence upon the Polish duchy.

While these events had been in progress beyond the Elbe the Wends had again revolted and obtained the mastery of Northern Prussia. In that region the authority of the Empire was overthrown and paganism established on the ruins of the Church. In the mean time Arduin, duke of Ivrea, had once more induced the Lombards to throw off their allegiance. Independence was declared and the duke was chosen king. As early as 1006 Henry II. was obliged to lead an army across the mountains in order to restore quiet to Italy. Proceeding against Pavia he laid siege to that city, which was presently taken and burned. Believing the insurrection at an end the king returned into Germany. But no sooner were the Alps between him and Arduin than the latter again came to the front as the leader of the revolution. Pope Benedict VIII., the third of the boy pontiffs of the Tusculan dynasty, was so hard pressed by the insurgents that he fled to Germany, and besought Henry to aid him in recovering the chair of St. Peter. In 1013 the king con-

ducted the Holy *Father* back to Italy, retook Pavia, and marching on Rome reinstated Benedict in the papacy. Then it was that Henry himself received at the hands of the grateful pontiff the honor of the Imperial crown.

While the Polish war still continued in the Northeast the western frontier on the side of Flanders, Luxemburg, and Lorraine were troubled with rebellions. Indeed, in all parts of the Empire the same tendency towards disintegration and the achievement of local independence, which we have observed in the contemporaneous history of Feudal France, was manifest. At this time a violent quarrel broke out between Rudolph III., king of Burgundy, and his nobles, on account of the disposition which he was about to make of the crown. In looking forward to his exit he bequeathed the kingdom to his nephew, who was none other than the reigning Emperor. Burgundy was thus about to pass under the German scepter, and to prevent this catastrophe the Burgundians went to war. The armies of Henry II. marched rapidly to the rescue and the country was conquered after two arduous campaigns.

The year 1020 was signalized by the dedication of the great cathedral of Bamberg. Upon this structure the Emperor had for many years lavished his treasure. The Pope made a journey from Rome in order to be present and direct the ceremonies of consecration. His Holiness availed himself of the opportunities of the German court again to implore the interference of Henry in the affairs of Italy. The southern part of that country was now overrun and held by the Greeks. The city of Capua had been taken by them, and could not be recovered by the Italians. The Emperor hesitated not to respond to the call. In the following year he led a large army across the Alps, and expelled the Greeks from the whole peninsula, except a few places on the coast of Bruttium. The campaign, however, was almost as disastrous to the Germans as to the enemy whom they defeated. A pestilence broke out, and the army of Henry was well-nigh destroyed before it could escape from the country.

The remaining three years of the reign of the Emperor Henry were spent in settling the affairs of Germany. On every side the

kingly prerogative was assailed by the dukes and counts struggling after the manner of feudal lords to become independent of their suzerain. The development of a feeling of nationality was thus counterchecked by the sentiment of local independence. In spite of the strenuous efforts of Henry II. he was obliged to witness the constant disintegration of the Empire. The spirit of the times had so changed since the death of Otho the Great that not even the greatest genius and industry could suffice to check the forces of localism and hold the state in one. In the year 1024 the Emperor died and was buried in his cathedral at Bamberg. With him expired the Saxon line of sovereigns which had begun with Conrad I. in 918.

It thus became necessary for the German nobles to elect a new sovereign in the place of Henry II. For this purpose a great assembly was held on the Rhine, near the city of Mayence. This had now become the border line between the Germans and the Franks. About sixty thousand persons came to the assembly. Two great camps were formed, the one on the eastern, the other on the western bank of the river. The candidates for the Imperial crown were two cousins, both named Conrad, and both supported by a powerful following. At length, after five days of discussion not unmixed with intrigue, the choice fell on CONRAD OF SUABIA, the elder and more popular of the candidates, and he at once received the crown in the cathedral of Mayence. The election had turned largely upon the facts that Conrad was a man of great abilities, and that he had married the Princess Gisela of Suabia. By her—for she was already experienced in the matter of government—the new Emperor was greatly aided in conducting the affairs of state. Nor was any serious opposition manifested to the assumption of royal power by one so worthy to wield the scepter.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval times that a change of dynasty generally furnished the occasion for the revolt of malcontent peoples. The accession of Conrad II. proved to be no exception to the rule. First of all, the Lombards threw off the German yoke. They fell upon the city of Pavia and destroyed the Imperial palace. At the same time Rudolph of

Burgundy, who, as will be remembered, had designed to give his kingdom to Henry II., now changed his mind and resisted the claims of Conrad. In Poland, also, King Boleslau annulled the existing treaty and refused any longer to recognize the tributary relation of the kingdom. Just at the time, however, when the Empire seemed to totter, the Polish king died, and while his sons were engaged in a violent quarrel about the succession Conrad found opportunity to reestablish his sovereignty over the country. In Burgundy also the childless Rudolph III. was presently obliged to yield to the logic of events and acknowledge Conrad as his successor. With Canute the Great of England the Emperor made a treaty by which the Eider was established as his boundary on the side of Denmark.

Having thus effected a settlement of the affairs north of the Alps, Conrad next turned his attention to the insurgent Lombards. He led an army across the mountains, and early in 1026 entered the valley of the Po. Finding Pavia in the hands of the rebels, the king proceeded to Milan, where he received, at the hands of the nobles, the iron crown of Lombardy. In the course of a single year all Northern Italy yielded to his sway. In the following spring he continued his course to Rome, where he was welcomed by Pope John XIX., one of the Tusculan pontiffs, being now but twelve years of age. At the hands of this sage father of the Holy See, Conrad received the golden crown of Empire. Canute of England and Rudolph of Burgundy were present on the occasion, which was signalized by the betrothal of Gunhilde, daughter of Canute, to Prince Henry, son of the Emperor.

In the mean time the adventurous Normans had made their way into Southern Italy, and had there succeeded in expelling from the country the Greeks and the Saracens. After their manner they took possession for themselves, and a new Normandy was about to be established in the South. Conrad found it necessary to stretch out the Imperial scepter towards the Mediterranean. But the Normans, though they readily assumed the relation of vassals to the crown, refused to leave the provinces which they had conquered. Thus did the blood of the northern races assert itself as far as the strait of Messina.

During the absence of the Emperor in Italy, an alarming condition of affairs had supervened in Germany. Duke Ernest II., of Suabia, step-son of Conrad, raised the standard of revolt and laid claim to the crown of Burgundy. On reaching the paternal kingdom the Emperor marched against the insurgents, defeated Ernest and threw him into prison. The prayers of Gisela, the rebel prince's mother, at length prevailed to secure him his liberation. But he failed to keep faith with the crown, united himself with Count Werner of Kyburg, became an outlaw in the Black Forest, and was soon afterwards killed in a battle with the Imperial troops. Such, however, had been the daring career which the rebellious prince had run that he became a popular hero, and his exploits were sung in the ballads and recited in the traditions of a story-loving people. Duke Ernest was the Robin Hood of Germany.

The affairs of Poland, after an epoch of turbulence subsequent to the death of Boleslau, at length fell to a calm. The Poles again asserted their independence of the German crown, and Conrad invaded the country to reestablish his authority. But the expedition ended in disaster. The Imperial army was utterly defeated and forced back to the river Elbe. By this time a war had broken out between Count Albert of Austria and King Stephen of Hungary. The latter had succeeded in inducing his people to abandon paganism, and had himself, in the year 1000, been baptized by Pope Sylvester II.; but his piety, which afterwards gained for him the appellation of *Saint*, did not save him from the lust of war. Count Albert appealed to the Emperor for aid, and the Hungarians were obliged to consent to a treaty of peace dictated by the conquerors. A settlement having been reached on the Danubian frontier, Conrad found opportunity to renew the war with the Poles. In this, also, he was successful, and Poland again became tributary to the Empire. In 1032 Rudolph of Burgundy fulfilled the promise which he had made by sending his crown and scepter to the Emperor. Hereupon, Count Odo of Champagne, who as the next relative to Rudolph, claimed the duchy of Burgundy, and raised a revolt in the southern part of that province.



BAPTISM OF SAINT STEPHEN BY POPE SYLVESTER II.
From the painting by Benczur Gyula, in the National Museum, Pesth.

The insurrection was of sufficient importance to demand the presence of an Imperial army. But Count Odo was overthrown, and Conrad was crowned king of Burgundy. Thus, in the early part of the eleventh century was the valley of the Rhone, including about the half of Switzerland, incorporated with the Empire. The union, however, extended no further than the establishment of a political bond, and not to the institutions, language, and social customs of the Burgundians, who continued as they had been, essentially French.

In Italy a movement was now begun which in its result was one of the most important in the Middle Ages. The Imperial sway over the Italian peoples was nominal rather than real. It afforded but little protection to society and had in itself no element of stability. In order to continue, it had to be constantly reestablished by force. To be sure, the papal power never failed to uphold the authority of the Emperors; for by this means the Popes were in turn enabled in every time of need to call forth the secular sword in defense of their interests.

Many of the Italian nobles and patriots, however, perceived the hollowness of this factitious system of government. A few of the bolder spirits grew restless under a foreign domination which claimed every thing and gave nothing. Chief among these brave spirits was Heribert, archbishop of Milan. In the year 1037 he induced the people of his city to throw off the Imperial yoke and assert their independence. The insurrection was organized under the leadership of Heribert, who staked all on the cast of the die. He was deposed by the Emperor and excommunicated by the Pope. But he defied them both, and prepared the defense of Milan. The fortifications of the city were so strengthened that Conrad's army was obliged to desist from the siege, and the virtual independence of Milan was achieved. Such was the beginning of that movement which, in the following century, led to the emancipation of the cities and the establishment of the petty but vigorous Republics of the Middle Ages.

The career of Conrad II. was already drawing to a close. Two years after the revolt of Milan he died at the city of Utrecht, and was succeeded by his son HENRY III.

The latter, now twenty-three years of age, was a prince of the highest promise. In talents and accomplishments he was equally pre-eminent, and the condition of the Empire at the time of his accession was such as to furnish a fair opportunity for the display of his abilities. In Germany Proper there was a general peace. The Bohemians and Hungarians, however, again rose against the crown and attempted to gain their independence. In two arduous campaigns Henry overthrew the armies of the insurgent states and restored his authority. Duke Casimir, of Poland, and Peter, king of Hungary, were both compelled to acknowledge their dependence upon the Imperial crown. The Russian Czar attempted to ally his fortunes with those of the Empire. He offered his daughter to Henry after the death of Queen Gunhilde, but the princess was declined by the Emperor in favor of Agnes of Poitiers, who became his second queen.

A cursory view of the social condition of Germany in the middle of the eleventh century would reveal a gloomy and forbidding prospect. The resources of the state were wasted in almost continual warfare. Following hard after this fact stalked ever the specters of pestilence and famine. The ministers of the state and the dignitaries of the Church were, for the most part, ignorant, mercenary, corrupt. The general administration of the Church, under the auspices of the boy Popes of Tusculum, had sunk to the lowest level. The prostitution of the Italian clergy to the basest of motives and practices had led to a similar defilement throughout all Christendom. The year A. D. 1000 had passed without the fiery catastrophe, and the End of the World seemed to be indefinitely postponed. Reacting from the abject despair of the preceding century, the leaders of the age entered upon a career of defiance and criminal bravado; and though the End of the World was no longer to be dreaded, the End of Humanity seemed nigh at hand. Disappointed superstition substituted the gulf of depravity for the abyss of fear.

It will not have escaped the attention of any careful student of history that the human race has in itself in the last hour of its despair the power of sudden recovery. Just

at the time when the last embers of hope are expiring in the ashes of bitterness and gloom, a sudden breeze, as if blown up from the pavilion of the unseen world, touches the dying coals, kindles them into a feeble jet, the jet into a flame, the flame into a conflagration. The epoch of revival succeeds the epoch of hopelessness, and man, inflamed with new ambition, begins again the confident battles of existence.

In the midst of this violent and pestilential century, the first throb of one of these revivals of humanity was felt in Southern Europe. The occasion for the reëction against the crime and despair of the age was found in the scandalous corruption of the Church, and the first movement of reform had the same origin with the abuse which demanded it. The Burgundian monks of Cluny, led by their abbot, Odilo, began to inveigh against the vices of the time, especially against the remorseless methods of mediæval warfare. They proclaimed a dogma which became known as the TRUCE OF GOD, by which all combats, whether public or private, were forbidden from the evening of each Wednesday until the morning of the following Monday. The larger part of the week was thus absolutely reserved for the duties of peace. Private feuds and public battles were so impeded by the perpetual recurrence of the truce that the baffled spirit of retaliation and revenge could hardly any longer be gratified. The new doctrine was received with great favor. The monks who had originated the measure became known as the Congregation of Cluny, and many pious ecclesiastics in different and distant parts sought to join themselves with the peaceful brotherhood. Not a few of the secular princes favored the beneficent measure, and the Emperor Henry III. called a diet of the German nobles for the express purpose of enforcing the observance of the truce.

One reform led to another. At this epoch the crime of simony, or the practice of selling the offices and dignity of the Church, was scandalously prevalent. Unscrupulous aspirants, all the way from the common priesthood to the papacy, were wont to buy the coveted preferment. The largest bribe won the contest over the greatest merit. The Congregation of Cluny attacked this abuse with great vigor,

but with less success than had attended their efforts in combating the merciless methods of war. Henry III. again lent his aid in the effort at reform. He took pains to favor the appointment of such priests only as were moral and intelligent. He interfered in the affairs of the Holy See. Three rival Popes were at this time contending for the seat of St. Peter. Each of these had excommunicated the other two, together with their followers. There was good reason why the Emperor should cross the Alps and attempt the restitution of order and decency in the papal state. Accordingly, in 1046, Henry made his way into Lombardy, and thence to the old Etruscan city of Sutri, where a great synod was held to consider and reconcile the difficulties of the Church. It was voted that all three of the alleged Popes should be deposed, and that the tiara should be placed on the head of the Bishop of Bamberg. This choice, however, so evidently made out of deference to the Emperor, was very distasteful to the real reformers, and the dislike for Clement II.—for such was the title of the new pontiff—was greatly increased when the Holy Father, on the same day of his own coronation, conferred the Imperial crown on Henry. The growing republican spirit of Italy was vexed and offended by this ill-concealed bargain struck by the Pope and the Emperor in the very center of the reformatory movement. The temporary backset given to the work acted as a stimulus to the democratic spirit already rife in Venice and Milan.

It was at this time that the Italican clergy and people, who had hitherto been an actual factor in the election of the Popes, were relegated to the background. The right of choice fell into the hands of the bishops, and they, receiving their appointment from the Emperor, were certain to follow his lead and preference in the selection of a pontiff. Between the years 1047 and 1055 no fewer than four Popes were successively raised to the papal dignity at the dictation of Henry III.

Near the close of his reign the Emperor again visited Italy, and readjusted the affairs of the Norman principalities in the southern parts of the peninsula. While absent on this mission the home kingdom was seriously disturbed with outbreaks and dissensions. The three counts—Godfrey of Lorraine, Baldwin

of Flanders, and Dietrich of Holland—all threw off the Imperial sway and asserted their independence. The occasion of this alarming outbreak was the persistent folly of Henry in filling the offices of the Empire with his personal friends and kinsmen, to the exclusion of more able and meritorious claimants. So great was the abuse complained of that by the year 1051 all the states of Germany, with the sin-

gled with Baldwin of Flanders, and sent a powerful army against Godfrey of Lorraine. But no decided successes were achieved by the Imperial arms, and the insurrectionary states could not be quieted.



HENRY III. PRESIDING AT THE SYNOD OF SUTRI.

gle exception of Saxony, were governed by the personal friends and relatives of the Emperor. But the stubborn monarch was not to be put from his purpose by opposition. He plunged into a four years' bloody war with the rebellious dukes. He called to his aid his creature, Pope Leo IX., who excommunicated the insurgents. He procured the assistance of the English and Danish fleets in his con-

During the progress of the war Duke Bernhard of Saxony, who was *not* a favorite of the Emperor, held himself and his countrymen in a sort of unfriendly neutrality. With a view to counteract this antagonism Henry III. appointed one of his friends, named Adelbert, as archbishop of Bremen. At the same time he built for himself the royal castle of Goslar, at the foot of the Hartz, to the end that

he might have a residence on the Saxon border.

While these events were taking place north of the Alps, Italy was again rent with a civil commotion. In 1054 Pope Leo IX. undertook the conduct of a campaign against the Normans. The result was the defeat of his forces and the capture of himself by the enemy. His Holiness, however, was treated

towards the problem was simplified by the death of Leo IX. and by the Imperial appointment of Victor II. as his successor. Now it was that the powerful hand, first shadowy and then real, of the celebrated Hildebrand of Savona, an austere monk of Cluny, began to be visible behind the throne and miter of St. Peter. It was soon discovered that both Leo and Victor had been but clay in the hands of the great monkish potter, who moulded them to his will.

As to Henry III., the end was now at hand. In the fall of 1056, while residing at the castle of Goslar, he was visited by the Pope; but the latter was unable to raise the broken spirits of the aged and troubled monarch. Already in his last illness, his exit was hastened by the news of a disaster which his army had received at the hands of the Slavonians. The curtain fell, and the scepter was left to the Emperor's son, already crowned as king of Germany, and afterwards to receive the Imperial title of HENRY IV.

Being yet in his minority the young prince was placed under the regency of his mother, the Empress Agnes, of Poitiers. The latter devoted herself assiduously to the care of the state, and for a while affairs went better than dur-

ing the reign of her husband. The hostile provinces of Flanders and Lorraine were again brought to a peaceful acknowledgment of the Imperial sway. It was not long, however, until the old favorites of the deceased king regained their ascendancy, and the reform was brought to an end. The feudal lords scarcely any longer heeded the Imperial mandate, but each pursued his own way towards local independence. In Italy especially they asserted themselves in affairs of Church and



FORCES OF LEO IX. DEPARTING FROM ROME.

with the greatest respect by his warlike captors. Themselves under the dominion of the Feudal spirit, they hesitated not to acknowledge themselves the vassals of their prisoner: this, too, with no regard to the fact that they were already the vassals of the Emperor. The latter must now regain or lose his dominion in the South. He accordingly set out for Italy to reassert his claims. Arriving in Lombardy, he summoned a diet and held a review of the Italian army at Piacenza. Just after-

state, and demanded the old-time right of nominating the Pope. This claim was resisted by the Empress, who in 1058 raised Nicholas II. to the throne. In a short time the new pontiff surprised the queen-regent by abandoning the interests of the Empire and casting in his lot with the Norman barons and new-born republican cities of Italy. In the home kingdom, also, the feudal broils were perpetually renewed. A conspiracy was made to destroy Prince Henry and change the dynasty. When the first plot was foiled, a second was formed under the lead of Hanno, archbishop of Cologne. The purpose now was to wrest Henry IV. from his mother, drive her into retirement, and transfer the regency to some prince who was able to exercise Imperial authority. Hanno succeeded in enticing young Henry on board his vessel at Kaiserswerth. Here the royal lad, then but twelve years of age, was seized by the conspirators and forcibly carried away. Shortly afterwards a meeting of the princes was held, and the young king was placed under the guardianship of Hanno.

The severity of his protector soon alienated both Henry and the nobles of the Empire. A counter revolution deprived Hanno of the guardianship, and the same was transferred to Adelbert of Bremen. The latter held the troublesome distinction until 1065, when the prince, then reaching the age of fifteen, was invested with the sword of manhood. Taking the government upon himself, Henry reluctantly accepted Hanno as his chief counselor, the latter being forced upon him by the princes of Cologne and others affiliated with them.

At the age of seventeen the young king took for his wife the Italian princess, Bertha. But in the course of three years he wearied of his choice and sought to be divorced. The Archbishop of Mayence gave his sanction; but Hildebrand, now the chancellor of Pope Alexander II., induced the pontiff to deny the king's wishes, and Henry was obliged to yield. His humiliation over the failure of the project was compensated by the death of the old enemy of his House, Godfrey of Lorraine. About the same time another foe, Duke Otho of Bavaria, was seized by the king's party and deprived of his duchy. Both these events

tended powerfully to establish Henry in the Empire, but the tendency was somewhat neutralized by the hostile attitude of Magnus of Saxony. The Saxons had never been patient under the rule of the Franconian Emperors, and circumstances now favored a general revolt of the nation. The people, under the leadership of the deposed Duke of Bavaria, rose to the number of sixty thousand, marched upon the castle of Harzburg, and demanded of Henry the dismissal of his counselors and a reform of the government. This the king refused, and was thereupon besieged in his castle.

When the situation became critical, he escaped from Harzburg and fled almost without a following. Not until he reached the Rhine was there any general uprising in his favor. The cities in this region, however, had grown restive under the domination of the bishops, and were eager to begin a revolution by receiving the fugitive Emperor. His fortunes were thus stayed by a powerful support, but he was presently obliged to make peace with the Saxons, who dictated their own terms of settlement. They even proceeded to the extreme of demolishing the Emperor's castle and church at Harzburg, where the bones of his father were buried. This flagrant abuse of victory soon turned the tide in favor of Henry, who rallied a large army, entered the country of the Saxons, and inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat. Thus at length were all parts of the Empire reduced to submission, and the throne of Henry IV. seemed more firmly established than that of any former Emperor of the German race.

Now it was, however, that the great monk Hildebrand, after having moulded the policy of the papacy during four successive pontificates, himself assumed the tiara, and, with the title of Gregory VII., took the seat of St. Peter. He was without doubt the greatest genius of his age, and the work of his far-reaching intellect in establishing a new order throughout christendom has continued to be felt for more than eight hundred years. Coming to the papal throne in 1073, he at once set about recasting the whole policy and form of the papal Church. At the first the Bishop of Rome had neither claimed nor exercised any special preëminence over the other

prelates of the Christian world. From the sixth to the eleventh century the Pope had claimed to be, and was, the nominal head of christendom; but the office was still regarded as subordinate in all secular matters to the kings and emperors of Europe. It remained for Gregory VII. to conceive the stupendous scheme of raising the papal scepter above all powers and dominions of the earth. The project was no less in its design than the estab-

lishment of a colossal religious empire, to which all kingdoms, peoples, and tribes should do a willing obeisance. In carrying out this prodigious design Gregory conceived that the first steps necessary were certain reforms in the Church itself. He began by espousing the doctrine of a celibate clergy. He resolved that every priest of christendom should belong wholly to the Church, and should know no tie of earthly kinship or affection. The struggle which had been begun in the times of Charlemagne for the obliteration of a married priesthood was renewed in all Western Eu-

rope. In the mean time the spread of the monastic orders, all of which were celibate, had greatly strengthened the cause of an unmarried priesthood. In 1074 the law of celibacy was proclaimed as a fundamental principle of the Romish hierarchy, and from that day forth the power and influence of the opposing party in the Church began to wane until it was finally extinguished in the fourteenth century.

In the next place, Gregory turned his attention to the crime of simony. The proclamation of the celibacy of the priesthood was quickly followed by another denouncing the sale of the offices of the Church. It was declared that henceforth the bishops, instead of being invested with the insignia of office by the secular princes, whom they paid for the preferment, should receive the ring and crosier only from the hands of the Pope. Without a moment's hesitation Gregory sent orders to Henry IV. to enforce the reform throughout the Empire. Henry was at this time wearing the Imperial crown. He was Emperor of the West—successor of Cæsar and Charlemagne. To be thus addressed by a *Pope*—a creature until now made and unmade by an Imperial edict—seemed not only a reversal of the whole order of human authority, but also a flagrant insult done to the greatest potentate in the world.

In the height of his indignation the Emperor called a synod at Worms, and, with the aid of the bishops, at once proceeded to depose the Pope from office. Word was sent to the malcontent elements in Rome, advising that the arrogant monk of Savona be driven from the city; but before the message was received Gregory, though environed with foes and threatened with an insurrection of the Normans in the South, had suppressed the rising tumult, enforced order throughout the states of the Church, and now stood ready to measure swords with the Emperor. Against



GREGORY VII.—(HILDEBRAND.)

lishment of a colossal religious empire, to which all kingdoms, peoples, and tribes should do a willing obeisance. In carrying out this prodigious design Gregory conceived that the first steps necessary were certain reforms in the Church itself. He began by espousing the doctrine of a celibate clergy. He resolved that every priest of christendom should belong wholly to the Church, and should know no tie of earthly kinship or affection. The struggle which had been begun in the times of Charlemagne for the obliteration of a married priesthood was renewed in all Western Eu-

that potentate he hurled the bolt of excommunication.

It was now Henry's time to act on the defensive. He issued a summons for a national Diet, but the lukewarm princes hesitated to come to his aid. After a year of endeavor, the assembly at last was held at Mayence in 1076. But the nobles would not permit the Emperor to be present. He was obliged to send a messenger and to signify his willingness to yield the whole question at issue between himself and the Pope to the body for decision. In the following year the assembly reconvened at Augsburg, and Gregory rather than Henry was invited to be present. The latter, now greatly alarmed at the situation, at once set out for Italy, in the hope of settling the controversy by a personal interview with the Pope. On arriving in Lombardy he found the people in insurrection and might easily have led them in triumph against his great enemy. The latter, indeed, seeing the peril to which he was then exposed, took counsel of his prudence, and though already on his way to meet the German Diet, he turned aside to find safety in a castle of Canossa in the Apennines.

Henry, however, was far from availing himself of the possible advantage. Instead of warlike menace and flourish of the sword, he humbly clad himself in sackcloth, went barefoot to the gate of the castle of Canossa, and sought admittance as a penitent. There for three days in the snow and sleet, the successor of Cæsar was allowed to stand waiting before the gate. At last being admitted he flung himself before the triumphant Gregory, promised present submission and future obedience, and was lifted up with the kiss of reconciliation.¹

The pardon bestowed by the Pope on the penitent king turned many of the princes against the powerful pontiff; for they had hoped to see the Emperor deposed and de-

stroyed. Many now went over to the Imperial interest, and the Empire was rent with strife. The anti-imperial party in Germany proclaimed King Rudolph of Suabia as Henry's successor, and the Emperor was supported by the Lombards. For two years a fierce civil war left its ravages on battle-field and in city, until 1080, Rudolph fell in the conflict, and the power of Henry was completely re-established.

The victor now remembered the Pope as the cause of all his griefs. With a large army he crossed the mountains and received the iron crown at the hands of the nobles of Lombardy. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany, to whom belonged the castle of Canossa, exerted herself to the utmost, but in vain, to prevent the progress of the invaders. Rome was besieged by the German army, and Gregory was obliged to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. In his extremity he issued an edict, releasing from a previous ban Robert Guiscard, the Norman suzerain of Southern Italy, who was now besought by the Pope to come to the rescue and aid in the expulsion of the Germans from Italy. Guiscard hereupon led an army of thirty thousand men, mostly Saracens out of Sardinia and Corsica, to the Eternal City, and the Emperor was obliged to retire before them. The Pope gained his release by the aid of the Normans, but his allies proved to be almost as much to be dreaded as the enemy from beyond the Alps. The city of Rome, the greater part of which had already been destroyed by the Germans during the siege, was now assailed by the friendly Saracens, who burned what remained, sluicing the streets with blood and carrying away thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. So complete was the devastation of the City of the Ages that the Pope durst not remain with the desperate brigands who now prowled around her ashes, but chose to retire with the Saracens as far as Salerno. There in 1085 the greatest of the Popes of Rome expired in exile.

The death of Gregory VII. was the signal of a papal schism. The Emperor made haste to reassert his old prerogative by the appointment of a new Pope, who came to the papal seat with the title of Clement III. The Norman nobles of Italy, however, acting in con-

¹This humiliation of Henry was in a measure atoned for by the papaey a few years afterwards when Gregory's successor, Calixtus II., was compelled at the Diet of Worms to surrender to Henry V. the right of investiture. In 1122 Calixtus openly laid down before the imperial throne the symbols of his temporal authority, reserving for himself only the ring and crosier as the signs of his spiritual dominion.

junction with the bishops of France, set up an anti-Pope in the person of Urban II. Between the rival pontiffs, who hurled at each other the most direful anathemas, a fierce warfare broke out, and continued with all the insane madness which religious bigotry and ambition could inspire. From the date of Gregory's death until the outbreak of the Crusades, the relentless struggle was unabated

Conrad would be able to maintain himself against his father. Gradually, however, his supporters fell away, and he himself was seized and thrown into prison.

The king now looked anxiously to his younger son Henry as his successor in the Imperial dignity. But the enemies of the Emperor, instigated and encouraged by the emissaries of Urban II., succeeded in alienat-



ABÉLARD AND HÉLOÏSE.

and Western Christendom was convulsed with the shock.

As for the Emperor, he seized the opportunity afforded by the warfare of the rival Popes to resume his duties as the secular ruler of the German Empire. Trouble and disaster, however, attended the latter years of his reign. The Prince Conrad, eldest son of the king and heir expectant to the crown, became rebellious and usurped the throne of Lombardy. His usurpation was acknowledged by Urban II., and it appeared for a while that

ing the younger prince from his father, as they had already done in the case of Conrad. Thus in distraction and gloom the reign of Henry IV. dragged on apace, while the first clarion of the Crusades waked the slumbering echoes in the valleys of Western Europe.

Peter the Hermit came back from Palestine telling the story of his wrongs. The people of the European states, wearied of the broils of the secular princes, disgusted with papal intrigues, and despairing of national unity under the shadow of Feudalism, rose as one

man at the bugle-call and drew their swords for the rescue of the holy places of the East. Peter called aloud to the anti-Pope Urban, and Urban called to christendom. In March of 1095 a great assembly was held at Piacenza, and the cause of outraged Palestine was eloquently pleaded by the Pope and the envoys from Constantinople. Thence was issued the summons for the great Council of Clermont, which assembled in November of the same year, and before which august body of French, Italian, and German potentates, the wild cry of *Dieu le Veut*¹ was raised by the fanatic multitudes. In the presence of the new and burning enthusiasm, the old feuds of kings, Popes, and princes were forgotten, and all christendom eagerly lifted the banner of the Cross.

The present chapter may be appropriately concluded with a reference to the interesting mediæval episode of the philosopher ABÉLARD. This distinguished and unfortunate scholar was born at Nantes, in 1079. His childhood was precocious. At the age of sixteen he be-

came the pupil of William de Champeaux. Before reaching his majority, he was already considered one of the most eminent disputators of his times. De Champeaux became bitterly jealous of his pupil, and at the age of twenty-two Abélard opened a school of philosophy of his own at Melun, near Paris. This establishment was soon in great repute. In scholastic debates with De Champeaux, Abélard came off victorious. Now it was that Héloïse, the beautiful daughter of the canon Fulbert, was put under charge of the young philosopher as a pupil. Soon they loved. The story is known to all the world—the most pathetic of the Middle Ages. The bigotry of the times drove the master into the monastery of Saint Denis and threw the veil over the despairing Héloïse in the nunnery of Argenteuil. The catastrophe, however, was the virtual beginning of the ascendancy of Abélard over the philosophical opinions of his times; nor can it well be doubted that his mind was the most versatile and brilliant of the benighted epoch in which he lived.

CHAPTER XV.—FEUDAL ENGLAND.



IN the fifth day of January, 1066, died Edward the Confessor. For four and twenty years he had swayed the scepter of England, but now there was an end. The race

of Cerdic and Alfred the Great expired with the childless king, and over his silent clay was written *defunctus est* in the abbey of Westminster. To his honor be it said that, living in a warlike age and beset with many enemies, King Edward preferred the pursuits of peace, and would fain have brought her blessing to all the hamlets of England.

As soon as the body of the late monarch was properly interred, the Prince Harold, son of the great Earl Godwin, was proclaimed king in a grand assembly at London. The

crowning immediately followed, the ceremony being performed by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. No doubt, as the coronation oath was administered, the memory of that other oath which the prince had taken over the bones of the saints in the presence of William the Norman came unbidden to his mind; but he cast all upon the die of the present, and the bones of the martyrs were remanded to the past.

In all the southern counties of England the accession of Harold was hailed with joyful acclamations. In him the people saw a Saxon king and the possible founder of a new Saxon dynasty. He thus became the representative of the old national spirit and the hope of those who longed to see the country freed from foreign domination. Not without prudence and sound policy did the new sovereign begin his reign. He sought to win and to deserve the affections of the people. Oner-

¹ "God wills it"—the cry of the first Crusaders on assuming the Cross.

ous taxes were abolished, and the wages of all those who were in the royal service were raised to a higher figure. Meanwhile Harold sought to strengthen himself in the esteem of the Church by a careful observance of the duties of religion.

In secular affairs the king, first of all, expelled from the court the whole swarm of Norman favorites. But while this policy was rigorously pursued with respect to the foreigners, they were not driven from the country or robbed of their estates. Many of the Normans, however, fled from England and returned with all speed to their own country. They it was who brought to Duke William the news of the death of Edward the Confessor and the usurpation of the throne by Harold, the son of Godwin.

Tradition has recorded that William, when he first received the intelligence, was hunting in the wood of Rouen, and that his countenance and manner were at once changed to an expression of great concern and indignation. He affected to regard the act of Harold as the grossest and most outrageous perjury. Notwithstanding his wrath William deemed it prudent to conciliate his enemies, actual and possible, with a show of moderation. He at once dispatched ambassadors to Harold with the following message: "William, duke of the Normans, warns thee of the oath thou hast sworn him with thy mouth and with thy hand on good and holy relics." To this message, which had all the superficial semblance of soundness, King Harold responded with sterling speech: "It is true that I made an oath to William, but I made it under the influence of force. I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country. In the like manner I can not, without the consent of my country, espouse a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims in order that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has been dead some time. Will he that I send him her corpse?"

There was no mistaking the nature of these negotiations. England was to be invaded by the Normans. Duke William, however, took pains to send over another embassy, again

pressing his claims and reminding Harold of his oath. Threats and recriminations followed, and then preparations for war. According to the constitution of Normandy it was necessary for William to have the consent of his barons, and this was not obtained without much difficulty. The Norman vassals held that their Feudal oath did not bind them to follow and serve their lord beyond the sea, but only in the defense of his own realms. A national assembly was called at Lillebonne, and a stormy debate had well-nigh ended in riot and insurrection; but William, by patience and self-restraint, finally succeeded in bringing the refractory nobles to his support. A great force of knights, chiefs, and foot-soldiers flocked to his standard. At this fortunate crisis in the duke's affairs a legate arrived from the Pope, bringing a bull expressing the approval of the Holy Father. Hereupon a new impetus was given to the enterprise. Under the sanction of religion the oath-breaking Harold was to be punished and his kingdom given to another. A consecrated banner and a ring containing one of the hairs of St. Peter were sent from Rome to the ambitious prince, who, thus encouraged, made no concealment of his intentions soon to be king of England.

During the early spring and summer of 1066 all the seaports of Normandy rang with the clamor of preparation. Ships were built and equipped, sailors enlisted, armor forged, supplies brought into the store-houses. Meanwhile a similar but less energetic scene was displayed across the channel. Harold, hearing the notes of preparation from the other side, braced his sinews for the struggle. He sent over spies to ascertain the nature and extent of William's armament; but when one of these was brought into the duke's presence he showed him every thing, and bade him say to King Harold not to trouble himself about the Norman's strength, as he should see and feel it before the end of the year.

It was now the misfortune of the English king to be attacked by a domestic foe. His own brother Tostig, formerly earl of Northumbria, but now an exile in Flanders, succeeded in raising abroad a squadron with which he made a descent on the Isle of Wight. Driven back by the king's fleet, Tostig next

ravaged the coast of Lincolnshire and then sailed up the Humber. Expelled from thence, he made his way first to the coast of Scotland

and then to Denmark, where he besought the king to join him in an invasion of England, Failing in this enterprise Tostig renewed his



LANDING OF THE CONQUEROR.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

offer to Hardrada, king of Norway, who accepted the invitation and swooped down on the English coast with two hundred ships of war. Under the conduct of the rebel Saxon the Norwegians effected a landing at Riccall and marched directly on York. This city fell into the hands of the enemy, and here the king of Norway established his headquarters.

Thus while the threatening note was borne across the channel from Normandy the clamor of present war sounded in the ears of the distracted Harold. Nevertheless he girt himself bravely for the contest. He marched boldly forth and confronted the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which King Hardrada and nearly every one of his chiefs were slain. The victory of the Saxons was complete and overwhelming.

No sooner, however, was one of the great foes of Harold destroyed than the other appeared in sight. Only three days after the overthrow of the Norwegians the squadron of Duke William anchored on the coast. A landing was effected on the shore of Sussex, at a place called Bulverhithe. Archers, horsemen, and spearmen came on shore without opposition. William was the last man to leave his ship. Tradition has recorded that when his foot touched the sand he slipped and fell; but with unflinching presence of mind he sprang up as though the accident had been by design and showed his two hands filled with the soil of England. "Here," cried he aloud to his men, "I have taken seisin of this land with my hands and by the splendor of God, as far as it extends, it is mine—it is yours!"

In the mean time King Harold was advancing to his station on the field of HASTINGS, near the Fair Light Downs. On his way thither he stopped at London and sent out a fleet of seven hundred vessels to blockade the fleet of William and prevent his escape from the island. The Norman duke had now reached Hastings, and the time was at hand when the question between him and the Saxon king must be decided.

The prudent William before hazarding a battle sent another message to Harold. "Go and tell Harold," said he, "that if he will keep his old bargain with me I will leave him

all the country beyond the river Humber, and will give his brother Gurth all the lands of his father, Earl Godwin; but if he obstinately refuse what I offer him thou wilt tell him before all his people that he is perjured and a liar; that he and all those who shall support him are excommunicated by the Pope, and that I carry a bull to that effect."

Notwithstanding this terrible threat the English chiefs stood firmly to the cause of their king. William had in the mean time fortified his camp and stood ready for the shock. Harold came on with great intrepidity; nor could he be prevented by the exhortations of his friends from taking the personal responsibility and peril of battle. On the night of the 13th of October the two armies lay face to face in their respective camps at Hastings. The English were uproarious and confident of victory. They had recently overwhelmed the Norwegians and now in like manner they would beat down the adventurers of Normandy. They danced and sang and drained their horn-cups brimming with ale until late at night, and then in the heavy English fashion flung themselves to rest. On the other side the Normans were looking carefully to their armor, examining the harness of their horses, and joining in the litanies which were chanted by the priests.

With the coming of morning, both armies were marshaled forth for battle. Duke William, having arranged his forces in three columns, made a brief and spirited address, in which he recited the cruelties and treachery of the foe and promised the rewards of victory. A Norman giant, named Taillefer, rode in front of the ranks, brandishing his sword and singing the old heroic ballads of Normandy. The army took up the chorus, and the enthusiasm of battle spread like a flame among the knightly ranks.¹ The opposing English had fortified with trenches and palisades the high ground on which they were encamped. The two kings, equally courageous, commanded their respective armies in person, and each sought to be foremost in the fight. At the first, the assaults of the Norman bowmen and crossbowmen produced little effect on the English lines; and even the

¹It was on this occasion that the Normans sang the *Song of Roland*, the hero of Roncevaux.

charge of William's cavalry was bravely met and repelled. The English battle-axes cut the lances of the knights and cleft both horse and rider. At one time the report was spread that William was slain, and his followers fell into dismay and confusion. But the prince reappeared unhurt, threw up his visor that he might be seen, and rallied his men to the charge. From nine o'clock in the forenoon until three in the afternoon the battle raged with fury. At the last, after many maneuvers, Duke William resorted to a stratagem.

English were made to believe themselves victorious, but were again turned upon and routed. The lines of Harold's encampment were broken through. Then the fight raged briefly around the standard of England, which was finally cut down and supplanted by the banner of Normandy. Harold's two brothers were slain in the struggle. The English were turned into a rout, but ever and anon they made a stand in that disastrous twilight of Saxon England. Victory declared for William. King Harold himself was killed by a



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

He ordered his knights to charge and then to turn and fly. The English, deceived by the pretended retreat of the foe, broke from their lines to pursue the flying Normans. The latter, being strongly reinforced, turned suddenly about at a signal and fell upon their scattered pursuers. The disordered English were encompassed and cut down by thousands. The chieftains wielded their battle-axes with terrible effect, but were ridden down and slain.

In another part of the field the Normans adopted the same stratagem and were again successful. Even a third time the imprudent

random arrow, which, piercing his left eye, entered his brain. Nearly one-half of his soldiers were either killed or wounded. Of William's army, more than a fourth perished in the battle, and the jubilation of Norman triumph sounded like a spasmodic cry over the dead bodies of three thousand Norman knights. Sorrowful was the sight of Queen Edith searching among the slain for the body of her lord. At such a price was the oath made good which Prince Harold had unwittingly taken over the bones of the saints.

The immediate result of the battle of

Hastings was to transfer one-fourth of the kingdom to William the Norman. As soon as it was clear that the victory was his, the Conqueror set up the consecrated banner which had been sent him by the Pope, and his soldiers proceeded in sight of that sacred emblem to despoil the Saxon dead. William vowed to erect an abbey on the very spot where the banner of Saxon England had been struck down, and in a short time the monastery of St. Martin was filled with monks to celebrate masses for the repose of the souls of the slain knights of Normandy.

It was still necessary that William should make haste slowly in the further reduction of the kingdom. More than two months elapsed before he reached the city of London. In the interval he beat along the coast, hoping that the people would make a voluntary submission; but in this he was disappointed. Finding that moderation was of little avail with the stubborn Saxons, he continued the conquest by the capture of Romney and Dover. While at the latter place he was strongly reinforced with recruits from Normandy. Thus strengthened, the Conqueror left the coast and marched direct to London. The defeat of Hastings had broken the spirit of resistance, and little opposition was manifested to his progress. Nevertheless, the Witenagemot assembled in the capital, and the uppermost question related to the succession rather than submission to the Normans.

After much discussion, it was decided to confer the crown on Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, who had previously been set aside on account of the spurious descent of his ancestor. This measure, however, was carried by the old Saxon or National party, in the face of the strenuous opposition of the Norman faction, supported as it was by most of the clergy, who trembled at the thought of excommunication. The fact that Prince Edgar himself was devoid of all kingly qualities added strength to the Norman cause and discouraged the national movement.

Such was the condition of affairs when William appeared before the city. Finding himself debarred, he burned Southwark and ravaged the surrounding country. The people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire were made to realize all the terrors of

war. In a short time communication was cut off between the city and the country and the shadow of famine began to hang over Westminster Abbey. The earls, Edwin and Morcar, to whom the defense had been intrusted, withdrew towards the Humber, taking with them the forces of Northumbria and Mercia. Their retirement from London was the signal of submission. An embassy, headed by "King" Edgar himself and Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury, went forth to Berkhamstead, and there presented themselves to the Conqueror. The submission was formal and complete. Edgar for himself renounced the throne, and Stigand for the Church took the oath of loyalty. The politic William made a pretense of reluctance in accepting the crown of England; but his feeble remonstrance was drowned in the acclaim of his nobles and courtiers. As soon as the embassy had completed its work, the Normans set out for the capital, conducted by the distinguished envoys. In a short time the Conqueror established himself in the city and preparations were completed for the coronation.

The Abbey of Westminster was chosen as the place for the ceremony. Attended by two hundred and sixty of his nobles, the duke rode between files of soldiers that lined the approaches, and presented himself before the altar. When in reply to the question addressed to those present by Aldred, archbishop of York, whether they would accept William of Normandy as their lawful king, they all set up a shout. Those Normans outside the Abbey, hearing the noise and conjecturing that some act of treachery had been committed against their prince, began to set fire to the houses of the English and to kill all who fell in their way. Others rushed into the Abbey as if to rescue William, and the ceremony was interrupted in the midst of universal turmoil. For a while it appeared that both parties, each misunderstanding the other, would, in the wildness of their frenzy, raze the city to the ground. But Archbishop Aldred continued and completed the duty of coronation, and the first of the Norman kings of England arose from before the altar, crowned with the crown of Alfred.

Thus, in the latter part of the year 1066, was the Norman dynasty established in Eng-

land. The policy adopted by Edward the Confessor, combining with the general laws of causation, had triumphed over the old na-

tional spirit and made predominant the language and institutions of a foreign race. The new sovereign fixed his court at Barking, and



EDITH DISCOVERS THE BODY OF HAROLD.
Drawn by A. de Neville.

in accordance with his coronation oath that he would treat the English people as well as the best of their native kings had done, began the administration of the government with as much mildness as the age was fitted to receive. It can not be doubted that the English thanes and great earls, who made their submission to the king, gained from his hands a generous consideration. To them were confirmed their estates and honors, and the work of confiscation began only with those who were rebellious or disloyal. The domains of Harold and his brother, as well as those of less distinguished leaders and chiefs, were seized by William and conferred on his Norman nobles. Though these acts might well be defended as strictly in accordance with the usages of war and conquest, they failed not to sow the seeds of bitterness and revenge, which for centuries together grew rank and poisonous in the soil of England.

Prominent among those Saxons who received the favor of William was the royal cipher, Edgar Atheling. Without the ability to accomplish serious harm in the state, this nominal prince of the old *régime* was still regarded with affection by the adherents of the lost cause. For this reason rather than on account of personal esteem, he was reconfirmed by the king in the earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred on him at the accession of Harold.

In furtherance of his policy William presently set forth from Barking to visit the various districts of the kingdom. His progress was half-civil, half-military, and wholly royal. For he would fain impress the English with a new idea of kingly pomp and greatness. At every place he failed not, as far as practicable, to display a generous condescension. In all of his intercourse he took care, by a prudent restraint of temper and courteous demeanor towards the Saxon Thanes, to conciliate their esteem and favor. In his edicts he carefully regarded the old Anglo-Saxon laws, and in the administration of justice did not unduly incline to the interests of his own countrymen. In some instances he even went beyond the letter of his promise, and showed a positive favor to the native interests and institutions of the Island. He enlarged the privileges of the corporation of London, and made

himself the patron of English commerce and agriculture.

While in this conciliatory way the Conqueror diligently sought to gain the trust and even the affection of his Saxon subjects, he at the same time took every care to fortify his power with bulwarks and defenses. Now it was that those wonderful feudal towers and castles, which still survive in moss-grown majesty, rose, as if by magic, as the impregnable fortresses of Norman domination. On every side the Saxon thanes and peasants beheld arising these huge structures of stone, and sighed with vain regrets or mutterings of revenge at this everlasting menace to the old liberties and institutions of the Teutonic race.

The Normans also understood the situation. They appreciated the necessity of laying deep and strong the immovable buttresses of their dominion. Well they knew the vigor, the fecundity, and warlike valor of the Anglo-Saxon people. Well did they forecast the impending struggle of the races, and wisely did they prepare for the maintenance of the power which they had gained and established by conquest.

One of the greatest difficulties which King William had to meet and overcome was found in the rapacity of his followers. The great host of Norman lords and bishops who had followed him from the continent constantly clamored for the spoils of the kingdom. The foreign ecclesiastics were even more greedy than the secular lords, and could hardly be restrained from the instantaneous seizure of the cathedrals and abbeys of England. Many of the hardships under which the Saxons were presently made to groan must be traced to the insatiable demands of William's followers, rather than to the personal wishes of the king to inflict injuries on his Saxon subjects. Even from the first year of the Conquest the suppressed rebellion in the heart of native England was sprinkled with vitriol by another circumstance in the conduct of their oppressors. The Norman lords began to woo and win the women of the Saxon thanes. The rich clothing, burnished armor, and gaudy equipage of the courtly foreign lords flashed in the eyes of the English maidens with a dazzling brightness. What should be the brawn and sinews of the native boor, with his broad

shoulders, florid face, and uncut flaxen hair, compared with the elegant limbs, graceful dignity, and condescending smile of the gay and polished knight of Rouen? Even the widows of valiant Saxon thanes, who had fallen on the field of Hastings, proved to be not over-difficult to win by the splendid foreigners. Love fanned by admiration prevailed over patriotism fanned by memory.

The Conquest of England was, as yet, by no means completed. All the West lay unsubdued. In the south-eastern part of the island the conquerors had firmly established themselves in the country. In the spring of 1067 King William went over to Normandy, leaving his half-brother Odo as regent during his absence. It has been conjectured by Hume that the motive of the Conqueror in going abroad at this juncture was found in the belief that as soon as his absence was known the Saxons would break into revolt, and thus furnish him a valid excuse for completing the subjugation of the Island and confiscating the estates of the Thaners. For he was greatly harassed by the Norman nobles to supply them with lands and titles, as he had promised at the beginning of the Conquest. The character of

Odo, who was arbitrary, impolitic, and reckless, moreover conduced to the result which William anticipated.

At Rouen the victorious king was received with great *éclat*. To his friends at home he distributed many rich presents, and gave a glowing account of the country which he had subdued. Nor did he hesitate to exhibit to the people and the foreign ambassadors at his

court living specimens of the race that had yielded to his arms; for as a precautionary measure he had taken with him on his return a number of the Saxon thanes.

Meanwhile affairs in England were rapidly approaching a crisis. The tyranny of Odo and his counselors began to press heavily upon



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

the subject race. Their rapacity sought gratification in pillage and robbery. Not only the peasants, but people of the highest rank, were made the victims of outrage and spoliation. In vain did they cry out for justice and revenge upon the noble brigands who had ruined their homes. The complaints of the sufferers were met with insult and mockery.

Not long could the Saxon blood be expected

to brook the contumely of a haughty master. Insurrections broke out in various parts, and woe to the luckless Norman knight who was caught outside the walls of his castle. Soon there was concert of action among the insurgents, and the foreign dominion was menaced with destruction in the first year of its existence. The Saxon plotters sent word to Count Eustace of Boulogne to come over and be their leader; for he was known to be a bitter foe to King William. The count accepted the call and landed with a chosen band near the castle of Dover. Here he was joined by the rebel Saxons of Kent, and an imprudent and disastrous attack was made on the castle. The assailants were beaten back by the garrison, who sallied forth from the gates and drove the rash men of Kent headlong over the cliffs. Count Eustace fled to the coast and thence across the sea.

Among those who soon after his landing in the previous year did obeisance to the Conqueror was Thane Edric the Forester, of the river Severn. He had been sincere in his protestations, but was soon provoked into hostility by the cruelty and injustice of the rapacious Normans. With two of the princes of Wales he made an alliance, and the Norman garrison that held the city of Hereford was quickly pent up within the fortifications. All the country round about was overrun by the insurgents, and for the time it appeared that there only wanted a national leader to rally the Saxons as one man and expel their oppressors from the island.

At this juncture the two sons of Harold came over from Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships, and made a spasmodic attempt to regain the crown of their father. But they were received with little favor, even by their own countrymen. Attacking the city of Bristol, they were repulsed and driven to their ships, pursued by the Saxons. The two princes then made their way back to the safe obscurity of Ireland.

Meanwhile the spirit of discontent and rebellion grew rife throughout the country. One message after another was sent to King William, urging his immediate return to England. But, either not sharing the alarm of his own countrymen in the island or desirous that the Saxons should still further pro-

voke him to war, he tarried at Ronen for the space of eight months, and then, in December of 1067, returned to London. On arriving at his capital, he at once resorted to his old policy of favor and blandishment to the Saxon chiefs. At the Christmas festival he received them with all the kingly courtesy which he was able to command. He promised the people of London a restitution and observance of the old laws of the Anglo-Saxons; and then, as soon as confidence was somewhat restored, proceeded to levy a burdensome tax upon his subjects.

The spring of 1068 witnessed the outbreak of a rebellion in Devonshire. The people of Exeter fortified their city and made ready to defend it to the last. So great was the popular exasperation that the crews of some Norman ships, which were wrecked on the coast, were butchered after the worst manner of savagery. Against the insurgents of Devonshire, King William led out his army in person. Approaching the city of Exeter he demanded submission, but was met with refusal and defiance. A siege ensued of eighteen days' duration, and then Exeter fell into the hands of the Conqueror. A strong castle was built in the captured town and garrisoned with Norman soldiers.

During the summer of this year the sons of Godwin made a second absurd attempt to create a rising in the West. Several landings were effected on the shores of Devon and Cornwall, but the leaders were met with the same aversion as in the previous year. Finding neither support nor sympathy, they again abandoned their native land and took refuge in Denmark.

After the conquest of Devon, King William quickly added that of Somerset and Gloucester. The city of Oxford was taken and fortified. In every district subdued by his arms, the lands were confiscated and apportioned to his followers. New castles were built and occupied by Norman lords. Meanwhile every ship from Rouen brought another company of hungry nobles to demand a share in the spoils of England. The enforced consideration which William had hitherto compelled his followers to show to the Saxons was soon no longer observed. After the garrulous manner of his tribe, the old chronicler Holin-

shed thus describes the afflictions of his people in the early years of William the Conqueror:

“He [the king] took away from divers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, all their livings, and gave the same to his Normans. Moreover, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realms; nor in any thing regarded the English nobility, so that they who before thought themselves to be made forever by bringing a stranger into the realm, did now see themselves trodden under foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, in so much that many of them were constrained (as it were, for a further testimony of servitude and bondage) to shave their beards, to round their hair, and to frame themselves, as well in apparel as in service and diet at their tables, after the Norman manner, very strange and far differing from the ancient customs and old usages of their country. Others, utterly refusing to sustain such an intolerable yoke of thralldom as was daily laid upon them by the Normans, chose rather to leave all, both goods and lands, and, after the manner of outlaws, got them to the woods with their wives, children, and servants, meaning from thenceforth to live upon the spoils of the country adjoining, and to take whatsoever come next to hand. Whereupon it came to pass within a while that no man might travel in safety from his own house or town to his next neighbor’s, and every quiet and honest man’s house became, as it were, a hold and fortress, furnished for defense with bows and arrows, bills, pole-axes, swords, clubs, and staves and other weapons, the doors being kept locked and strongly bolted in the night season, as it had been in time of open war and amongst public enemies. Prayers were said also by the master of the house, as though they had been in the midst of the seas in some stormy tempest; and when the windows and doors should be shut in or closed they used to say *Benedicite*, and others to answer *Dominus*, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church.”

It was in the midst of such conditions as these that the deep-seated and long-enduring hatred of the Normans was laid in the heart of Saxon England. Ever and evermore the chasm seemed to widen between the hostile races. Now came the great earl, Edwin of

Mercia, who, under promise of receiving the king’s daughter in marriage, had supported his cause, claiming the hand of the Norman maiden. He was refused and insulted. Thereupon he left London with a burning heart, called his brother Morcar to his aid, and raised the standard of war in the north of England. The rebel princes took their stand beyond the Humber. Around their banners rallied the Saxo-Danish patriots of Yorkshire and Northumbria. In their wrath they took an oath that nevermore would they sleep beneath the roof until they had taken an ample revenge upon the perfidious and cruel Normans. But the warlike and energetic William was little alarmed by the menace of such a rebellion. Putting himself at the head of his army he marched rapidly from Oxford to Warwick, from Warwick to Leicester, from Leicester to Derby and Nottingham, from Nottingham to Lincoln, from Lincoln to the Humber. Near the confluence of the Ouse he met and completely routed the forces of the rebel earls. Hosts of the English fell in the battle and the remnant fled for refuge within the fortifications of York. Thither they were pursued by William and his soldiers, who broke through the gates, captured the city, and put the people to the sword. A citadel of great strength was built within the conquered town and garrisoned with five hundred warriors and knights. The city of York became henceforth the stronghold of the Normans in the North.

In the second and third years after the Conquest, the country was agitated through its whole extent by outbreaks and uprising of the Saxons. By degrees the English nobles, who had thus far upheld the Conqueror’s cause, became alienated and took sides with their own countrymen. As to the Saxon peasants, they groaned and writhed under the oppression of their masters and seized every opportunity, fair or foul, to wreak their vengeance on the hated foreigners. While the Norman throne was thus threatened with muttering earthquakes in the sea-bed of Saxon humanity, the nobles and knights, not a few, who as soldiers of fortune had followed his banner into England, began to desert the Conqueror’s service for some more promising field of spoil. In spite of all his smiles and

allurements, the king's own brother-in-law, Earl Tilleuil of Hastings Castle, and the powerful Hugh de Grantmesnil, earl of Norfolk, quitted England and retired into Normandy. So serious was the situation that the king deemed it expedient to send his queen, Matilda, back to Rouen. For himself, however, he was as undaunted as ever. To fill the places made vacant by defection and desertion, he sent invitations into all the countries of Western Europe, offering the brilliant rewards of conquest to those who would join his standard. Nor was the call without an answer. Bands of rovers, wandering knights, soldiers in ill-repute, and refugee noblemen came flocking to the prey.

The year 1069 was mostly occupied with military operations in the North. The city of York was besieged by the insurgent population, and was only relieved by the approach of William with an army. A second fortress and garrison were established in the city, which was thus rendered impregnable. As soon as the outposts were secure, a campaign was undertaken against the rebels of Durham. The expedition was led by Robert de Comine, who marched into the enemy's country and entered Durham with little opposition. During the night, however, the English lighted signal-fires on the neighboring heights and gathered from all directions. At day-break on the following morning they burst into the town, fired the houses, fell upon the Normans, and slaughtered them without mercy. Of Robert's forces only two men escaped to tell the tale of destruction.

Encouraged by their great success, the Northumbrians immediately dispatched ambassadors to the king of Denmark, urging him to make an invasion of England. At the same time they sent overtures to Malcolm, king of the Scots, representing to him the advantages of an alliance against the Normans. At the court of the Scottish monarch Edgar Atheling had found a refuge, and *his* claims to the crown of England were not forgotten in the general movement. The sons of King Harold, also, were abroad and were regarded by some as a possibility of the future. But the very multiplicity of interests in the attempted combination against the Normans prevented unity of action and forbade success.

By and by a Danish fleet of two hundred and forty ships, commanded by the sons of the Danish king, was sent to aid the Northumbrians and Scots against the Conqueror. The squadron first appeared off Dover and then sailing northward entered the Humber. A landing was effected at the mouth of the Ouse, and the army of Danes, reinforced by their English allies, marched directly on York. The Normans were driven into the fortifications, and were cut off from all communication with the country. For eight days the assailants beat around the ramparts. Finally a fire broke out, and the city was wrapped in flames. In order to escape a more horrid death, the Normans rushed forth, sword in hand, and met their fate on the spears of the infuriated Northumbrians and Danes. The slaughter degenerated into a massacre, and of the three thousand men composing the garrison only a few escaped with their lives. The smouldering ashes of York steamed with the blood of Normandy.

King William was hunting in the forest of Dean when the terrible news came to him of the butchery of his Yorkshire army. Flaming with rage, he burst out with his usual oath, "by the splendor of God," that he would leave not a Northumbrian alive. As a preparatory measure, he at once relaxed his severity towards the Saxons of South England, and resumed his old rôle of cajoling them with bountiful promises. At the same time he managed by shrewd diplomacy to induce the king of Denmark to withdraw his army from England. As to the Saxons, however, they were not any longer to be lulled with soothing words. When with the opening of the following spring, the Conqueror, at the head of a powerful army began his march against the Northumbrians, the sullen and vengeful English rose behind him with torch and pike and pole-axe to satiate their desperate anger in the wake of his campaign. But the persistent William was not to be distracted from his purpose. The son of a tanner's daughter had in his mind's eye the vision of burnt-up York and the bleaching bones of his Norman knights.

Now was it the turn of the men of the North to quake with well-grounded apprehension. In the hour of need the Danish fleet

sailed down the Humber and disappeared. The Northumbrians were left naked to the sword of the Conqueror. He fell upon them a short distance from York, and only a few escaped his vengeance. Edgar Atheling fled from the apparition and returned to the court of Malcolm. Perhaps no district was ever before smitten with such a besom as that which now swept across the fields and hamlets of Northumbria. The Norman army broke up into bands and slew and burnt and ravaged until the well-nigh insatiable thirst for

he next proceeded to seize the movable property of his English subjects. The wealthy Saxons had generally adopted the plan of depositing their treasures in the monasteries, believing that these sacred precincts would remain inviolate. The commissioners of the king, however, soon broke into the holy places of England, and robbed with as much freedom as if they had been ravaging a vulgar village. A regular system of apportionment was adopted, by which the lands of England were divided out to the Norman lords.—Thus



DANISH WARRIORS ON THE HUMBER.

Drawn by F. W. Heine.

bloody vengeance was appeased. The old chronicler, William of Malmesbury, declares that, "from York to Durham not an inhabited village remained. Fire, slaughter, and desolation made a vast wilderness there, which continues to this day."¹ Oderic Vitalis estimates the number of victims of this murderous expedition at a hundred thousand souls.

From this time forth the policy of conciliation was flung aside by the Conqueror of England. It now became his avowed purpose to seize all the landed estates of the kingdom. Nor satisfied with this enormous spoliation,

¹ About the year A. D. 1150.

were the first seven years after the invasion consumed in perpetual insurrections, brutal punishments, confiscation, robbery, and ruin throughout the realm of England.

In the year 1074 William was obliged by the condition of his continental affairs to return for a season to Normandy. The county of Maine, on the borders of his paternal kingdom, had been bequeathed to the Conqueror before his departure for England. About two years after the devastation of Northumbria, Count Foulque of Anjou instigated the people of Maine to rise against William and expel his magistrates from the country.

With a shrewd understanding of the situation, William, in departing for the continent, took with him only an *English* army, leaving all his *Norman* forces behind him. With these troops he made his way into Maine, and soon drove the insurgents into a bitter repentance for their folly.

While engaged in suppressing this rebellion, William received intelligence of a still more alarming outbreak in England. This time it was the Norman barons themselves, who had conspired to overthrow their master. The office of prime counselor of the kingdom was now held by Roger Fitz-Osborn, who was also Earl of Hereford. This distinguished young lord had, during the Conqueror's absence, paid his court to the daughter of Ralph de Gaël, earl of Norfolk; and her he was about to take in marriage. The rumor of the intended union was borne to the Conqueror, who for some reason sent back a message forbidding the marriage. This interference was bitterly resented by Fitz-Osborn and his prospective father-in-law. Without regard to the interdict, the marriage was celebrated, and the leading Norman barons were present at the feast. While heated with wine, a sudden disloyalty broke out among them, Normans as they were, and a conspiracy was made to destroy William and redivide the realm into the three old kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The earls of Waltheof and Norwich entered into the plot with Fitz-Osborn and De Gaël, and the drunken revel ended in an insane insurrection. Waltheof, however, as soon as he was sober, washed his hands of the disloyal business. Fitz-Osborn was confronted on the Severn by a loyal army sent out by Archbishop Lanfranc, primate of the kingdom; and the insurgents under the Earl of Norfolk were beaten down by a force commanded by Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Nor was it long until the whole rebellion was brought to naught. William returned from the continent, and the conspirators were punished, some with mutilation, some with imprisonment, and some with death.

It was now the fate of the Conqueror to be touched in a still more vital part by the treason of his son Robert, duke of Maine. This prince had been honored by his father before

the departure of the latter for his conquest of England. William had induced his Norman barons to do the act of fealty to Robert as their future sovereign. On coming to man's estate, the duke, without regard to his father's wishes, would fain assume the government in his own right. Hearing of the rebellious conduct of his son, the Conqueror addressed to him a brief but comprehensive letter. "My son," said he, "I wot not to throw off my clothes till I go to bed." This figurative expression was easily understood by the youth, who openly demanded the fulfillment of the king's promise to make him duke of Normandy. "Sire," said Robert, in an interview with his father, "I came here to claim my right, and not to listen to sermons. I heard plenty of them, and tedious ones, too, when I was learning my grammar." Hereupon the estrangement broke into hostility. Robert fled into foreign parts, but was presently received and supported by Philip of France, who was glad to find so sharp a weapon wherewith to hew away some of the greatness of his rival William. The rebel prince was established in the castle of Gerberay, on the borders of Normandy, and supplied with French soldiers, with whom he made predatory forays into his father's duchy. King William in great wrath crossed the channel with an English army and laid siege to the castle where Robert had made his stand. Here it was that the famous incident occurred in which the king was brought within a single stroke of losing both his crown and his life.

On a certain day, when the usual desultory fighting was going on in the vicinity of the castle, Duke Robert, who had sallied forth, met and engaged in deadly conflict with a stalwart Norman knight, whom he had the good fortune to unhorse and hurl to the ground. Springing from his horse and drawing his sword, the duke was about to dispatch his fallen foeman when the latter cried out for help. It was the voice of William the Conqueror, about to perish under the sword of his son. The latter, however, was suddenly touched with chivalrous and filial devotion. He threw himself on his knees before the prostrate form of his father, craved a hurried pardon, assisted the wounded William

into the saddle, and permitted him to ride away to his own camp.

After this heroic episode, so illustrative of

the temper of the Middle Ages, strenuous efforts were made by William's friends and counselors to effect a reconciliation between



DUKE ROBERT RECOGNIZES HIS FATHER.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

him and his son. At first the mortified and angry king, still weak from the wound which Robert had inflicted, would hear to nothing but submission and punishment. At length, however, his wrath subsided and he accepted of the prodigal's repentance. But it soon appeared that the Conqueror had little sympathy with his eldest born, and no confidence in the sincerity of his purposes. A second quarrel soon ensued, and the prince was again driven forth, never to see his father more. His two brothers, William and Henry, by a more dutiful conduct retained their father's affection and were destined, each in his turn, to occupy the throne of England.

The year 1080 was marked by another insurrection at Durham. The duty of governing the warlike population of Northumbria had been intrusted to Walcher, of Lorraine, a valorous bishop of the Church. His rule was arbitrary and oppressive. The English who appealed to him for redress of grievances were treated with injustice and disdain. Liulf, one of the noblest natives of Northumbria, having been robbed by some of the bishop's retainers, and appealing to that dignity for redress, was repelled and presently assassinated. Enraged at this crime against their race the English in the neighborhood of Durham made a conspiracy by night and came in great numbers, petitioning Walcher to render up the murderers of Liulf. Each of the yeomen had a short sword hidden under his garment. The bishop perceiving that a tumult was threatened retired into the church, which was soon surrounded by an angry multitude. The building was fired, and Walcher and his satellites were obliged to come forth and be killed in preference to being burned to death. The murderers of Liulf were slain with the rest.

Fearful was the vengeance taken on the Northumbrians for their savage deed. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to King William, was sent with a large army against the people of Durham. This savage prelate proceeded, without the slightest attempt to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent, to smite the whole district with fire and sword. Beheadings, mutilations, and burnings were witnessed on every hand, until the bishop's thirst for blood was fully glutted. Soon after-

wards Odo entered into an intrigue to make himself the successor of Pope Gregory VII., and for this was brought under the displeasure of the king. The bishop was taken before a council and his plot was fully exposed by William, who had his half-brother arrested, carried into Normandy, and imprisoned in the dungeon of a castle.

The years 1083-84 were filled with alarm on account of the threatening movement of the Danes. In that country King Sueno and his son Harold had both died, leaving the crown to the illegitimate Canute, who did not hesitate to lay claim to England as the successor of Canute the Great. An issue was thus made up between one royal bastard who coveted and another who held the English throne. Canute began his work by making a league with Olaf the Peaceful, king of Norway. With them, also, was united Robert, earl of Flanders, Canute's father-in-law, who promised to furnish six hundred ships to aid in the expulsion of the Normans from England. It was proposed to bear down on the Island with an armament of a thousand sail. When the squadron was about to depart one distracting circumstance after another arose, and treachery followed treachery until the enterprise was completely frustrated. The movements of his northern enemies, however, had sufficed for the space of two years to keep the Conqueror in a state of anxiety and alarm, and to lay upon the English people such grievous burdens as they had rarely borne before. For William, by taxes, levies, and contributions seized upon a large part of the resources of the kingdom in his preparations to meet and repel the Danes.

About the year 1080 was undertaken one of the most memorable of the works of William the Conqueror. This was the great survey of the kingdom of England, the results of which were recorded in the famous work known as *DOMESDAY BOOK*, which has ever since remained the basis of land tenure in those parts of the Island to which it applied. The king's justiciaries, or agents, traversed the entire kingdom and gathered the required information from the sheriffs, lords, priests, reeves, bailiffs, and villeins of each district. Thus was made out in detail a complete record of the bishops, churches, monasteries, manors,

tenants in chief, and under tenants of the realm; and to this were added the name of each place, the name of the holder, the extent of the holding, the wood, the meadow, the pasture, the mills, the ponds, the live stock, the total appraisement, the number of villeins and freemen, and the property of each. Upon the whole estate three estimates were made by the jurors; first, as the same had existed in the time of Edward the Confessor; secondly, as the property was when granted by William to his vassals; and thirdly, as it now stood after the lapse of thirteen years.

The vast mass of details thus gathered by the king's officers was digested at Winchester and carefully recorded, the first part in a great vellum folio of three hundred and eighty-two double column pages, and the second part in a quarto of four hundred and fifty pages. The first volume contains the description of the estates in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Middlesex, Hereford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire, Derby, Notts, York, and Lincoln. The second exhibits the record for the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, together with additional surveys for Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The two volumes were named respectively the Great and Little Domesday, and were at first carried about with the king and the great seal of England. Afterwards they were deposited in the vault of the chapel of the cathedral of *Domus Dei*.¹

So carefully was the great survey executed and so accurately were its results recorded that the authority of Domesday Book as an ultimate appeal in matters affecting the land titles of England has never been called in question. For a while the invaluable record was kept at Westminster, where it was deposited under three locks and keys in charge of the auditor and chamberlain of the exchequer. In 1696 it was transferred to the Chapter

¹It has been disputed whether the name of *Domesday* Book is a corruption of the name of the cathedral *Domus Dei*, or whether it is properly *Doomsday* Book, that is, the Book of the Day of Doom. The latter seems to be the better spelling and etymology.

House. At the present day it lies securely in a strong glass case in the Office of Public Records, and may there be consulted by any without payment of a fee.

Like many another monarch the conqueror of England was unfortunate in his children. The story of Duke Robert's rebellion and downfall has already been told. Duke Richard, the second born, after wearing through the years of his youth the scandal, perhaps the slander, of illegitimacy went hunting in New Forest and was gored to death by a stag. The third son William, and Henry the fourth, as they grew to manhood, became estranged, jealous, and quarrelsome. Fortunately, however, both the youths were possessed of kingly abilities, though neither gave promise of the preëminent genius displayed by their father.

One of the worst acts of King William in his old age was the seizure and conversion of Hampshire into a hunting park. In season, when the man-hunt abated, the royal appetite, famished with abstinence from blood, was best appeased with the slaughter of beasts. The favorite residence of the king was the city of Winchester. Desirous that his hunting park should be at no great distance from his capital William, without scruples, took possession of all the southwestern part of Hampshire from Salisbury to the sea, a distance of thirty miles. The district thus chosen contained no fewer than one hundred and eight manors, villages, and hamlets, all of which were demolished and swept away that the native woods might grow again for the sport of royal hunters. Thus before the close of the reign of the Conqueror was established New Forest Park, in which three princes of his own blood were destined to die by violence. From this time dated the beginning of those game-laws and forest-laws which have been the bane of the people of England unto the present day. "For," saith ever the English noble lord, "are not my hares and foxes worth more than the base churls who would destroy them?"

In the year 1086, the king called together a great assemblage of his nobles and fief-holders to receive again their homage before departing to the continent. The great and lesser men of the realm, to the number of sixty thousand, assembled at Winchester and

renewed their oath of allegiance. Shortly afterwards William crossed the channel into Normandy and opened negotiations with Philip of France for the possession of the territory between the rivers Epte and Oise. The situation portended war, and a coarse joke perpetrated by the French king at William's expense was a spark in the magazine. At this juncture, however, the Conqueror fell sick, and his vengeance was delayed till the following year. But as soon as the summer of 1087 had ripened the harvests and made heavy the purple vineyards of France, the now aged William took horse at the head of his army and began an invasion of the disputed territory.

The objective point of the warlike expedition was the city of Mantes, capital of the coveted district, and thither the Conqueror made his way, destroying every thing in his path. Mantes was besieged, taken, and burned. Just as the city, wrapped in the consuming flame, was sinking into ashes, the Conqueror, eager to be in at the death, spurred forward his horse till the charger, plunging his fore feet into the hot embers of the rampart, reared backwards and threw the now corpulent king with great violence upon the pommel of the saddle. His body was ruptured, and it was evident that a fatal injury had been received. The wounded king was taken first to Rouen and thence to the monastery of St. Gervas, just outside the walls of the city. There for six weeks the king of England lingered on the border of that realm where the smoke of burning towns is never seen. As death drew nigh, the invincible spirit of the man relaxed. The better memories and purposes of his life revived, and he would fain in some measure make amends for his sins and crimes. His last days were marked by several acts of benevolence and magnanimity. He issued an edict releasing from confinement all the surviving state prisoners whom he had shut up in dungeons. He attempted to quiet the voices within him by contributing large sums for the endowment of churches and monasteries. He even remembered the rebellious Robert, and in his last hours conferred on him the duchy of Maine. As to the crown of England, he made no attempt to establish the succession,

expressing, however, the ardent wish that his son Prince William might obtain and hold that great inheritance. To Henry he gave five thousand pounds of silver, with the admonition that, as it respected political power, he should patiently abide his time. On the morning of the 9th of September, 1087, the great king was for a moment aroused from his stupor by the sound of bells, and then, after a stormy and victorious career, and almost in sight of the spot of his birth, the son of the tanner's daughter of Rouen lay still and pulseless.

Unto his dying day William the Conqueror was followed by the curses of Englishmen. So hostile to him and his House were the native populations of the Island that Prince William Rufus, knowing the temper of the nation, deemed it expedient to secure by silent haste and subtlety the throne vacated by his father's death. He quickly left Normandy and reached Winchester in advance of the news of the decease of the king. There he confided the momentous intelligence to the primate Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Him he induced to become the champion of his cause. A council of barons and prelates was hastily summoned, and the form of an election was had, in which, though not without opposition, the choice fell on Rufus. Such was the expedition with which every thing was done, that, on the seventeenth day after the Conqueror's death, the king-elect was duly crowned by Archbishop Lanfranc.

The first act of the new sovereign exhibited at once his own quality and the temper of the age. He issued orders that all the *English* nobles recently liberated from prison by his father should again be seized and incarcerated. The Norman prisoners of state, however, were, with singular partiality, confirmed in the honors and possessions to which they had been recently restored.

Meanwhile Duke Robert, surnamed *Courte-Heuse*, or Short-Hose, eldest son of the Conqueror, now for many years an exile in France and Germany, hearing of his father's death, made all speed into Normandy and claimed the dukedom. He was received with great joy by the prelates of Rouen, who, fortified by the dying decision of King William, gladly

bestowed the coronet on his son. As for Prince Henry, he took the five thousand pounds bequeathed him by the late king, and going into a reluctant retirement, set the jealous eye of discontent on both his brothers.

The disposition of WILLIAM RUFUS and his brothers was little conducive to friendly relations among them. Both Robert and the king were turbulent spirits, and it was hardly probable under the circumstances that they would not soon come to blows. The situation was such as greatly to embarrass the vassals of the two princes. Many of the nobles had estates both in England and in Normandy. All such held a divided allegiance to William and Robert, and it became their interest either to preserve the peace or else to dethrone either the duke or the king. In a short time an alarming conspiracy was made in England with a view to unseating William and the placing of Robert on the throne. The chief manipulator of the plot was Bishop Odo, half-uncle of Robert, who found in him a ready and able servant. The Duke of Normandy, for his part, promised to send over an army to the support of his confederates.

The conspiracy gathered head in Kent and Durham, and in the West. In these parts the revolt broke out with violence. But there was little concert of action, and the insurrection made slow headway against the established order. The army of Duke Robert was delayed until a fleet of English privateers—first, perhaps, of their kind in modern times—put to sea and cut off the Norman squadron in detail. Since the movement against the king proceeded exclusively from his *Norman* subjects, the English rallied to his banner. In order to encourage this movement of the natives against his insurgent countrymen, he called together the few Anglo-Saxon chiefs who had survived through twenty years of warfare, and to them made pledges favorable to their countrymen. It thus happened, by a strange turn in the political affairs of the kingdom, that the old English stock revived

somewhat in the favor of the royal House. So, when the old Saxon proclamation was issued—"Let every man who is not a man of nothing, whether he live in burgh or out of burgh, leave his home and come,"—fully thirty thousand sturdy yeoman mustered at the call.

The king at the head of his forces marched against Bishop Odo, who had fortified himself in Rochester Castle. From thence the rebels were presently driven into Pevensey, where



BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

after seven weeks they were overthrown and scattered. Odo was taken prisoner, and in order to save his life agreed to give up Rochester Castle to the king and to leave England forever. At this time, however, the castle was held by Eustace, earl of Boulogne, who making a pretense of wrath and acting in collusion with Odo, seized that prelate and drew him within the walls. The defense was begun anew, and was finally brought to a close by disease and famine rather than by assault. When the castle was at last obliged

to yield, the enraged English franklins would fain have destroyed the whole company of insurgents. But the Normans in the army of Rufus had many friends among the rebels, and the king was induced to grant terms of capitulation on condition that the prisoners would all leave the kingdom. After a season of desultory warfare, the movement in favor of Duke Robert lost its force and came to nothing.

The temper of the king and the spirit of the age now demanded retaliation. The supporters of William in England determined to make war on Robert Short-Hose in his own duchy. The condition of affairs in Normandy favored such an enterprise. The duke, always more courageous than prudent, had, after his father's death, managed things so badly that his nobles became disloyal and the duchy fell into anarchy. In his distress Robert made overtures to the king of France, who, promising his aid, marched an army to the frontier of Normandy, but lent no practical assistance to his ally. A counter insurrection favorable to King William now broke out in the duchy and was with difficulty suppressed. Meanwhile William Rufus occupied his time with preparations, and in the beginning of 1091 crossed over with an English army into Normandy. When the issue between the two brothers was about to come to the arbitrament of battle, the king of France came forward as a mediator, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Caën. The terms were very favorable to the English king, who obtained large possessions of his brother's realm, together with the reversion of the whole duchy in case Duke Robert should die first.

This settlement was, of course, exceedingly distasteful to Prince Henry, who still lay in his covert awaiting the death or downfall of his brothers. So much was he angered on account of the treaty that he broke into open revolt. He defended himself briefly in his castles and then retired to the almost impregnable rock and fortress of St. Michael, off the coast. Here he was besieged by the forces of William and Robert, and was at last obliged to capitulate. All his possessions were taken away, and he was then permitted to retire into Brittany, accompanied by one knight, three squires, and one chaplain.

After the settlement of his affairs on the continent, William Rufus was for a while engaged in a war with Malcolm Caënmore, king of Scotland. The latter had been the aggressor during the absence of Rufus from his kingdom. When William returned, he fell upon the Scottish army, then in Northumberland, and inflicted on the enemy a signal defeat, in which both Malcolm and his son were slain.

In the year 1093, the non-compliance of Rufus with the terms of the treaty of Caën led to a renewal of hostilities between him and Duke Robert. The French king came to the rescue of the latter, but William succeeded in bribing him to retire into his own country. Robert was thus left alone to struggle with his more powerful brother. Nor is it doubtful that the English king would soon have wrested from Robert the whole duchy of Normandy had not the affairs of his own realm demanded his immediate return from the continent.

For the people of Wales had now risen against the Norman dominion, and the revolt soon became one of the most alarming that had occurred for many years. The insurgents first fell upon and captured the castle of Montgomery and then overran Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and the isle of Anglesea. On reaching his kingdom, Rufus at once marched into the rebellions district, but could not bring the Welsh mountaineers to a general battle. The enemy kept to the hills and forests, whence they sallied forth in sudden destructive attacks upon the royal forces. For two years the king with his heavy Norman cavalry continued an unsuccessful warfare on his rebellious subjects; but he was unable to reduce them to submission, and was at last obliged to content himself with the erection of a chain of castles along the frontier. In these he established garrisons and then turned aside to put down an insurrection in the North, which was headed by Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland.

In 1096 the English king found himself free once more to resume operations against Normandy. In the preceding autumn, however, an event had occurred which, in a most unexpected manner, decided the whole question at issue. The Council of Clermont was

called by Urban II., and all Western Europe had taken fire at the recital of the outrages done to the Christians in the East. Duke Robert was among the first to catch the enthusiasm and draw his sword. What was the maintenance and development of his province of Normandy compared with the glory of smiting the infidel Turk who sat cross-legged on the tomb of Christ? But the coffers of the fiery Robert were empty. In order to raise the means necessary to equip a band of Norman Crusaders, he proposed to his brother Rufus to sell to him for a period of five years the duchy of Normandy for the sum of ten thousand pounds. The offer was quickly accepted, and William in order to raise the money was constrained to resort to such cruel exactions as were, by the old chroniclers, compared to flaying the people alive. But the ten thousand pounds were raised and paid into the treasury of Robert, who gladly accepted the opportunity thus afforded of exchanging an actual earthly kingdom for the prospect of a heavenly.

In entering upon the possession of Normandy thus acquired, William Rufus was well received by his subjects. The people of Maine, however, were not at all disposed to accept the change of masters. Under the leadership of their chief nobleman, the Baron of La Fleche, they rose in hot rebellion, and it was only after a serious conflict that the king succeeded in reducing them to submission. Once and again the presence of William was demanded in Maine to overawe the disaffected inhabitants. In the last of his expeditions in that province the king received a wound, which induced him to return to England. On reaching home he found that the crusading fever had already begun to spread in the Island. Several of his noblemen, imitating the example of Duke Robert, preferred to mortgage or sell their estates in order to gain the means to join in the universal campaign against the Infidels. Means were thus afforded the king of greatly extending his territorial possessions. But while engaged in this work his career was brought to a sudden and tragic end.

In the summer of the year 1100, William, according to his wont, sought the excitement of the chase in the great hunting park of New

Forest. He was accompanied by several of his nobles. Among the rest was Sir Walter de Poix, better known by his English name of Sir Walter Tyrrel. The cavalcade was gay and boisterous, and feasted and drank under the great trees of Malwood-keep. When the company in high spirits were about to begin the hunt, a messenger came running to the king, saying that one of the monks of St. Peter's at Gloucester had dreamt a dream of horrid portent respecting the sudden death of the king. "Give him a hundred pence," said Rufus, "and bid him dream of better fortune to our person. Do they think I am one of those fools that give up their pleasure or their business because an old woman happens to dream or to sneeze. To horse, Walter de Poix!"

Hereupon the reckless king with his boon companions dashed into the woods and began the chase. Towards evening a hart sprang up between Rufus and the thicket where Sir Walter was for the moment standing. The king drew his bow to shoot; but the string snapped, and his arrow went wide of the mark. He raised his hand as if to shade his eyes while watching the hart and called aloud to his companion, "In the name of the devil, shoot, Walter, shoot!" Sir Walter at once let fly his arrow, but the fatal shaft, glancing against the side of an oak, struck William in the left breast and pierced him to the heart. He fell from his horse and expired without a word. Nor has authentic history ever been able to decide whether the bolt that sped him to his death was, according to common tradition, winged by accident or whether it was purposely sent on its deadly mission either by Sir Walter himself or by some secret foe of the king ambushed in the thicket. At any rate, the childless William Rufus died with an arrow-head in his breast in the depth of New Forest hunting-ground, and the popular superstition was confirmed that that great Park created aforetime by the destruction of so many Anglo-Saxon hamlets and churches, was destined many times to be wet with the blood of the royal tyrants whose wanton passions were therein excited and gratified.

The history of Feudal England has thus been traced from the beginning of the Nor-

man Ascendency in the times of Edward the Confessor, through the great crisis of the Conquest, down to the death of William

Rufus and the accession, in the summer of 1100, of Henry I., the remaining son of the Conqueror. On the continent, as will readily



DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

be recalled, the people of the various states were already in universal commotion from the preaching of the First Crusade. In insular England the excitement was by no means so great; nor was English society thoroughly aroused until in the succeeding reigns of Stephen, Henry Plantagenet, and Richard I. This fact would indicate the continuance of the present narrative down to the time when

the Lion Heart lifted his battle-axe against the Infidels; but the date of the Council of Clermont (A. D. 1095) has already been fixed upon as the limit of the present Book and the beginning of the next. Here, then, we pause in the narrative of English affairs, with the purpose of resuming the same hereafter with the accession of Henry, surnamed Beauclerc, to the throne of England.

CHAPTER XVI.—MOHAMMEDAN STATES AND NORTHERN KINGDOMS.



ET us again, for a brief season, follow the yellow Crescent of Islam, waning in the West, falling in the East. The history of the Mohammedan power has been given in the preceding Book from the time of the Prophet to the age of decline in the Caliphate of Damascus during the reign of Merwan II. The latter, who was the fourteenth and last of the Ommyad Dynasty, held the throne till the year 750, when a contest broke out between him and ABUL ABBAS, which ended in the overthrow of Merwan and the setting up of the Abbasside Caliph. Abul Abbas claimed to be a lineal descendant of Mohammed's uncle Abbas, and for this reason the name *Abbasside* was given to the House.

Not only was Merwan overthrown by his enemy, but the Ommyades were presently afterwards assembled with treacherous intent, and all but two of them were murdered. The two survivors escaped, the one into Arabia and the other into Spain. The Arab Ommyad became the head of a line of local rulers who continued in power until the sixteenth

century, and he who came to Spain laid the foundation of the Caliphate of Cordova.

Having secured the throne of Damascus, Abul Abbas began a reign of great severity. The fugitive Merwan was pursued into Egypt and barbarously put to death. The victorious Caliph earned for himself the name of Al-Saffah, or the Blood-shedder. So complete was the destruction of his enemies that in all the East none durst raise the hand against him. The new dynasty was firmly established from Mauritania to the borders of Persia.



DESTRUCTION OF THE OMMIYADES.
Drawn by F. LIX.

Spain secured her independence, but the remainder of the Mohammedan states fell to the Abbassides.

After a reign of four years' duration Abul Abbas died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother AL-MANSOUR. The sovereignty

was also claimed by his uncle Abdallah, by whom the destruction of the Ommyyades had been accomplished. Abdallah took up arms to maintain his cause, but Abu Moslem, the lieutenant of Al-Mansour, went forth against the insurgents, and they were completely defeated. Abu Moslem, however, soon afterwards incurred the anger of his master, and was deprived of his eyes for refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. Like his predecessor, Al-Mansour marked his reign with merciless cruelty. In the year 758, a heretical sect, called the Ravendites, whose principal tenet was the old Egyptian doctrine of metempsychosis, became powerful at the city of Cufa, the then capital of the Eastern Caliphate. They fell into violent quarrels and riots with the orthodox Mohammedans, and thus came under the extreme displeasure of the Caliph. After much violence and bloodshed, Al-Mansour determined to punish the city and people by removing the capital to another place. He accordingly selected a site on the Tigris, once occupied by the Assyrian kings, and there founded the new city of Baghdad, which was destined to remain for more than four centuries the capital of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the East.

In the year 762-63 the seat of government was transferred, and Al-Mansour began his reign of twenty-one years with beautifying his palace and drawing to his court the art and learning of his countrymen. It was not long, however, until he was obliged to go to war. The descendants of Ali, son of Abu Taleb, raised the standard of revolt and attempted to recover the Caliphate. The armies of Al-Mansour, however, gained the victory over the enemies of their master, and Asia Minor and Armenia, in which the insurrection had made most headway, were reduced to submission. But in the West the revolt held on its way and could not be suppressed. Distance and the intervening Mediterranean favored the rebellion in Spain to the extent of securing the independence of that province, which could never be regained by the Eastern Caliphs.

But more important than the wars of Al-Mansour were his efforts to set up a higher standard of literary culture than had hitherto been known among the Mohammedans. The

old anti-literary dispositions of Islam were made to yield to a more reasonable view of human culture and refinement. The arts and humanities embalmed in the works of the Greeks were revealed by translation to the wondering philosophers of the Tigris, who were stimulated and encouraged in their work by the liberal patronage of the Caliph.

After a successful and distinguished reign of twenty-one years Al-Mansour died, and was succeeded by his son MAHDI, who held the throne for a period of ten years. Perhaps the most distinguished part of his reign related to the slave Khaizeran, by whom he became the father of the celebrated Haroun Al-Rashid, most distinguished of all the Caliphs of the East. The young prince became his father's chief military leader. He commanded an army of ninety-five thousand men in an expedition against the Byzantine Empire, then ruled by the Empress Irene. With his well-nigh invincible soldiers, he marched through Asia Minor, overthrew the Greek general, Nicetas, in battle, reached the Bosphorus, and in the year 781 gained possession of the heights of Scutari, opposite Constantinople. Such was the alarm of the Empress and her council that she was glad to purchase the retirement of the Mohammedans by the payment of an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold.

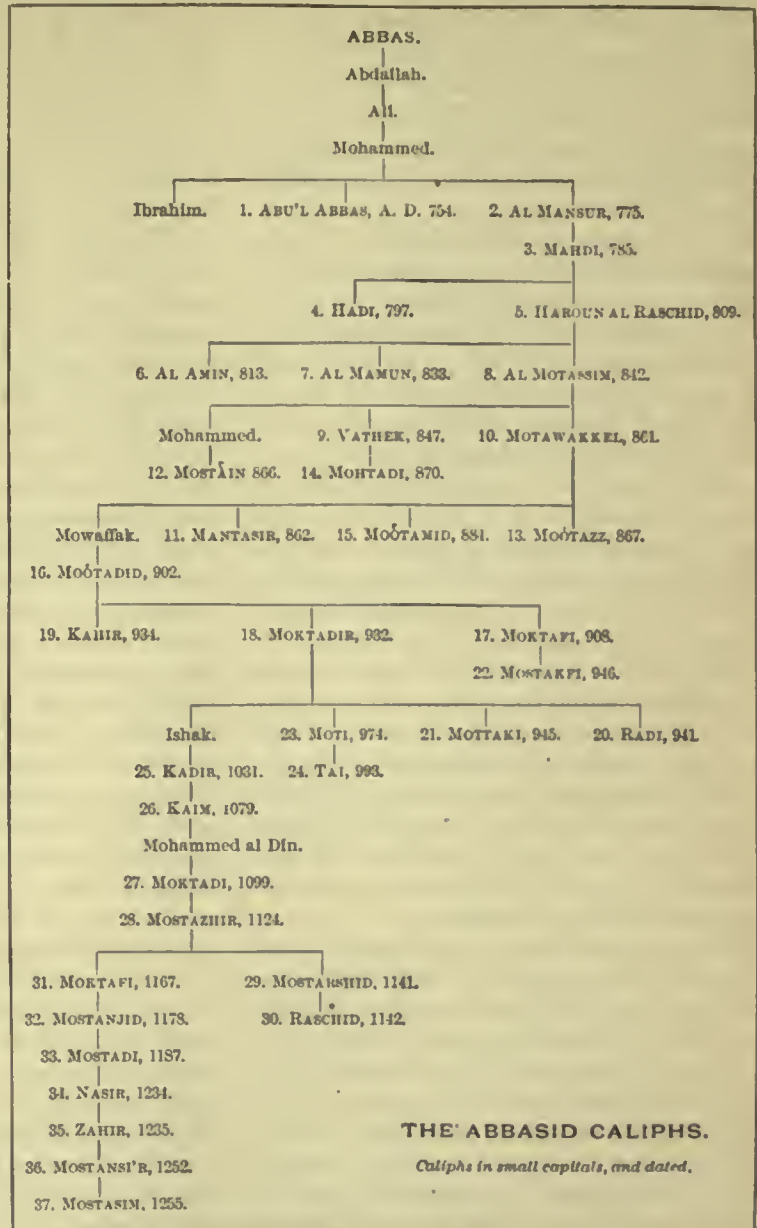
While the fame of these exploits was filling all the realms of Islam with the name of the slave-woman's son, his elder brother HADI was busily engaged in a conspiracy to destroy both his reputation and his life. Nor was the bitterness of Hadi at all appeased when, in 785, the father Mahdi died and left him heir to the Caliphate. No sooner had he reached this position than, fired with increasing jealousy, he issued orders for the execution of Haroun; and the edict was prevented from fulfillment only by the death of Hadi, who came to an end within a year from his accession. When this event occurred, AL-RASHID came into peaceable possession of the throne. His character and abilities far surpassed those of any preceding Caliph. With his accession came the golden era of Mohammedanism. In his dealings with the different nations under his dominion, he fully merited his honorable sobriquet of the Just. He selected his min-

isters from the different states of the Empire, and thus united in his government the claims and sympathies of all. Among those who were thus brought into his administration were Tahya and his son Jaffar, two of the ancient fire-worshipping priesthood of Persia. By their influence the people whom they represented were greatly advanced in the favor of the Caliphate, and even the religious system of Zoroaster, which had waned almost to extinction, was permitted to burn more brightly while its representatives remained in power.

In his foreign relations, Haroun Al-Rashid busied himself in strengthening his frontiers on the side of the Byzantine Empire. While thus engaged, a disgraceful war broke out between religious factions in Syria. The general Musa was sent by Al-Rashid into this region, and the leaders of the rival parties were captured and taken to Baghdad. An end was thus made of the Syrian dissensions, and Jaffar was appointed governor of that province, including Egypt.

It was at this time that the powerful family of the Barmecides became predominant in the affairs of the Caliphate. The head of this family, Khaled ben Barmek, had been the tutor of Haroun Al-Rashid in his youth. It was his son, Tahya, who became prime minister in 786. Twenty-five members of the family held important offices in the different provinces of the Empire. For fifteen years, their

ascendency remained unshaken; but at last in 803, a circumstance occurred which added fuel to the already increasing jealousy of Al-Rashid and led to the downfall of the Barme-



icides. The minister Jaffar, grandson of Khaled ben Barmek, made love to Abassa, sister of the Caliph; and when the lover represented to Haroun that his affection for the princess was purely platonic, it was agreed that he might marry her. In course of time, however, Abassa presented her singular lord with

an heir, greatly to the chagrin of the Caliph. So hot was his rage that he caused Jaffar to be beheaded. Tahya and Fadhl were chained and thrown into a dungeon, where they died. Nearly all the other members of the family suffered deposition, confiscation of property, and imprisonment. The influence of the House was thus suddenly thrown off. But the memory of Al-Rashid suffered not a little from the gratification of his passion against those whom he had no cause of hating other than jealousy.

In the same year with the downfall of the Barmecides, Nicephorus, having then succeeded Irene on the throne of the Byzantine Empire, made a sudden show of old-time virtue by refusing payment of the annual tribute agreed to by his predecessor. Not only did he decline longer to continue the stipend, but he sent an embassy to Al-Rashid, demanding a restitution of all the sums previously paid by Irene. Thereupon the Caliph, flaming with rage, returned the following perspicuous but undiplomatic message: "In the name of the Most Merciful God, Haroun Al-Rashid, commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." Nor was this threatening manifesto without an immediate fulfillment. The Caliph put himself at the head of his army, wasted a large part of Asia Minor, besieged the city of Hæraelia, and quickly obliged Nicephorus to resume the payment of tribute.

The Emperor was not yet satisfied, and soon violated his agreement. In 806 Haroun Al-Rashid returned with a hundred and thirty-five thousand men, overtook Nicephorus in Phrygia, and defeated him with a loss of forty thousand of his troops. Still the Greek Emperor was not satisfied. Two years later, he again refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and Al-Rashid came upon him with an army twice as great as previously. He ravaged Asia Minor to the borders of the Ægean, and then taking to his fleet, overran the islands of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete. The tribute was reimposed on more humiliating terms than ever. But hardly had the Mohammedans retired from their expedition before the perfidious Greek Emperor once more broke off his

engagement and took up arms. Haroun renewed the war with the greatest fury, swearing that he never would treat again with such an oath-breaking enemy as Nicephorus. But before his vengeance on the Greek could wreak a bloody satisfaction, a revolt broke out in Khorassan, and Al-Rashid was recalled from the West to overawe the insurgents. Before reaching the revolted province, however, he fell sick and died, leaving behind a reputation for ambition, prudence, and wisdom unequaled by any of his predecessors in the Caliphate. He had a breadth of apprehension which would have been creditable in a sovereign of modern times. He cultivated the acquaintance of the great rulers of his age. He corresponded with Charlemagne, and in the year 807 sent to that monarch a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. Nine times did Al-Rashid make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Above all his contemporaries, he sought to encourage the development of literature and art. About his court were gathered the greatest geniuses of Islam, and legend and poetry have woven about his name the imperishable garland of the *Arabian Nights*.

On the death of Al-Rashid, in the year 809, the succession was contested by his two sons, AL-AMIN and Al-Mamoun. The former obtained the throne and held it for four years. But his brother grew in favor and power, and when in 813 the issue came to be settled by the sword, Al-Amin was killed and AL-MAMOUN took the Caliphate. He entered upon his administration by adopting the policy of his father, especially as it related to the encouragement of learning. The chief towns of the East were made the seats of academic instruction and philosophy. Many important works were translated from the Greek and the Sanskrit. From the Hindus were obtained the rudiments of the mathematical sciences, especially those of arithmetic and algebra. Ancient Chaldæa gave to the inquisitive scholars of the age her wealth of star-lore; while the elements of logic, natural history, and the Aristotelian system of philosophy were brought in from the Archipelago and Constantinople.

As a warrior Al-Mamoun was less distinguished. In his country, as in the West, a

disruptive force began to appear in the government, and many of the provinces, remote from the center of the Empire, regained their independence. Indeed, near the close of his reign, the disintegration became alarming; and when the government passed by his death, in the year 833, to his brother *AL-MOTASSEM*, the Empire seemed on the verge of dissolution. The latter sovereign received the name of the Octonary, for he had fought *eight* victorious battles with the enemies of Islam.¹ His reign, however, is chiefly notable for the fact that at this time the Seljukian Turks began to be a powerful element both in the armies and government of the Caliphate. The Seljuk soldiers surpassed in courage and vigor any others who ranged themselves under the Crescent. During the siege of Amorium, in Phrygia, in the year 838, in which the army of the Emperor Theophilus was environed by the Mohammedans, it was the Turkish cavalry that dealt the most terrible blows to the Greeks. Thirty thousand of the Christians were taken captive and reduced to slavery, and other thirty thousand were slaughtered on the field. From this time forth, the Turks were received into the capital. They became the guards of the Caliph's palace, and it was not long until they held the same relation to the government as did the prætorian cohort six hundred years before to the Imperial household in Rome. It was estimated that by the middle of the ninth century there were fully fifty thousand Turks in Baghdad.

This new and dangerous patronage of the Caliphate bestowed on a race of lawless foreigners, warlike, restless, and audacious, became in a short time the bane of the Mohammedan countries. Even during the reign of Motassem, who was the Edward Confessor of the East, the quarrels of his Turkish guards with the native inhabitants of Baghdad produced so great turbulence and rioting in the city that the Emperor was constrained to retire with his favorites to Samara on the

Tigris, about forty miles distant from the capital and there establish a new royal residence. The Caliph *MOTAWAKKEL*, next after *VATHIEK*, son of Motassem, still further encouraged the Turkish ascendancy until the guards, having come to prefer the Prince *MONTASSER*, son of the Caliph, murdered their master and set up the youth in his stead. The latter enjoyed or suffered the fruits of his crime no more than six months, when the same power that had created, destroyed him, and set up his brother *MOSTAIN*, who reigned until 866. From this time until the close of the century, four other obscure Caliphs—*MOTAZ*, *MOHTADI*, *MOTAMED* and *MOTADHED*—succeeded each other in rapid succession in the Caliphate. The following century was occupied with nine additional reigns, being those of *Moktafi I.*, *Moktader*, *Kuher*, *Khadi*, *Mottaki*, *Mostakfi*, *Mothi*, *Tai*, and *Kader*. Except in a special history of the Eastern Caliphate, but little interest would be added to the general annals of mankind by reciting in detail the bloody and criminal progress of events on the Tigris and in Asia Minor.

In the following—the tenth—century the ascendancy of the Seljukian Turks became more and more pronounced, and their intolerable domination was felt and resented almost equally by the more quiet Mohammedans of the south-west districts of the Caliphate and by the Christians who, especially in the Holy Land, were subjected to every humiliation and barbarity which the Seljuks could well invent. This circumstance, viewed from the Asiatic standpoint, was the antecedent condition of that fierce turmoil of excitement and wrath which spread through Western Europe in the latter half of the eleventh century and broke out in the wild flame of the Crusades.

Meanwhile the Crescent still floated over Spain. For in the great proscription of the Ommyyades a royal youth, named *ABDERRAHMAN*, son of *Merwan II.*, escaped the rage of the Abbassides and fled into Western Africa. From thence he made his way into Spain, where, on the coast of Andalusia, he was saluted with the acclamations of the people. He was hailed by all parties as the lineal descendant and rightful successor of the great Ommyyah, and therefore entitled to reign over the western followers of the Prophet. After

¹ According to the Arab chroniclers, Motassem was an exceedingly eight-fold sovereign. He was the eighth of the Abbassides. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He left eight sons, eight daughters, eight thousand slaves, and eight millions of gold.

a brief struggle with the contending factions, under the leadership of rival emirs, he was elevated to the throne of Cordova, and thus, in 756, was established the Ommiyad dynasty in the Western Caliphate.

While these movements were taking place south of the Pyrenees, the Mohammedans were gradually expelled from their foothold in the North and driven back into Spain. The triumph of the Franks, however, was as advantageous to the Mohammedans as to themselves. A mountain barrier was established between the two races, and the Islamites were left on the southern slope to concentrate their energies and develop into nationality.

At first the head of the Eastern Caliphate relished not the idea of the independence of Spain. On the contrary, it was determined to make a strenuous effort to subject the Caliphate of Cordova to the scepter of Baghdad. One of the Abbasside lieutenants was sent into Spain with a fleet and army, but was overthrown in battle and slain by Abderrahman. The Caliph Al-Mansour at length came to understand that it was best for his rival to be left undisturbed in the West, lest his dangerous energies should be turned against himself. By the time of the accession of Charlemagne, the Caliphate of Cordova had already grown so much in solidity and strength as to become a formidable power with which to contend, even to the king of the Franks. The meager success, or positive unsuccess, of Charlemagne's expedition against Saragossa has already been narrated in the preceding Book.

Much of the glory of the Arabian civilization in Spain must be referred to the greatness of Abderrahman and his reign. To him the city of Cordova was indebted for the most magnificent of her mosques, of which structure the Caliph himself was the designer. He also it was who planted the first palm-tree in Cordova, and from that original all the palms of Spain are said to be descended. His immediate successors were HASHEM I., AL-HAKEM I., and ABDERRAHMAN II., whose reign extended to the year 852. The greatest of the House after the founder was ABDERRAHMAN III., who in the beginning of the tenth century occupied the throne for forty-nine years. The whole Ommiyad Dynasty in Spain em-

braced the reigns of twenty-two Caliphs and extended to the year 1031, when Hashem III. was deposed by a revolution having its origin in the army. During this time Spain, under the patronage of the Mohammedans, made greater progress in civilization than at any period before or since. Agriculture and commerce were promoted. Science and art flourished, and institutions of learning were established, the fame of which extended from Ireland to Constantinople, and drew within their walls a host of students from almost every country in Europe. It was from this source that the fundamentals of scholarship were deduced by the uncultured Christians north of the Apennines and the Alps. The language and customs of the Moors became predominant in the peninsula, and during the latter half of the eighth and the whole of the ninth century there was little disposition to dispute the excellence of the Mohammedan institutions which spread and flourished under the patronage of the Cordovan Caliphs.

In the course of time, however, the relative power of the Cross and the Crescent in Spain began to be reversed. About the beginning of the eleventh century, the dissensions and strife which prevailed in the Caliphate of Cordova gave opportunity for the growth of the Christian states in the north-western part of the peninsula. Here, in the mountainous district of Oviedo, under Pelayo and Alfonso I., the dominion of the Cross was considerably extended. Portions of Leon and Castile were added to Oviedo by conquest, and thus was planted the kingdom of Asturias. Under Ordone II. the kingly residence was transferred to Leon, and that city henceforth gave the name to the Christian kingdom. Meanwhile, on the Upper Ebro and Pisuerga, arose the kingdom of Castile. In this region there had always been preserved a remnant of independence, even since the days of the Mohammedan conquest. Until the year 961 Castile was in some sense a dependency of Leon. At that date Fernando Gonzales appeared, and the people of Castile, under his leadership, gained and kept their freedom. In 1037 Ferdinand I. reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, and the combined states soon became the most powerful in Spain.

While these events were in progress north

of the strait of Gibraltar a new line of Caliphs was established in Africa. This dynasty is known as the African Fatimites; for the founder of the house was a certain Abu, claiming to be the son of Obeidallah, a descendant of Fatima. The dynasty was founded in the year 909 and continued during the reigns of fourteen Caliphs to the death of Adhed in 1171. But the Fatimites of Africa did not display the energies which were exhibited by their contemporaries at Baghdad and Cordova, and civilization, which made such rapid progress in Spain, was as much as

liphate was given up to luxury. That monarch is said to have left behind him a treasure of thirty million pounds sterling, and this vast sum was consumed in a few years on the vices and ambitions of his successors. His son Mahdi is said to have squandered six million dinars of gold during a single pilgrimage to Mecca. His camels were laden with packages of snow gathered from the mountains of Armenia, and the natives of Mecca were astonished to see the white and cooling crystals dissolving in the wines or sprinkled on the fruits of the royal worshippers. Al-Ma-



THE ALHAMBRA.

ever retarded in the states south of the Mediterranean.

Of the three or four divisions of the Mohammedan power during the Middle Ages the most splendid and luxurious was the Caliphate of Baghdad; the most progressive, the kingdom of Cordova. In the latter realm it was intellectual culture and architectural grandeur that demanded the applause of the age; while in the East a certain Oriental magnificence attracted the attention of travelers and historians. In their capital on the Tigris the Abbassides soon forgot the temperate life and austere manners of the early apostles of Islam. They were attracted rather by the splendor of the Persian kings. As early as the reign of Al-Mansour the court of the Ca-

liphate was given up to luxury. That monarch is said to have given away two million four hundred dinars of gold "before he drew his foot from the stirrup." On the occasion of the marriage of that prince a thousand pearls of largest size were showered on the head of the bride. In the times of Muktader the army of the Caliphate numbered a hundred and sixty thousand men. The officers were arrayed in splendid apparel. Their belts were ornamented with gems and gold. Seven thousand eunuchs and seven hundred doorkeepers were a part of the governmental retinue. On the Tigris might be seen superbly decorated boats floating like gilded swans. In the palace were thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry. Among the ornaments of the royal house was a tree wrought of gold and

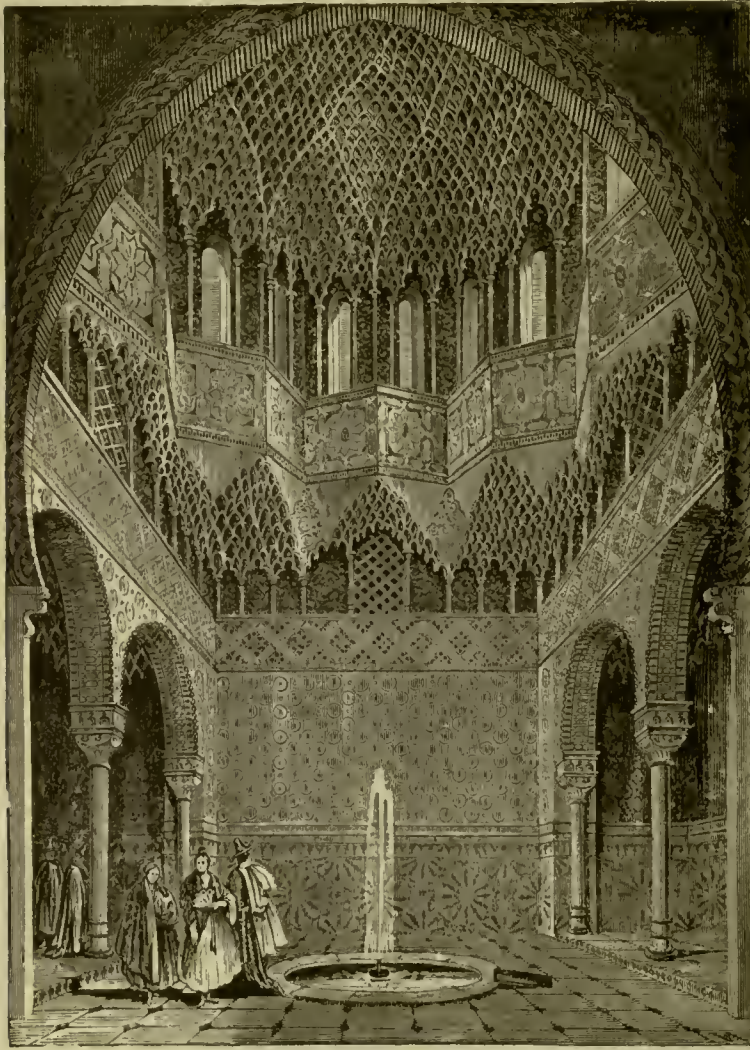
silver with eighteen spreading branches. On these were placed a variety of artificial song-birds, which were made to twitter their native notes.

Though less gorgeous in their displays than the Abbasside monarchs, the Caliphs of Cordova displayed with not a little pomp the

was incrustated with gold and pearls, and the great basin in the center was surrounded with life-like effigies of birds and beasts.

Not less was the magnificence displayed in the famous residence of the Moorish kings at Granada. This celebrated structure, known as the ALHAMBRA, has (though partly in ruins) remained to our day one of the wonders of the modern world. In its structure nothing that could contribute to the security and gratification of man or woman seems to have been omitted. The grandest apartment was known as the Hall of Lions, for in the midst was a great marble and alabaster fountain supported by lions and ornamented with arabesques. In the Hall of Abencerrages the ceiling was of cedar inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, and silver. The coloring was exquisite and beautiful, and even at the present day, after the lapse of more than five hundred years, the brilliant tints flash down upon the beholder as though they were the work of the highest art of yesterday.

In other parts of the Caliphate the glories of Mohammedan civilization were displayed in almost equal splendor.



HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES, ALHAMBRA.

regal glories of Ommiyah. Abderrahman III. built near the capital the splendid palace and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years was the magnificent structure a-building, and three millions of pounds were consumed in the work. The most skillful sculptors and architects of the age were brought to Cordova to the end that the palace might want nothing in splendor. Within the hall of audience

For more than five centuries the city of Seville revealed in her progress and adornments the energies and genius of Islam. The population rose to three hundred thousand souls. Perhaps no tower in all the Moslem empires surpassed in grandeur the GIRALDA of Seville, from whose summit the muezzin was wont to call to prayer the followers of the Prophet. This noble

structure was two hundred and fifty feet in height, and illustrated the beauties of arabesque architecture in its best estate. Of the other edifices of the city the most noted was the famous Moorish castle called the **ALCAZAR**, which was the residence of the prince of the city, and was in many respects equal in architectural excellence to the **Alhambra** itself.

While the greater part of Spain was thus dominated by the Moors, the Christians still maintained their hold in the north-western part of the peninsula. The kings of Leon and Castile, during the eleventh century made some valorous attempts to advance their frontiers and to reestablish the Cross. Of these sovereigns the most distinguished were Sancho II. and his brother Alphonso. To this epoch belonged the exploits of the hero, **RODRIGO DIAZ**, commonly known as the **CID**, the most valorous Christian warrior of his time. In the country below the Pyrenees he was, for a season, a sort of **Richard Lion Heart**, whose battle-axe was well-nigh as terrible to the Moors as was that of Plantagenet in Palestine. He made war in the name of his sovereign against the Arab governors of Spain, and marked his way with havoc. He overthrew the Kadi of Valencia, took the

province for his own, and, if tradition may be believed, gave orders that his captive adversary should suffer death by fire. Scarcely less famous was his wife, the Princess **Donna**



THE GIRALDA OF SEVILLE.

Ximena, who accompanied him on his expeditions, and was, after his death, his successor in the palace of Valencia.

Such in brief is a sketch in outline of the character and progress of the Mohammedan

states during the Middle Ages. Let us now, before beginning a history of the Crusades, consider in a few brief paragraphs the rise and

condition was the peninsular and insular kingdom of DENMARK. The earliest of the population of this region appear to have been the



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE.

early development of the kingdoms of Northern Europe.

Among the earliest of the Northern states to make some progress toward the civilized

Cimbri, who held the country as early as the close of the second century. This race, however, was afterwards overrun by the Goths, who gained possession of Jutland shortly after

the downfall of the Western Empire of the Romans. The great Gothic chieftain Skiold, son of Woden, led his countrymen on this in-

vasion, and became the first king of the country. Denmark remained under Gothic auspices through the sixth and seventh centuries, and



THE CID ORDERS THE EXECUTION OF THE KADL

Drawn by A. de Neville.

it was during this period that the national character was differentiated from that of the other Teutonic tribes. The people became *Danes*, the fathers of the Northmen who in the ninth century, jostled from their native seats by the fierce and long-continued wars waged by Charlemagne upon the Northern nations, took to the sea in their pagan barges, became pirates and hunters of men, and made all Western Europe red by night with the glare of their burnings. They fell upon England and gained possession of the island, proving themselves the equals, if not the superiors, of the warlike Anglo-Saxons. In the ninth century the different states of Denmark were consolidated into a single monarchy. In the year 1000 Norway was added to the kingdom, and in 1013 the greater part of England was gained by the conquests of Sweyn. Three years afterwards Canute the Great reigned over the entire Island, as well as his paternal kingdom. It was at this epoch that Christianity was carried by the missionaries to the Danes, who were finally induced to abandon paganism.

About the time of the political separation of England and Denmark in 1042 the influence of the latter kingdom among the Northern nations somewhat declined. Gradually the Feudal system made its way to the North, and the political power of Denmark underwent the same process of dissolution by which Germany, France, and England were transformed into a new condition. The Danish barons quarreled with their sovereign, went to war, and gained the same sort of independence which the nobles of the South attained under the Capetian kings. Not until 1387 did Queen Margaret, called the Semiramis of the North, arise, and, by the union of Denmark and Norway, restore the old-time prerogatives of the crown. As the widow of Haco, daughter of Waldemar III., and descendant of Canute the Great, she claimed the triple crown of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and these three powers were united under her sway by the Treaty of Calmar in 1397.

The kingdom of NORWAY has the same mythical origin with that of Denmark. Prior to the seventh century, the history of the country rests wholly on myth and tradition. The first kings were reputed to be the descend-

ants of Woden, the first of the line bearing the name of Sœming. After him came Nor, out of Finland, and established himself on the site of the modern city of Drontheim. From this foothold, gained in the fourth century, he made war upon the neighboring tribes and reduced them to submission. Not, however, until the middle of the ninth century do we come to the actual dawn of Norwegian history. The great Harold Harfager, or the Fair Hair, came to the throne and reduced the petty chieftains of the country to submission. Love was the impelling motive of his conquests. For the beautiful Gyda, daughter of the Earl of Hardaland, vowed to wed him not until he had made himself king of all Norway. The Norse noblemen whom he overthrew took to sea and found in the exhilarating pursuits of piracy an oblivion for their losses. After Harfager, his son Haco, surnamed the Good, who had been educated at the court of Athelstane, king of England, reigned in his father's stead. Under his patronage the Christian monks traversed Norway, and the strongholds of paganism yielded under the influence of their teachings. Olaf I. came to the throne in the year 995, and continued the work begun by the monks. Pagan temples were destroyed, and churches built on their ashes.

This king also laid the foundations of Drontheim, which soon became the most flourishing of the Norwegian cities. Under Olaf, Denmark and Norway were involved in war. The king of the latter country was killed in battle, and Norway was overrun by the Swedes and Danes. In 1015 King Olaf II. signalized his zeal for the new faith by a bitter persecution of the pagans. Thirteen years later, Canute the Great landed on the Norwegian coast, dethroned and defeated Olaf, and was himself chosen king of the country. In 1030 the deposed king attempted to regain the throne, but was overthrown and slain in the battle of Stikklestad. The national cause, however, was revived by Magnus I., son of Olaf II., who succeeded in driving Sweyn, the successor of Canute, out of the kingdom. In 1047 Harold III., surnamed Hardrada, made an invasion of England, where he captured York, but was afterwards defeated and killed in the battle of Stamford Bridge. During the reign of his grandson Magnus III. (1093—

1103), the Isle of Man, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides were overrun by the Danes. Ireland was invaded, and there Magnus was slain in battle. His son Sigurd I. became the Scandinavian hero of the Crusades, and his exploits against the Moors in Spain, as well as in Palestine, were the subject of many an epic ballad of the North.

Of the primitive history of SWEDEN but few authentic scraps have been preserved. Tradition relates that, when Woden with an army of Swedes entered the country, he found it already in possession of the Goths, who had previously expelled the Lapps and Finns. At the first Woden ruled over only the central portion, but under his successors the remainder was conquered before the eighth century. As early as 829, Ansgar, a monk of Corbie, visited Sweden, and made the first converts to Christianity. Paganism, however, held its ground for more than a century, and it was not until the reign of Olaf Skotkonung that a regular bishopric was established at Skara.

When the Swedes took possession of the land to which they gave their name, the Goths were permitted to remain in the country. No union, however, was for many centuries effected between the two races, and innumerable feuds and frequent civil wars fill up the annals of the times. It was not until the accession of Waldemar, in the year 1250, that a political union was accomplished between the hostile peoples.

The authentic history of RUSSIA begins at a period somewhat later than that of the Scandinavian nations. There is a sense, however, in which the statement may be reversed, for the tribes inhabiting the vast region now included under the name of Russia were better known to the Greeks and Romans than were those of the Baltic provinces. The names Seythian and Sarmatian are sufficiently familiar as the tribal epithets by which the peoples of the great north-eastern steppes were designated.

During the great ethnic movements of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries Russia was the principal field on which and over which the powerful nations of Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars, and Bulgarians marshaled their hosts

for the subjugation of the West. At a later period the *Slavonic* tribes first appeared on the scene—unless, indeed, these were the descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. Their first impact was upon the Finns, whom they drove from their native seats. Many, however, remained, and were blended with the dominant Slavs. From this union and amalgamation sprang the modern Russians.

Soon after the Slavic tribes gained the ascendancy they founded the towns of Novgorod and Kiev, which became the capitals of the



RURIC THE GREAT.

two divisions of the country. In the course of a century the former principality was invaded by the Rus out of the North, and both Slavs and Finns were reduced to a tributary relation. Several times the Slavic tribes revolted; but finally, despairing of success, they invited the great Rus prince, RURIC, to come to Novgorod and be their king. In the year 862 he came with his brothers Sinaf and Truver, and then and there was founded the Russian Empire.

From this time until nearly the middle of the eleventh century the family of Ruric occupied the throne. On the death of the great

chieftain, in 879, the succession passed to his cousin Oleg, who reigned for twenty-three years. During this time the principality of Kiev was conquered and added to that of Novgorod. The Khazars between the Dnieper and the Caspian were also subdued, and the Magyars were driven out of Russia in the direction of Hungary. Oleg next made war on the Byzantine Empire, and pressed upon the Greeks with such force that in 911 the Emperor was obliged to consent



VLADIMIR.

to a peace in every way advantageous to the Rus.

After the death of Oleg, in the following year, Igor, son of Ruric, came to the throne, and reigned for thirty-three years. His career was that of a warrior. He first put down a revolt of the Drevlians on the Pripet, and then vanquished the Petchenegs, who had their seats on the shores of the Black Sea. Afterwards, in 941, he engaged in a war with the Greek Emperor, but was less successful than his predecessor. In a second conflict with the Drevlians he was defeated and slain, and the crown passed to his son Sviatoslav, under the regency of Olga, his mother. This

princess became a convert to Christianity, and the new faith gained a footing at Kiev.

The Emperor, however, remained a pagan, and devoted himself to war. He made campaigns against the same nations that had felt the sword of his father and grandfather. The Bulgarians also were at one time his enemies, and were defeated in battle. While returning from an unsuccessful expedition against the Greeks of Constantinople Sviatoslav was attacked and killed by the Petchenegs, through whose country he was passing. On his death, in 972, the Empire, which was now extended to the sea of Azov, was divided among his three sons, Yaropolk, Oleg, and Vladimir. The first received Kiev, the second the country of the Drevlians, and the third Novgorod. The brothers soon quarreled and went to war. Oleg was slain and Vladimir fled. Yaropolk gained possession of the whole country, but Vladimir gathered the Rus tribes to his standard, returned against his brother, put him to death, and secured the Empire for himself. He then conquered Red Russia, Lithuania, and Livonia. He became a Christian, married the sister of the Greek Emperor, and received the title of the Great. Under his influence and example Russia turned from paganism to Christianity. Churches rose on every hand; schools were founded, and new cities gave token that the night of barbarism was lifting from the great power of the North.

Vladimir left twelve sons to contend for the crown. On his death civil war broke out among them, and several of the claimants were slain. At length Sviatopolk, son of Yaropolk, himself an adopted son of Vladimir, hewed his way to the throne over the bodies of three of his foster brothers. Yaroslav, one of the surviving sons of the late Emperor, allied himself with Henry II. of Germany and returned to the contest. The struggle continued until 1019, when a decisive battle was fought, in which Sviatopolk was signally defeated. He fled from the field and died on his way to Poland. After this crisis the Empire was divided between Yaroslav and Metislav, but the latter presently died, and the former became sole ruler of Russia.

To this epoch belong the beginnings of art

and learning in the Northern Empire. The works of the Greeks began to be translated into Slavic. Learned institutions were founded in various cities, and scholars were patronized and honored. The Russian customs and usages were compiled into a code of laws, and amicable relations were established with foreign states. Three of the daughters of Yaroslav were taken in marriage by the kings of Norway, Hungary, and France—a clear recognition of the rank of the new Russian Empire among the kingdoms of the earth.

In the year 1051 Yaroslav established the succession on his son Izaslav, but portions of the Empire were to go to the three brothers of the heir expectant. They were to acknowledge the eldest as their sovereign. In the same year the Emperor died, and the four brothers took the inheritance. The result was that the unity of the Empire was broken. Each of the rulers became independent; the feudal principle came in, and Russia was reduced to a confederation. Thus weakened, the frontiers were successfully assailed by the Poles, Lithuanians, Danes, and Teutonic barons. Such was the condition of affairs when Europe forgot her own turmoils and sorrows in a common animosity against the Infidels of the East.

In close ethnic affinity with the Russians were the primitive Slavic tribes of POLAND. Of these peoples the most numerous and powerful were the Polans, who ultimately gave a name to the amalgamated race. The mythical hero of this branch of European population was Prince Lech, brother to Rus and Czech, so that tradition as well as history associates the Poles and the Russians. Another fabulous leader was Krukus, the reputed founder of Cracow. The first historical ruler of Poland was Ziemowit, who was elected king in 860.

But the annals of the first century of Poland are very obscure, and it is not until 962 that we reach the solid ground of authenticity with the accession of Miecislav I. This prince took in marriage a Bohemian princess, by whom he was induced to become a Christian and to urge upon his people the abandonment of paganism. In common with so many other rulers of his times he adopted the

fatal policy of dividing his kingdom among his sons. Civil wars and turmoils ensued until what time Boleslas, the eldest of the claimants, subdued his brothers and regained the sovereignty of all Poland. He received the surname of the Brave, and vindicated his title by successful wars beyond the Oder, the Dnieister, and the Carpathian mountains. His right to reign was acknowledged by the Emperor Otho III., but at a later date he engaged in war with Otho's successor, Henry II. Afterwards he was called into Russia as arbi-



YAROSLAV.

ter between Novgorod and Kiev. In the civil administration he was still more successful than in war. He encouraged the industrial and commercial enterprises of the kingdom and promoted the cause of learning. He held his turbulent subjects with a strong hand and administered justice with impartiality. He assumed the state of a king, and had himself crowned by the Christian bishops. On his death, in the year 1025, the Polish crown descended peaceably to his son Miecislav II., whose brief reign was followed by the regency of his widow Rixa; for the Prince Casimir, her son, was not yet old enough to assume

the duties of the government. The regency went badly, but when Casimir arrived at the regal age he took upon himself the crown and gained the sobriquet of the Restorer.

In the year 1058 the Polish king died, and was succeeded by his son Boleslas II., who reigned for twenty-three years. Soon after his accession he became involved in a war with the Bohemians, over whom he gained a decisive victory. Afterwards he was summoned into Hungary to decide a dispute relative to the crown of that country, and a like mission to Kiev was successfully accomplished. Returning from that city he acquired in his

own government the reputation of a tyrant. At last he filled the cup of public indignation by slaying St. Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who had reprimanded him for some of his acts. He was driven from the throne, and in 1081 died in exile. His half-imbecile brother, Ladislas Herman, succeeded to the crown of Poland, wore it for a season, and then abdicated to accept the less dangerous distinction of a dukedom.—Such was the condition of Polish affairs when Urban II., pursuing the policy of Gregory the Great, summoned the council of Clermont and exhorted all Christendom to lift the Cross against the Crescent.





MAP XII
**CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS
 IN THE EAST**

By A. von Steinwehr.
 From Thalheimer's *Medieval and Modern History*,
 by permission.

Scale
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Mls.



Book Fifth.

THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE UPRISING OF EUROPE.



THAT great movement of mediæval society known as the CRUSADES was the first European event. That is, the agitation involved all Europe, territorially, socially, religiously,

politically. Hitherto the various enterprises which had filled the annals of the West since the subversion of the Roman Empire had lacked the general character. They had been local—peculiar to some particular state or nation. At last the time arrived when every people west of the Bosphorus was moved by a common sentiment, impelled to action by a common motive. As far as the Cross was adored, as far as the Crescent was hated, so far was the proclamation heeded which called all christendom to unsheath the avenging sword against the Infidels.

Not only were the Crusades a European event—the first of modern times—but they were the first *national* event in the several states of the West. The condition of Europe during the Feudal Ascendency has already been delineated. Continental unity had been a delusive dream of Charlemagne. National

unity was a vision, a hope, rather than a reality. Europe parted into kingdoms; kingdoms, into dukedoms; dukedoms, into counties; counties, into petty fiefs. The dissolution was universal. Common interests ceased. Any thing that might properly be defined as national or European was impossible. The break-up was to the very bottom of the social fabric.

Even in the darkest age of the world there is something in the nature of man which revives, expands, develops. So it was in the time of the feudal dissolution of society. Humanity made sufficient progress to demand a common interest. Only the cause, the occasion, was wanting to call together the discordant and belligerent elements and unite them in a universal enterprise.

An outrage—a series of outrages—done to the religious sentiment of Europe furnished the opportunity and motive of action. Mutual hatred had long existed between the Christians and the Mohammedans. The latter aforetime had done incalculable damage to the prospects of the Cross. All that the missionaries and evangelists had accomplished in Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, and Northern

Africa, had been eradicated by the followers of the Prophet. The triumphant Crescent was carried into Spain, and the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths went down before it. The system of Christianity seemed on the verge of extinction. Only Martel and his line of battle-axes stood between the tottering Cross and apparent doom.

When at last the tide rolled back and the Pyrenees became the *Thus far* to Islam, a deep-seated resentment took possession of the mind of Barbarian Europe. An instinct of revenge postponed lay deep in the sea-bed of European purpose. The West said in her heart, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." When with the coming of the eleventh century the prophetic *Dies Iræ* went by, and the Christians came to see that the drama of the world was not yet ended, the recollection of the old feud with the Mohammedans came back with redoubled violence. Europe—she that trembled under the shadow of impending fate—found time and occasion to gratify her passions and animosities as of old.

All ages and peoples have had their scapegoats. The meanness and barbaric gloom of human nature have always found something which they might rend and tear with popular approval. The eleventh century discovered its common enemy in the Infidel Turk. In him were concentrated all the objective conditions of hatred. To destroy him and eradicate his stock from the earth was the one work worthy of the praise of man and the favor of heaven.

The thoughtful reader of the preceding pages will already have discovered the antecedent conditions or causes of the Crusades. The most general of these was the long-suspended reaction of Christian Europe against Mohammedan Asia. In the eighth century Islam struck the West a staggering blow. As a result of the conquests of Taric and Abdalrahman, Spain was severed from her natural affinities and brought into relations with the Asiatic states. The Spanish Crescent continued for centuries a flaunting menace to the followers of Christ. The movement of the Mohammedans westward through Africa and northward into Europe in the eighth century was answered by the counter-movement of the Christians eastward through Europe and into

Asia in the eleventh. The sword of the living Godfrey was crossed with that of the dead Taric.

The more immediate and specific causes of the uprising of the Christians against the Infidels were to be found in the condition of affairs in the Holy Land. About the year 1050 the great sultan Togrul Beg, grandson of that Seljuk who gave his name to one division of the Turkish race, came out of the Northeast, overran Khorassan and other provinces of Persia, and in 1055 took possession of Baghdad. His apparition, however, was that of a revolutionist rather than a conqueror. He and his followers were already disciples of Islam, and on assuming authority in the Eastern Caliphate he took the usual title of Commander of the Faithful. In 1063 he died and was succeeded by his equally famous nephew Alp Arslan, or the Valiant Lion. He continued the warlike policy of his predecessor, drove back the Byzantine Greeks, and captured the Emperor, Romanus Diogenes. He carried his victorious arms from Antioch to the Black Sea, and then turning about planned an expedition against Turkestan, the native seat of his race. Having crossed the Oxus and taken the first fortress in his route, he was assassinated by the governor of the town. The sultanate passed to his son Malek Shah, who transferred the capital of the East to Ispahan. Renewing the unfinished enterprise of his father and grandfather, he extended the Seljukian dominion from the borders of China to the Bosphorus.

In the course of these triumphant campaigns of the Seljuks they came upon Palestine. This province was at the time an appanage of the Caliphate of Cairo, now under the rule of those wild-mannered African Fatimites, successors of Abu Obsidallah. About the year 1076 Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, and the Fatimite governors were obliged to retire into Egypt. The Holy City fell under the dominion of the viceroys of Malek Shah, who instituted a high revel of violence and outrage against both Christians and Arabs.

For many years the fanatic religious sentiment of the West had prescribed a pilgrimage to some holy place as the best balm for an inflamed conscience. The morbid soul of

the Western Frank saw in the sandal-shoon and scallop-shell of the pilgrim the emblems and passport of a better life. He who had sinned, he who had consumed his youth in lawlessness and passion, he who had in his manhood done some bloody deed for which he was haunted by specters, he who had forgotten the ties of kindred and stopped his ears to the entreaties of the weak, must ere the twilight faded into darkness find peace and reconciliation by throwing off the insignia of human power and folly and going bare-foot to the holy places of the East. And what other spot so sacred, so meritorious, as the scene of the crucifixion and burial of Christ?

Pilgrimages abounded. The paths of Asia Minor were thronged with those who made their way to and from the Holy Sepulcher. Around that Tomb of tombs knelt the devout believers from every state of christendom. Jerusalem was the Mecca of Europe. What, therefore, was the horror of the followers of Christ when the news was borne abroad that the Seljuk dogs, who had supplanted the Fatimites in the Holy City, were spurning and spitting upon the lowly at the very tomb of their Lord?—Such was the condition of affairs in Palestine as the eleventh gloomy century of our era drew to its dreary close.

Great was the terror inspired in the Byzantine emperors by the conquests of the Turks. Alp Arslan had waved his defiant banners almost in sight of Constantinople. The degenerate successors of the Cæsars quaked in their capital. In their agitation they looked abroad for help. Could they induce the barbarous West to come to their rescue? Would the successor of St. Peter heed their cry? Perhaps if the Pope were allured with the prospect of gaining an unquestioned recognition as the head of christendom—even of Eastern christendom—he would call the Italians, the Franks, the Germans, to the defense of the capital of the East. Such were the sentiments which moved the Greek Emperor to send an embassy to Gregory VII., and to implore that ambitious potentate to rally the armies of Europe against the Infidels.

Meanwhile the pious monk of Savona, Peter of Picardy, came home from Palestine, reciting with fervid and pathetic eloquence the

story of the intolerable outrages to which the Christian pilgrims were subjected. He himself had received brutal insults at the hands of the savage Turks. Into his ears the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem had poured a tale of horror. Christ was put to shame. His name was blasphemed. His lowly children were beaten, mocked, trampled under foot by the base and bloody-minded followers of the false Prophet. Under this recital Europe began to quake with the premonitory shudder of the great upheaval. In this condition of affairs the Greek Emperor saw the prospect of rescue and support. Urban II. saw the way open by which he was to confound his enemies and carry forward the ambitious plans of his great predecessor. The secular rulers of Europe saw an opportunity to recover from the feudal barons the lost prerogatives of royalty. The priests and bishops saw the promotion and glory of the Church; and the ignorant zealot saw in the gore of the Moslems smeared on sword-blade and Cross the element of purification and peace.

The council of Piacenza, held in the summer of 1095, was quickly followed by that of Clermont. Meanwhile Peter the Hermit had gone from town to town, from church to church, preaching the holy war. France took fire. The feudal settlements were all ablaze. Lord, retainer, and peasant all caught the spirit of the inflammatory appeal. Crowds followed at the Hermit's heels. They bowed down and kissed the hem of his garment. They plucked hairs as precious mementos *from the mane of his mule!* His fame spread throughout the continent, and even in insular England the barons of William Rufus shared the excitement of their friends in Normandy.

When the time came for the great council convened by the Pope, Clermont was like a vast camp. Three hundred bishops were present. Thousands of priests flocked to the assembly. Multitudes gathered from all the surrounding states. Pope Urban braved the cold and fatigue of a journey across the Alps, and came in person to preside over the council. Princes, prelates, and ambassadors thronged to the scene, and caught the common spirit. The messages from Alexius, Emperor of the East, were read to the multitude. The Pope was warned of the peril to Constantinople, and of

the incalculable loss to Christendom if that city should fall into the hands of the Turks. The secular princes were exhorted to rise for the sake of the Cross, for the sake of the rich rewards which the Emperor was able to bestow, and for the sake of Greek women whose charms would be freely yielded to those who became their champions against the infidel dogs of Asia.

On the tenth day of the council the meeting was held in the great square of Clermont. The Pope, accompanied by the cardinals, and Peter the Hermit, ascended a throne and made a pathetic address to the people. His Holiness said :

“Christian warriors, rejoice! for you who without ceasing seek vain pretext for war have to-day found true ones. You are not now called to avenge the injuries of men, but injuries offered to God. It is not now a town or castle that will reward your valor, but the wealth of Asia, and a land flowing with milk and honey. If you triumph over your foes the kingdoms of the East will be your heritage. If you are conquered you will have the glory of dying where Christ died. This is the time to prove that you are animated by a true courage, and to expiate so many violences committed in the bosom of peace. When Christ summons you to his defense let no base affections detain you at home. Listen to nothing but the groans of Jerusalem, and remember that the Lord has said, ‘He that will not take up his cross and follow me, is unworthy of me.’ Gird your swords to your thighs, ye men of might. It is our part to pray, yours to do battle; ours—with Moses—to hold up unwearied hands, yours to stretch forth the sword against the children of Amalek.”

Then it was that the surging mass arose in their enthusiastic rage, and the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut! Dieu le Veut!* resounded like the voice of many waters. “God indeed wills it,” responded the Pope. “Go forth, brave warriors of the Cross, and let ‘God wills it’ be your watchword and battle-cry in the holy war.” Such was the tumultuous scene in which the Crusades were first formally proclaimed.

As soon as the loud cry of *Dieu le Veut* was hushed at a gesture from the Pope, one of the cardinals arose and pronounced a form of confession for all those who would enlist in the holy enterprise. Thereupon, Adhemar, bishop

of Puy, came forward and received from the hands of Urban one of the red crosses which had been consecrated for the occasion. Knights and barons crowded around the seat of his Holiness to receive the sacred badge and to take the oath of loyalty to Christ. The cross of red cloth was then stitched upon the right shoulder of the mantle, and the wearer became a soldier of the Cross—a *Crusader*.¹

As soon as the council of Clermont was dissolved those who had participated in its proceedings dispersed to their several provinces to rouse the people and to prepare for the advance on Palestine. Everywhere they were received with applause and enthusiasm. Urban II. traversed France, and the people gathered from far and wide to hear the story of the sorrows of Jerusalem. Already France resounded with the din of preparation. Men of every rank assumed the cross and demanded to be led against the defilers of the Holy Sepulcher. The more ignorant classes were profoundly agitated. The peasants surged to and fro and could scarcely be restrained from setting out in the dead of winter. Many of the nobles felt the spell and eagerly prepared for an expedition to the East. In order to secure the means of raising and equipping forces they borrowed money and mortgaged their estates. Men were thus enlisted and furnished, and by the beginning of 1096 a large army was gathered for the holy war.

From Scandinavia to the Mediterranean the Crusade was preached with a fiery zeal that kindled a flame in every village. In accordance with a canon of the Council of Clermont the taking of the cross was to be accepted in lieu of all the penances due to the church. The license thus granted was in the nature of a plenary indulgence and became one of the most powerful incitements to the cause. The peasant mind of Europe, long galled by ecclesiastical restraint, fired with the prospect of liberation, and the nobles were not proof against the same seductive motive. The bits were suddenly taken out of the mouth of Rapine, and the old pirate came up serenely with the red cross on his shoulder. All the warlike lusts of the age were set at liberty under the sanction of religion and retributive

¹The word crusade is derived from the French *croisade*, “a holy war,” from *croix*, a “cross.”

justice. The extravagant imaginations of traders and pilgrims painted in glowing colors the exhaustless treasures and rich provinces of

the opulent East, and to win these from the infidel Asiatics seemed to be the natural reward of all who would assume the cross.



PREACHING THE CRUSADE.—“DIEU LE VEUT!”

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The clergy were in the heyday of fanatical glory. All the world swayed to and fro under the magical scepter of Christ. The monks found a good excuse to leave their cloisters and share in the common activities of life. They beheld all the offices of religion suddenly elevated to a new respect and dignity. They saw themselves become the leaders of society, looked to as the arbiters of the common fate.

To no class did the crusade promise a fairer prospect than to the toil-burdened peasantry. To them it was an escape from bondage and oppression. Those who were in debt gladly threw off the burden by assuming the cross. The creditor might no longer menace or disturb those who had become the soldiers of Christ. Offenders and criminals also found the day auspicious. No prison wall might any longer restrain him who took the sword against the Infidel. Over the thief and the murderer on whose right shoulders appeared the sacred emblem of the holy war the church threw the ægis of her protection. All manner of crime was to be washed white in the blood of the sacrilegious Turks.

In the midst of the excitement of these scenes the Italian merchants began to build up a profitable commerce. It was necessary that Europe should be furnished the means of arming herself for the fray, and of supplying her armies with provisions for the war. Perhaps, of all the classes of society, the traders gained the most solid and permanent advantages from the great commotion. They became the factors and carriers of the time, and in many instances furnished the money with which the lords and vassals armed themselves and their retainers. From the very first a certain advantage was thus gained by the merchants and townspeople over the owners of estates and country folk, who became indebted to them for the means of joining the army of Crusaders.

The actual number of those who from the various ranks of society sprang up as if by a common impulse, took on the cross, and rallied at the call of Peter and his fellow apostles, can never be authentically ascertained. Certain it is that all Europe seemed to rise as if by a common impulse. By one of the ancient chroniclers the estimate is placed at six millions of persons. In an age when no au-

thentic records were kept, every thing was left to conjecture, but it is probable that after making due allowances for various delays and for the influence of returning reason, and for the thousand accidental causes which would operate to reduce the host, the number was not much short of that given above. For awhile it appeared that all Europe would be depopulated.

The eastern frontiers of France became the scene of the gathering. There Peter the Hermit, as the chief promoter of the enterprise, assumed the leadership of the host. Without adequate preparation, without suitable arms, without any appreciation of the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, the vast and tumultuous throng swept out of France and into Germany. The great sea of angry and excited humanity overflowed the ordinary routes of travel, and spread devastation on every hand. The means of subsistence were quickly exhausted, and the multitudes began to prey on the countries through which they traversed. They swept on through the German territories like an army of devouring locusts, until through sheer waste of resources they were obliged to divide into smaller masses.

One band numbering about twenty thousand, commanded by Walter the Penniless, of Burgundy, pressed forward through Hungary and Bulgaria in the direction of Constantinople. It is said of this advanced host that there were only eight horsemen in the whole number. The rest of the wretched mob proceeded on foot, generally marching without shoes and hundreds falling by the wayside through exposure, disease, and famine. Nothing but the tolerance and friendly disposition of Carloman, king of the Hungarians, saved the miserable vanguard from entire destruction. In Bulgaria, however, the lieutenant of the Eastern Emperor looked with less favor upon the lawless horde that had been precipitated into his kingdom. The Crusaders were quickly cut off from supplies and were obliged to have recourse to violence, but they now found themselves opposed by a race as savage as themselves.

The Bulgarians took up arms to defend their country from destruction. The track of Walter and his army was marked with blood and fire. The Crusaders were cut off day by

day until at the confines of the country only Walter and a few followers remained to make their way through the forests to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the second division of the host, numbering about forty thousand men, women, and children, under the command of Peter the Hermit himself, pressed on in the same direction taken by Walter. Their march was promoted through Hungary by the favor of king and people. The wants of the vast multitude were supplied, and friendly relations were maintained, as far as the city of Zemlin. Here on the walls were displayed some of the spoils which had been taken two months previously from Walter and his savages. On seeing these tokens of their friends' overthrow the Crusaders broke into ungovernable rage, and fell furiously upon the offending city. The ramparts were scaled, thousands of the people were butchered, and Zemlin suffered all the horrors of pillage and burning.

These atrocious proceedings aroused the anger even of King Carloman. He quickly gathered an army, and marched against the despoilers of his city. At his approach the Crusaders hastily withdrew from Zemlin, and made their escape by crossing the river Save. On the opposite bank, however, they were furiously attacked by the wild Bulgarians, who had gathered to dispute their passage. The savage people were driven back by the desperate Crusaders, who, though they thus forced a way before them, found solitude on every hand. The Bulgarians withdrew into their fastnesses or shut themselves in fortified towns, from which they could not be dislodged. Peter and his followers were thus left to the mercy of the elements, and were reduced to the necessity of purchasing supplies from the Imperial officers who commanded the towers. The feeling between the invaders and the inhabitants became more and more hostile until the people of Hissa, who had been maltreated by the Crusaders, sallied forth and massacred the rear-guard. Hereupon the whole army—if such a name may be applied to an unorganized host—turned about and assailed the city, thinking to renew at Hissa the havoc and spoliation of Zemlin, but the citizens defended themselves with great bravery. The assailants were driven back from the walls and were pursued in a general rout and slaughter, in which

it was estimated that ten thousand Crusaders were butchered. Their camp was taken and plundered by the Hissans, and the wretched, half-starved fugitives pressed on in the direction of Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Emperor Alexius began to exert his influence to save the remnant of the Crusaders from destruction. A few of the vanguard under the leadership of Walter the Penniless had already reached the Eastern capital. Those who survived of Peter's division were now received in the city, and their wants were supplied from the Imperial storehouses. Such was the desperate character, however, of the abandoned and licentious rabble that nothing could restrain them from outraging and plundering their protectors. Their presence in the city became intolerable, and the Emperor gladly acceded to their request to be transported into Asia. The ragged and desperate fanatics were accordingly taken on ship-board and carried across the Bosphorus into Asia Minor; but no sooner were they out of sight of the capital than they let loose all their fury upon the unoffending subjects of Alexius. Not Peter himself could prevent the wholesale robbery of the districts through which the Crusaders were passing. After striving in vain to preserve order and moderation in the fanatic herd of his followers he abandoned them to their own will, and returned to Constantinople.

But Walter the Penniless had all the spirit of the turbulent host. When they demanded to be led against the Infidels, he willingly assumed the responsibility of leadership. At this juncture the Crusaders were greatly excited by the report that the city of Nice, capital of the province of Roum, had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Hoping to share the spoils of this important conquest, the multitude rushed blindly into the hostile country, and reached the plain of Nice. Here, however, they received no welcome from Christian allies or signal from Christian banners. On the contrary they were surrounded by an immense army of Turkish cavalry. The Crusaders were now fully gratified with the sight of the Infidels. Walter and his followers fought with desperate courage until they were all, with the exception of about three thousand, hewed down with the cimeters of the Turks. Those who

survived escaped into the Byzantine forest, and made their way back to Constantinople. The triumphant Turks gathered into a huge mound the bones of the dead men of the West, and left the monument, like Tamerlane's pyramid of skulls, a warning to other fanatical hosts to beware of Asia Minor.

Thus did the first two divisions of the crusading host sink into the earth. A third rabble soon followed from Germany. A certain monk named Godeschal, envious of the fame of Peter and Walter, preached the holy war through his native districts, and about fifteen thousand villagers and peasants flocked to his standard. Following the same route which had been taken by the preceding divisions, Godeschal led his followers into Hungary. Carloman, however, had now wearied of casting his pearls before swine, and gave to the German fanatics an inhospitable reception. He adopted the policy of despatching them with all haste through his kingdom. But the lawless multitude was not to be appeased with any thing but violence and rapine. The former scenes of plundering and outrage were renewed until the Hungarians rose in arms, and the king permitted them to do as they would with the invaders. He even went further, and did an act of perfidy in order to free the land from the presence of the hateful horde. When the Germans had gathered before the walls of Belgrade, he induced them with fair promises to lay down their arms, but no sooner had they done so than the inhabitants were let loose upon them, and they were massacred almost to a man.

In the mean time, the fourth and last division of the host gathered on the eastern confines of Germany. Perhaps no other such execrable mass of vile humanity was seen before or since in the world. France sent her thieves; the Rhine provinces, their offscouring; the British Islands, their outlaws; and all the West, her pads and murderers. This delightful army of European refuse heaped up to the number of more than two hundred thousand. A few ignorant nobles with their bands of retainers were merged in the common mass; but when it came to the election of leaders, the choice fell on *a goat and a goose!* These ridiculous creatures were actually set forward as the divinely constituted agents by which the

host was to be led to victory over the infidel Turks of Asia!

The result was as revolting as the beginning was abominable. The superstitious horde fell upon the Jewish colonists in the cities of the Rhine and the Moselle, and began to rob and murder. The victims of the atrocity had, under the protection of the barons of the towns, become prosperous and wealthy. This circumstance whetted the appetite of the vile rabble, who pretended to see in the Jews only the enemies of Christ. They proposed to begin the holy war by exterminating the foes of God in Europe before proceeding against those in Asia. The blood of the unoffending Israelites flowed in torrents, and their homes were ravaged and destroyed. In spite of the protests of the Romish Church, under whose call the Crusade had been begun, the Jews were massacred by thousands, and other thousands, in order to save themselves from a worse fate under the brutal swords of their persecutors, threw themselves into the flames or rivers.

When the ruffian host could find no further material for slaughter, the march was resumed from the Rhine to the Danube. The whole route was a scene of barbarous lust and licentiousness. Nothing which native depravity could suggest or sensual fanaticism enforce was omitted to complete the horrors of the advance. The day of judgment, however, at last arrived. On the thither side of the Danube a Hungarian army was drawn up to dispute the progress of the invaders. It was now their turn to feel the edge of a merciless sword. The Hungarian leaders proved to be more than a match for General Goat and General Goose. The immense rabble was hemmed in and beaten back against the river. The tide of the Danube was red with the blood of robbers. The bodies of the slain floated like drift-wood, or choked the channel with a horrid mass of putrefaction. Very few escaped the vengeance of the Hungarians and the engulfing river. It was perhaps the vastest and most salutary execution of criminals ever witnessed within the limits of Europe. Thus perished the fourth and last of those fanatic multitudes that arose at the call of Peter the Hermit. Already more than a quarter of a million of human beings had been swallowed from sight before a regular army could be

equipped and started in the wake of the popular tumult. Not a Christian soldier had thus far penetrated beyond the plain of Nice. Walter the Penniless was dead. The fame of Peter was at a discount, but the fever of Europe was in no wise cooled. It still remained for her soldiery to undertake by regular expeditions what her peasants and monks, her goose and her goat, had failed to accomplish.

In the mean time the secular princes of the West, who had attended the Council of Clermont and assumed the cross, were busily engaged in preparing for the holy war. Among those who were destined to distinguish themselves as crusaders, should be mentioned, first of all, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. His reputation for piety, learning, and courage was equal to that of the best prince of his age. In his father's house Peter the Hermit had lived before he became a monk. From his mother, who had in her veins the blood of the Carolingians, Godfrey inherited his dukedom. In early life he took up arms for the Emperor Henry IV. in his war with Hildebrand, and won high distinction as a soldier. In the bloody battle which was fought on the banks of the Elster he had struck down with his own hand that Rodolph of Suabia whom the Pope had invested with the crown of Germany. Afterwards, during the siege of Rome, when the papal banner trailed and Gregory fled for refuge into the castle of St. Angelo, it was Godfrey who, first of all the imperial captains, broke over the ramparts and opened the gates of the city. With the subsequent triumph of the Pope, however, the duke's conscience began to upbraid him for the wicked part he had taken against the Head of the church. Living in his duchy, surrounded with wealth and enjoying a good name, he none the less suffered all the pangs of remorse. How else should he atone for the great sins of his rash youth except by taking the cross and giving his life, if necessary, in recovering the Holy Land from the Infidels?

With no half-hearted purpose did Duke Godfrey become a Crusader. No sacrifices were spared to secure the desired end. He sold or mortgaged all of his castles and estates. He alienated his cities and principalities and gave up his duchy. He laid all on the altar

if by any means he might regain the favor of heaven, which he had forfeited by making war on the vicar of Christ. With the money procured by the sale of his vast domains he raised and equipped a magnificent army. Ten thousand knights, the flower of European chivalry, rallied around his banner, while a force of eighty thousand foot made up the body of his forces. His principal officers were his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, the former count of Bouillon; his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, and several other noblemen less conspicuous by their rank and reputation.

In the south of France the men of war were rallied to the cross by Raymond, count of Toulouse. He too was a soldier by profession. He had fought against the Saracens in Spain. He had distinguished himself at the right hand of the Cid. He had wedded the daughter of King Alphonso, and was known as one of the most valiant captains of his times. It was his saying that he had spent his youth fighting the followers of the false Prophet in Europe, and would spend his old age in warring with them in Asia. Already aged, his white locks made a conspicuous sign around which soon was gathered out of Provence and Gascony an army of a hundred thousand men. His principal officer was the Bishop of Puy, who, after the Council of Clermont was made legate of the Pope, and now became a soldier of the cross militant against the Infidels.

While the Crusaders of Lorraine and Provence were thus marshaled by Godfrey and Raymond, Hugh, of Vermandois, brother of King Philip of France, and Robert, Count of Flanders, sounded the call in their respective provinces and armed their several hosts. Stephen, Count of Blois, and Robert, Count of Paris, also rallied their knights and retainers and made ready for the march into Asia. It was at this time that the crusading fervor kindled all Normandy into a glow. The court of Rouen furnished two gallant leaders. These were Robert Short Hose, son of William the Conqueror, and Edgar Atheling, heir of the Saxon line to the throne of England.

The characters and dispositions of both these princes have already been sketched in the preceding book. Such was the improvidence of Robert, and so frequently was he made the

victim of the wiles and cupidity of the hangers-on of his court, that he was many times reduced to a stage of ridiculous poverty. He

had in him all the elements of a genuine Crusader—brave, rash, fanatical, impecunious, excluded by his younger brother from the throne



THE FOUR LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—GODFREY, RAYMOND, BŒMUND, TANCRÉD.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of England, beset by usurers who demanded their interest and women who wanted presents in exchange for their alleged virtue—he was precisely the sort of a personage who, without inducement to remain at home, might gladly embark in the respectable enterprise of hunting Infidels. Such were the antecedents of that mutually profitable bargain by which Count Robert for the sum of ten thousand marks sold out his duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus of England.

As to Edgar Atheling, though of a different character, and already past the fortieth milestone of life, he too found many and potent reasons for joining in the holy war. Proscribed from England, and robbed of even the

conduct of his own affairs, set out with an army of Anglo- and Scoto-Saxons to eject Donald Bane from the throne which he had usurped. Before departing however, he promised his friend, Count Robert, to join him in the East as soon as the Scottish pretender should have been hurled from power.

Meanwhile, the Short Hose set up his white banner, and at the signal multitudes of Norman Knights flocked to join their fortunes with those of a leader so well renowned for generosity and courage. Stephen, Earl of Albermarle, Edward Percy, Aubrey de Vere, Joscelyn de Courtenay, Conan de Montacute, and Girard de Gournay were the principal Anglo-Norman barons who set out with Count



GATHERING OF THE CRUSADERS.

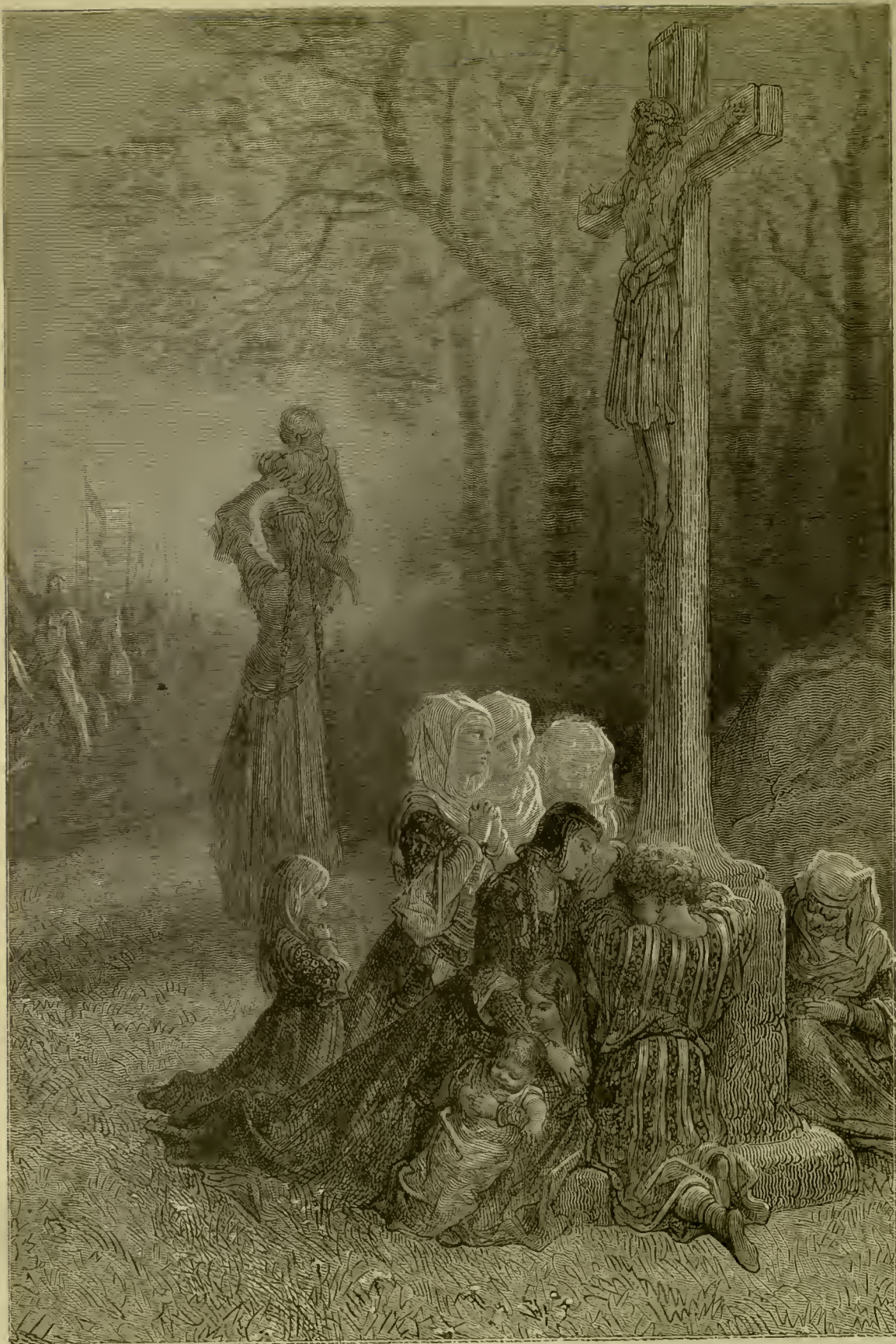
Drawn by A. Maillard.

prospect of the crown worn by his Anglo-Saxon fathers, he had for many years found his chief delight in the companionship of dogs and the solace of philosophy. Neither the one nor the other, however, had sufficed to quiet his ambition, and when the prevailing enthusiasm reached Rouen, especially when his friend Robert Short Hose caught the contagion, Edgar also fired with the crusading fever, and put the red cross on his shoulder.

At this juncture, however, it happened that a certain Donald Bane, an ambitious Scot, had seized upon the throne of his country, which of hereditary right belonged to a son of Edgar's sister. To reseal his nephew on the Scottish throne, the English Prince, acting with more energy than he had ever shown in the

Robert to rescue the sepulcher of Christ from the Turks.

Very unlike the peasant-rabble were these magnificent bands of warriors. All the wealth and intelligence of Europe were now committed to the enterprise, and as far as the ignorance of the age would allow, due preparations were made to insure the success of the great expedition. All Europe went to prayers as the knightly pageant departed. In the matter of armor the best skill of the times was employed to perfect it. Each Crusader wore a casque and hauberk of chain mail. The foot soldiers carried long shields, and the knights wore circular bucklers. The weapons consisted of swords, lances, poniards, axes, maces, bows and cross-bows, slings, and indeed every fash-



ion of instrument and missile peculiar to the warfare of the Middle Ages. Still there was no true foresight of the difficulties to be encountered. The distance was totally misapprehended. The routes to the East were little known. The real obstacles to be overcome before a blow could be delivered were either unheard of or esteemed as trifles. The most intelligent knights began the extraordinary march as though it were a hunt or a holiday.

Many took their wives and children with them. Distinguished barons rode along with their bugle-horns and blew at intervals as if to sound the signals of the chase. Some carried hawks on their wrists, while hounds trotted by the side of the horses. Even yet the Crusade was considered rather in the light of a pilgrimage—a demonstration in force against the Infidels—than as a military expedition involving long marches, stubborn sieges, and bloody battles.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.



THE pilgrim princes who were now about to direct the chivalry of Europe against the Turks had sufficient prudence to consider the difficulty of subsistence. The coun-

tries through which they were to pass were already half exhausted by the ravages and excesses of the precursive multitudes. It was now agreed among the leaders to set out at different dates and by different routes. Constantinople was to be the rendezvous. It was clear that if all the hosts now under arms were to proceed in one body, the provinces through which they should pass would be utterly consumed. Europe could survive only by distributing the stomachs of her defenders.

The rabble vanguard of the soldiers of the Cross had not left a favorable impression on the minds of the Byzantine Greeks. The Emperor Alexius found reason to repent of having called from the vasty deep the perturbed spirits of the West. Now came the news to Constantinople that other vast armies, less savage, but more severe, were on their way to the Eastern Capital. The Emperor began to see that he might as well have braved the warriors of Alp Arslan as to have evoked by his messages such an insatiable host of friends.

From this time forth Alexius was driven by the winds and tossed. Unable to dictate by authority and enforce with a menacing attitude such mandates as seemed necessary for the preservation of the Empire, he fell

into subterfuge and double dealing—the last resorts of the weak against the strong. Never was monarch more beset with perils.



SARACENIC COAT OF ARMS.—MUSE D'ARTILLERIE, PARIS.

He had himself procured the throne by the perpetration of a crime. He held it as if awaiting a visit from Nemesis. A thousand domestic foes were in the city. Now his

crown, with his head in it, seemed to be pressed flat between a Turkish shield and a Christian buckler. Beyond the Bosphorus was the flaming Crescent. Over the Hungarian forest was seen the portentous shadow of the coming Cross.

The Greek Emperor, with something of the old-time craftiness of his race, perceived that the Crusaders were really adventurers. He knew that the Franks, and especially the Normans, had just one class of friends—those

rather the motive of loyalty is altogether wanting in such a soldiery. To match the hired barbarians of the Eastern Empire against the mail-clad warriors of Godfrey and Raymond was like setting curs on mastiffs.— So the Emperor fell back on craft and subtlety.

Meanwhile the several crusading armies took up their march for the East. For a while affairs went well. By and by, however, Hugh of Vermandois, leader of the French Knights, having set out with the Pope's ban-



THE FIRST CRUSADE.

who had nothing; and one class of enemies—those who had something. He understood that these greedy descendants of the Northmen would discover in the luxurious capital of the East every thing which was calculated to excite their cupidity; and what robber in the presence of spoil ever failed to find a cause of quarrel?

The situation was in the highest degree critical. The armies at the disposal of Alexius were made up of mercenaries. At all times such forces are notoriously disloyal, or

ner and blessing, was wrecked on the coast of Epirus. In this catastrophe Alexius perceived his opportunity. He ordered Count Hugh to be seized, brought to Constantinople, and held as a hostage. By this means he hoped to make King Philip of France, a brother of the prisoner, dependent upon his pleasure respecting the future conduct of the Crusade. Count Hugh was also held as a pledge for the future good conduct of the Franks while traversing the territories of the Empire.

The chivalrous Godfrey was deeply incensed at this act of bad faith on the part of the Emperor. Landing at Philipopoli, the Duke of Lorraine dispatched a messenger to Constantinople to know the occasion of the arrest of the Count of Vermandois, and to demand his liberation. To this civil request an evasive and unsatisfactory answer was returned. It was not long until crowds of fugitive Greeks rushing into Constantinople gave notice that Godfrey had become the avenger of his friend, and turned his warriors loose upon the perfidious country.

Alexius came quickly to his senses. An embassy was hastily dispatched to Godfrey, promising full explanation and satisfaction for

tifully to whatever good things the fruitful East had heaped up in her lap. It was not long until Alexius perceived that another policy must be adopted with the warriors of the West. He sent a messenger to Godfrey informing him of his desire to supply the army out of the stores of the city, and the duke thereupon ordered his followers to desist from further pillage. A better understanding was thus arrived at between the treacherous Greeks and their unwelcome guest.

Notwithstanding the outward show of amity quarrels were constantly breaking out between the two races. At times it appeared that their common enmity against the Turks would be wholly forgotten in the bitter recriminations



CRUSADERS ON THEIR WAY TO PALESTINE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

the violence done to Hugh, and begging him to restrain his followers from further ravages. The prince thereupon bade his warriors to refrain from further injury to the Greeks, and then pressed forward to the Eastern Capital. Arriving before the gates he found them closed against the army of the Cross; for the highly moral Alexius, having now conceived the noble design of starving the Crusaders to death, had forbidden the Greeks to supply them with provisions. But the Emperor had not yet apprehended the spirit and temper of the men with whom he had to deal. The Crusaders were unwilling to be offered up on the altar of hunger. They burst into the suburbs of the city, plundered palaces and villages, captured store-houses and helped themselves boun-

which burned in the hearts of Byzantine and Frank. More than once the Crusaders were on the eve of assaulting the city, and the leaders of the host were little concerned to prevent such a conflict. It were hard to say whether at this juncture the cupidity of the western soldiers or the insolence of the Greeks was more difficult to curb.

The Emperor within the walls looked with ever-increasing alarm upon the threatening attitude of the crusading host. His next piece of diplomacy was to secure from the Western princes who had their camps outside the ramparts such acts of homage and oaths of fealty to himself as could not be honorably or even decently violated. He first tried the new policy with success upon Hugh of Vermandois.

dois, and, having that prince in his power, succeeded in securing from him the desired oath. Great was the indignation in the pilgrim camp when the proposal of Alexius was known. But the Emperor sent his son as a hostage to the Crusaders, and their repugnance was gradually overcome with blandishments. Godfrey, Robert Short Hose, and the counts of Flanders and Blois consented to do homage to Alexius as their suzerain; but Raymond of Toulouse refused with disdain to render fealty to such a master. It became a problem with the Emperor in what way he might bring the sturdy Crusader to a sense of what was due the majesty of Constantinople.

On the appointed day the western princes were admitted to the city and taken to the palace of Alexius. There—

High on a throne of royal state that far
Outshone the wealth of Orms or of Ind—
sat the Emperor of Byzantium, surrounded by the Imperial court. Nothing was omitted which artificial magnificence could supply to impress the Crusaders with a sense of eastern greatness. But the eye of penetration could not have failed to pierce through the flimsy and gilded sham and perceive the essential weakness of the power which was placed under the protection of the swords of western Christendom. Godfrey, the two Roberts, and Stephen did the act of homage as might become great knights and warriors. Rich gifts were showered upon them, and the Emperor began to wrap himself in the cloak of a delusive security.

Before the ceremony was fairly ended an incident occurred which shocked the crafty Greek from his pleasing reverie. Count Roberto of Paris was among the number of nobles who were present at the obeisance of the leaders. While the pageant was still set this stalwart son of the ancient sea-kings, with no effort to conceal his contempt for the mummery that was enacting, strode boldly forward to the throne and sat down by the side of the Emperor. At this the Greeks were horrified and the Crusaders laughed. Some of the more prudent Franks attempted to remonstrate with Count Robert, and one of them taking him by the arm said: "When you are in a foreign country you ought to respect its customs!" "Indeed!" said the impudent count, with a significant look at Alexius; "but this is a

pleasant clown who is seated while so many noble captains are standing." The Emperor was obliged to pocket the insult, and when the ceremony was over he attempted to mollify the implacable Crusader with some pleasant talk. "What is your birth, and which is your country?" said he with mild accent to the surly Robert. "I am a Frenchman," said the Frank, "and of the highest rank of nobles. And one thing I know, that in my country there is a place near a church where those repair who are eager to attest their valor. I have often been there myself, and no one has ventured to present himself before me." The hint of a challenge was lost on the mild-mannered Alexius, who had as little notion of exposing his person as he had of hazarding his throne.

Meanwhile the people of Southern Italy, especially the Normans of Calabria, had been roused from their slumbers by Prince Bœmund, of Tarento. He was the son of that Robert Guiscard by whom and his brother William the knights of the North had been led against the Saracens in the war for the possession of the lower part of the peninsula and the Sicilies. Now he took up arms in the common cause. His own principality was far too small a field for his ambition. Like many another restless baron, he would seek in the East and under cover of a holy enterprise the opportunity which the West no longer afforded.

But while the aspirations of Bœmund urged him to assume the cross he found himself with neither money nor soldiers. At this time the Norman army of the South, led by one of the brothers of the Prince of Tarento, was engaged in the siege of Amalfi, a stronghold of Southern Italy, which the Normans had not yet reduced. Bœmund repaired to the camp of his countrymen and began to excite their minds with the story of outraged Jerusalem and to compare the glories of a crusade with the unworth of the petty war in which they were engaged. From the enthusiasm which he thus kindled to the leadership of an expedition was but a step, and Bœmund soon found himself at the head of a multitude of knights who wore the red cross and shouted, *Dieu le Veut*. The siege of Amalfi was given up, and the army, thirty thousand strong, departed for the Holy Land. Among the leaders of

this division of Crusaders was the Prince Tancered, nephew of Bœmund, destined to become one of the greatest heroes of the age.

The first landing of the Italian knights was made at Durazzo. At this place the Prince of Tarento had already in his youth distinguished himself in a conflict with the Greeks. Even now his secret purpose was rather to renew the war with the Eastern Empire than to exterminate the Turks. He accordingly sent word to Godfrey, at Constantinople, advising him to seize the Byzantine dominions for himself; but the chivalrous Godfrey would be no party to such an enterprise. Bœmund then advanced through Macedonia and approached the Eastern Capital.

When Alexius heard that the Norman Knights were coming, and that the implacable Prince of Tarento was their leader, he resorted to his usual method of duplicity. He resolved, if possible, to make Bœmund his vassal by means of bribes. He invited him to come to Constantinople, and received him with all the arts known to an imperial demagogue. Nor did Bœmund himself fail in the display of craft. The meeting of the twain was occupied with high-flown compliments and hollow professions of friendship. In the course of the sham interview, Alexius was indiscreet enough to exhibit to his dangerous guest one of the treasure houses of the palace. The eyes of the Prince of Tarento dilated with the sight. "Here is enough," said he, "to conquer a kingdom." Deeming the moment opportune, the Emperor immediately ordered the treasures to be conveyed to Bœmund's tent as a present. The latter affected to decline the gift. "Your munificence," said he, "is too great; but if you would have me your vassal forever *make me Grand Domestic of the Empire!*" This request went through Alexius like a dart; for he himself had seized the Imperial crown while holding the office of Grand Domestic. He accordingly replied, that he could not confer the desired honor, but that he would grant it as a reward of future services.

Thus was the year 1096 consumed with the gathering of the armies of the West before the walls of Constantinople. All winter long the Emperor was in extreme anxiety lest the uplifted sword of christendom should fall on him-

self rather than on the Turks. Nor is it likely that such a catastrophe could have been avoided but for the prudent restraints imposed by Godfrey of Bouillon upon the soldiers of the Cross.

At length, with the opening of the following spring, Alexius had the inexpressible satisfaction of seeing the Crusaders break up their camp and cross into Asia Minor. The host was safely in Bithynia on the march for Palestine. The forces thus gathered out of the prolific West numbered fully six hundred thousand warriors. Of these, a hundred thousand were mounted knights, and the remainder foot soldiers in armor. The mixed character of the vast throng was still preserved. Priest, matron, and maid still journeyed by the side of young warriors, who carried white hawks on their wrists, and whistled at intervals to the hounds. At the head rode the austere Godfrey, the white-haired Raymond of Toulouse, and Peter the Hermit seated on a mule. The immense army pressed steadily forward and came to Nice, the capital of Bithynia.

The sultan of this province made strenuous efforts to put his kingdom in a condition of defense. Nice was strongly fortified. The people were roused by a proclamation, and called in for the protection of the capital. In accordance with the military methods of the East, the non-combatants were placed within the walls, while the Turkish army pitched its camp on the neighboring mountains. On the 10th of May, 1097, the banners of the Crusaders came in sight. Quite different was the prospect from that which the Western chivalry had expected to descry. Here lay a powerful city surrounded with the seemingly impregnable rampart, protected by Lake Ascanius and a ditch deep and broad, flooded with water. Here were turrets bristling with Turkish spears, and yonder on the mountain slope waved the black banner of the Abbassides over a powerful army of Moslem warriors. But the courage of the Crusaders was rather awakened into active energy than cooled by the spectacle. Taking their position on the plain in front of the city, they immediately began a siege. The day had at last arrived when the issue of valor, which had been tested three hundred and fifty years before on the field of Poitiers, was again to be decided, but now on the plains of Asia Minor.

For a season the opposing armies of Cross and Crescent tested each other's strength and powers in desultory and indecisive conflicts. Several times the Crusaders flung themselves against the walls of Nice, and were repulsed with considerable losses. But the sultan and his generals discovered in these reckless assaults a courage and determination which had had not been witnessed in Western Asia since the days of Alexander the Great. After some delay, the Moslem leaders determined to risk a battle. The sultan harangued his soldiers, appealing to every motive which seemed likely to call forth the most heroic energies of Islam. Then, girding on his sword, he gave orders for the charge, and the Moslem host, surging down the mountain slope, fell headlong upon the Christian camp. Such was the fury of the charge that the soldiers of Raymond of Toulouse, by whom the brunt of the battle was first borne, were thrown into some disorder and driven from their lines. But the advantage thus gained by the Saracens was of brief duration. Raymond rallied his men with the greatest bravery. Robert the Short Hose, now in the height of his glory, and Robert of Flanders, rushed to the rescue, and in a short time the bugles of the sultan were heard sounding the retreat. The Crusaders raised the shout of triumph, and the shadow of the victorious Cross fell athwart the field of carnage. The losses of the Moslems, however, were not great; for the sultan abandoning his capital, made good his retreat, and postponed the decisive conflict. The Crusaders were thus left to batter down the walls of Nice at their leisure.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the main army of defense the garrison within the city held out bravely against the besiegers. The latter, however, were not to be put from their purpose. A Lombard engineer lent his skill in the preparation of such military machines as were known to the skill of the Middle Ages. The ramparts were battered with rams. An engine called the balister discharged enormous stones against the turrets. Catapults hurled huge masses of wood and rock upon the defenders of the city, and the classical tower, built at a distance from the walls, and brought down against them by means of an artificial *agger* or mole of earth,

enabled the assailants to reach their enemies in hand to hand encounters on the top of the ramparts.

The besieged meanwhile answered force with force. Breaches were repaired, assaults repelled, the place of the fallen supplied with new soldiers, and the Crusaders kept at bay. After the siege had continued for several weeks it was discovered by Godfrey and the confederate princes that success would be indefinitely postponed as long as the inhabitants of Nice had free ingress and egress by way of lake Ascanius. To gain possession of this body of water became therefore the immediate object of the Crusaders. Boats were brought overland, manned with soldiers and launched by night on the lake. The morning brought consternation to the inhabitants of Nice. The wife and household of the sultan attempting to escape were captured. The exultant Crusaders prepared for a final assault, but to their utter amazement, when the charge was about to be made, the standard of the Emperor Alexius rose above the turrets of the city.

For this crafty ruler had determined to deprive the Crusaders of their prize. Seeing that they were about to prove victorious, he sent his general and admiral to open secret negotiations with the besieged. The latter were induced to believe that it would be far preferable for them to yield the city to their friend, the monarch of Byzantium, than to surrender to the terrible warriors of the West. To this course the authorities of Nice were easily persuaded. Accordingly when the Crusaders' bugles were about to sound the charge in an assault which must have proved successful, the subtlety of the Greek prevailed over the valor of knighthood, and the capital of Bithynia was given to him rather than to them. The weakness of human nature found ample illustration in the conduct of the western princes. They were called together by the Emperor, and their rising rage at the treachery to which they had been subjected was quenched in a copious shower of presents. But even this cooler upon the indignation natural to such perfidious conduct could not drown the secret hatred of the Christian knights for the double dealing and two-faced Alexius. With sullen demeanor they witnessed the transfer to his hands of the prize won by their valor, and

then set out in no enviable mood to prosecute their march toward Jerusalem.

Departing from the scene of their victorious discomfiture, the Crusaders set out in two divisions. The first and by far the larger force was commanded by the Counts Godfrey, Raymond, Hugh and Robert of Flanders. The other and more warlike army composed for the most part of the Norman knights, was under the lead of Short Hose, Bœmund, and Tancred. The first division advanced across the plain of Dorykeum, and the other entered the valley of DOGORGAN. Ten days after their departure, namely, on the 30th of June, the warriors under the lead of Bœmund pitched their tents in what was deemed a secure position and prepared for the rest of the night. Early on the following morning Greek spies hurried into the camp and announced the approach of the sultan with two hundred thousand men. Before the Crusaders could prepare for the onset, clouds of dust boiled up on the horizon, and the Turks bore down at full speed to battle.

Now it was that the powers of Bœmund of Tarento shone with unequalled luster. The camp was hastily surrounded with a palisade formed with the wagons. Behind this the non-combatants were placed for safety, and the knights, vaulting into their saddles, quickly took the battle-line, with Short Hose and Tancred furious for the fight. Scarcely was the order of the conflict set when the white turbans and green sashes and long spears of the Turks flashed out of the dust-cloud and broke upon the Christians. Then followed the blowing of horns, the roll of drums, the yell of the Saracens, and the cloud of darts descending with deadly din and rattle upon the armor of the Norman horsemen. Galled by the javelins which set the horses in a foam of rage and fear, the Crusaders dashed into the small river which separated them from the enemy, and rushed hand to hand with their assailants. The skillful Turks opened their lines, and the Christians seemed to beat the air. Then the enemy wheeled, returned to the fray, discharged their arrows, and again sped out of reach. Many of the knights reeled from their saddles and fell. Horses dashed wildly about the field. Confusion and rout seemed to impend over the Christian army. Count Robert of Paris

and forty of his comrades were killed. The sultan, with a body of picked cavalry, dashed across the stream, and captured the camp of the Crusaders. At the critical moment, when all seemed well-nigh lost, Robert Short Hose burst with a fresh body of horsemen upon the astonished Turks, and several of their leaders bit the dust under the flashing swords of the Normans. In another part of the field Bœmund rallied his men to the charge, and retook the camp. Nevertheless the odds against the Christians were as five to one, and it seemed impossible that the fight could be long maintained. The Crusaders were beaten back into the encampment. Despair was settling down on the heroic band when the shrill bugles of Godfrey were heard in the distance, and in a moment more than fifty thousand sabres flashing in the sunlight under the banner of Hugh of Vermandois gleamed over the summit of the hills behind the Christian camp. It was now the turn of the sultan to be dismayed. His bugles sounded a retreat, and the Turks fell back rapidly, pursued by the Crusaders. The lines of the enemy were broken, and the Saracens soon found themselves hemmed in on every side, and slashed by the swords of the Crusaders. Backed against the hills, flight was impossible. The host was cut down by thousands, and the sultan, with a few survivors, could hardly bolster up the courage of his countrymen with a lying report of victory. The Turkish camp, rich in provisions, treasures, camels, and tents, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The priests of the crusading army chanted a hymn of victory, and the outline of the triumphant cross was seen in the Valley of Dogorgan.

The Crusaders might with good reason celebrate their victory. It was now evident that the Saracens were not able to stand before them in battle. The courage of the conquerors arose with the occasion, and with renewed enthusiasm they took up their march towards Antioch. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, until a change came over the dreams of the Christians. The sultan of Nice, unwilling to hazard another engagement, adopted the policy of laying waste the country, to the end that his enemies might starve. The army of the princes soon came into a region where no food was to be found for man



or beast. The distress became extreme. The pilgrims were obliged to subsist on the roots of plants and the chance products which had escaped destruction by the Turk. The hawks and hounds starved to death. Men and horses fell famishing. The despairing moans of dying women were heard in the camp. Hundreds and thousands dropped by the wayside and perished. Then the water failed. Not a brook, fountain, or well was any longer found. The horrors of thirst were added to those of famine. At length, when the whole host seemed on the brink of destruction, some of the straggling hounds came into camp dripping with water. They had found a river, bathed in it, and drank to repletion. The pilgrims hasted in that direction, and soon came to a cool, running stream. Forgetting all moderation, they rushed in and drank till nature gave way under the sudden reaction, and other hundreds died on the banks. Others sickened from the overdraught, and the camp was filled with anguish. Still the host quailed not; and evening and morning the heralds made proclamation of "Save the Holy Sepulcher!" and the chiefs courageously renewed the toilsome march.

At length in the middle of autumn a pass was found in the mountains, and the half-starved Crusaders, dragging themselves through, came into a region of plenty. Supplies were gathered from the towns and fields, and the spirits of the enfeebled warriors revived with the quieting of hunger. Presently, Antioch, with its lofty castles and four hundred and sixty towers, came in sight, and the second great prize to be contended for by the armies of christendom was reached.

The city itself was an object of the greatest interest. Beyond rose a mountain, the hither slope being covered with houses and gardens. In one of the suburbs the celebrated fountain of Daphne tossed its waters in the sunlight. The feet of the rich metropolis were washed by the great river Orontes, plentiful in waters. But better than her natural beauty and opulence were the hallowed associations of Antioch. Here the followers of Christ had first taken the name of *Christians*. Here St. Peter was made first bishop of the Church. Here the early saints and martyrs had performed their miracles and given to the city a sanctity second only to that of Jerusalem.

The portion of Upper Syria of which Antioch was the capital was at the time of the First Crusade governed by Prince Auxian, a dependent of the Caliphate. Not destitute of warlike abilities, this ruler now made preparations for an obstinate defense. So great, however, was the fame which flew before the triumphant Crusaders that the Moslems had come to anticipate defeat; and the momentum of victory carried the invaders onward.

Not only had success, in despite of famine and disasters, thus far attended the main body led by Godfrey and Short Hose, but the other divisions had in like manner triumphed over the Infidels. Tinnered and Baldwin (of Bouillon) had captured Tarsus. The former had also been victorious at Malmistra and Alexandretta, and the latter had subdued the principality of Edessa. He then wreathed his sword in flowers by marrying a daughter of the prince of Armenia, by which act he gained the better portion of Ancient Assyria. Indeed, the greater part of Asia Minor was already dominated by the Cross; and the various divisions, elated with repeated successes, concentrated before Antioch.

Between that city and the crusading armies flowed the Orontes. The stream was spanned by a great bridge defended by iron towers. Before the Christians could reach the other side, the bridge must be captured, and this duty was assigned to Robert Short Hose of Normandy. In him it were hard to say whether his courage was greater than his rashness. He had all the heroic virtues and splendid vices of his age. With a picked force of Norman knights he attacked the bridge with the greatest audacity, and such was the terror of his flashing sword, that the Moslems abandoned the towers and fled. The Christian bugles sounded the charge, and the crusading host crossed in safety to the other side. A camp was pitched before the walls of Antioch, and here the mail-clad warriors of the West lay down to rest in the shadow of the palms of Syria.

Thus far in the course of the great expedition from the Rhine to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Nice, from Nice to Antioch, not much opportunity had been given the Crusaders to reap the harvest of promised pleasure. One of the chief incentives to the

uprising had been the license freely offered by the Church to all who should be victorious over the Infidel. To them restraint should be unknown. The maidens of Greece and the dark-eyed houris of Syria, were openly named as a part of the reward due to them who should hurl the Turk from his seat on the tomb of Christ; and the Crusader in his dreams saw the half-draped figures of Oriental beauties flitting in the far mirage. Before the walls of Antioch the men of the West sat down to enjoy whatever the land afforded. The god of License became the favorite divinity. All restraint was cast aside. Every village in the surrounding country was recklessly pillaged, and the camp of the Crusaders was heaped with spoils. Then the armed warriors gave themselves up to feasting and love-making with the Syrian damsels. Bishops of the Church wandered wantonly through the orchards and lay on the grass playing dice with Cyprians. Believing that the garrison of Antioch would not dare to come forth and attack them, the Franks abandoned themselves to riotous living, and all manner of excess.

It was not long until this course provoked its natural consequences. The defenders of the city watched their opportunity and made a successful sally. The Crusaders were dispersed in neighboring villages, expecting no attack. Thus exposed, they were slaughtered in large numbers, and the heads of all who were overtaken were cut off and thrown into the camp as a taunt. Great was the fury of the Crusaders on beholding the bloody reminders of their own and slain friends' folly. Roused to a sudden fury, they seized their arms and rushed like madmen upon the fortifications. They were beaten back with large losses by the garrison. In order to prosecute the siege the Christians now found it necessary to fortify their camp and build a bridge across the Orontes. The next work was the construction of wooden towers commanding the river; for a blockade was essential to the success of the investment.

Ere the siege was well begun winter came on. The riotousness of the summer and vintage months was brought to a sudden end. Hardship and hazard returned with the cold, and distress followed hard in the wake of carousal. Supplies grew scarce. Robert Short

Hose and Bœmund scoured the country and brought back little. All summer long the Western host had filled itself with fatness. Now there was no more. Suffering began. Storms of cold rain flooded the camp. Tents were blown away by the hurricane. The garments of the Crusaders were worn to rags. Disease brought anguish, and many in despair gave up the enterprise and set out secretly for home. Peter the Hermit escaped from the camp and had gone some distance before he was overtaken and brought back by force. The daring Short Hose undertook to save himself by retiring into Laodicea; but when Godfrey sent a summons to him in the name of Christ he was induced to return.

When affairs were about at their worst the Caliph of Baghdad, learning of the situation at Antioch, sent an embassy to the Crusaders with an offer of alliance and *protection!* The Norman and French knights were in no mood to be protected by an Infidel. They sent back a defiant message and resolutely continued the siege. Winter wore away, and the condition of the woeful warriors began to improve with the sunny weather; but better than the change of season was the news that came from the port of St. Simeon. That harbor had been entered by a fleet of provision-ships from Genoa and Pisa. Such was the elation of the Crusaders that many hurried off to the coast to obtain supplies, but returning without due caution they were attacked by a division of Saracens and dispersed. Thereupon Godfrey, Tancred, and Short Hose called out their forces and went to the rescue. Seeing this movement the commandant of Antioch ordered the garrison to sally forth and attack the camp. In order to make sure of success *he shut the gates behind them.* The Crusaders turned furiously upon the Moslems and drove them to the wall. Here they were hewed down until nightfall, when Auxian reöpened the gates and the survivors rushed in for safety.

Still the defenses of the city held out. Spring went by and summer came, and the position of the combatants remained unchanged. At last, however, when the sheer valor of the Crusaders seemed insufficient to gain for them the coveted prize, an act of treason did what force of arms had been unable to accomplish. One of the principal

commanders in Antioch was a certain renegade Christian named Emipher. For reasons of his own, in former years he had left the Cross to follow the Crescent, and by servility and zeal had gained the favor of the sultan of Antioch. Auxian had taken him into his official household, and given him an important command. The chief towers on the ramparts were committed to his keeping. The situation suggested to him the profitableness of a reconversion to Christianity. Looking down into the camp of the Crusaders, he soon descried the figure of one to whom he deemed it well to open his designs. This was Bœmund of Tarento. Not that this prince was disloyal to the cause for which he fought; but he was ambitious in the last degree, and had long been fixed in his purpose to conquer a principality of his own. The great and rich city of Antioch seemed to be the prize which he had seen in vision. Such was his frame of mind that when a secret message was delivered to him from Emipher, requesting an interview on matters of the highest moment, he not only scented the treachery which was intended, but gladly welcomed the opportunity of gaining his end by dishonorable means.

The meeting was held. The hypocrite Emipher narrated how Christ had come to him in a dream and warned him to turn again to the Cross and to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. The good Bœmund exhorted him to go on and to follow the command of the Lord. The result was that the shrewd Prince of Tarento overreached the traitor, gained his confidence, and secured from him a promise to deliver Antioch into his hands.

Bœmund now called the Western leaders together, and offered to gain possession of Antioch on condition that he should be recognized as prince of the city. At first the proposition was received with great disfavor. The ambitious leader was rebuked for his scheme, and like Achilles he went off to his tent in sullen anger. It was not long, however, until news was borne to the camp which changed the disposition of the Western princes. The sultans of Nice and Mossoul had aroused half the East, and were marching a host of four hundred thousand Moslems for the relief of Antioch. It was only a question of time when this tremen-

dous force would be hurled upon the Crusaders. Godfrey, Tancred, and the rest were prudent enough to put aside their scruples, and, sending for Bœmund, they signified to him their willingness that he should be prince of Antioch if he would obtain possession of the city. Communication was accordingly opened with Emipher, and it was arranged that on a given night the towers should be surrendered into the hands of the Christians.

It was a perilous piece of business. The traitor was suspected and sent for by Auxian. Such, however, was his skill as a dissembler, that he completely reëstablished the sultan's confidence. On the day appointed for the delivery, the Crusaders withdrew as if abandoning the siege. They hid themselves in a neighboring valley, and lay there until night-fall. A storm came on and favored the enterprise. The besiegers returned and swarmed silently around that portion of the rampart which was held by Emipher. The latter established communication with the Franks below, and the Lombard engineer was taken up to the towers to see that every thing was in readiness for the surrender. When the signal was at last given for the Crusaders to plant their ladders and ascend, they became apprehensive of a double treachery, and refused to scale the rampart. It was with the utmost difficulty that Bœmund and a few others, by first climbing the ladders themselves and reporting every thing in readiness, finally induced their followers to ascend. It was found that Emipher was in bloody earnest. There, in the tower, lay the body of his brother, whom he had butchered because he refused to be a participant in the treason.

The turrets were quickly filled with Christian warriors, and, when all was secure, they poured down into the city. Trumpets were sounded, and the thunder-struck Moslems were roused from their slumbers by the fearful and far-resounding cry of *Dieu le Veut!* In the midst of the panic and darkness they heard the crash of the Crusaders' swords. Auxian, perceiving that he had been betrayed, attempted to escape, but was cut down by his enemies. The Saracens, rushing to and fro in the night, were slaughtered by thousands. The gray dawn of June 4th, 1098, showed the streets heaped with



corpses, and the banner of Bœmund of Tarento floating from the highest tower of Antioch. Only the citadel remained in possession of the Moslems.

Meanwhile the great army of Turks, led by Kerboga, the sultan of Mossoul, and Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Nice, drew near to the city. The Christians were now inside the walls and the enemy without. Great was the disparity in numbers; for the Asiatics were estimated at nearly a half a million, of whom one hundred thousand were cavalry. Godfrey and Bœmund found themselves in possession of abundance, but it was that kind of abundance upon which an army could not long subsist. The actual stores and provisions of Antioch had been well-nigh exhausted in the course of the recent siege, and gold and treasure could not suffice for bread. The Turks gained possession of the Orontes between the city and the sea, and cut off communication with the port of St. Simcon. No further supplies could, for this reason, be obtained from Europe. The allied sultans, perceiving their advantage, sat down in a spacious and luxurious camp and quietly awaited the day when the pent-up Christians must yield to the inevitable.

The condition soon became desperate. Hawks and hounds disappeared. Then horses began to be eaten. Many a hungry knight saw with famishing rage the splendid steed that had borne him proudly in every battle, from Scutari to the Orontes, slaughtered and devoured. Luxury was on every hand, but no food. The leaders saw that it was better to fight and die than to remain within the walls and starve. They, therefore, exhorted their followers to sally forth with them, and meet their fate like heroes; but the exhortation now fell on dull and despairing ears. Zeal had perished of hunger. But, when every thing else failed, superstition came to the rescue. A certain monk, named Peter Barthelemy, had a dream. St. Andrew came to him and said: "Arise! Go and dig in a spot which I will show thee in the Church of St. Peter, and thou shalt find the spear wherewith the soldier pierced the side of the Lord. Take that sacred weapon and carry it at the head of the army, and the Infidels shall flee before it."

The pilgrims went hastily and digged. Lo! the object of their search. It was brought forth and shown to the army. Inconceivable was the excitement produced by the exhibition of the wonderful weapon. Now were they ready to go forth and fall upon the profane dogs of Asia. The host demanded to be led forth to that victory which St. Andrew had foretold.

It was deemed prudent by the Western princes to send an embassy to the sultan and warn him to retire from the country. Peter the Hermit was chosen to bear the message. Mounted on a mule and clad in a woolen mantle, the little monk of Savona rode boldly through the gates of Antioch to order out of Syria an army of four hundred thousand Turkish warriors! Coming to the sultan's camp he found him in a splendid pavilion, surrounded with all the luxury of the East, and amusing himself with a game of chess. "I come," said the Hermit, "in the name of the princes assembled in Antioch, and I conjure you, in the name of God, to leave this principality. Go in peace, and I promise that you will not be molested. But if you refuse to go in peace, let a battle convince you of the justice of our cause." The old sultan swelled with rage and scorn on the delivery of this insolent speech. "Return," said he, "to those who sent you, and tell them that it is for the conquered to receive conditions, not to dictate them. Bid thy captains hasten, and this very day implore my clemency. To-morrow they will find that their God, who could not save himself, will not save them from their fate. Drive the vagabond away."

With the return of this answer the Crusaders grew hot for battle. The chiefs prepared for the fight, and in a way half miraculous one full meal was served to the army. On the morning of the 1st of July the gates of Antioch were thrown open and the Crusaders went forth to stake all on a single hazard. Godfrey and the other leaders arranged their forces in twelve divisions in honor of the twelve apostles. The Duke of Lorraine himself led the right wing, supported by his brother Eustace and his kinsman Baldwin of Bourq. The left was under command of the Short Hose, and the Count of Flanders. The reserves, including the Anglo-Norman knights, under the

Earl of Albermarle, were held by Bœmund of Tarento. In the van of the ragged host marched a company of priests bearing aloft the spear-head which Barthelemy had found under the altar of the Church of St. Peter.

Notwithstanding their desperate condition, the Crusaders were confident of victory. Delirious with the superstitions of the age, they urged their way towards the Turkish camp, fully persuaded that heaven would make good the promise of triumph.

The Moslems lay undisturbed in their encampment. Even when the Crusading army came in sight the sultan of Mossoul, himself an experienced warrior, refused to believe that the Christians had come forth to fight. "Doubtless," said he, "they come to implore my clemency." The peculiar "clemency" which they sought, however, was soon revealed in their conduct. Hardly had the Saracen trumpets sounded and the Moslem captains marshaled their immense army for battle, before the Crusaders set up their shout of *Dieu le Veut*, and rushed headlong to the charge. Perhaps the leaders knew that the fate of the First Crusade was staked upon the issue. The onset of the Christians was so fierce that nothing could stand before them. The Saracen host was borne back by the shock, and the first charge seemed to foretell the triumph of the Cross.

In the beginning of the engagement, however, the sultan of Nice had not brought his army into action. Seeing the Moslems driven back along the river, he now made a detour and fell upon the rear of the Crusaders. The latter were thus pent between two hosts seemingly innumerable. The Moslems set fire to the grass and bushes which covered the plain, and the stifling smoke was blown into the faces of the Christians. Godfrey and Bœmund had the mortification to see their followers begin to waver, give way, and despair. For a moment, as on the field of Poitiers, three hundred and sixty-six years before, the fate of the two continents and the two great Semitic religions seemed to hang in the balance. In the crisis of the fight, the Crusaders cried out to the priests and demanded to know where was the promised succor from heaven. The undaunted Adhemar, bishop of Puy, pointed calmly through the clouds of smoke and exclaimed:

"There, they are come at last! Behold those white horsemen! They are the blessed martyrs, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore come to fight our battle!" Then the cry of, "God wills it!" rose louder than ever. The news was borne from rank to rank that the heavenly host had come to the rescue. Fiery enthusiasm was rekindled in every Crusader's breast, and the Moslems suddenly felt the battle renewed with impetuous fury. On every side they fell back in disorder before the irresistible assaults of the Christians. The field was swept in all directions, and the blaring bugles of Islam called in vain to the rally. Terror succeeded defeat, and the flying Saracens were hewed down by frenzied Crusaders, who knew not to spare or pity. The heavy masses of the sultan's army rolled away in one of the most disastrous routs of the Middle Ages. The victorious Crusaders mounted the horses of the slain Moslems and pursued the fugitives until wearied with the excess of slaughter. The immense hosts of Kerboga and Kilidge Arslan melted from sight forever.

As soon as the result of the great battle was known in Antioch the citadel was surrendered to the Christians. Bœmund was now complete master of his principality. A still more important result of the decisive conflict was the reëopening of communication with the port of St. Simeon, and the capture of great quantities of provisions and stores in the Saracen camp. The whole aspect of the struggle was changed, and the Christian warriors began again to look forward with pleasing anticipation to the day when they should kneel as humble victors on the recovered sepulcher of Christ.

The position of the Crusaders in Antioch was not unlike that of the Carthaginians at Capua. It was evident that the Holy City might now be easily wrested from the Infidels. Those of the pilgrims who were actuated by religious rather than political motives were eager to advance at once into Palestine. There lay the goal of their ambition. Not so, however with the leaders. The example of Baldwin in seizing the Principality of Edessa, and of Bœmund in gaining for himself the great and opulent city of Antioch, had proved infectious, and nearly every prominent chieftain now cherished the secret hope that ere long

he should possess a province of his own. Just in proportion as this ambitious sentiment was warmed and nurtured among the knights their horror of the atrocious Turk, sitting on the Holy Sepulcher, was mitigated into a mild sort of hatred which might well be postponed. But the multitude clamored to be led on against Jerusalem, and the princes were obliged to frame excuses for spending the summer at Antioch. The horses taken from the Turks must be trained to service under warriors of heavy armor. The season was too hot for a campaign through Syria—the autumn would be fitter for the enterprise.

The stay in the city, however, proved unfortunate. Raymond of Toulouse, to whom the citadel had been surrendered just after the battle, quarreled with Bœmund, and the army was distracted with their feud. The luxurious living of Antioch proved too much for the rough men of the West. A contagion broke out, and fifty thousand Christians were carried off before its ravages were stayed. Among those who perished was Adhemar, bishop of Puy and legate of the Pope, a man scarcely less important in rank and influence than Godfrey and Bœmund. So the summer of 1098 was wasted in enterprises of personal ambition, little conducive to the reputation of the Western princes.

What with battle, what with famine, what with pestilence and desertion, the army of the First Crusade was now reduced to fifty thousand men. It was perceived by the warrior pilgrims that their chiefs were busy with their own affairs, and neglectful of the great object for which the Holy War had been undertaken. Their discontent at this state of affairs broke into murmurs, and murmurs into threats. The Crusaders declared that they would discard the old and choose new leaders, who would bring them to the city and tomb of Christ. This ominous word broke the spell, and Godfrey, Raymond, Short Hose, and Tancred agreed to march at once on Palestine. As for Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois, they had already given over the war and returned to Europe.

It was evident on the march from Antioch to Jerusalem that already the furious zeal with which the Crusade had been begun had somewhat abated. Now a petty expedition against

the Saracens of a neighboring province, and now a quarrel between Arnold de Rohes, chaplain of Robert Short Hose, and Peter Barthelemy, relative to the sacred spear-head found in the church at Antioch, distracted the attention of the warriors from the prime object of the war. The whole winter was thus consumed, and it was not until the 29th of May, 1099, that the remnant of the great army, ascending the Heights of Emaüs, came at early morning in sight of the City of David.

Then followed a scene of indescribable emotion. There lay the walls and towers of that holy but now profaned place, where the Son of Mary and the Carpenter had walked among men. To the Crusaders, the thought was overpowering. They uncovered their heads. They put off their sandals. They fell upon their faces. They wept. They threw up their hands and cried: "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" Then they seized their swords, and would fain rush to an immediate assault. In a short time Tancred secured possession of Bethlehem, and, when a body of Saracen cavalry came forth to stay the progress of the Christians, he chased them furiously to and through the gates of the city. The main army encamped on the north side of Jerusalem—that part of the rampart being most accessible to assault. The leaders present to share in the toil and glory of the siege were Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Eustace, Raymond of Toulouse, Baldwin du Bourg, Robert of Flanders, Robert Short Hose of Normandy, and Edgar Atheling of England, who, after settling the affairs of Scotland with the usurper Donald Bane, had led his Saxon Knights to the East and joined the Christian army in Laodicea.

While the preparations were making for the siege an anchorite came out of the hermitage on Mount Olivet and harangued the princes. He exhorted them to take the city by storm, assuring them of the aid of heaven. Great was the enthusiasm inspired by his presence in the camp. Soldiers and chiefs were swayed by the appeal, and it was resolved to make an immediate assault. Poorly as they were supplied with the necessary implements and machines for such an undertaking, the Crusaders pressed their way to the outer wall and broke an opening with hammers and

pikes. Through this they poured into the space between the outer and the inner rampart and proceeded to storm the latter; but the emir of Jerusalem had taken measures for a successful defense. The wall proved to be too strong to be broken. The garrison poured down every species of missile—arrows, stones, blocks of wood, flaming torches, boiling pitch, balls of Greek fire—upon the heads of the Crusaders, who, unable to break the second rampart, or to stand the storm of destruction, were obliged to retreat to their camp. The hermit of Mount Olivet had proved a bad counselor and worse prophet.

The siege was now undertaken in a regular way. But there was need that the Christians should be expeditious in the work. The Saracens, before retiring into the city, had swept all the region round about of its provisions. Every village was stripped of its supplies to fill the store-houses of Jerusalem. The wells were filled up and the fountains poisoned. The brook Kedron had run dry and the remitting spring of Siloah was altogether inadequate to supply a sufficient quantity of water for an army of fifty thousand men. It became necessary to carry water in the skins of animals and to seek it at a great distance from Jerusalem. To add to the embarrassment the summer came on with its burning sun of Syria, and the Western pilgrims were unable to bear the heat.

As had many times already happened since the Crusade was undertaken, good news came in time to save the enterprise. Messengers arrived from Joppa, the seaport of Jerusalem, forty miles distant, and brought the intelligence that a Genoese fleet had arrived at that place with provisions and stores and engineers for the siege. With great joy the Crusaders at once dispatched a troop of cavalry to conduct the supplies and reinforcements from the coast to Jerusalem. But on arriving at Joppa the forces sent out for protection discovered to their chagrin that the Saracens had been there before them and had destroyed the fleet. The disaster, however, was not complete, for the engineers had made their escape and had saved a part of the stores so much needed by the Crusaders. All that escaped the Infidels were taken to Jerusalem.

The besiegers were thus considerably en-

couraged. One of the chief difficulties was to procure timber for the construction of engines. After much search a forest was found on a mountain thirty miles distant, and the echo of axes was soon heard felling the trees. The logs were drawn to the city by oxen shod with iron, and the engineers rapidly constructed such machines as were necessary for the demolition of the walls. Before the astonished Saracens could well understand what was done towers were brought against the ramparts, and the Crusaders were thus enabled to fight hand to hand with their enemies.

While this encouraging work was going on the hermit of Mount Olivet again appeared as a leader. He persuaded the Christians to go in a procession about the walls of the city even as the Israelites of old encompassed the walls of Jericho. A procession was formed, headed by the priests, who clad themselves in white, carried the sacred images, and sang psalms as they marched. Trumpets were blown and banners waved until the warriors reached Olivet, where they halted, and from the height viewed the city which they had come to rescue. They were harangued by Arnold de Rohes and other priests, who pointed out the sacred places trodden under the profane feet of the Turks, and exhorted them to pause not in the holy work until the Infidels had expiated with their blood the sin and shame of their presence and deeds in the sacred precincts of Jerusalem. The zeal of the Crusaders was thus rekindled, and they demanded to be led forward to the assault.

By the 14th of July, 1099, every thing was in readiness for a second general attack on the city. The vigor with which the Crusaders had of late prosecuted the siege had alarmed the Saracens and given the advantage to the assailants. The huge towers which the engineers had built were rolled down against the walls and the Christians were thus enabled to face the Moslems on the top of the rampart. The defenders of the city, however, grew desperate, and fought with greater valor than at any previous time. They resorted to every means to beat back their foes. They poured down Greek fire and boiling oil upon the heads of those who attempted to scale the walls. They hurled stones and beams and blocks of wood upon the pilgrim warriors who

battered the ramparts. So resolute was the defense that after twelve hours of hard fighting the Crusaders were obliged to fall back, amidst the taunts and insults of those who manned the turrets.

With both Christians and Moslems the crisis had now come. With both it was conquer or perish. The former were peculiarly pressed by the situation. A pigeon flying towards the city was intercepted with a letter under its wings, and the Crusaders were made aware that armies of Saracens were gathering for the relief of the city. It was therefore determined to continue the assault on the morrow. With early morning the engines were again advanced to the walls, and the Christians rushed forward to the attack. For a long time it could hardly be known whether the assault or the defense was made with greater obstinacy. In some parts the walls gave way before the thundering blows of the machines built by the Genoese engineers; but the garrison threw down straw and other yielding material to prevent the strokes of the battering rams from taking effect. In one place, however, a huge catapult played havoc with all resistance, and a breach was about to be effected, when two Saracen witches were sent to interpose their charms to the work of destruction. But the insensate monster hammered away with no regard to their spells and incantations. The Moslems saw their prophetesses perish as though the unseen world had nothing to do with war.

Still, for the time, the Crusaders could not break into the city: The Saracens found that fire was more potent than witchcraft as a means of resisting wooden engines. They threw down burning materials upon the catapults, and several of them were consumed. On the afternoon of the second day it seemed as if the Christians would again be driven back. They were well-nigh exhausted with heat and fatigue. They weltered and bled in the dust outside the walls. Just as they were wavering and about to retreat, Godfrey, who throughout the siege and assault had more than ever distinguished himself by his heroism, resorted to the usual expedient to revive the drooping courage of his followers. Looking up to Mount Olivet, he beheld there a mighty horseman waving on high a buckler.

“Behold!” cried the hero, “St. George comes again to our aid and makes a signal for us to enter the Holy City.” *Dieu le Veut!* responded the Crusaders, springing forward with unconquerable purpose. As on the field before Antioch, when the celestial warriors came to the rescue, so now the dust-covered, heat-oppressed Christians became suddenly invincible. With an irresistible impulse they rushed to the wall and renewed the onset. The rampart broke before them. Tradition recites that Reimbault of Crete was the first to mount the wall. Godfrey followed. Then came Eustace with a host of warriors and knights. Clouds of smoke mixed with dust and flame arose on every hand as the victorious Crusaders broke over all opposition and poured into the city.

The Saracens gave way before them. They retreated through the streets, fighting at intervals until they were driven into the precincts of the Mosque of Omar. Blood flowed in the gutters, and horrid heaps of the dead lay piled at every corner. None were spared by the frenzied Christians, who saw in the gore of the Infidels the white Way of Redemption. Ten thousand dead, scattered through the city, gave token of the merciless spirit of the men of the West. Another ten thousand were heaped in the reeking courts of the great mosque on Mount Moriah. “God wills it,” said the pilgrims.

The indiscriminate butchery of the Saracens was carried out by the rank and file of the Crusading army. In this bloody work they needed no incentive—no commander. Each sword flamed with hatred until it was cooled in the dripping life of the enemies of Christ. As for Godfrey, he was missed from the slaughter. Another sentiment had taken possession of his breast. As soon as he saw the city in the hands of his followers, he remembered the Holy Sepulcher. He stripped himself of his armor and went barefoot to the spot where the victim of Pilate and the Jews had been laid eleven centuries ago. There on his knees the great Crusader bowed and worshiped for a season, while his followers completed the extermination of the Saracens.¹

¹ The spirit of the massacre is well illustrated in the letter which the Christian princes sent to His Holiness the Pope. The devout writers say: “If you wish to know what we did to the ene-

As soon as the host heard of the act of their pious leader, they too made a pause. A sudden revulsion of feeling swept over them and they made haste to follow his example. They took off their bloody weapons, and bared their heads and feet. They washed the gore from their hands, and formed themselves into a procession. Led by the priests and singing penitential psalms, they then marched—many of them upon their knees—to the Church of the Resurrection, and there found that sacred but long desecrated spot which had been the object and end of their more than three years of warfare—the sepulcher of Christ. There, like their most distinguished leader, they knelt and offered up such adoration as the heart of the Middle Ages was able to render to its Lord.

One of the most interesting incidents of the capture of the city was the emergence from places of concealment of many Christians, who came forth as if from prison to welcome their deliverers. Great was the mutual joy of these long-distressed wretches and the Crusaders. There was weeping as if the lost were found. In the midst of many frantic demonstrations, the victorious multitude turned with an enthusiastic outburst to one who had almost passed from sight during the siege—Peter the Hermit. The little fanatic monk was singled out as the greatest of all the human agencies by which the deliverance of Jerusalem had been accomplished. Around him, clad in his woolen garment and mounted on his mule, the mediæval zealots gathered in an enormous crowd, and did obeisance as to a liberator and savior. Thus, ever in the history of the world the real brawn and valor, the true heroic virtue which fights and bleeds and wins the battle, abases itself at the last before some scrawny embodiment of enfeebled bigotry.

The First Crusade had now reached its climax. The Holy City was wrested from the Turks. The blood of the Infidel iron-forgers of the Altai had poured in thick streams down the slopes of Mount Moriah. The Syrian sun rising from the plains of Mesopotamia, flung the shadow of the Cross from the summit of Calvary to the distant Mediterranean. But

mies we found in the city, learn that in the portico of Solomon and in the Temple our horses walked up to the knees in the impure blood of the Saracens."

what should the victors do with their trophy? As for Baldwin, he had made himself secure in the principality of Edessa. As for Bœmund, his selfish and ambitious nature had satisfied itself among the palaces and fountains of Antioch. As for the half million pilgrim warriors who had set out for Constantinople in the summer of 1096, nine out of every ten had perished. The remnant, now numbering fewer than fifty thousand, had reached the goal, and had planted their banners on the holy places in the City of the Great King. Could they preserve the prize which they had won?

A few days after the capture of Jerusalem the Western princes met to consider the disposition to be made of Palestine. The almost inevitable solution was the conversion of the country into a Christian state. The form of government was, of course, that feudal type of monarchy which then prevailed throughout Europe. It devolved upon the princes to choose a king, and to this task they set themselves with alacrity. Of the leading Crusaders, those who were eligible to the high office were Robert Short Hose of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, and Godfrey of Bouillon. From the first the tide set strongly in favor of the last named duke. Short Hose and the Count of Flanders both announced their intention of returning forthwith to Europe, and as to Raymond, his haughty bearing and impetuous temper made him unpopular as a leader.

In order to settle the question, a commission of ten of the most discreet chieftains was appointed, and they at once set about the duty of election. Great care was exercised in regard to the fitness of the candidates. Duke Godfrey's servants were called and questioned relative to the private life and manners of their master. "The only fault we find with him," said they, "is that, when matins are over, he will stay so long in church, to learn the name of every image and picture, that dinner is often spoiled by his long tarrying." "What devotion!" exclaimed the pious electors. "Jerusalem could have no better king." So he was chosen. The KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM was proclaimed in the city, and the nomination of Duke Godfrey was made known to the eager and joyous multitude. Thus, on the 23d of July, in the last year of the eleventh

century, the Holy Land with its capital, once the City of David and the Christ, now wrenched from the dominion of the Turks by a series of exploits of well-nigh inconceivable audacity, was erected into a feudal monarchy after the European fashion, and placed under

the suzerainty of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, destined for the present to suffer more ills in defending than he had borne in conquering his heritage, and hereafter immortalized by the muse of Tasso as the hero of the *Jerusalem Delivered*.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.



DUKE GODFREY accepted the office but refused the title of king. He declared to the electors that it would be unbecoming in him to wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had been crowned with thorns. It was, therefore, decided that the new ruler of Jerusalem should be entitled "First Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." His sovereignty, however, was ample, and his right undisputed.

As soon as the monarchy was proclaimed, the king-elect repaired with the pilgrim princes to the Church of the Resurrection, and there took an oath to reign according to the laws of justice and honor. Hardly was this ceremony ended, when the startling intelligence was borne to the city that a powerful Moslem army, led by Afdhal, one of the most valiant emirs of the East, had reached Ascalon, and was searching for a force of Crusaders sufficiently strong to offer battle. The warlike emir had taken an oath in the presence of the Caliph to drive every European out of Syria; nor could it be denied that a knowledge of his coming had spread terror before him. In the city, the Christians were in consternation. But King Godfrey had seen too much of War to be any longer frightened, at the sound of his chariot. With unwavering courage he summoned his followers to resume the weapons which they had so recently laid aside, and go forth to victory. His influence and authority secured the desired object. Even Robert Short Hose and Raymond consented to renew the struggle with the Infidels. The Crusaders were marshaled forth, and led out in the direction of the foe.

The march led into the plain between Joppa and Ascalon. When the Christians were about encamping for the night—it was now the 11th of August—the whole horizon seemed to be disturbed with some dark agitation. Scouts were sent out to ascertain the cause, and, returning, brought back the report that immense herds of cattle and camels were driven along in the distance. This news fired the cupidity of the Crusaders, and they would fain go forth to seize so rich a booty. Godfrey, however, scented a stratagem, and prudently restrained his followers. No man was permitted to leave the ranks for the night. Events soon showed the wisdom of the king.

For, before the break of day, news was brought to the camp that the Moslem army was but a short distance away. With due celerity Godfrey and his captains set their forces in order of battle. Nine divisions were formed, and placed under command of leaders true and tried. At dawn of day Arnold de Rohes, who had been elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, went through the ranks, bearing the cross and pronouncing blessings on the soldiers. The army then knelt down, and besought the favor of heaven preparatory to the decisive struggle. As the march was resumed in the direction of the enemy, the tempting droves of cattle were seen to pass around to the rear, as if to distract the attention of the Crusaders from the great game soon to be enacted in front.

While these movements were performed by the Christians the Emir Afdhal had also prepared for the conflict. He had posted himself on the edge of the plain of Ascalon in a position strongly defensible by nature. For the mountains and the sea conspired to protect the wings of the Moslem army, and in the

distance the towers of the city—one of the strongest in Palestine—were seen as a refuge.

The Saracen army was drawn up in two lines, and was terrible in its aspect and extent. The disparity of numbers was so great that to any other than a Crusader it would have appeared the excess of madness to offer battle. But to one who had seen the war-horse of St. George and had touched the sacred spear wherewith the side of Christ had been pierced no task could appal, no numbers terrify.

On the other hand, where every rational ground of confidence existed, the Saracens shook at the sight of the Christian banners. No exhortation of the Emir could suffice to inspire the host under his command. At the moment when battle was about to begin the device which the Moslems had invented to destroy their adversaries turned against themselves. The vast droves of cattle which had been intended to decoy the Crusaders were seen in the rear of Godfrey's army and were mistaken by Afdhal's forces for a part of the foe whom they had to face. The discouragement of the Saracens was so great that in the beginning of the engagement they fought but feebly, while every furious blow of the Christian knights fell with fatal effect upon the Mohammedan ranks. As usual on such occasions, Robert Short Hose fought like a lion. With a body of cavalry he forced his way to the Saracen center and captured the Emir's standard. The infantry rushed after him and the enemy's lines were broken and scattered.

For a while a division of Ethiopians, after the peculiar tactics of their country, fell on their knees to discharge their javelins and then with a clubbed weapon resembling a flail, armed with jagged balls of iron, sprang up and assailed the Crusaders with the fury of Huns; but even these fierce warriors were soon routed by the resistless charges of Godfrey's knights. The whole Saracen army broke and fled in confusion. They rushed in the direction of Ascalon, and were pursued with havoc and slaughter. Thousands perished on the field; other thousands in the flight, and still others at the drawbridge of the city, upon which they were hopelessly crowded by the Christian warriors. Ascalon itself, in which Afdhal found refuge with the fugitives, might have been easily taken but for a quarrel which

broke out between Godfrey and Raymond, whose ungovernable temper was as dreadful to his friends as his sword was fatal to his enemies. As it was, the Christians withdrew from the scene of their great victory laden with spoil and driving before them the herds of cattle which had already served them better than the enemy. As for the defeated Emir, believing himself unsafe in Ascalon, he took ship for Egypt, and sought security under the shadow of the Caliphate.

The battle of Ascalon was decisive of the present fate of Palestine. For the time the Turk was hurled from his seat. With the accomplishment of this result the prime motive of the Crusade was satisfied. Many of the princes now made preparation to return to Europe. The eccentric Raymond, however, had sworn never to see the West again. He accordingly repaired to Constantinople, and received from the Emperor as the portion due his heroism the city of Laodicea. Eustace of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders returned to their respective countries, and resumed possession of their estates. Here they passed the remainder of their lives in prosperity and honor. Robert Short Hose went back to Normandy, and when the five years expired, during which he had leased his dukedom to William Rufus, he recovered his inheritance. His stormy life, however, was still agitated and unfortunate. A few years after his return his paternal dominions were invaded by his brother Henry, king of England. A battle was fought between the two princes at Tenchebray, and Robert was defeated and captured. He was taken to Cardiff Castle and there confined as a prisoner of state until the year 1148, when his strange and romantic career was ended by death. Peter the Hermit likewise left the Holy City and started on a homeward voyage. In mid sea his ship was caught in a storm and the terrified monk vowed, if he should be spared to found an abbey in honor of the tomb of Christ. The tempest passed and Peter kept his vow by building a monastery on the banks of the Mæ. Here he spent the remnant of his days in penitential works, after the manner of his order. As for the counts—Stephen and Hugh—they, as will be remembered, had abandoned the Crusade before Antioch, and without participating in

the glory of capturing Jerusalem, had returned to Europe. The age branded them, however, as recreants, and under the whip of public opinion they rallied their knights for a new expedition.

Thus in a short time King Godfrey found himself in the Holy City with only a few hundred warriors to defend it. His courage, however, was as great as the situation was perilous. His reputation as a military chieftain stood him well in hand, and the swollen stream of pilgrims from the West, who might now be expected to crowd towards Jerusalem, would doubtless be sufficient for defense.

But the valiant Godfrey was not destined long to enjoy the fruits of his toil and warfare. As Baron of the Holy Sepulcher he did as much as man well might to give regular institutions to the country and people that he had conquered. A code of laws, known as the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, was drawn up under his auspices, and Palestine was suitably divided for purposes of administration. The military arm was strengthened, and Tancred was sent into Galilee, where he captured the town of Tiberias. The whole province was taken from the Turks and added to Godfrey's dominions.

The valorous Tancred carried the war still further into the sultan's territories, whereupon a Saracen army was sent out from Damascus, and the adventurous Crusader was about to be cut off. Godfrey hurried to his assistance, and the Moslems were defeated in battle. Returning to Jerusalem, the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher passed by way of Cesarea, and was met by the emir of that district, who made him a seemingly courteous offer of fruits. The unsuspecting Godfrey accepted and ate an apple. Doubtless it had been poisoned, for the prince immediately sickened. He was taken in haste to Joppa, where he lingered until the 18th of July, 1100, when he died. With thoughtful solicitude he committed his kingdom of Jerusalem to the protection of his companions, and directed that his body should be buried near the tomb of Christ. A few days after his death his remains were borne up the slope of Calvary, and laid to rest not far from the Holy Sepulcher. All Christendom heard of the event with sorrow, and the mourning for the most unselfish and chivalrous of the great knights

who led the first Crusaders to victory and death was long continued, and as sincere as the age was capable of showing.

The decease of the king of Jerusalem brought on a crisis. Scarcely was Godfrey buried until the barons fell to quarreling about the succession. The crown was claimed by Arnold de Rohes, now patriarch of the city, but his pretensions were vigorously resisted by many of the pilgrim warriors. In order to find support he sent an embassy to Bœmund, prince of Antioch, to come to his assistance, and to aid in saving the Holy City from anarchy. The opposition meanwhile dispatched messengers to Baldwin of Edessa, brother of the late king, to come to Jerusalem and take the crown which now, according to feudal tenure, would rightfully descend to him. The envoys sent by Arnold to Antioch brought back the doleful intelligence that Bœmund had been recently taken prisoner by the Turks, and was himself far more in need of assistance than able to go to the rescue of another. Not so, however, with Prince Baldwin. Notwithstanding the doubtful expediency of endangering all by leaving his safe principality of Edessa for the hazards attending the crown of Jerusalem, he gladly accepted the invitation of the barons, and laid claim to the throne vacated by the death of his brother. Putting all on the cast of the die, he made over the principality of Edessa to his kinsman, Baldwin du Bourg, and set out with fourteen hundred horsemen to make good his claims in the Holy City.

His reception was flattering. The inhabitants of Jerusalem came forth to meet their new sovereign, and welcomed him with plaudits. So marked were the expressions of approval that the Patriarch Arnold, after a few days of sullen discontent, gave in his adherence, and consented to officiate in the coronation of his successful rival.

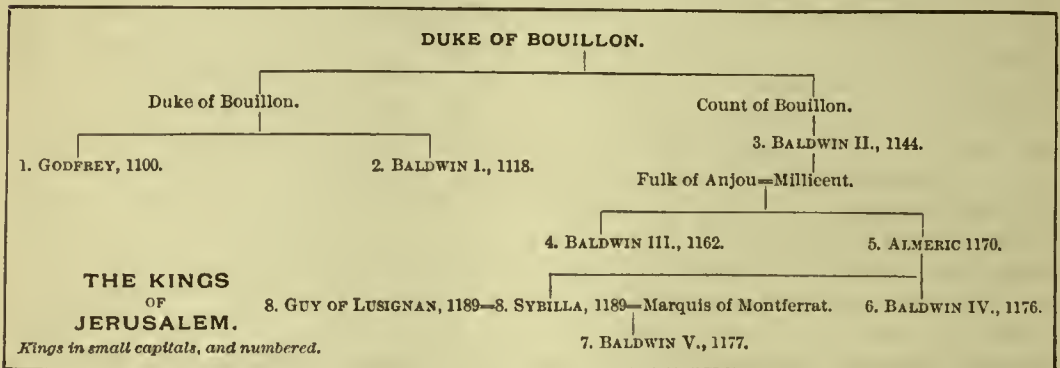
As soon as this ceremony was completed, BALDWIN set about the duties of his office with great energy. His abilities were scarcely inferior to those of his predecessor, and his audacity greater. The Saracens soon learned that the transfer of the crown was not likely to inure to the benefit of the Crescent. King Baldwin organized several expeditions against the Infidels, and his successes were such as to

strike terror into the ranks of the foe. The cities of Cesarea, Sidon, Tripoli, and Acre were quickly taken, and the frontiers of the kingdom widened and established on all sides.

The forces of the king were in the meantime augmented by almost constant arrivals from Europe. Several bodies of warriors, who were drawn in the wake of the First Crusade, reached the Holy City in the first years of the new century, and joined the victorious standard of those who had preceded them. Now it was that Stephen of Blois and Hugh of Vermandois returned to the scenes of former days, shame-faced for their abandonment of the cause, and eager to retrieve their honor. The dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria, and the counts of Burgundy, Vendôme, Nevers, and Parma, all envious of the fame achieved by their brethren in the East,

years later, when the armies of Baldwin were engaged in the siege of Sidon, two fleets, manned by Scandinavian Crusaders, arrived from the Baltic, and rendered important service in the reduction of the city.

To this epoch belongs the last of the exploits of Raymond of Toulouse. Before the capture of the Phœnician cities, he had acted as guide and leader to a band of French knights on their way through Asia Minor to Jerusalem. Obtaining an ascendancy over them, he induced them to join him in the conquest of Tortosa, on the coast of Syria. A new principality was thus founded, with Raymond for its ruler. He employed his own knights from Provence in enlarging the borders of his state, and presently undertook the reduction of Tripoli; but, before this object could be reached, the veteran warrior



assumed the cross and arrived with their knights in Palestine. So long and full of hardships was the march through Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, that those who survived were already veterans before reaching their destination, and the armies of Baldwin were thus replenished by a class of warriors scarcely inferior to the war-hardened Crusaders of the first expedition.

Another source of strength to the kingdom was the constant arrival on the Phœnician coast of fleets from Genoa and other European ports. A readier communication was thus maintained with the parent states. These armaments coöperated with the land forces in the subjugation of the maritime districts of Syria. As early as 1104, Beirut and Serepta were conquered, partly through the aid of the Genoese squadron. A few

of Toulouse died. The work of subjugation, however, was continued by King Baldwin, assisted by all the Latin princes of the East. Tripoli was taken, and became the capital of a new dukedom, which was conferred on Bertrand, son of Raymond. The state thus formed was subject, after the feudal manner, to the Kingdom of Jerusalem; but its importance, lying as it did midway between the principality of Antioch and the Holy Land, was such as to give to Tripoli a rank of almost independent sovereignty.

At Antioch affairs had not gone prosperously. Bœmund, as already narrated, was made prisoner by the Turks. Tancred thereupon assumed the government during the minority of Bœmund's son. While acting thus as regent he continued his unending warfare with the Saracens and was killed in battle. Bœ-

mund finally effected his escape and soon afterwards engaged in hostilities with the Eastern Empire. Unsuccessful in this war he returned to Tarento, and there, in his old age, sat brooding and despondent amid the scenes of his boyhood. His restless nature, tormented with the vision of impossible activities, gave way to gloom, and he died of despair.

Of the heroic companions of Godfrey, there now remained in the East only King Baldwin and Baldwin du Bourg, prince of Edessa. The former was sonless, and reason and preference both indicated the latter as his successor to the crown of Jerusalem. In the year 1118 the king died and Baldwin du Bourg came to the throne with the title of Baldwin II. On his accession he transferred the Principality of Edessa to Joscelyn de Courtenay, a noble knight of France, who had gone to Asia Minor in the wake of the First Crusade.

In the mean time, Count Foulque, of Anjou, father of that Geoffrey Plantagenet who gave a race of kings to England, falling into profound melancholy on account of the death of his wife, would fain distract his thoughts from his grief by taking the cross and going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He accordingly left his province to the care of his son and departed for the East. On reaching the Holy City he became greatly admired for his qualities of mind and person. Nor was it long till he found a panacea for his sorrow in the acquaintance of the Princess Millicent, daughter of Baldwin II. Her he wooed and won, and when her father died he received and wore the crown rather as the husband of Millicent than in his own right. His son was named for his maternal grandfather, and afterwards reigned with the title of Baldwin III.

The principal event of the reign of Baldwin du Bourg was the siege and capture of Tyre. This great feat was accomplished in the year 1124, and chiefly by the aid of the Venetian fleet sent out by the Doge Ordelafo Falieri. Before engaging in the enterprise, however, this thrifty ruler stipulated that he should receive the sovereignty of one-third of the city as the price of his services. Already the Italian princes, especially those who held authority in the maritime Republics, had learned the value of their services to the Crusaders, and were not slow to turn their advantage to a

profitable account. Henceforth—though not less zealous than others in proclaiming the disinterested motives by which they were actuated in sending out their fleets against the Moslems—they ever took care to extort from those whom they aided exorbitant pay for their service. The squadron of Falieri arrived on the Phœnician coast, and the city of Tyro was obliged, after a five months' siege, to capitulate. The new conquest was erected into an archbishopric and added to the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Thus, in the last year of the first quarter of the twelfth century the most opulent city on the Syrian coast, being also the last stronghold of the Moslems in Palestine, was won by the Crusaders and annexed to their dominions.

This is the date of the greatest power and influence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Holy Land was now all recovered from the Infidels. Neither the Turks from the direction of Baghdad, nor the Fatimites from the side of Egypt, were able for the time to shake the foundations of the Christian state. From the Mediterranean to the desert of Arabia, and from Beyrut to the Gulf of Sinai, the country acknowledged the sway of Baldwin II. Besides the large territory thus defined the County of Tripoli under Bertrand, and the Principalities of Edessa and Antioch were as distinctly Christian states as was Jerusalem itself, and throughout the whole of these countries the feudal institutions of Western Europe were established on what appeared to be an enduring basis.

The Christian kingdom of Palestine was divided into the four great fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cesarea, and Tripoli, and over each was set a baron who was the vassal of the king. The one fatal weakness of the situation lay in the fact that while a constant stream of pilgrim warriors was setting towards Jerusalem, another stream fully as copious was flowing back into Europe. Even at the time of greatest solidity and peace the number of knights and soldiers resident in Palestine was never sufficient to defend the country in the event of a formidable invasion by the Moslems. It was estimated that the regular force of knights whom as his vassals Baldwin II. might call into the field did not exceed two thousand five hundred; and the feudal militia, consist-

ing for the most part of archers on foot, only numbered twelve thousand.

Another circumstance tending to undermine the foundation of the kingdom was the rapid deterioration of the people of the West under the conditions of life in Syria. The resident Crusaders were brought into communion and fellowship with the native Christians of the country—Syrians, Greeks, Armenians,—a nerveless race of Orientals, destitute of the warlike vigor of the Western pilgrims. Besides, the Mussulman peasantry remained in the villages and continued to cultivate the soil. After the lapse of a few years these diverse races began to commingle, and a new type of population was produced, inheriting but little virtue from either line of parentage. These hybrid inhabitants were known by the name of *Pullani* or Poulains—a degenerate stock deduced from a bad cross under the influence of a baleful climate and diseased society.

One of the principal events belonging to the interval between the First and Second Crusades was the institution of the two principal ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD. The prime motives of the origin of these celebrated societies are to be found in the martial spirit and religious enthusiasm of the age. The condition of society was such as to suggest the conservation of the chivalrous and benevolent sentiments by means of organization. As soon as the orders were established they rose to celebrity, and it was not long until the highest honors of secular society would have been freely exchanged for the distinction conferred by the badges of knighthood.

The fundamental principle on which the new Orders were founded was *the union of monachism and chivalry*. Hitherto the devotion of man to religion had made him a monk; his devotion to truth denied and innocence distressed, had made him a secular warrior. It now happened that the warlike vow and the vow of religion were united in the single consecration of knighthood. The condition of affairs in Palestine—unfavorable to monasticism from the insecurity of society, and unfavorable to secular chivalry on account of the absence of lofty sentiments among the lay population of the country—was peculiarly favorable to the development of organizations based on the cross militant. Such organiza-

tions contemplated the sword under the cowl—warfare in the name of Christ. The same ideas which had brought about the Crusade demanded preservation under the sanction of secrecy and brotherhood.

The oldest of the religio-chivalric orders was the KNIGHTS OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM, known also as KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, and subsequently as Knights of Rhodes and Knights of Malta. The circumstances of the origin of this celebrated Order date back to the middle of the eleventh century. In the year 1048 some benevolent merchants of the Italian city of Amalfi obtained permission of the Fatimite rulers of Jerusalem to build in the Holy City a chapel for the use of Latin pilgrims. The establishment took the name of Saint Mary, and was for a while used in common by both men and women. Soon afterwards two hospitals were built in connection with the chapel; and then a second chapel, called after Saint Mary Magdalen, was erected adjacent to the woman's hospital. The man's hospital took the name of Saint John the Almoner, an Alexandrian patriarch of the seventh century. This saint had left a sweet memory in the City of David by sending thither in the year 614, after the destructive siege and capture by Chosroes II., a plentiful supply of money and provisions to the suffering people. Such was the origin of the hospitals or hostelries of Jerusalem.

To the whole establishment thus founded was given the name of Saint John, who became the recognized patron of the Order. The services in the hospitals were performed by a brotherhood—and sisterhood—of pilgrims under the direction of Pierre Gerard le Bienheureux, or Gerard the Blessed. It was this Order of the Hospital that came forth on the occasion of the capture of the city by the Crusaders, and rendered so great service to humanity by caring for the wounded and dying. So heroic were the efforts of the brotherhood, that Raymond du Puy joined the Order, and Godfrey himself bestowed on them their first foreign possession, namely, the estate of Montbairé in Brabant. His example was imitated by other princes, and it was not long until the brothers of the Hospital found themselves in possession of abundant means.

Now it was that the Order took on a per-

manent character. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem the brothers bound themselves by a vow to labor forever in the hospitals. They were to become henceforth the "servants of Christ and his poor." Their vows embraced the trinity of mediæval virtues—obedience, chastity, and poverty. As a garb they chose the black robe of the Augustinian monks, and to this was added a white linen cross of eight points, worn on the left breast. On the 15th of February, 1113, the Order was approved by Pope Paschal II., under the name of the "Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John in Jerusalem."

In the organization which was thus made regular and permanent, Pierre Gerard was chosen Guardian and Provost of the Order. Gifts poured in upon the fraternity. A splendid church was built on the traditional site of the abode of the parents of Saint John the Baptist, and hospitals for the accommodation of pilgrims were founded in the principal seaport towns of Western Europe.

After five years of service as Guardian, Gerard died, and was succeeded by Raymond du Puy. He it was who, in order to protect the Christians of Palestine from injury or insult at the hands of the Moslems, armed himself and former companion knights, and thus gave to the Order its first military cast. The movement was applauded by the age. Both in the Holy Land and in the West the brothers in arms became more popular than ever. The chivalric sentiment was thus added to the charitable vows of the fraternity, and persons of distinction and high rank began eagerly to seek admission into the Order. The vow to bear arms in defense of Christ and his cause, and to defend from insult and wrong the Christians of all lands and languages, was taken with even more enthusiasm than the vow of monasticism and charity.

From the accession of Raymond to the guardianship of the Order, three degrees were recognized in the hospital; knights, priests, and brothers-servants. To these a fourth grade, called sergeants or half-knights, was presently added; and to these intermediates certain duties in both the field and the infirmary were assigned.

Under the auspices of Raymond, a code was drawn up for the government of the

Order. The Augustinian rule was made the basis of the statute adopted for the Brothers of the Hospital. The name of the chief officer was changed from Guardian to Master, and Saint John the Baptist was substituted for Saint John the Almoner, as the patron of the brotherhood. In 1120 the new constitution was submitted to Pope Calixtus II., and by him cordially approved.

So rapidly did the Hospitallers extend their establishments and membership that it was presently found desirable to make—according to the nationality and language of the members—a nine-fold division of the Order. The commanderies were thenceforth classified as those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, England, Castile, and Portugal.

Before the middle of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers had become a powerful military factor in the affairs of the East. Their membership embraced the most puissant knights of Christendom. During the siege of Tyre, they contributed powerfully to the capture of the city, and the final expulsion of the Moslems from Palestine. In 1153 they aided in the taking of Asecalon, their valorous actions being the pride of the Christians and the terror of the Saracens. After these successful victories for the Cross, the wealth of the Order accumulated with great rapidity. Nor was it long until the moral and chivalric grandeur of the brotherhood began to be undermined by the invidious influences of luxury and corruption. As early as 1168, the Master Gilbert d'Assalit, successor to Raymond du Puy, was seduced with bribes, together with the larger part of the Order, to violate a treaty with Egypt, and to make an invasion of that country. In 1187 the Hospitallers of Palestine were almost exterminated in the disastrous battle of Tiberias, where Saladin so signally overthrew the Christians. When possession of Jerusalem was finally regained by the Saracens, the Order made its head-quarters for a while at the Castle of Margat, and at the same time the woman's hospitals in the East were abandoned. At this epoch, the knights suffered much from their disputes and rivalries with the Templars; but in times of danger both brotherhoods gave their best blood in defense

of the common cause. In the great battle of Gaza, A. D. 1244, the losses of both Hospitallers and Templars were so great that the two Orders came nigh suffering a common ex-

at this time that the Order of Saint John became a maritime power, having its own fleets and winning its own victories in the eastern Mediterranean. Early in the four-



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RHODES, TIME OF THE CRUSADES.

tinution. Finally, when, in 1291, the city of Acre was taken by the Moslems, the knights retired to Cyprus, where they made a stand and recruited their wasted ranks for the overflowing commanderies of the West. It was

teenth century, they seized the island of Rhodes, where they established their power, and defied the Turks for more than two hundred years. In 1522 they were driven from their stronghold, and obliged to seek a new

footing further west. They sought a refuge first in Crete, then in Messina, then in the main-land of Italy, and, finally, in 1530, were given the island of Malta by the Emperor, Charles V. This sea-born possession they converted into a fortress, which, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Turks, was held by the knights until 1798, when it was taken by Bonaparte.

The second of the great orders of knighthood was originally known as the **KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON**, and afterwards as **KNIGHTS TEMPLARS**, or **KNIGHTS OF THE RED CROSS**. Under these various designations they ran a briefer but more glorious career than the Hospitallers, by whom they were at first generously aided and afterwards bitterly opposed. The founding of the Order of the Temple dates to the year 1117. Two French knights, Hugues des Paiens and Geoffrey of Saint-Omer, perceiving the hardships to which Christian travelers were exposed in and about the Holy City, took upon themselves the duty of conducting the pilgrims who journeyed between Jerusalem and the Jordan. This charitable office soon gained a reputation for the humble warrior-guides, and they were joined by seven others, like-minded with themselves. An organization was effected under the benevolent patronage of the patriarch of the city. The members bound themselves by the usual monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty; and to these two others were added, to defend the Holy Sepulcher and to protect the way-faring pilgrims in Palestine.—Such was the humble beginning of the Order.

At the first the Knights of Saint John, now in the flush of their heroic virtues, lent aid and encouragement to the new society of brothers. Nothing was to be feared from a humble fraternity known by the name of the "Poor Soldiers of the Holy City." Nothing could exceed the lowliness of the meek knights who founded the brotherhood. Hugues and Geoffrey had one horse between them, and him they rode together on their first missions of benevolence.¹ The first members were given a lodging by Baldwin II., who assigned them

¹ The great seal of the Templars still perpetuates the story of the lowly origin of the Order in the figure of the steed with two riders.

quarters in his palace on the site of the ancient temple. Their first armory was established in a church near by, and here were stored their first knightly weapons. The first chapter was limited to nine members; but this limitation was removed by the council of Troyes in 1127. At this assembly St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, was commissioned to draw up a suitable code for the government of the body, and to devise an appropriate garb. The dress chosen was in strong contrast with that of the Hospitallers, consisting of a white tunic and mantle, with a red cross on the left breast. The rule of conduct and discipline was approved in 1128 by Pope Honorius II. The principal articles were these: The Knights were bound to recite vocal prayers at certain hours; to abstain from meats four days in the week; to refrain from hunting and hawking; to defend with their lives the mysteries of the Christian faith; to observe and maintain the Seven Sacraments of the



COSTUME OF A KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

Church, the fourteen articles of faith, the creeds of the apostles and of Athanasius; to uphold the doctrines of the Two Testaments, including the interpretations of the Fathers, the unity of God and the trinity of his persons, and the virginity of Mary both before and after the birth of her Son; to go beyond the seas when called to do so in defense of the cause; to fly not from the foe unless assailed by more than three Infidels at once.

Such was the nucleus of the Order. Humility was one of the first principles of the membership. The helmet of the Templar should have no crest—his beard should not be cut—his demeanor should be that of a servant of

his fellows. Each member on assuming the garb of a Knight must be girt with a linen cord in token that he was henceforth bound to service.

The organization of the Templars embraced four classes of members—knights, squires, servants, and priests. Each had their peculiar duties and obligations. The presiding officer of the Order was called the Master—afterwards the Grand Master—and he had as his assistants a lieutenant, a seneschal, a marshal, and a treasurer, all of whom were elected by the chapter. The states of Christendom were divided into provinces, and over each was set a provincial master. The Grand Master of Jerusalem was regarded as the head of the entire

be affiliated with the brotherhood in order to share its benefits. Every thing conspired to make the Knights the favorites of the century. They had the prestige of Crusaders. They had St. Bernard for their Master. They had the blessing of the Pope. They had the applause and gratitude of those whom they had relieved and protected. They had estates and castles and churches. They had the patronage of the great and the benediction of the Church.

It was the peculiarity of mediæval institutions that beginning in virtuous poverty they ended in luxury and crime. As early as the middle of the twelfth century the membership of the Templars was recruited largely from



DEFEAT OF THE TURKS BY CRUSADERS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

brotherhood, which soon grew in numbers, influence, and wealth to be one of the most powerful organizations in the world. Counts, dukes, princes, and even kings, eagerly sought the honor which was everywhere conceded to the red cross and white mantle of the Templar.

In course of time the Knights of the Temple became a sovereign body, owing no allegiance to any secular potentate. In spiritual matters the Pope was still regarded as supreme, but in all other affairs the Grand Master was as independent as the greatest sovereign of Europe. The houses of the Knights could not be invaded by any civil officer. Their churches and cemeteries were exempt from interdicts; their properties and revenues from taxation. So great were the immunities thus enjoyed that thousands of persons sought to

the class of adventurers and outlaws with whom Europe so greatly abounded. St. Bernard himself declared in a series of exhortations addressed to the Order that the greater number of the nobles who had joined the soldiers of the Temple had been men stained with every species of crime, the oppressors and scourges of Europe.

In the division of the Christian states into provinces by the Order of the Red Cross, three were formed in the East—Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli. In the West the provinces numbered sixteen—France, Auvergne, Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Provence, England, Germany, Upper and Lower Italy, Apulia, Sicily, Portugal, Castile, Leon, and Aragon. Of all these the most important by far was France. A majority of all the Templars were French,

1. **Otho** defeats the Saracens in Italy.
 2. **St. Henry**, great-grandson to Henry I., elected.
 24. **Conrad II.**
 39. **Henry III., THE BLACK**; he deposes and creates three popes in succession.
 56. **Henry IV.**, aged six years.
 73. Contentions with Hildebr
 bishops begins.
 76. Excommunicated, depri
 jets freed from their
 licit absoluton, and af
 victim of papal vengea

and relative to the investiture of
 38. Ce
 ved of his dominions, and his sub-
 allegiance, he goes to Italy to so-
 various struggles he falls the
 25. **Lothaire II.** elected.
 6. **Henry V.** He takes Piscal II. prisoner,
 does not release him until he res
 the investitures.
 Marries Matilda of England.
 the Saracens begins.
 38. **HOU**

GERMANY.

24. HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.

Robert II., son of Hugh Capet. The pope annuls his marriage with his cousin Bertha, and puts his kingdom under an interdict. The feudal system still gains strength, and the power of the monarch declines. *Private wars are continually carried on between the barons.*
 In the next century Louis VI. and his successors have many struggles with their vassals. Under them the power of the crown begins to revive and society to consolidate.
 31. **Henry I.**
 32. He defeats his brother Robert, whom his mother, Constantia, has endeavored to raise to the throne.
 60. **Philip I.**
 Invasion of William the Conqueror.
 73. A series of bloody wars with

8. **Louis VI., THE FAT**; he is an able
 37. **Louis VII.**,
 9. W. Eng. Henry defeated and forced to retire.
 19. **Brenneville**—Louis defeated by the English.
 24. The emperor Hen

FRANCE. CAPETIAN RACE.

2. Dreadful massacre of all the Danes in England.
 4. **Sweyn**, k. of Denmark, invades England and becomes king.
 15. Becomes king.
 16. **Edmund II., IRONSIDE.** son of Ethelred II.
 35. **Harold I.**
 Harold the second time.
 39. **Canute II.,** oppressive, son of Canute the Great.
 41. **Edward the Confessor**, son of Ethelred II., mild, partial to the
 44. Unites all the laws of England into one body, called the Common Law.
 57. **Malcolm III., CANMORE.**
 93. **Donald**
 99.
 40. **Macbeth** usurps after murdering Duncan.
 31. **Al Kaymen**, caliph at Bagdad.
 55. **Bagdad** taken by the Turks.
 From this time the caliphs are only the supreme pontiffs of the Mohammedan faith.
 65. **The Turks** take Jerusalem from the Saracens.
Christian pilgrims insulted and robbed—one cause of the Crusades.
 Seljuk, a Turkish officer of the khan of Tartary, becomes a Mohammedan. **Togrul Beg**, his grandson, after some conquests in 1037, takes the title of sultan; 42 he conquers Persia; 65, takes Bagdad, where he establishes his capital. Between 1055 and 1080 three more Turkish sultanries are erected under different conquerors. **Ducas** establishes his capital at Damascus, **Melech** at Aleppo, and **Cutlu Muses** and his son at Iconium.
 73. **William I., THE CONQUEROR**, from Normandy, defeats and slays Harold at *Hastings*. William introduces the Feudal System. Norman French used in all legal proceedings.
 57. Invading Fra
 57. **William Rufus.**
 66. **NORMAN KINGS.**

CRUSADING.
 class of Society. **Abelard**, scholar
Henry I., THE SCHOLAR, usurps the throne which his elder brother, Robert, is absent on a crusade; proves an able but licentious king.
 6. Henry defeats Robert, takes him prisoner, causes his eyes to be burned out, and confines him for life (28 years) in a castle.
 35. **Stephen**,
 ing th
 40. **Lino**
 42. **Th**
 nec, is injured and dies tyrannical and cruel.
 Henry marries Matilda, great-grand daughter issue, Matilda or Maud; she marries God earl of Anjou—issue, Henry II.
 (VII.) the Bane.
 24. **David the Saint.**
Edgar.
Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine; Hugh, brother of Robert, son of William the Conqueror; and head of 600,000 warriors, joined by Peter I, remnant of his host, besiege Nice.
Solyman, at the head of the Turks, is defeated a second time victorious, the Crusaders captured in Antioch by Solyman and the Pe
Ascalon—Godfrey defeats the Moslems (100,000 Mustall.
 99. They assault Jerusalem, and obtain the object of the deliverance of the Holy City from **Godfrey** is elected king.

ENGLAND.

16. **DANISH KINGS.**
 17. **Canute the Great**, a Dane, and the most powerful sovereign in Europe.
 36. **NORMAN KINGS.**

SCOTLAND.

4. **Malcolm II.**; he publishes a new code of Laws.
 34. **Duncan I.**
 40. **Macbeth** usurps after murdering Duncan.
 31. **Al Kaymen**, caliph at Bagdad.
 55. **Bagdad** taken by the Turks.
 From this time the caliphs are only the supreme pontiffs of the Mohammedan faith.
 65. **The Turks** take Jerusalem from the Saracens.
Christian pilgrims insulted and robbed—one cause of the Crusades.

(VII.) the Bane.
 24. **David the Saint.**
Anarchy.
Edgar.
Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine; Hugh, brother of Robert, son of William the Conqueror; and head of 600,000 warriors, joined by Peter I, remnant of his host, besiege Nice.
Solyman, at the head of the Turks, is defeated a second time victorious, the Crusaders captured in Antioch by Solyman and the Pe
Ascalon—Godfrey defeats the Moslems (100,000 Mustall.
 99. They assault Jerusalem, and obtain the object of the deliverance of the Holy City from **Godfrey** is elected king.

MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE.

28. **Romanus III.**
 41. **Michael V.**
 42. **Constantine IX.**
 34. **Michael IV.**
 54. **Theodora**, the last of the Macedonians.
 57. **Isaac Comnenus** resigns.
 81. **Alexius I. COMNENUS.**
 54. **Schism of the East** completed (a separation of the Eastern or Greek Church, from the Church of Rome) after two centuries of contentions.
Learning and commerce somewhat revive.
 68. **Romanus IV. DIAGENES.** what revive.

18. **John I. COMNENUS**, a great
 43.
 By the talents and bravery of the **COMNENUS**
 power
 39. **La**

EASTERN OR GREEK EMPIRE.

Boleslaus I., the first king, defeats the Germans, Russians, and Bohemians, and governs with wisdom.
 25. **Micislaus II.**
 41. **Casimir.**
 58. **Boleslaus II.**
 79. **Ladislaus I., THE CARELESS.**
 34-41. **Anarchy.** Previous to 1000 A. D. Poland was governed by dukes.
 41. **Michael V.**
 59. **Constantine X.**
 78. **Nicephorus.**
 57. **Isaac Comnenus** resigns.
 81. **Alexius I. COMNENUS.**
 54. **Schism of the East** completed (a separation of the Eastern or Greek Church, from the Church of Rome) after two centuries of contentions.
Learning and commerce somewhat revive.
 68. **Romanus IV. DIAGENES.** what revive.

18. **John I. COMNENUS**, a great
 43.
 By the talents and bravery of the **COMNENUS**
 power
 39. **La**

POLAND.

Boleslaus I., the first king, defeats the Germans, Russians, and Bohemians, and governs with wisdom.
 25. **Micislaus II.**
 41. **Casimir.**
 58. **Boleslaus II.**
 79. **Ladislaus I., THE CARELESS.**
 34-41. **Anarchy.** Previous to 1000 A. D. Poland was governed by dukes.

SWEDEN.

Christianity supposed to have been introduced into Sweden about 830, and into Denmark about 826 A. D.
 The history of Sweden previous to the fourteenth century is confused and uncertain.

2. **Nicholas.**
 5. The clergy and nobility obtain the chief power.
 35. **Erel I**
 39. **Er**

DENMARK.

Sweyn conquers England.
 36. **Canute III.**
 45. **Magnus the Good**, of Norway, k.
 Civil war. 64. Peace.
 16. **Canute II., THE GREAT**, becomes king of England.
 19. Conquers Norway.
 74. **Harold VII.**
 87. **Olaus.**
 95. **Eric.**
 76. **St. Canute IV.**
Unhappy times for near a century; of nine kings, five are assassinated.

2. **Nicholas.**
 5. The clergy and nobility obtain the chief power.
 35. **Erel I**
 39. **Er**
Henry, a grandson of Robert of France, assisted by a reward of his bravery, gives him his daughter.
 12. **Alphonso I.**
 39. **Pro**
 9. **Urraca** marries Raymond of France. She makes war with her sister the countess of Portugal.
 26. **Alphonso VIII.** defeats divides his dominions into his two sons.

ITALY.

Dreadful civil broils till 39 respecting feudal tenures.
 The Free Cities, **VENICE**, **GENOA**, and **PISA**, rise in power and wealth. The foundations of these little republics were laid soon after 900; they are greatly enriched by the Crusades.
 3. **Ardoin.** A German party invites Henry; Ardoin loses most of Italy; soon after resigns.
 4. Henry comes to Italy; in a quarrel between his troops and the people Pavia is burnt, which causes mutual hatred. Study of the Civil Law re

4. **Alphonso I., THE WARRIOR.** W. Moors
 24. **Ramirez II., THE MONK**
 6. **Milan** revolts and erects itself into a
 2. **William II.**, k. of Sicily. 30. **Rodger II.**, k. of 19-30. War between Pisa and
Henry V., emperor and king of Italy.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
 No. V.
EUROPE DURING THE CRUSADES,
 From 1000 to 1330 A. D.
 Prepared by John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.
 COPYRIGHTED 1889.

PORTUGAL.
 35. **Ferdinand I.** in 37 obtains Leon by marriage.
CASTILE AND LEON.
 35. **Ramirez I.** 63. **Sancho Ramirez.**
 76. Unites Navarre to his dominion.
 80. **W. Moors.** 94. **Peter I.**

95.
 9. **Urraca** marries Raymond of France. She makes war with her sister the countess of Portugal.
 26. **Alphonso VIII.** defeats divides his dominions into his two sons.
 4. **Alphonso I., THE WARRIOR.** W. Moors
 24. **Ramirez II., THE MONK**
 6. **Milan** revolts and erects itself into a

<p>son of Henry IV., elected by the states; op- the Proud of the family of the Guelphs, ope. This gives rise to the factions of the ans of the pope) and Ghibellines (partisans), which for three centuries desolate Italy</p> <p>79. Philip excommunicat deric I., BARBAROSSA, great-great-grandso nades Italy, has contests with the pope, a 31A.</p>	<p>8. Olto IV. (marries the daughter of Philip). 12. Frederic II.; he keeps up the opposi- tion againt three successive popes.</p> <p>ed, assassinated.</p> <p>son of Henry IV., nd engages in the Third Crusade.</p>	<p>50. Conrad, IV. 54. Poisoned. From the death; of Conrad to the election of Rodolph, the most dreadful anarchy.</p> <p>41. League of the Hansa Towns (soon of commerce and of the nobles.</p>	<p>73. Rodolph I. restores order in his distracted empire. 78. Conquers Austria. 91. Adolphus elected. (soon number eighty) for withstanding the exactions</p> <p>73. HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.</p>
<p>reign</p> <p>the pope about the an archbishop. A ys; Louis burns the y, filled with rebels. n a crusade to atone for his crime.</p> <p>joined England, defeated and forced to re- tre.</p>	<p>80. Philip II., AUGU STES.</p> <p>82. Banishes the J iseates their 90. Goes on Third Crusade.</p> <p>16. Louis, son of Philip, accepts the offer of the barons, goes to London, and is there crowned, but John dying soon after, he is forced to retire.</p> <p>23. Louis VIII., THE LION. He seizes all the English possessions on the Continent as far as the Garonne.</p>	<p>25. St. Louis IX., upright and honest, but living in superstitious times.</p> <p>42. Saintes—Louis defeats Henry of England. and the power of the crown greatly increased.</p> <p>48. Goa to the Holy Land and defeats the Saracens. 50. Taken prisoner in Egypt, purchases his pardon, and returns.</p>	<p>85. Philip IV., THE FAIR, perfidious and cruel.</p> <p>70. Dies besieging Tunis on his second crusade.</p> <p>70. Philip III., THE HARDY.</p>
<p>II., (grandson to Henry I.), PLANTAGENET, eds according to agreement, and proves the ost monarch of the age. sted by Thomas a Becket, archbishop of nterbury. liam the Conqueror, usurps, notwithstanding ilda and her son Henry.</p> <p>70. Becket killed. 73. His sons rebel. 90. Goes on 71. Does penance at Becket's tomb.</p> <p>71. Ireland conquered; given by the pope to Henry II. in 56.</p> <p>HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET</p>	<p>13. John forced to submit to his in- dignant barons, and to sign the Magna Charta, or Great Charter, which secures important rights to all classes.</p> <p>16. Henry III., a weak king, governed by foreign favorites.</p> <p>HEROIC.</p> <p>1. THE LION. a crusade, defeats Saladin; returning, is detained a prisoner in Germany. John Lackland, a weak tyrant, son of Henry II. In 13 he resigns his crown to the pope's legate, and receives it back as a vassal of the Holy See.</p>	<p>58. The Statutes of Oxford drawn up by the barons, which the king swears to observe.</p> <p>64. Lewis—Henry III, defeated and made prisoner by Montfort, earl of Leicester, supported by the barons.</p> <p>65. Evesham—Prince Edward defeats and slays Montfort, and frees his father.</p> <p>72. Edward I., LONGSHANKS, a great warrior and states- man, but cruel.</p> <p>82. Wales conquered; its king, Llewellyn, slain in battle; from this time "Prince of Wales" is the title of the king's eldest son.</p>	<p>R. Bacon, ph., d. 94, a. 80. <i>Notwithstanding her intestine troubles, in this century Eng- land improves greatly in civilization, commerce, and power.</i></p>
<p>m IV.</p> <p>65. William I., THE LION</p> <p>ch king; as, at the he small</p> <p>71. Saladin, sultan of Egypt, a He conquers Syria, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.</p> <p>87. He defeats the takes Jerusa 91. Acre taken Philip A 91. Richard de 93. Saladin d are div</p> <p>of Louis destroyed in Laodicea. power of the Crusaders declines. e second Crusade cost Europe 200,000 men.</p>	<p>William the Lion.</p> <p>14. Alexander II., active and wise; his attempts to civilize the Celts (Highlanders) occa- sion civil contentions.</p> <p>49. Alexander III., aged eight years, marries Margaret, The Western Islands conquered from Denmark.</p> <p>86. Batu Khan, nephew of Ougtaï, invades Europe at the head of 1,500,000 Moguls; ravages Russia, Poland, Hungary, and advances to the Danube; establishes himself as first khan of Kipchak.</p> <p>27. Ougtaï Khan completes the conquest of Northern China.</p> <p>81. Mamelukes capture Acre. End of the king- dom of Jerusa- lem.</p> <p>8. Genghis Khan, sovereign of the Moguls, after having subdued most of the Tartars in the North and East and Northern China, enters Persia, and in six years subduces that country.</p> <p>25. Marehs for China; dies upon the expedition; his empire divided among his four sons.</p> <p>The empire of the Moguls included all Asia, except Arabia, Turkey, the southern part of Hindostan, Chin-India, the south-eastern part of China, and the northern part of Siberia. It also embraced the eastern part (one- third) of Russia in Europe.</p> <p>1250-1332. Mamelukes rule in Egypt. They were originally Turkish slaves.</p>	<p>63. The Western Islands conquered from Denmark.</p> <p>85. Baljol and Bruce. 93. Baljol king.</p> <p>86. Batu Khan, nephew of Ougtaï, invades Europe at the head of 1,500,000 Moguls; ravages Russia, Poland, Hungary, and advances to the Danube; establishes himself as first khan of Kipchak.</p> <p>27. Ougtaï Khan completes the conquest of Northern China.</p> <p>81. Mamelukes capture Acre. End of the king- dom of Jerusa- lem.</p> <p>8. Genghis Khan, sovereign of the Moguls, after having subdued most of the Tartars in the North and East and Northern China, enters Persia, and in six years subduces that country.</p> <p>25. Marehs for China; dies upon the expedition; his empire divided among his four sons.</p> <p>The empire of the Moguls included all Asia, except Arabia, Turkey, the southern part of Hindostan, Chin-India, the south-eastern part of China, and the northern part of Siberia. It also embraced the eastern part (one- third) of Russia in Europe.</p> <p>1250-1332. Mamelukes rule in Egypt. They were originally Turkish slaves.</p>	<p>68. They take Antioch from the Christians.</p>
<p>ce.</p> <p>80. Alexius II. COMNENUS.</p> <p>83. Andronicus I. COMNE th the Turks and</p> <p>85. Isaac Angelus.</p> <p>comes an object of respect or of terror to the Asia.</p> <p>73. Micislaus III. 78. Casimir the Just; he restores peace.</p>	<p>16. Peter de Courtenay. 3. Alexius IV., THE YOUNGER. 19. Robert de Courtenay. 4. Baldwin I. crowned. 28. Baldwin II. 4. French or Latin emperors at Constantinople.</p> <p>6. Henry.</p> <p>2. Lesko restored.</p> <p>25. Conrad of Masovia. 27. Boleslaus V., aged 6.</p>	<p>61. The Greek emperors recover Constantinople from the French.</p> <p>61. Michael Paleologus. 81. The Turks take Cutahi.</p> <p>82. Andronicus II. PALEOLOGUS.</p> <p>79. Lesko the Black. The Poles defeated by the Moguls, who fill nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.</p> <p>50. Waldemar. 76. Magnus Ladislaus. 90. Birger con- Chivalry and tourna- ments introduced. Lapland conquered.</p>	<p>81. The Turks take Cutahi.</p> <p>82. Andronicus II. PALEOLOGUS.</p> <p>79. Lesko the Black. The Poles defeated by the Moguls, who fill nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.</p> <p>50. Waldemar. 76. Magnus Ladislaus. 90. Birger con- Chivalry and tourna- ments introduced. Lapland conquered.</p>
<p>I for dominion.</p> <p>57. Waldemar I., THE VICTORIOUS, defeats the Slavonic pirates.</p> <p>70. Destroys Jomsberg, the great Europe, and the stronghold 82. Canute VI.</p> <p>of Castile, against the Moors. Alphonso, as and creates him count of a part of Portugal, his troops. BURGUNDY. 85. Sancho I.</p> <p>ards Alphonso I. of Aragon, but is divorced. Sancho II., king of Castile, and Ferdinand II., king of Leon. Alphonso IX., king of Castile, has a long and prosperous reign.</p> <p>86. Alphonso IX., king.</p>	<p>10. Eric X. 15. John I. 22. Eric XI. Wisby becomes one of the Hansa towns.</p> <p>3. Waldemar II. makes great conquests, but is taken prisoner, and loses most of his acquisitions. 50. Abel. 59. Eric VII. 40. Laws of Waldemar. 43. Copenhagen captured by the Hansa Towns.</p> <p>11. Alphonso II., THE FAT. 23. Sancho II., CAPELLUS. 46. Alphonso III.</p> <p>12. Alphonso, king of Castile defeats the Moors. 52. Alphonso X., THE WISE. 71. Elected Emperor of Germany by a faction; in 82 deposed, and attempts to recover his throne by the aid of the Moors. 14. Henry I., king of Castile. 17. St. Ferdinand III., king of Castile, 30. Unites Castile and Leon. 36. St. Ferdinand takes Cordova, etc., from the Moors. The Alphon sine Tables formed.</p>	<p>42. Eric VI. 52. Christopher I taken prisoner, and loses most of his acquisitions. 50. Abel. 59. Eric VII. 40. Laws of Waldemar. 43. Copenhagen captured by the Hansa Towns.</p> <p>79. Dionysius or Dennis the Just.</p> <p>91. James II. king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy. 58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa. Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50. 82. Sicilian Vespers.</p>	<p>80. County deputies of the peasantry to Parliament. 86. Eric VIII.</p> <p>79. Dionysius or Dennis the Just.</p> <p>91. James II. king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy. 58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa. Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50. 82. Sicilian Vespers.</p>
<p>Alphonso II. conquers Provence. 96. Peter is married to Raymond, count of Barcelona. 67. League of the Italian cities to preserve</p> <p>III., THE BAD. nk of Venice established.</p> <p>ederic takes Crema. 67. He takes Rome. ederic takes Milan. 83. Peace of Con William IV., THE GOOD, king of Sicily. 74. Frederic's fourth expedition into Italy, by the discovery of a copy of the Pandects.</p>	<p>97. Frederic II., king of Sicily. 12. Goes to Germany and becomes emperor.</p> <p>50. Conrad, k. of the Sicilies. 68. Manfred. 65. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, is king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy. 58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa. Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50. 82. Sicilian Vespers.</p>	<p>68. Manfred. 65. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, is king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy. 58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa. Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50. 82. Sicilian Vespers.</p>	<p>91. James II. king of the Sicilies; he acquires great power, and aims at the sovereignty of Italy. 58. Dreadful naval war between Venice and Genoa. Thomas Aquinas, div., d. 74, a. 50. 82. Sicilian Vespers.</p>

and their possessions on French soil exceeded the aggregate of all others together. It was estimated that by the middle of the thirteenth century as many as nine thousand manors were held by the Templars of France. It naturally came to pass that all the other elements of society were alarmed and excited on account of the bloated development of this monopoly of the wealth and honors of the kingdom. The protection of pilgrims was meanwhile forgotten in the rivalry for power and the lust of gain. In the course of the subsequent Crusades the Knights not infrequently acted in bad faith towards those whom they pretended to serve. When the Christian kingdom in the East tottered to its downfall, the Templars, with a strange depravity of principle, attempted to secure their own interests by separate treaties with the Moslems; but their fortunes were involved with those of the Western powers, and all went down together.

The chief seat of the Templars remained at Jerusalem from the foundation in 1118 to the year 1187, and was then transferred to Antioch. Here the Grand Master had his headquarters for four years, removing thence, in 1191, to Acre. This stronghold of Knighthood continued to be the head-quarters of the Order until 1217, when a third removal was made to the Pilgrim's Castle near Cesarea. With the capture of Acre, in 1291, and the consequent overthrow of the Christian kingdom, the Templars retired to Cyprus, which they purchased from Richard the Lion Heart for thirty-five thousand marks.

About this time the Order fell under the ban in several parts of the West. Especially in France were the suspicions and jealousies of the government aroused against the Knights. Their exemption from all the burdens of the state, their arrogance, their pride and licentiousness all conspired to excite against them the dread and hatred of the people and the king. Nor is it to be doubted that the great wealth amassed by the Order in the course of nearly two centuries had aroused the cupidity of those who, unscrupulous as the Knights themselves, were ready to seize the first pretext of violence. Especially was the hostility of Philip the Fair of France awakened against a power which he conceived to be a menace to the perpetuity of his kingdom. He accord-

ingly determined to free the realm of the presence of the dangerous and ambitious brotherhood. He took counsel with Pope Clement V. how the Order might be exterminated. A judicial inquiry was instituted, the Knights being charged with heresy and immorality. In 1306 Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, was induced to come to Paris, and in October of the following year he and all the members of the brotherhood in France were seized. Their property was taken to await the issue of the proceedings. In the course of the trial many grave accusations, some of them contradictory of others, were brought forward, and the brothers were made to answer. They were charged with infidelity, Mohammedanism, atheism, heresy, profanation of holy things, and uncleanness. The prosecution was greatly troubled to produce evidence, but balked in the usual methods, a resort was had to torture, and many of the prisoners made confession. The Pope was loth to give his sanction to a measure of extermination, but Philip was determined, and the archbishop of Sens lent his countenance to the proceedings.

A grand council was called in Paris on the 10th of May, 1310, and three days afterwards fifty-four of the Templars being condemned were led into the field behind the alley of St. Antoine and burned at the stake. This example of vindictive fury was imitated in other parts of the kingdom. The reign of violence provoked action from the Pope, who two years later convened the Council of Venice to consider the question of the fate of the Templars. It was decided that the Order should be abolished and its property confiscated; but at the same time the Pope reserved his judgment as to whether the Knights were guilty of the heinous charges brought against them. The landed possessions of the famous brotherhood were transferred to the Hospitallers, and their movable property went to the sovereigns of the various states. Everywhere in Christendom, except in the kingdom of Portugal, where the brotherhood assumed the name of the Knights of Christ, the Templars as an organization were suppressed. De Molay himself and Guy of Auvergne were burned at Paris.

The third of the great chivalric bodies,

taking its rise in the time of the Crusades was the **TEUTONIC KNIGHTS**, or **KNIGHTS OF SAINT MARY OF JERUSALEM**. Like its two predecessors the new Order was based on a union of monastic and military service. A few years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians, a German merchant and his wife, dwelling in the city, threw open their house for the entertainment of the sick and distressed of their own nation. The attention of the Patriarch was called to this benevolent act, and a chapel near by was attached to the humble hospital, which received the name of Saint Mary. The founder of the institution devoted all his own means to the work, and it was not long until alms began to pour in in aid of the enterprise. Several distinguished Germans contributed their property to the support of the work begun by their countrymen. A service and ritual were established, and in the year 1119, only one year after the founding of the Templars, the new Order received the sanction of Pope Calixtus II. Religious and martial vows were taken by the brothers, who made the work of charity and the relief of the distressed the prominent feature of their discipline.

In the choice of a dress and regalia, the Teutonic Knights distinguished themselves as much as possible from the Hospitallers and the Templars. The gown was black with a white mantle, and on this was a black cross with a silver edging. The Order soon achieved an enviable fame, and its members became the recipients of the same favors and honors which were showered upon the other two brotherhoods. The second establishment of the Teutonic Knights was founded in 1189 by the burghers of Bremen and Lübeck, who, during the siege of Acre, were moved to build a hospital for the relief of their countrymen. The two chapters were presently combined into one order by Duke Frederick of Suabia, who in 1192 obtained for the union the sanction of Pope Celestine III. The rule of the body was amplified and the discipline of the Augustinians adopted for its government.

At the origin of the Teutonic Order none but Germans of noble birth were admitted to membership. Not until 1221 were sergeants and priests added to the fraternity. The chief officer was called the Grand Master. At the first, he had his residence in Jerusalem. After

the fall of Acre in 1291 he removed to Venice and shortly afterward to Marburg.

The Teutonic knights first appeared as a powerful military factor in the affairs of Europe about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1226 they were called out by the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, to aid Conrad, duke of Masovia, in repelling the Prussian and Lithuanian pagans from his borders. Their valor and religious zeal attracted the attention of all the European states; and Conrad gave them, in reward for their services, the province of Culm on the Vistula. Establishing themselves in this territory, they extended their authority over Prussia, Courland, and Livonia. In their wars in these dark regions, they carried the sword in one hand and the Gospel in the other, and the pagans were given their choice. In the year 1309, the residence of the Grand Master was transferred to Marienburg, from which, as a center, the Order became almost as dominant in the North as the Templars in the South. The territory under their rule extended from the Gulf of Finland to the river Oder, and the annual revenues of the fraternity were estimated at 800,000 marks. The highest dignitaries of Northern Europe eagerly sought membership, and the Church smiled her fairest approval.

As in the case of the Hospitallers and the Templars, the Teutonic Order felt the disastrous effects of luxury and power. The humble professions and practices of the founders were forgotten by the haughty German barons who now controlled the destinies of the brotherhood. Oppression followed in the wake of opulence and authority, and violent dissensions arose as the precursors of decline. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Order had reached its climax. At that epoch, a series of conflicts began with the kings of Poland which hastened the downfall of the fraternity. In 1410 the knights fought the great battle of Grünwald, in which they were disastrously defeated by Ladislaus Jagellon; and, in a subsequent struggle with Casimir IV., West Prussia was wrested from them and annexed to the Polish dominions. Even in East Prussia they were reduced to the rank of vassals.

At length the proud Knights, galled by their

subjugation, made an effort to regain their independence. In 1525 they revolted and went to war, but the conflict resulted in a still further eclipse of their fortunes. East Prussia was reduced to a duchy, and bestowed by Sigismund I. on the Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg. The Order became the shadow of its former glory, and, after a precarious existence of three centuries, was finally abolished by Napoleon in 1809.

Let us, then, return to the course of political events in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. When, in 1118, Baldwin du Bourg succeeded his cousin, Baldwin I., on the throne, he was indebted for his elevation to the influence of his powerful kinsman, Joscelyn de Courtenay. This distinguished nobleman had gone to Asia Minor with the Count of Chartres in the wake of the First Crusade, and had settled at Edessa. Afterwards he was taken prisoner by the Turks, but, after five years, he escaped from his captors, and received from Baldwin a province within the limits of Edessa. In the course of time he and his patron quarreled, and Joscelyn, being grievously maltreated, retired to Jerusalem. Here he lived at the time of the death of Baldwin I. He and Baldwin du Bourg now made up their quarrel, and, when the latter became a candidate for the throne, Joscelyn favored his election, with a view of securing for himself the Principality of Edessa. The arrangement was carried out, and, when Baldwin II. came to the throne of Jerusalem, De Courtenay was rewarded with his kinsman's duchy.

Edessa proved to be a stormy inheritance. From the first, Prince Joscelyn had to fight for the maintenance of his authority. The Saracens on the side of the Euphrates were full of audacious enterprises, and the utmost efforts of the Christians were necessary to keep them at bay. Such, however, were the warlike energies of the veteran De Courtenay, that, during his lifetime, the Moslems were unable to break into his dominions. At the last he met his fate in a manner becoming the hero of the church militant. While laying siege to a fortress near the city of Aleppo, the aged warrior was crushed beneath the ruins of a wall; and, when recovered from the *débris*, was found to be

fatally injured. He was, however, conveyed to Edessa, and there awaited the hour of doom. His son, who also bore the honored name of Joscelyn, was named as his successor, and to him the dying governor looked for the defense of the realm. But the youth was lacking in the soldierly vigor of the father; and, when the latter summoned him to go on the instant to the defense of a stronghold which had been attacked by the Saracens, the younger De Courtenay replied that he feared his forces were insufficient. Indignant at hearing such a word as *fear* from the lips of his son, the bruised and mutilated old Crusader ordered himself to be carried on a litter to where the Saracens were besieging his town. Learning of his approach, the enemy broke up their camp and fled. Whereupon, looking up into heaven from his couch, the chivalrous De Courtenay expired in unclouded content.

Events soon showed that the date of his death was a dark day for the Principality of Edessa. The younger Joscelyn was a mediæval roué. Without regard to the interests of the government or the glory of war, he gave himself up to a life of sensual pleasure. Seeking a luxurious retreat on the banks of the Euphrates, he surrounded his court with others like-minded with himself, and gave free reign to appetite. Such measures as were essential for the safety and welfare of the Principality were drowned in the pleasures of abandonment.

At the same time, when the government of Edessa was thus falling into incompetent hands, a great prince appeared among the Moslems. This was the warrior Sanguin, sultan of Mossul. By successful campaigns, he had already added Aleppo and other Syrian cities to his dominions. After thus strengthening his borders, he turned his attention to Edessa, and eagerly longed for an opportunity to measure swords with that degenerate city. As soon as he learned of the character and aptitudes of the young De Courtenay, he lost no time in setting out on a campaign against the almost defenseless capital of the Christian duchy. While Joscelyn was holding high carnival on the Euphrates, the sobering intelligence was borne to his ears that a powerful Saracen army had already encamped before Edessa. It is the first impulse of an alarmed drunkard to call

on some one soberer than himself for aid. The terrified De Courtenay sent immediately to Millicent, queen-regent of Jerusalem, and to the prince of Antioch, to implore their assistance in his hour of peril. But neither the queen nor the prince was able to go to his rescue. Edessa was left to her fate; and, after a siege of a month's duration, the victorious Saracens entered the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

Every thoughtful reader of history must have been astonished at the many sudden reversions of fortune presented for his contemplation. The career of the warlike Sanguin furnishes such an example. Just as his dominion seemed to be firmly established by his conquest of Edessa, he was assassinated by his slaves; and just as Joscelyn de Courtenay was reduced to the rank of an adventurer without a province, without a city, he suddenly roused himself from his stupor, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of his troops, retook his capital from the Moslems. His spasmodic heroism, however, was not sufficient to wrest the citadel of Edessa from the hands of the foe. Meanwhile, Noureddin, son and successor of Sanguin, came to the rescue of the beleaguered garrison; and the Christians found themselves pressed desperately between two armies of Saracens, the one within and the other without the city. Finding his situation hopeless, Joscelyn determined to save himself and his army by flight. In the silence of midnight, the gates of the city were opened, and the Christians undertook to make their exit. But the garrison in the citadel discovering the movement made a signal to the Moslems outside the walls and the escaping army was suddenly arrested in its flight. Only a few succeeded in breaking through the Saracen camp and making their way to the friendly settlements on the Euphrates. All the rest were slaughtered. Fully thirty thousand victims were hewed down in an indiscriminate massacre by the relentless Islamites. On the morrow the Crescent was raised above the blood-smear'd city, and the Christian principality of Edessa was no more.

This great disaster occurred in the year 1145. The news of the fall of the city was spread throughout Christendom, and the nations were profoundly stirred. The kingdom of Jerusalem was shaken to its center. It was

evident that unless a rally of the Western Christians should be made in defense of their provinces in the East, the whole fabric so painfully reared by the victories of the first Crusaders, would be swept away by the reflux tide of Mohammedan invasion. It was this condition of affairs that led to the preaching of the SECOND CRUSADE in Europe. The principal agent in the work of arousing the people for the succor of the holy places of the East was Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.

Many circumstances, however, now conduced to a second uprising of the European Christians. The half-century which had elapsed since the Council of Clermont had planted in several of the Western states the conditions of another movement on Asia similar to the first. In France, King Philip I. died in the year 1106, and was succeeded by his son Louis the Fat. The latter from the age of eighteen had been associated with his father in the government. The intellect of the new sovereign was comparatively a blank, but his moral qualities were of a higher order than was common in his age. He had a sincere regard for justice, and his temper had something of that gayety and enthusiasm for which the subjects of his remote descendants became so noted among the more somber peoples of Europe. The better energies of Louis's reign were expended in a laudable effort to protect the peasantry of France from the exactions of the feudal nobility. The larger part of his time was consumed in petty wars with his barons, whom he endeavored in vain to repress and force into obedience. This task, however, was beyond the limits of his power. The time had not yet arrived when the arrogance of the French nobility was to be broken on the wheel of royal prerogative.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Louis was involved in a war with Henry I, king of England. It will be remembered that that ambitious prince had succeeded his brother William Rufus when the latter was killed in the forest; also that the duchy of Normandy had, during the absence of Robert Short Hose in the East, been held as an appanage of the English crown. On the return of Robert from Palestine, he repossessed himself of his estates, but was presently assailed by his brother, driven from his castles, captured and con-

demned to perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Cardiff. William, the son of Duke Robert, fled for his life and sought refuge with the king of France. It was the protection of this fugitive prince by Louis the Fat that brought on a war between that monarch and King Henry. A battle was fought between their armies at Brenneville, in which the English were victorious, but the victory was neither bloody nor decisive. Indeed, it was the peculiarity of the feudal wars in the West not to kill but to capture, for the ransom of distinguished captives was more profitable to the victor than the brief exhibition of dead bodies on the battle-field. Only three Knights are said to have been slain in the battle of Brenneville. It happened that at the time of the conflict Pope Calixtus II., who had escaped from the disturbances of Italy, was sojourning in France. The potentate was greatly grieved at the war which had broken out between his subjects on the two sides of the Channel. He accordingly mediated between them, and the two kings agreed to be at peace.

In the year 1124 hostilities broke out a second time between the two kingdoms. The Emperor, Henry V., of Germany, had in the mean time married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and the English king now called upon his powerful father-in-law to aid him in his war with Louis the Fat. The Emperor gladly accepted the invitation, for he had many causes of enmity against King Louis. The latter raised a powerful army of two hundred thousand men, but before actual hostilities began Henry V. died, and the war was thus averted. As to Prince William, Louis bestowed on him the earldom of Flanders as a recompense for the loss of Normandy, but the young earl presently died from the effects of a neglected wound.

In 1129 King Louis had his eldest son Philip, who was the pride and expectancy of the state, crowned with himself as heir apparent to the throne. Two years afterwards, however, the prince died, and such was the effect of the loss upon his father that the king was inconsolable and refrained for a long time from public duties.¹

In the following year the succession was established to Prince Louis, the king's second son, then but twelve years of age. Two years afterwards, borne down with excessive corpulence, the monarch was attacked with a malady, and, believing his end at hand, he sought diligently to be reconciled with all his foes. Destiny, however, had appointed him three additional years of life. He died in 1137, and was sincerely lamented by his subjects.

In accordance with the previous settlement, the crown passed peaceably to Prince Louis, who took the title of Louis VII. It was his good fortune to have for his minister the Abbe Segur, one of the ablest and most scholarly men of the kingdom. With such a support the young king found opportunity in the early years of his reign to indulge his natural love for chivalrous amusements, to which he devoted most of his time. His first serious business was in 1142, when he became involved in a quarrel with the Pope respecting the right of investiture in the French church. He also alienated from himself Earl Thibaud of Champagne, whose sister had been married to the Count of Vermandois. Him the king induced to divorce his wife, and to wed a sister of Queen Eleanor. Thibaud was so greatly incensed that he took up arms, and the king, in order to suppress the insurrection, marched a large force into Champagne, and laid siege to the castle of Vitry. Meeting with a stubborn resistance, he set fire to the fortress, and by an unexpected spread of the conflagration the town was wrapped in flames. A church in which thirteen hundred human beings had taken refuge was a part of the holocaust. The king, who had not intended that the fire should do so horrible a work, was near enough to hear the shrieks of the dying, and was seized with remorse and terror. Never afterwards did he recover from the shock, and the work of pacifying his conscience became henceforth his chief concern. It was while he was brooding

rubbish-encumbered streets a swine ran against his horse, threw him, and fatally crushed the rider. The king thereupon issued an edict that swine should not be allowed to run at large in the streets; but the proclamation was so seriously resisted by the monks of St. Antoine that the order was so modified as to give *their* sacred pigs the freedom of the city, on condition that said pigs should wear bells! Such was Paris!

¹ The manner of the death of the Dauphin well illustrates the existing conditions of life in Paris. While the prince was riding through the filth and

over his crime that the news was borne to the West of the fall of Edessa, and the project of warding off the vengeance of heaven by undertaking a Crusade was at once suggested to Louis's mind as a means of expiation. An assembly of barons and bishops was called, and the wish of the king to undertake a campaign against the Infidels of Asia was presented for discussion. The measure was received with much favor, and the Pope, on being consulted, gave his approval of the enterprise.

In the mean time, the Empress Matilda, the childless widow of Henry V. of Germany, had been given by her father, Henry I. of England, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of that Prince Foulque who, by his marriage with the queen-regent of Jerusalem, was acting so large a part in the Christian kingdom of Palestine. It was a project of the English king (for he now had no son¹) to establish the succession to his daughter, with Geoffrey for Prince Consort. Very averse, however, to such a project were the barons and squires of England, who preferred a man for their ruler. For this reason they took sides with the Prince Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and vigorously supported his claims against those of Matilda. In the year 1127, the English king went abroad and resided with his daughter, the Empress Matilda, whose three sons by Plantagenet cheered their grandfather with the prospect of the future. In 1135, Henry I. died at St. Denis, but was brought home to England for burial.

Events soon showed that the precautions taken by the late king, respecting the succession, were of no avail. His nephew, Stephen, upon whom he had bestowed many favors, including a large estate in Normandy, immediately appeared on the scene to dispute the claims of Matilda. Every thing went in his favor, and he was crowned in Westminster, in 1135. Before the friends and supporters of the wife of Plantagenet were well aware of the usurper's proceedings, the whole affair was successfully concluded; and Stephen found time to fortify himself in popular esteem. So

¹ Prince William, the only son of Henry I., was drowned at sea while returning from Normandy, whither he had been taken by his father to receive the homage of the barons of that duchy, in the year 1120.

when David, king of Scotland, took up arms against him, the English monarch was able to meet him on equal terms; and David was induced, by the cession of a part of the four northern counties of England, to desist from hostilities. The Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the late King Henry, was disposed to fight for the rights of his father's family; but the other barons of the realm refused to join the enterprise, and the earl was obliged to submit.

It soon happened, however, that the severity of Stephen towards his nobles disturbed their loyalty; and after the manner of the men of their age, they went over to the opposition. Hostilities broke out between the rival parties, but the war was conducted in the desultory and indecisive manner peculiar to the feudal times. It was not until February of 1141 that the Earl of Gloucester, who commanded the army of Matilda, succeeded in bringing his enemy to battle before the town of Lincoln. Here a terrible conflict ensued, in which King Stephen was defeated, captured, and imprisoned in the castle of Bristol. Matilda entered London in triumph and was acknowledged as queen. Before her coronation, however, she behaved in so imperious a manner towards the people of the city as to alienate the affections even of her best supporters. Within a month she was obliged to fly to Winchester for safety. From this place she was quickly driven to Devizes, and the Earl of Gloucester, in attempting to follow her thither, was in his turn captured and shut up in the castle of Rochester.

The rival parties were now in a position to exchange their noble prisoners. The Earl of Gloucester was given up for Stephan. The former immediately repaired for Normandy to bring over Matilda's eldest son, the Prince Henry Plantagenet,¹ to whom the people already began to look for a solution of their

¹ The name *Plantagenet* has been the subject of much dispute. The best etymology, perhaps, is that which derives the word from Low Latin *plantagenistæ*, meaning "broom twigs." It appears that Foulque, Count of Anjou, who first bore the name of Plantagenet, had committed some crime for which, on going on a pilgrimage to Rome he was scourged with broom, and accepted the title which was given in commemoration of his punishment.

difficulties. Stephen resumed the exercise of the royal prerogatives, and besieged the empress in the castle of Oxford. After a season she made her escape and fled to Abingdon, where she was presently joined by Gloucester and her son. The warfare between her and Stephen continued until 1147, when the Earl of Gloucester died, and Matilda resigning her claim to her son, retired with that prince into Normandy. For six years there was a lull, but in 1153 young Henry, now grown to man's estate, raised an army, and returning to England renewed the struggle for the crown. The rival princes came face to face at the town of Wallingford, but the barons on neither side were disposed to begin a battle in which they had nothing to gain and every thing to lose. Stephen and Henry were thus obliged to submit to their arbitration, and it was decided that the former, whose only son, Eustace, had recently died, should continue king of England during his life, and that the crown should then descend to Henry.

Such, then, was the condition of affairs in England, when the voice of St. Bernard was heard afar announcing the capture of Edessa by the Turks, and calling on Christendom to rally to the rescue of the imperiled Cross. Meanwhile, in Germany, in 1106, the great but unfortunate Emperor, Henry IV., died, and was succeeded by his unfilial son, Henry V. The accession of the latter was accomplished by the influence of the papal or anti-German party; but, no sooner was the young monarch seated on the throne than he went over to the policy of his father, and set himself against the assumptions of the Church. In a short time he and Pope Paschal II. were embroiled in the same way as Henry IV. and Gregory had been in the preceding century.

The general result of the long struggle was the gradual decline of Imperial influence, until the shadow of the Carolingian reality was hardly any longer seen outside of the borders of Germany, and even here the spirit of feudalism, coöperating with the destruction of civil wars, had reduced the Empire to a fiction. Nor was the character of Henry V. of a sort to revive the reality of three centuries ago. He was a cold, stern, and heartless prince, whose chief motive of action was a certain rational selfishness, and whose prin-

icipal virtue was force of will. The latter quality was in constant and salutary exercise in repressing the arrogance of the German feudal lords, who were robbers or gentlemen just as the sword of authority was drawn or sheathed by their master.

The first foreign enterprise undertaken by Henry was the invasion of Italy. In 1110 he raised an army of thirty thousand knights, and crossed into Lombardy. The cities of that realm acknowledged his authority, as did also Matilda of Tuscany. Even the Pope deemed it expedient to yield to his powerful antagonist, and, going forth, met him as a *friend*. His Holiness agreed to officiate at the coronation of Henry, but still claimed the right of investing the bishops. To this the Emperor would not assent, and the Pope then made the radical proposition that there should be a complete "separation of Church and State"—that is, that the bishops, abbots, and priests should give up their secular power, and become simply officials of the Church. This, of course, involved the reversion to the crown of the lands belonging to the ecclesiastics. The measure was assented to by Henry, and the long and bitter quarrel between the Popes and the Emperors seemed at an end.

Not so, however, in reality. When Henry advanced to Rome, he was met by a great procession headed by the Pope. The two potentates walked hand in hand into the city. But, when the agreement was read in the presence of the bishops assembled in St. Peter's, there was an angry tumult, and the ecclesiastics refused to ratify the compact. The ceremony of coronation was brought to a standstill, the Pope refusing to proceed; but he was at once seized by the German knights, and the scene became one of a bloody riot. After two months the Imperial party was triumphant. Paschal was obliged to put the crown of empire on the head of Henry, and the supporters of the papal prerogative were for the time forced into submission.

On his return into Germany, the Emperor made a successful campaign against the Thuringians and Saxons; and, in 1114, married the Princess Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England. Presently afterwards there was a general revolt in the North of Germany.

Friesland, Cologne, Thuringia, and Saxony all renounced the Imperial authority, and took up arms to maintain their independence. Before this difficulty could be settled, the Emperor was called into Italy, on account of the death of the Countess of Tuscany, who bequeathed her realm to the Church, instead of to the empire, as had been previously agreed. Henry succeeded in securing Tuscany, and also in installing a new Pope of his own appointment in place of Pascal, who had died. The French and Italian bishops, however, now made common cause, and elected another pontiff, by whom Henry was excommunicated. But the fulfilment of such a ban had already become less terrible than of old, and the act was ignored both by Henry himself and Calixtus, who came to the papal chair in 1118.

Four years later a great diet was convened at Worms for the final settlement of the dispute between the Popes and the German Emperors. The question was laid before the body and a decision was reached to the effect that henceforth the investiture of bishops with the ring and crosier should remain with the Pope; but all nominations to the episcopal office should be made in the Emperor's presence, and the candidates should receive their temporal authority from him. Such was the celebrated *Concordat of Worms*, by which the quarrel between the papal and imperial parties was settled for a period of fifty years.

In 1125 Henry V. died at Utrecht, in Holland. According to popular belief, the judgment of Heaven was upon him for his unnatural conduct towards his father. He went down to the grave without an heir, and there were few to mourn for his untimely death. His haughtiness and cold temper had alienated even his personal following, and the church was little disposed to hallow the sepulcher of one who had endeavored with all his might to force her into submission.

Henry V. was the last of the Hohenstaufen princes. The national diet which was summoned after his election was more favorable to the papal party than any which for a long time had been convened in Germany. After a stormy session the choice of the electors fell upon *LOTHAIRE*, Duke of Saxony, who at once evinced his servility to the church by begging

for a coronation at the hands of the Pope, and by giving up that provision of the Concordat of Worms which required the bishops to be nominated in the presence of the Emperor. To compensate for this loss of prerogative he undertook to obtain of Frederick of Hohenstaufen the estates which had been bequeathed to that prince by Henry V. But in the war which followed the Emperor was defeated and obliged to give up the contest. In 1133 he went to Rome and was crowned by Pope Innocent II. Such was his humility that he agreed to pay to the church an annual tribute of four hundred pounds for the possession of Tuscany—an act by which he virtually acknowledged himself a vassal of the Romish See.

It was at this epoch that the violent and disgraceful feud broke out between the rival Popes Innocent and Anaclete. Lothaire was in duty bound to take sides with the former, while the latter was supported by Roger II., the Norman king of Sicily. In 1137 the Emperor conducted an army into Southern Italy, and gained some successes over the opposition. But before the campaign could be brought to an end Lothaire found it necessary to return to Germany. On his way thither he was attacked with a fatal malady, and died in the Brenner Pass of the Alps.

When the national diet was convened for the choice of a successor, the most prominent candidate for the throne was Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria. In addition to his hereditary claims to the throne, he had greatly strengthened his cause by marrying Gertrude, the only daughter of Lothaire. The great prominence of Henry, however, acted against him in the diet; for the electors were jealous beforehand of one who seemed likely to prove an emperor in fact as well as in name. They accordingly turned from the able and haughty Prince of Bavaria, and in violation of the previous settlement elected *CONRAD* of Hohenstaufen. To this action Henry, who was himself a member of the diet, would not assent; and when the Emperor elect undertook to force him into submission, he raised an army of Saxons and went to war. Before any decisive result could be reached, however, Henry the Proud died, and the claims of the Guelphic House descended to his nephew, afterwards known as Henry the Lion. The brother of

the late duke continued the war with Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and in the course of time the cause of the Bavarian princes became identified with that of the papal party, while that of Conrad was espoused by the imperialists throughout Germany. From this time forth the name of GUELPH was used to designate the former, and Ghibelline to denote the latter party in the long and violent struggle which ensued.

The conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibellines broke out with the year 1139, and continued for centuries together, being the most obdurate and persistent contest known in the history of the Middle Ages. It was in the sixth year of the reign of this Conrad of Hohenstaufen that the Christian principality of Edessa was, as already narrated, captured by Nouredin and his Turks. Let us then after these long digressions—necessary to an understanding of the condition of affairs of the leading states of Western Europe, during the first half of the twelfth century as well as to a proper appreciation of the origin and character of the three great Orders of Knighthood, destined hereafter to take so prominent a part in the conduct of the Crusades—resume the story of the second uprising of the European Christians under the inspiration of the preaching of St. Bernard.

This distinguished abbot began his work in the spring of 1146. A great assembly was called at Veزالay, and Bernard, clad in the garb of an anchorite, stood on the hillside outside the walls and harangued the multitude. Among those present were the king and queen of France, together with all the most distinguished barons of the kingdom. Not even Peter the Hermit was more successful in kindling the enthusiasm of the throng at Clermont than was the great preacher of Clairvaux of rousing the assembly of Veزالay. When his oration was concluded the host was in the white heat of passion and raised the wild cry of *Dieu le Veut!* with all the ardor of the first Crusaders. King Louis flung himself on his knees before the orator and received the badge of the cross. Queen Eleanor also gladly accepted the token, and the barons and knights crowded and surged around the speaker until he was obliged to tear up his own vestments to supply the sacred emblem for their shoulders.

In other places the scene was repeated. Every province and city was roused from its slumbers. France was on fire, but when St. Bernard went to Spire and besought the Emperor Conrad to join the enterprise the latter, who was naturally of a lukewarm disposition, was hard to rouse from his German immobility. Not until the eloquent abbot paused in the midst of mass and expatiated on the guilt of those who refused to fly to the rescue of the imperiled cross did the apathy of Conrad give place to emotion. His eyes brought forth the witness of tears, and he meekly and courageously assumed the cross. The German barons followed the example of their sovereign, and the warmth of the glow which had been kindled at Veزالay was felt in the somber castles of the North. Even the women of Germany armed themselves with sword and lance and took the vow of the cross.

Thus were the king of France and the ruler of the German Empire brought into an alliance against the distant but hated Infidel. It was agreed that their armies, setting forth in the spring of 1147, should rendezvous at Constantinople.

With the break of winter all the roads of France and Germany were thronged with pilgrim warriors, on their way to the various camps. The upheaval surpassed, if possible, the outpouring of the First Crusade, in so much that St. Bernard found occasion to write to the Pope, saying: "Villages and castles are deserted, and there are none left but widows and orphans, whose husbands and parents are still alive." Everywhere men were seen wending their way to the places appointed by their leaders. Shepherds left their flocks in the field. Peasants abandoned their oxen still harnessed to their carts. Tradesmen quitted their places of barter. Lords were seen issuing from their castles. Priests left the village church, and monks the monastery. Every class of society contributed a full quota of its best men for the recovery of Edessa and the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher.

Nor did France and Germany only send forth their hosts with the sacred badges of red on their shoulders. England, though rent with the strife between the usurping Stephen and the aspiring Plantagenets, and Italy, distracted with the quarrel between the papal

and imperial parties, both alike sent forth their bands of warrior knights to join the armies of Capet and Hohenstaufen.

The Emperor established his head-quarters at Ratisbon. Here were gathered his dukes and barons, armed for the distant fray. Hither came Bishop Otho, of Frisigen; Duke Frederick Barbarossa, of Suabia, nephew of Conrad; the Marquis of Montferrat; the Duke of Bohemia, and many other dukes and barons, brave and notable. A hundred thousand war-

Asiatic sultans, apprising them of the movements of their foes. It became the policy of Comnenus, as it had been of his grandsire, to play double with the Christian and the Saracen, to the end that his own interests might in any event be subserved.

When the Crusaders at last reached Constantinople, they were received with outward blandishments and inward hostility. Conrad and his chiefs had discernment enough to perceive the actual sentiments with which they were entertained; and, although it had been agreed that the German army should await the approach of the French at the Eastern capital, so keen was the resentment of the leaders that they hastened their departure, and crossed the Bosphorus into Asia.

No sooner were the Crusaders beyond the sea than the hostility of the Greeks, which had been hidden under their duplicity until now, began to show itself in a manner not to be mistaken. All the towns were shut and barred against the army of Conrad, and the Crusaders began to suffer for provisions. Greek hucksters from the top of the walls bargained with the hungry knights outside, to whom they let down baskets in which to receive the silver paid for their meal—and the meal was found to be adulterated with an equal part of lime; nor did the impudent traders, from whom the German chiefs were obliged to secure their supplies, forbear to utter against their customers such taunts and insults as plentiful arrogance behind a wall might safely discharge at hungry valor on the outside.

Worse than this was the perfidy of the Greek guides, whom Comnenus sent out to lead the Crusaders to—destruction. Knowing well the lines of march, these supple, faith-breaking rascals conveyed to the Saracen scouts full information of the course to be taken by the German army. So, in addition to misguiding the forces of Conrad, the Greeks purposely led them into dangerous places, where ambuscades had been carefully laid by the enemy. At last, however, the river Meander was reached, and there, on the opposite bank, the Moslems had gathered in great force to resist the passage. And now



KNIGHTS GOING FORTH TO THE SECOND CRUSADE.

riors were here collected, and, putting himself at the head, the Emperor began his march to the East.

Emperor Emanuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius, was now ruler of the Greeks of Byzantium, and to him ambassadors were sent by the crusading chiefs, announcing their approach to Constantinople. Many were the professions of friendship made by the wily Emperor of the Greeks to the hardy warriors of Europe, and many were the secret messages which he at the same time sent to the

followed one of the most extraordinary episodes of the Holy Wars.

The Meander was barely fordable, if fordable at all, by infantry. Conrad, however, eager to reach the foe, and believing that his men could swim or struggle through the deeper part of the current, drew up the Crusaders on the hither bank, exhorted them to heroic battle, and gave the order to plunge into the stream. The command was obeyed with alacrity, and so great a number of warriors rushed into the river that the current was broken above and the waters ran away from below, leaving the bed almost as dry as the banks. Great was the amazement of the Moslems at this, to them, miraculous phenomenon. Believing that their enemies were aided by supernatural powers, they made but a feeble resistance, and then fled in a route. The Germans pursued the flying foe, and slaughtered them by thousands. Years afterwards their bones might be seen bleaching in heaps along the bank of the Meander.

The effect of the victory was very inspiring to the Crusaders, who began to draw the fallacious inference that they were invincible. From the Meander, Conrad took his way in the direction of Iconium. Still at the mercy of his Greek guides, he was led into the defiles near that city, where the sultan had collected an immense army to oppose his further progress. While the Germans were making their way through a narrow pass, they beheld above the hill-crests the spearheads and turbans of what seemed an innumerable host of Moslems. Great was the disadvantage at which the Crusaders were placed in the battle which ensued. Encumbered with heavy armor, it seemed impossible for them to reach and smite the light-armed Saracens, who swooped down on them from above. It was not long until the line of march was blocked up with the dead bodies of German warriors. Thousands upon thousands were slain; and Conrad had the infinite chagrin of seeing his army melting away under the blows of an enemy who, from his inaccessible position, suffered scarcely any losses.

After struggling vainly and courageously against the fate of his situation, the Emperor perceived that his only hope lay in a retreat. He accordingly withdrew the remnant of his

forces from the defiles, and began to fall back in the direction by which he had come. It was with the greatest difficulty that any portion of the German army was saved from destruction. The Turkish cavalry hung on flank and rear, and every straggler from the compact column of the ever-decreasing and weary remnant was cut down without mercy. Slowly and desperately, Conrad made his way back across Asia Minor, and finally reached Constantinople. Nine-tenths of his warrior knights had perished under the javelins and swords of the Moslems.

Doubtless the fatal folly of the Second Crusade consisted in the failure of the French and German armies to form the intended junction at the Eastern capital. Nothing could have been more disastrous than the premature advance of Conrad before the arrival of his allies on the Bosphorus. In the mean time King Louis of France, repairing to the abbey of St. Denis, took from above the altar that celebrated banner called the *Oriflamme*, and bore it with him as his standard.¹ Together with Queen Eleanor, he obtained permission to depart from the kingdom—a fact illustrative of the strong ascendancy of the French church over civil authority in the twelfth century. The queen, who, before her marriage to Louis, had as Princess of Aquitaine been thoroughly imbued with the culture of the South, took with her the refined ladies of her court, and a band of troubadours to enliven the tedium of the expedition. The first point of rendezvous was the frontier city of Metz, and here were gathered by hundreds and thousands the barons, knights, and warriors of the kingdom. The early autumn was occupied with the advance to Constantinople, where Louis arrived with his army about the beginning of October.

On reaching the Eastern capital the French were received with all the fictitious ardor which Comnenus was able to assume. His professions of friendship were unbounded, and for a while Louis and his knights believed themselves to be the most cordially entertained of any soldiery in Christendom. By and by, however, the king learned that Comnenus was of

¹ The old national banner of the Capetian kings was called the *Oriflamme*, from having its edges shaped like flames of fire, and being attached to a staff of gold.

a certainty in secret alliance with the Turks, and that his covert intent was to compass the destruction of the Western armies. Such was the indignation of the French knights that they were fain to fall upon the Eastern capital and snatch the scepter from the hands of the treacherous Greek. A council was held and prudence and moderation hardly prevailed to hold back the wrathful barons from their purpose.

Comnenus soon perceived the change in the sentiments and demeanor of his guests, and fearing their presence in the city, sought a means of securing their departure. He accordingly spread abroad the report—known to himself to be false—that Conrad and his Germans were gaining great victories over the Saracens in the regions of Iconium. The French were thus fired with emulation, and the leaders fearing lest the honors of the Crusade should be gathered by Conrad and his barons, urged an immediate departure. Comnenus soon had the gratification of seeing King Louis and his army on the other side of the Bosphorus.

Not far had the French advanced into Asia Minor until intelligence came of the overwhelming disaster which had befallen the Germans in the defiles of Iconium. The news, however—for such was the spirit of the age—dampened not the ardor of the warlike French. Not only did they press forward to meet the enemy, but they became over-confident, and took but little precaution either in camp or marching. They made their way through Laodicea without encountering the Moslems; but beyond the limits of this province lay a mountainous region, peculiarly favorable to the tactics of the Turks—and here the latter had gathered to oppose the Christians.

It was now the fate of King Louis to be overtaken and entrapped in precisely the same manner as Conrad had been at Iconium. In the defiles beyond Laodicea the careless French encamped in a position especially favorable to their own destruction. While the Crusaders were in the usual confusion of the camp, the Saracens suddenly appeared by thousands on the heights and rushed down with yells and trumpet and drum upon the astounded French. The surprise was complete. The main body of Louis's army was in a position where advance, retreat, and battle were, all alike well-

nigh impossible. The horror of the scene that ensued was greater even than that which had been witnessed in the pass of Iconium. The gorges were soon filled with the mangled bodies of the chivalry of France; and upon this bleeding mass of humanity huge rocks came crashing down from the precipice above.

The king behaved with the greatest valor. Collecting a body of his best knights he charged the enemy, and secured a position from which after nightfall he made his escape and rejoined all his soldiers who had succeeded in extricating themselves from the defiles. Reorganizing his forces as best he could he then made his way to the Greek city of Attalia, where he was received with the usual treacherous civility. The French encamped without the walls, and negotiations were opened between the king and the governor of the city. The latter offered to furnish a fleet and convey the French to a place of safety; and although the squadron was only sufficient to receive the king, his nobles and cavalry, he accepted the proposal and embarked for Antioch. As to the foot-soldiers of his army, they were left to their fate before the walls of Attalia. The Greeks would not receive them into the city. The Saracens spared none who fell within their power. Gradually the French were reduced to a handful. Some turned Mohammedan, others died in despair. The rest were dispersed or slain. With the exception of those who accompanied the king to Antioch none were left to tell the story.

In the early spring of 1148, Louis and Eleanor with their Knights reached the city of Antioch. This old capital of Syria was now governed by Raymond of Poitiers, uncle of the queen and grandson by marriage of Bœmund of Tarento. This relationship secured to the French a cordial reception. Amid the plenty and sunshine of the palaces, and under the branching trees of Antioch, the horrors of the expedition were forgotten, and Queen Eleanor's troubadours tuned their harps and sang the songs of the South. She who was herself the center of this romantic revival gave way to the admiration with which she was oppressed, and lulled by the soft airs of Syria, behaved not after the manner of a queen, forgot her espousals, provoked the king's jealousy, and was by him carried off to Jerusalem.



QUEEN ELEANOR AND HER TROUBADOURS.—Drawn by Gustave Doré

Here Louis was received with great enthusiasm. In the city he met Conrad, who, after his retreat to Constantinople, had put on the sandal-shoon, taken the scallop-shell and gone as a pilgrim to the Holy City. BALDWIN III., the young ruler of Jerusalem, was thus enabled to entertain on Mt. Zion the king of France and the German Emperor. It was not to be presumed that the younger of the three princes would allow such an opportunity to pass without improvement. He called a council of the great Christians of the East to assemble at Acre for the consideration of the interests of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Louis and Conrad both attended the assembly. Many projects for the further establishment of the cross in the East were debated before the council, and it was finally determined that an expedition should be undertaken by the combined armies of Syria against the city of Damascus.

The German Emperor and the kings of France and Jerusalem were appointed as leaders. The campaign was begun with alacrity and zeal, and the patriarch of the Holy City, walking before the army, carried the cross as the source of inspiration and the earnest of victory. On arriving at Damascus the Crusaders encamped in the orchards and gardens outside the walls, and immediately began a siege of the city. For a while the investment was pressed with great vigor and every prospect of success. It seemed certain that the old capital of the Caliphate would be wrested from the followers of the Prophet, and added to the Christian dominions in the East.

But as the hour of capture drew near, the richness of the prize, seemingly within the grasp of the allied armies, proved the ruin of the enterprise. For who should have the Queen City of the desert when the capture should be effected? Conrad and Louis decided that Damascus should be given to Thierry, Count of Flanders; but the barons of Syria, unwilling that the Western leaders should gain such a complete influence over the Christian states of the East, refused their assent, and demanded the city for one of their own number. In the hour of possible victory, violent discord broke out in the camp of the besiegers. Ayoub, governor of Damascus, learning of the quarrel, made haste to avail himself of the folly of his foes. He so managed an intrigue with the

Syrian party in the Crusaders' camp that the grip of the investment was presently broken, and the whole enterprise was quickly brought to nothing.

For a brief season the minds of the Christian warriors were now occupied with the project of an expedition against Ascalon. But both Conrad and Louis were in reality anxious to return to Europe, and the second expedition was abandoned. With the coming of autumn 1149, the king of France took ship at Acre, and returned to his own realm. He was accompanied by a small fragment of his once splendid army, and was received with little honor by his subjects. His bearing ever afterwards was rather that of a monk than that of a king. Queen Eleanor little appreciated the alleged heroism of her husband, and still less his monastic manners and behavior. Tired out with his conduct and ill success, she separated herself from him, procured a divorce, and retired to her own province of Aquitaine, which now reverted to her as a dowry.

Very little was the king affected by this infelicity. He satisfied himself with circulating the report that while at Antioch the queen had fallen in love with a horrid Turk, named Saladin, and that even then she had been disloyal to the royal bed. By this means he hoped to be revenged, and to destroy the possibility of a future marriage between Eleanor and any Christian prince. Not so, however, the result. The charms of the queen had lost none of their power. Scarcely had she left Paris on her way to Aquitaine when the Count of Blois, through whose province she was passing, arrested her progress, and attempted to wed her by force. She managed, however, to escape from the snare, and made her way to Tours, where almost the same scene was enacted by the wife-seeking Count of Anjou. Again she withdrew from the ambush, and proceeded to Poitiers. Here a *third* lover awaited her coming. Young Henry Plantagenet of England, handsome, accomplished, and royal in his bearing, proved a better wooer than his fellow-princes of the continent. Nor did the fact that he was several years the junior of the queen militate against his success in winning her hand and with it the duchy of Aquitaine.

As to the Emperor Conrad, he tarried in

his pilgrim garb a year longer in Palestine, and then returned with a small body of his followers to Germany. The Second Crusade, undertaken with so much enthusiasm and *éclat*, preached by a saint and commanded by an Emperor and a king, had proved to be among the most abortive of all the projects of fanatical ambition. Not a single permanent advantage had been gained by the quarter of a million of French and German warriors who flung themselves into the mountain passes of Asia Minor as if Europe had no graves.

Notwithstanding the collapse of the Second Crusade, the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, under the rule of Baldwin III., for a while held its own against the assaults of the Moslems. The king was at all times able to call to his aid the feudal lords and warriors of his own dominion; and beside these the Knights of the Hospital and the Templars were ever ready to rally at his summons. He was thus able to make a fair defense of his own kingdom, and at the same time to strike an occasional blow at some stronghold of the enemy. The capture of Ascalon, which had been proposed by the German Empror and King Louis after their failure before Damascus, was undertaken and successfully accomplished in 1153 by Baldwin and his warriors. After a successful reign of eighteen years, he died from the effects of poison administered by a Syrian physician, in 1162, and left his crown to his brother ALMERIC, a prince who was unfortunate in having an ambition greater than his genius.

On coming to the throne, the new king of Jerusalem at once projected an expedition into Egypt. In that country the government of the Fatimites had become a thing of contempt. The Caliphs themselves had little influence, and the actual power was disputed by ambitious viziers, reckless of all interests save their own. At the time of the death of Baldwin III., two rival viziers named Dargan and Sanor, contended for the supremacy in Cairo; while their master, El Hadae, was passing his time in the voluptuous indulgences of the harem. When the quarrel between the viziers was at its height, Sanor appealed for aid to Noureddin, who, after wresting the principality of Edessa from the younger De Courtenay, had become sultan of Damascus. Not unwillingly did this distinguished Moslem hear the

appeal from Egypt. With a keen regard for his own interest, he sent thitherward a powerful army, and though at the first the allied force of Syrians and Egyptians was defeated by the troops of Dargan, the latter was presently slain, and Sanor established in authority.

As soon, however, as success was achieved, Syracon, commander of the army of Noureddin, instead of withdrawing to Damascus, began to behave like a conqueror, and Sanor discovered in his late friend a foeman more to be dreaded than his former rival. Alarmed at the situation and tendency of affairs, the vizier bethought him of those terrible Crusaders who had conquered Palestine. With all haste he dispatched messengers to Jerusalem and appealed to Almeric to send an army into Egypt and aid him in expelling the Syrians. The Christian king was not slow to avail himself of the fatal opportunity. A force of Crusaders was at once dispatched to the assistance of Sanor, and Syracon was driven from the country.

The defeated Syrian general at once repaired to Damascus and reported to Noureddin. The sultan hereupon sent word to the Caliph of Baghdad inviting him to join in a formidable expedition against Egypt, with a view to the extermination of the Fatimite dynasty and the transfer of the Egyptian Caliphate to the Abbassides. The rumor of the proposed invasion was carried to Sanor, who, in great alarm, sent the intelligence to the king of Jerusalem, imploring him in the name of a common cause to face the armies which were coming hither for their destruction, and offering him forty thousand ducats as the price of an alliance. To make assurance doubly sure, Almeric insisted that a personal interview must be had with the Caliph of Cairo; for Sanor was only a subordinate and might not be able to fulfill his agreement. Hugh, earl of Cesarea, accompanied by a Knight Templar, was sent on an embassy to Egypt, and was conducted into the palace of El Hadae—a place where no Christian had ever set foot before. Here the eyes of the Christians were greeted with such a spectacle of splendor as they had previously beheld only in dreams. With much hesitation the Caliph permitted the warriors to look upon him seated on his throne of gold, and then ratified the conditions made by

the vizier with the king. Almeric was already on his march towards Egypt, and on coming near Cairo, was joined by the army of the viceroy. Syracon was met and defeated in battle by the allied forces of the Christians and the Fatimite Moslems. The enemy retired from the country and Almeric's army returned to Jerusalem laden with gold and presents.

Had the Christian king been content with what he had now achieved, all would have still been well. But the sight of Egypt with her storied treasures, and the knowledge of the condition of imbecility into which the government of that country had fallen, inflamed the mind of Almeric with the passion of conquest. He resolved, in the very face of his recent treaty with the Caliph, to make an invasion of Egypt; but, before undertaking so important and perilous an enterprise, he had the prudence to seek and obtain an alliance with Comnenus, Emperor of the East, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Fortified with the promise of assistance from his father-in-law, he deliberately broke his promise with El Hadac, and began an expedition into the country of his recent allies. This perfidious proceeding, however, was by no means heartily ratified by the knights and warriors of Palestine. The Grand Master of the Templars entered his protest against the dishonor of causelessly violating a treaty; but the Hospitallers, less sensitive to the point of honor, and actuated by rivalry of the opposing Order, cordially supported the king. Almeric was by no means to be turned from his purpose. At the head of his army he marched into Lower Egypt, took the city of Belbeis, and burned it to the ground.

In the mean time, however, the sultan of Damascus was himself planning an invasion of Egypt. Perceiving the effeteness of the Fatimite dynasty, he was thoroughly convinced that the times were ripe for the annexation of the land of the Pharaohs to the Eastern Caliphate. While cogitating his schemes, the ambitious Nouredin was amazed on receiving from the Egyptian Caliph an earnest message to come to his aid against the enemies of the Prophet, who were already in the country with an army. Quickly as possible the sultan, rejoicing at the news, dispatched an army across the desert to se-

cure whatever was to be gained by war or diplomacy in the African Caliphate.

Before the arrival of this army, which was led by Syracon, the vizier Sanor had beaten the king of Jerusalem at his own game of duplicity. The crafty Egyptian sent to Almeric an embassy, offering to give him two millions of crowns if he would abandon the invasion. Dazzled with the splendid prospect, the king stood waiting while the Egyptians fortified their cities, and otherwise prepared for defense. When he awoke from his reverie, he heard on one side the derisive laughter of the Fatimites, and on the other the blasts of Syracon's trumpets coming up from the desert.

Almeric, perceiving his condition, turned about, not without a show of valor, and offered battle to the Syrians. But Syracon was wary of the Christian warriors, and declined to fight until what time he had effected a junction with the Egyptians. The king of Jerusalem, finding himself unable to cope with the united armies of his foes, withdrew from the isthmus and returned to the Holy City.

It would have been supposed that his late experiences were of a sort to cure the folly of Almeric and lead him to a wiser policy; but not so with the ambitious prince. Instead of falling back upon defensive measures he at once repaired to Constantinople and besought the Emperor Comnenus to join him in the magnificent project of the conquest of Egypt. If the fulfillment had been equal to the promises made by the wily Greek to his ardent son-in-law, then indeed not only Egypt, but the world, might have been subdued. Comnenus, however, had no thought of hazarding aught in the interest of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He therefore, after the manner of his race, promised and promised and did nothing. The disappointed Almeric returned to Jerusalem still haunted with the vision of the gold and treasures which his ambassadors had seen in the palace of El Hadac.

Very soon after the withdrawal of the Christian army from Egypt the ambitious and successful Sanor met an inglorious end at the hands of Syracon, who had him seized and put to death. The office of vizier was transferred to the Syrian, who, however, survived his success for the brief space of but two months.

On his death he was succeeded by his nephew, named Sallah-u-deen or SALADIN, destined ere long to become the most famous of all the leaders in the later annals of Islam. This young Moslem chief was by birth a native of Kurdistan, who had drifted westward out of obscurity and joined his uncle's army in the two invasions of Egypt. His military genius first revealed itself in the defense of Alexandria, which he conducted in so able a manner as to win the applause of the Moslem leaders. This episode, together with the influence of Syracon, procured for the ambitious young Kurd the viziership at his uncle's death, nor was it long until, by his abilities, his intelligence and far-reaching plans, he had made himself the real, though not the nominal, master of Egypt.

Even at this early period he had conceived the design of uniting in one all the dominions of Islam in the East. As a measure inaugurative of so bold a plan he presently caused one of his followers—a priest—to go into the principal pulpit of Cairo and offer prayers, substituting the name of the Caliph of Baghdad for that of the Fatimite. Such was the audacity of the business that it succeeded. The people were either dumb or indifferent. As for the Egyptian Caliph himself, he was secluded in his palace and knew not what was done. A few days afterwards he died a natural death, and one troublesome obstacle to the success of Saladin's schemes was removed. He then caused the green emblems of the Fatimites to be removed from the mosques and palace of Cairo and to be replaced with the black badges of the Abbassides. Thus silently, and as if by magic, the descendants of Ali, who for two centuries had held sway over Egypt, were overwhelmed, and their dynasty extinguished by a parvenu Kurdish chieftain blown up from the desert.

Saladin, now emir of Egypt under the sultanate of Noureddin of Damascus, abided his time. While his master lived he deemed it prudent to remain in loyal subordination. But when in 1173 Noureddin—one of the greatest and best Moslems of his times—died, Saladin threw away all concealment of his designs, and putting aside the minor sons of the late sultan, usurped the government for himself. Such was the brilliancy of his *coup de*

main that all stood paralyzed until the work was accomplished, and then applauded the thing done. In a short time Saladin had united in one all the Moslem states between the Nile and the Tigris. He it was who was now in a position to look with a malevolent and angry eye upon the figure of the Cross seen above the walls of Jerusalem.

In the mean time, while Saladin remained in Egypt waiting for the death of Noureddin to open the way before him, the king of Jerusalem died, and bequeathed his crown to his son, BALDWIN IV. This young prince was afflicted with leprosy, to the extent of being wholly incapacitated for the duties of government. He accordingly, without himself resigning the crown, committed the kingdom to the regency of his sister, Sybilla, and her husband, GUY OF LUSIGNAN. This event happened in the same year in which Saladin, by his stroke of policy, had made himself master of Islam—1173.

The consort of Sybilla soon showed his inability to bear the cares of state. His conduct was so little worthy of his position that the barons of Palestine turned from him with contempt. Their hostility was increased by the machinations of Raymond II., of Tripoli, whose misfortune it was to be no more virtuous than he whom he opposed. The lords and knights of the kingdom were thus divided into factions, whose partisan selfishness boded no good to the Christian cause in the East. At length the leprous Baldwin IV. was obliged by his vassals to make a new settlement of the kingdom, which he effected by abolishing the regency of Sybilla and her husband, and bestowing the crown upon her son by her former husband, the Count of Montferrat. This prince, who, by his uncle's abdication, took the name of BALDWIN V., was himself a minor, and was for the time committed to the guardianship of Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of that unheroic son of a hero, from whom Noureddin had snatched the Principality of Edessa. At the same time of the settlement of the crown of Jerusalem upon Baldwin V. the custody of the fortresses of the Holy Land was intrusted to the Hospitallers and the Templars, and the general regency of the kingdom to Count Raymond of Tripoli.

Soon after this adjustment of affairs Bald-

win IV. died, and his death was quickly followed by the probably unnatural taking-off of Baldwin V. The settlement was thus brought to naught, partly by the order of nature and partly by the crime of the regent Raymond. Sybilla hereupon reappeared from obscurity, and, supported by the Patriarch of the city, procured the coronation of herself and Guy of Lusignan as King and Queen of Jerusalem. This procedure led to civil war. Many of the barons refused to acknowledge the new sovereigns, and took up arms under the lead of Raymond, and with the ostensible object of

raising Isabella, a sister of Sybilla, to the throne of Palestine. Such was the bitterness of the strife that, although the queen by her prudent and conciliatory measures succeeded in winning over most of the insurgent nobles, the remainder in their implacable distemper allied themselves with Saladin! Thus when the storm of Moslem fury was already about to break upon the kingdom won from the Infidels by the swords of Short Hose, Tancred, and Godfrey, the day of wrath was hastened by the treason of those who wore the sacred badge on their shoulders.

CHAPTER XX.—FALL OF THE CROSS.



WHOM the Supernals would destroy they first make mad. So it was with the Christians of Palestine. At the very crisis when Saladin, after settling the affairs of Egypt and Syria, was ready to fall upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, that disaster was precipitated by the rashness of a conscienceless baron of the Holy Land.

In the year 1186 a certain Reginald de Chatillon, an adventurer more fit to be called a robber than a knight, fell upon a Mohammedan castle on the borders of the Arabian desert, and having captured the place made it his head-quarters, from which he sallied forth to plunder the caravans passing back and forth between Egypt and Mecca. Hearing of this lawless work the sultan, Saladin, with due regard to the existing treaty, sent a message to the king of Jerusalem demanding redress for the outrages committed by his vassal. Guy of Lusignan, who had lately received the crown, was either unable or unwilling to punish Reginald for his crimes, and Saladin was left to pursue his own course. He immediately put himself at the head of an army of eighty thousand men and began an invasion of Palestine.

The march of the Moslems was first directed against the fortress of Tiberias, the most important stronghold of the Christians in the

northern part of their kingdom. It was all-important that King Guy should save this outpost from falling into the hands of the Turcomians. He accordingly mustered his forces for the conflict and proceeded in the direction of Tiberias. His whole army numbered no more than twelve hundred knights and twenty thousand infantry, and even this small force was shaken with quarrels and animosities. Raymond of Tripoli was accounted a traitor, and the king himself was considered a coward. Yet upon such a force under such a commander was now to be staked the fate of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

It was midsummer of 1187. The two armies met in the plain of Tiberias. Events soon showed that Saladin was as superior in skill as he was in numbers. During the first day's battle he succeeded in forcing the Christians into a position where they could procure no water. He then fired the neighboring woods and almost suffocated his enemies with smoke and heat. On the following morning he renewed the battle with great fury, and although the Templars and Hospitals, as well as the foot, fought with their old-time bravery, they were surrounded, hewed down, piled in heaps, exterminated. All the principal leaders of the Christian army were either slain or taken. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers was mortally wounded. He of the Templars, the Marquis of Montferrat, Reginald de Chatillon, King Guy himself, and a host of nobles and

knights were made prisoners. The scene that ensued well illustrates the spirit and temper of the crusading epoch and the character of war and victory in the twelfth century.

Hardly had the dust and noise of the battle passed when the captives were led into the presence of Saladin. With a smile the great Islamite received the trembling king, and after the manner of the East tendered him a cup of cold water. Moved either by fear of poison or by the desire to include another with himself in the friendly act, he of Lnsignan accepted the cup, but passed it to Chatillon. Thereupon the rage of Saladin shot up like a flame. He declared that so far from Reginald's sharing his clemency he should then and there embrace Mohammedanism or die like a dog. It was the Christian robber's time to show his mettle. He haughtily spurned the condition of escape by apostasy. Thereupon the sultan drew his cimeter and with one blow struck off his head.

It appears that Saladin rightly appreciated the character of the Templars and Hospitallers. While he was all courtesy to the king—poltroon as he was—he was all severity towards the Knights. To them he now presented the same alternative which he had put before the audacious Reginald. Not a man of them blanched in the presence of his fate. They could die, but apostatize never. Their vows of knighthood and loyalty to the Cross were stronger than all the bonds of kindred, all the ties of affection, all the hopes of mortality. To them the Prophet was Antichrist, and his religion the gateway to hell. The two hundred and thirty captive Knights stood fast in their integrity, and were all beheaded.

The battle of Tiberias shook the kingdom to its center. Nearly all the fortresses had been emptied of their garrisons to make up the inadequate army which had met its fate in the North. Saladin was in no wise disposed to rest on a single victory. Tiberias itself fell into his hands and then Cesarea. Acre, Jaffa, and Beyrut went down in succession. Tyre was for the present saved from capture by the heroic defense made by her inhabitants, led by the son of the captive Marquis of Montferrat.

Finding himself delayed by the obstinacy of the Tyrians, Saladin abandoned the siege and pressed on to Jerusalem. Sad was the

plight of the city. Fugitives from all parts of Palestine had gathered within the walls, but there was no sense of safety. The queen was unable to conceal her own trepidation, to say nothing of the defense of her capital; and when the enemy encamped before the walls there were already moanings of despair within.

None the less, there was a show of defense. The summons of the sultan to surrender was met with a defiant refusal. The garrison made several furious sallies, and fourteen days elapsed before the Turks could bring their engines against the ramparts. Then, however, the courage of the besieged gave way and they sought to capitulate. But Saladin was now enraged, and swore by the Prophet that the stains of that atrocious butchery of the Faithful, done by the ancestors of the then Christian dogs in the City of David should now be washed out with their own impure blood. At first he seemed as relentless as a pagan in his rage; but with the subsidence of his passion he fell into a more humane mood, and when the Christians humbly put themselves at his mercy, he dictated terms less savage than his conquered foes had reason to expect. None of the inhabitants of Jerusalem should be slaughtered. The queen, with her household, nobles, and knights should be conveyed in safety to Tyre. The common people of the city should become slaves, but might be ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for each man; five, for each woman; one, for each child. Eagerly did the vanquished submit, and the Crescent was raised above the Holy City.

Thus, in 1187, fell Jerusalem. The fierce nature of Saladin relaxed under the influence of his victory, and he began more fully than before to manifest that magnanimity of which he was capable. By the concurrent testimony of the Christian and Mohammedan writers, his conduct was such as to merit the eulogies which posterity has so freely bestowed. It appears that no drop of blood was shed after the capitulation. Instead of butchering ten thousand of the inhabitants within the precincts of the Temple as the Crusaders had done in 1099, he spared all who submitted. The frightened queen was treated with consideration. As she and her train withdrew through the gates of the city, weeping after

the manner of women over their misfortunes, he forbore not, touched as he was with the spectacle of their misery, to shed tears of sympathy. He endeavored to soothe the princesses with manly and chivalrous words of condolence. Nor was his conduct towards the captured city less worthy of praise. The ransom of the common people was enforced with little rigor, or else not enforced at all. Finding a group of Hospitallers still plying their merciful vocation about the Church of St. John the Baptist—though at first he was enraged at the sight of their hateful badges—he left them unmolested in their good work of healing the sick and succoring the distressed.

As soon as the captive queen and her company had withdrawn in the direction of Tyre, Saladin made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The golden cross which stood above the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was pulled down and dragged through the streets of the city. The great Mosque of Omar, which now for eighty-eight years had been consecrated to the worship of God and Christ, was rededicated to the worship of God and Mohammed. In order to remove all stains of defilement from the sacred edifice, the walls and courts and portals were carefully washed with rose-water of Damascus.

The other towns of Palestine quickly submitted to the victor. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Ascalon, and Sidon were successfully taken by the Moslems. Of all the Christian possessions in the Holy Land only Tyre remained as a refuge for the scattered followers of Christ. To that city the garrisons of the other towns and fortresses were permitted to retire, and its walls were soon crowded with the chivalry of the East. Here, moreover, Prince Conrad, son of the captive Marquis of Montferrat, was still distinguishing himself by his courageous defense against the enemy. Now strongly reënforced by the gathering of the Christians into Tyre, he was still more able to keep the Moslems at bay. So great was his popularity, that the inhabitants voted him the sovereignty of the city; and when the captive king of Jerusalem, who, on condition of perpetual renunciation of the crown, had been set at liberty by Saladin, attempted to enter Tyre, the people rejected him with contempt, and would

not even permit him to come within their walls. Meanwhile the victorious sultan, well satisfied with the results of his conquests, returned to Damascus, and there, amid the delights of his palace and the cool shadow of the palms, found time to meditate, after the manner of a true Saracen, upon the vicissitudes of human affairs and the glorious rewards of war. Here he remained at peace until the winds of the Mediterranean wafted across the Syrian desert the news of belligerent and angry Europe preparing her armor and mustering her warriors for the THIRD CRUSADE.

For great was the consternation, the grief, the resentment of all christendom when the intelligence came that the Holy City had been retaken by the Turks. The fact that the Infidel was again rampant in all the places once hallowed by the feet of Christ acted like a fire-brand on the inflammable passions of the West. It was not to be conjectured that the Christian states of Europe would patiently bear such an outrage done to their traditions and sentiments. The first days of gloom and sullen despair which followed the news of the great disaster quickly gave place to other days of angry excitement and eager preparation for the renewal of the conflict.

By this time the crusading agitation, which had begun in the very sea-bottom of Europe a century before, and, after stirring up first of all the filthiest dregs of European society, had risen into the higher ranks until nobles and princes fell under the sway of the popular fanaticism, now swept on its tide the greatest kings and potentates west of the Bosphorus. Of all the leading sovereigns of Europe, only the Christian rulers south of the Pyrenees—who were themselves sufficiently occupied with the Mohammedans at home—failed to coöperate in the great movement which was now organized for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. Henry Plantagenet of England, Philip II. of France, Frederiek Barbarossa of Germany, and Popes Gregory and Clement, all alike vied with each other in promoting the common cause.

Nor had the people lost while the kings had caught the enthusiasm of war. The popular impatience could not await the slower preparations of prudent royalty making ready

for the struggle. Thousands upon thousands of pilgrim warriors, unable to restrain their ardor, hurried to the seaports of the Mediterranean, and embarked at their own expense to imperiled Palestine. The maritime Republics of Italy, more than ever before, came to the front as the carriers of the numerous bands that now urged their way to the East. Not only the ports of Italy, Southern France, and Greece furnish an outlet for this tumultuous movement, but those of the Baltic, the North Sea, and the British Channel in like manner sent forth their hosts of warriors.

So rapid was the accumulation of the Crusaders at Tyre that, by the beginning of 1189, the alleged King Guy found himself at the head of more than a hundred thousand men. Such was the zeal of the host that the leaders were urged on to undertake the siege of Acre. It was this movement which roused Saladin from his dreams at Damascus, and sounded the tocsin for the renewal of war. With a great army, the sultan set out for the relief of his beleaguered stronghold, and it was not long until the Christians were in their turn besieged. With great diligence, however, they fortified their position, and, while on one side they continued to press hard upon the walls of Acre, on the other they kept Saladin and his host at bay.

Meanwhile a Christian and a Mohammedan fleet gathered to participate in the struggle. While the Moslem ships brought relief and supplies to the garrison of Acre, the Christian ships did the same for the Crusaders. For the reinforcement of the latter, Europe continued to pour out her tens of thousands, while behind the Moslem army were the measureless resources of the desert and the East. So numerous became the Christian host that supplies failed, and the terrors of famine were added to the horrors of disease. In like manner, though in a less degree, the Mohammedans became sufferers from their excess of numbers; and in both armies abused nature coöperated with the destructive energies of war to reduce the battling multitudes. Nor is it likely that in any other of the great struggles of human history so terrible a waste of life was ever witnessed as before the walls of Acre. It was estimated that the Christian losses reached the enormous aggregate of three hun-

dred thousand men, while those of the Moslems were but little inferior, and *then* the siege was indecisive. Such was the afterpiece of the struggle between Isaac and Ishmael!

Even this awful conflict and carnage was but premonitory of the real battle which was to come. For in the mean time the great potentates of the West were preparing for the struggle. First of all in the work was the aged but still fiery and warlike FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, Emperor of Germany. Already for forty years a veteran, he flung himself into the breach with all the enthusiasm of youth, moderated by the prudence of manhood. A great national fête was held at Mayence, and the valiant young knights of Germany bowed before their Emperor and vowed the vow of the cross.

Of all who had preceded him, not one was Barbarossa's equal in genius and generalship. He carefully weighed the perils of the great undertaking, and provided against its hazards. In mustering his forces he would accept no volunteer who could not furnish the means of his own subsistence for a whole year. A German of the Germans, he would not intrust himself and his army to the mercies and rapacity of the Pisan and Venetian ship-masters, but determined to take the old land route by way of Constantinople and Asia Minor. His army in the aggregate, exclusive of unarmed pilgrims, numbered over a hundred thousand men. Of these, sixty thousand were cavalry, and of these fifteen thousand were Knights, the flower of the Teutonic Order. The Emperor had with him as a leader, his son, the Duke of Suabia, together with the dukes of Austria and Moravia, and more than sixty other distinguished princes and barons. The great army was thoroughly disciplined and supplied, and the host moved forward with a regularity and military subordination which would have been creditable to a modern commander.

In traversing the Greek Empire, Frederick met with the same double-dealing and treachery which had marked the course of the Byzantines from the first. At times the fury of the German warriors was ready to break forth and consume the perfidious Constantinopolitans, but Barbarossa, with a firm hand, restrained them from violence. Sharing their indignation, however, he refused to accept the invitation of the reigning Cæsar,



BARBAROSSA AT THE NATIONAL FÊTE OF MAYENCE.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

Isaac Angelus, to visit him in his capital. With an eye single to the work in hand, he crossed into Asia Minor, and began the herculean task of making his way towards Antioch. In this movement he was opposed, as his predecessor had been, by every inimical force in man and nature. He was obliged to make his way through heated deserts and dangerous passes with the Turcoman hordes darkening every horizon and circling around every encampment. But they were never able to take the old hero off his guard. He overcame every obstacle, fought his way through every peril, and came without serious disaster to Iconium. Here he was confronted by the sultan, whom he defeated in battle, and whose capital he took by storm. By this time the name of Frederick had become a terror, and the Moslems began to stand aloof from the invincible German army.

Here, however, was the end of Barbarossa's warlike pilgrimage. While moving forward steadily, he came, in Cilicia, to the little river Calycadnus, where, on the 10th of June, 1190, he met his death. But Tradition, with her usual painstaking obscurity, has not decided whether he died of a fall from his horse, or from carelessly bathing, when overheated, in the ice-cold waters of the stream.¹

Evil was the day when Frederick died. It was soon discovered that what a great degree the success of the German invasion had been due to his genius. The Moslems had properly judged that the leader was the soul of the Christian army, and, learning of his death, they returned to the charge with impetuous audacity. Disease and famine began to make terrible havoc among the German soldiers. The command devolved upon the son of Barbarossa, who was in many respects worthy of his father's fame. Slowly the Crusaders toiled on, harassed by the almost daily

onsets of the Saracens, whom to repel was but to embolden for another charge.

At last the worn-out warriors reached Antioch. Nine-tenths of their number had perished, but the remnant had in them all the courage and steadfastness of their race. The Principality of Antioch was at this time held by the forces of Saladin, and their numbers far exceeded those of the Crusaders. Nevertheless the German Knights, disregarding their numerical inferiority, fell boldly upon the Moslems and scattered all before them. Antioch was taken, and the Saracens retreated in the direction of Damascus.

Having achieved this marked, albeit unexpected, success, the Crusaders pressed forward to Acre. They were received with great joy by the Christian army, but the force was so wasted by sickness and continuous fighting that the addition to the numbers of the besiegers was scarcely noticeable. In a short time the gallant Duke of Suabia died, and the magnificent army of Barbarossa was reduced to a handful. The leader, however, did not perish until he had had the honor of incorporating into a regularly organized body the Order of Teutonic Knights, which had hitherto held a precarious and uncertain course since the date of its founding, as already narrated in the preceding chapter. A papal edict followed, putting the new brotherhood on the same level with the Hospitallers and Templars, under the sanction and encouragement of the Church.

At this juncture a new figure rose on the horizon—a warrior armed cap-a-pie, riding a powerful war-horse, brandishing a ponderous battle-axe, without the sense of fear, stalwart, and audacious, a Crusader of the Crusaders, greatest of all the mediæval heroes—young Richard Plantagenet the Lion Heart, king of England. In that country Henry II., founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, had died in July of 1189. The siege of Acre was then in progress, and Frederick Barbarossa was on his march to the Holy Land. King Henry himself had desired to share in the glory of delivering Jerusalem from the Turks, but the troubles of his own kingdom absorbed his attention. Greatly was he afflicted, or at least angered, by the conduct of his sons, Richard and John. The former was headstrong, the latter cunning, and both disloyal

¹Frederick Barbarossa, the Red Beard, is the national hero of Germany. The folk-lore of that story-telling land has preserved a tradition that he did not die, but, returning to Europe, entered a cave at Salzburg, where he went to sleep. There he sits nodding until to-day. But whenever Fatherland is endangered, he wakes from his slumber, comes forth in armor, and is seen on the battle-field where Germans are fighting, terrible as of old.

to their father and king. Richard had conceived a romantic affection for Philip Augustus of France—a prince of his own age, and with something of his own audacity.

In vain did the English king endeavor to break the attachment between his heir and the French monarch. They continued to vow eternal friendship and to resolve that they would fight the Infidels together. Even when Henry went to war with Philip, he had the mortification and horror of finding his sons

ready for his expedition to the East. It had been arranged that he and Philip should join their forces at Vazelay, and thither in the summer of 1190 both kings repaired with their armies.¹ England was left to the care of Bishop Hugh of Durham and Bishop Longchamp of Ely, while the guardianship of the French Kingdom was intrusted to Philip's queen and ministers.

Arriving at their rendezvous, the French and English kings renewed their vows of



DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA IN THE CALYCADNUS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

arrayed against him. So in the summer of 1189 he came to his end, and died cursing both of his heirs. The dutiful Richard, however, attended his father's funeral, was greatly and perhaps sincerely affected, was acknowledged as king, and crowned on the 3d of September in that year. But it was the least part of his intention to waste his energies in the insignificant business of governing the English and the Normans. Having released his mother Eleanor from prison, and raised a large sum of money by the sale of castles and estates he made

friendship, reviewed their army of more than a hundred thousand men, and set out on a march to Lyons. Arriving at that city, they separated their forces, intending to unite them again at the port of Messina in Sicily. Philip led his army from Lyons to Genoa, which was his port of debarkation, while Richard pro-

¹ Before departing from England, Richard's vices, of which he made little or no concealment, became the occasion of a famous incident and cutting repartee. A certain Foulque of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the Crusade, upbraided him for his

ceeded to Marseilles, to await the arrival of his fleet from England. The short delay which here occurred proved intolerable to his impetuous spirit, and, hiring a few ships, he embarked with his immediate following, and sailed for Italy. In the mean time, the English squadron made its way into the Mediterranean, reached Marseilles, took on board the army, and arrived at Messina ahead of both Philip and Richard.

In Sicily the French and English armies were maintained during the winter. It was not long until the island was in a ferment of excitement. Tancred, the reigning king, had imprisoned Joan, widow of his predecessor and sister of Richard. The English king not only enforced her liberation, but seized a castle and gave it to her as a residence. He permitted his soldiers to help themselves to the best which the island afforded. When hostilities broke out between his forces and the inhabitants of Messina, and the latter were defeated, he allowed the city to be sacked as though it were a stronghold of the Turks. These proceedings greatly offended King Philip, for Tancred was his vassal; but Richard enforced his will, and then, in order to placate the French king, sent him a present of twenty thousand ounces of gold, which he had extorted from Tancred as the price of peace. He also gave a splendid Christmas festival to the knights and warriors of both armies, thus greatly increasing his influence and popularity.

Soon afterwards a more serious difficulty arose between the *friendly* kings. For some time Richard had been under engagement with Philip to marry his sister, the Princess Adelia; but for some reason the ardor of the lover cooled. Forsooth, his former passion for the princess had been one of the chief causes of estrangement between himself and his father Henry. Perhaps the appearance of another royal maiden on the horizon of conduct, particularizing his pride, his avarice, and his voluptuousness which he designated as the king's *three daughters*. "Your counsel is excellent," said Richard, "and I here and now part with my three daughters forever. I give the first to the Knights Templars; the second, to the monks of St. Benedict; and the third to *my priests and bishops*." Foulque was one of them.

Richard's dreams had something to do with the change in his affections. For at this juncture the Princess Berengaria, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre, arrived in Sicily, escorted by the queen-mother, Eleanor of England. With her Plantagenet fell deeply in love, and Philip was as deeply offended. Nothing, however, could stay the tide of



THE LION HEART AT ACRE.—DRAWN BY A. DE NEUVILLE.

Richard's purpose when once it began to flow. He discarded Adelia. He and the French king thereupon had a scandalous quarrel, which was only smoothed over when the capricious lover agreed to pay the rejected princess ten thousand marks and to restore to her all the castles which had been assigned as her dowry.

With the opening of spring, the two kings made ready to set out for the East. Philip departed first. After an auspicious voyage, he arrived in safety in Palestine, and joined his forces to the army before Acre. Richard, on the other hand, had ill-fortune. Off the

coast of Crete, his squadron was shattered by a storm. Two of his vessels were wrecked on the shores of Cyprus; and, although he himself had reached Rhodes when the news over-

took him that the stranded crews had been robbed and detained as prisoners by the Cypriots, he turned about to avenge the injury. Disembarking his troops, he took the capital



RICHARD PLANTAGENET TAKING DOWN THE BANNER OF LEOPOLD.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

of the island by storm, and put the governor in chains. And, to add insult to ignominy, the chains were made of silver. The inhabitants of Cyprus were made to pay dearly for their aggression, for the king levied upon them a tribute as heavy as their offense had been rank.

Satisfied with his vengeance, Richard now celebrated his nuptials with Berengaria, whom he had hitherto forborne to wed, the season being Lent. When the festivities were over, he sailed for Acre. His squadron at this time consisted of fifty war-galleys, thirteen store-ships, and more than a hundred transports. On his way to the eastern coast, he had the good fortune to overhaul a large ship of the enemy carrying fifteen hundred men and stored with Greek fire. So terrible was the defense made by the Moslem sailors that the vessel, shattered by the conflict, went to the bottom with all her stores. Only thirty-five of her defenders were taken alive from the foaming sea.

Arriving at Acre, the English king was received with great enthusiasm. His astonishing audacity and prowess were precisely the qualities needed in the Christian camp before the fortress. On his appearance, notwithstanding the serious illness with which he was prostrated, new life flashed through the dispirited ranks. His battering engines seemed to work with the vigor of his own will. He became the Achilles of the host, whom nothing could resist or divert from his purpose. The repeated and unwearyed efforts of Saladin to relieve and reënforce the beleaguered garrison were repulsed as fast as made. The inhabitants of Acre found themselves in the grip of a giant. The walls were broken on every side. The garrison was reduced in numbers and driven to despair. Saladin at last gave a reluctant assent, and Acre, hitherto impregnable, surrendered to the Crusaders.

In the hour of victory the character of Cœur de Lion revealed itself in full force. Without the show of courtesy to Philip, he took possession of the palace for himself. He would not brook even a protest against his arbitrary and high-handed proceedings. Perceiving that Leopold, duke of Austria, had planted his banner on the wall, Richard seized the standard and hurling it into the ditch, set up the banner

of St. George in its stead; nor did Leopold dare to express by other sign than silent rage his burning resentment.

The sultan was obliged to make terms most favorable to the Christians. Fifteen hundred captives held by him were to be given up. Acre was to be surrendered, and the garrison ransomed by the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold. The victorious kings agreed on their part to spare the lives of the prisoners. The Moslem camp before Acre was broken up and the army withdrawn in the direction of Damascus. The Lion Heart having detained about five thousand hostages, permitted the remaining inhabitants of the captured city to depart in peace. And now followed a scene terribly characteristic of the bloody annals, ferocious spirit, and vindictive methods of the age.

Saladin failed either through negligence or inability to pay to the victors within the prescribed time the stipulated ransom for the captives of Acre. Thereupon Richard fell into a furious passion, and the Moslem hostages to the number of five thousand were led out from the walls to the camps of the French and English and there beheaded in cold blood, and so little was the humanity of the great Crusader shocked, that he complacently beheld the end of the horrid tragedy, and then wrote a letter in which his deed was boasted as a service most acceptable to heaven.

The massacre of his subjects provoked Saladin to retaliation. He revenged himself by butchering the Christian captives in his hands and seizing others for a similar fate. One massacre followed another until the lineaments of civilized warfare were no longer discoverable in the struggle. Nor could it well be decided whether the Cross or the Crescent was more smeared with the blood of the helpless in these ferocious butcheries.

The news of the recapture of Acre was received with great joy by the Christians of both Asia and Europe. The success of the English and French kings seemed the well-omened harbinger of the recovery of Jerusalem and all the East. Great, therefore, was the vexation that followed when it was known that Philip Augustus had abandoned the conflict and left the Holy War to others. To this course he was actuated by a severe illness with

which he was prostrated, and more particularly by his envy and jealousy of Richard. The two monarchs were unlike. As a ruler, prudent and politic, Philip was greatly superior to

his rival, but as a hero he was in no wise to be compared with the Plantagenet. The latter was as reckless as he was brave, prodigal of gifts, generous by nature, personally grand.



RICHARD COEUR DE LION HAVING THE SARACENS BEHEADED.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The former was shrewd, cautious, wise, rather than a warrior. Such qualities were disprized by the age, while the Lion Heart were the ideals of the which he lived. But Philip earned the praise and enthusiasm with which was everywhere greeted, multigance and caprice, of which, erable and the other past perhaps it was well after the king withdrew at the time of the liance which must soon be open and probably for the scene which had personal glory, repaired presently exhibited attacking the dor.

By the retirement Richard was Christian allies retired of ten thousand gundy. For time boon- pared to re about thir and proceed of Jaffa. plies, according of the ex by adv great m lance of Christi shower not c sultar to gr gage, 119 of hos en M le s; f



treacherous brother John, who was endeavoring in his absence to deprive him of the kingdom, prevail to reverse his plans and destroy his hopes? or was it one of those unaccountable failures of will which, in the supreme hours of the lives of the greatest, have so many times supervened to break the knees of the demigod on the threshold of his highest ambition? None can answer.

Here in the valley of Hebron, with the towers of Jerusalem in view, the *Lion Heart* called a council! Ten of the leading barons were called upon to decide whether the siege of the city should be undertaken or deferred. It was decided that the present prosecution of the enterprise was inexpedient, and should be given up. Great was the chagrin of the army when this decision was promulgated; and if appearances might be trusted, Richard was himself as much mortified as any of his chiefs. With slow and discontented footsteps the English warriors and their Syrian allies made their way back to the coast, and Jerusalem was left to the perpetual profanation of the Turks.

The supposition that Saladin was in collusion with Richard in the abandonment of his enterprise against the Holy City seems to be contradicted by the conduct of the sultan after the fact. He eagerly followed the retreating Christians, and sought every opportunity to strike them a fatal blow. While the Crusaders were on their way from Jaffa to Acre, a host of Moslems assailed the former city and gained possession of all but the fortresses. Many of the inhabitants and garrison were cut down in the streets. Richard was already at Acre, and busy with his preparations to sail for Europe, when the news came of what the Turks had done at Jaffa. Enraged at the sultan for this aggression, he at once took ship with a mere handful of Knights, and returned to Jaffa. Here he found the Christians still in possession of the citadel, and doing their best to keep the Moslems at bay. With the very excess of reckless daring the king, on coming into the shoal-water, jumped out of his boat and waded to the shore, followed by his warriors. There was no standing against such valor. The Saracens who lined the beach were amazed, and gave way before the brandished battle-axe of Plantagenet as though he were the Evil Genius of Islam. In a short time

the assailants of Jaffa escaped from the environments of the town, and fled to the hills for safety. The entire force of Richard, including the defenders of the city, amounted to fifty-five Knights and two thousand infantry; and yet with this mere handful he defiantly pitched his camp *outside of the walls*, as if to taunt all the hosts of Saladin with the implied charge of cowardice.

This was more than the Turks could stand. On the next day, perceiving the insignificance of the force from which they had fled, they returned with overpowering numbers and renewed the battle. From the fury of their onset it seemed that they had determined to destroy Richard at whatever cost to themselves; but the English hero grew more terrible with the crisis. He fought up and down the shore like Castor on the field of Troy. Neither numbers nor courage prevailed to stay his fury. He charged a whole squadron as though it were composed of boys and women. His pathway was strewn with cleft skulls and headless trunks. He was in the height of his glory. Appalled at the flash of his death-dealing weapon, the greatest warriors of Islam fell back from the circle of destruction. They lowered upon him from a distance, but durst not give him battle. Not until the shadows of the Syrian twilight gathered over the scene did Richard and his Knights abate their furious onsets. The Moslems had had enough; they retreated from before the city, and the siege was abandoned.¹

We have now come to the close of the Third Crusade. The exploits of the *Lion Heart* in Palestine were at an end. His tremendous exertions in the battle of Jaffa brought on a fever of which he was for some time prostrated. His eagerness to return to Europe was

¹ Perhaps no other warrior ever excited so great personal terror in battle as did Richard Cœur de Lion. His prodigious deeds in fight might well be regarded as wholly fictitious were it not for the concurrent testimony of both Christian and Mohammedan writers. Tradition ever afterwards preserved a memory of his dread name and fame in the East. Syrian mothers were accustomed for centuries (if not to the present day) to frighten their refractory children with the mention of his name; and the Islamite traveler, when his horse would suddenly start by the way, was wont to say, *Cuides tu que ce soit le Roi Richard? That is, "Think'st thou that it is King Richard?"*



increased by every additional item of news which he received from his own kingdom. A conspiracy had been formed by the faithless Prince John and Philip Augustus to rob him of his crown; and the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany was not without a guilty knowledge of the plot. Moreover, his recent triumphant defense of Jaffa had so increased his influence in the East that the aged Saladin, whose sands of life were almost run, was more than willing to come to an understanding with the Crusaders. A treaty, or rather a truce for three years and three months, was accordingly concluded between him and Plantagenet, which, if both had lived, might have had in it the elements of permanency. It was agreed that Richard should dismantle the fortress of Ascalon, the same being while held by the Christians a constant menace to the peace of Egypt. On the other hand, Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the sea-coasts between them, should remain to the Crusaders. Antioch and Tripoli should not be molested by the Turks, and all Christian pilgrims who came unarmed should have free ingress and egress in visiting the holy places of Palestine, especially those in Jerusalem. Having concluded this settlement, King Richard embarked from Acre in the autumn of 1192, and started on his homeward voyage.

The great Crusader was now destined to rough sailing and hard treatment. His fame had filled all Europe, and nearly all the monarchs of Christendom were in a league of common jealousy against him. After making his way through many storms at sea into the Adriatic, his vessel was wrecked near the head of that water, and he was cast ashore in the neighborhood of the coast-town of Aquileia, in the dominions of Leopold, duke of Austria. That personage had been among the German princes engaged in the siege of Acre when Richard first arrived in Palestine. On a certain occasion the English king had torn down the duke's banner, and had struck him an insulting blow which he durst not resent. It now happened that Plantagenet, disguised as a pilgrim—for in that guise he hoped to make his way in safety to his own dominions—was brought into the presence of the offended duke, who recognized him by a mark which no disguise could hide—his kingly bearing and profuseness.

Here, then, was an opportunity for revenge. But avarice prevailed over malice, and hoping to share in the large ransom which was sure to follow the imprisonment of Richard, the Duke of Austria sent him under guard to the Emperor Henry VI.

Of all the people of England, Prince John was most rejoiced at the news of his brother's capture. Otherwise there was great grief throughout the kingdom. John sent abroad the lying report that the Lion Heart was dead, and his confederate, the king of France, made an invasion of Normandy. The English barons, however, remained loyal to Richard, and defended his rights during his absence.

At the hands of the Emperor Henry, Richard received every indignity. He was put in chains and thrown into a dungeon. Nothing but his abundance of animal spirits saved him from despair. But the prisoner was a man of so great distinction and fame that the Emperor durst not destroy him, or even continue to persecute. A diet of the Empire was presently held at Worms, and the princes, showing a disposition to demand of Henry a reason for his course, he had Richard conveyed to Worms to be disposed of. As a justification for his own conduct, he accused the English king of having driven Philip Augustus out of Palestine and maltreated the Duke of Austria. He also charged him with having concluded with Saladin a peace wholly favorable to the Moslems and against the interests and wishes of Christendom. The defense of Richard against these calumniation was in every way triumphant, insomuch that some of his judges were excited to tears by the eloquence and pathos of his story. It was impossible to convict such a prisoner in such a presence. Nevertheless, the spirit of the age permitted the Emperor to exact of his royal prisoner a ransom of a hundred thousand marks as the price of his liberation. Richard was also obliged to give hostages as security for the payment of sixty thousand marks additional on his return to his own country.

On hearing the news that Richard was again at liberty, his brother John and Philip of France were in the frame of mind peculiar to a wolf and a fox when a lion is turned into their keep. The king of France at once

sent word to his ally to take care of himself as best he could. The confederates next attempted to bribe Henry VI. to detain Richard for another year, and that money-making sovereign would have gladly accepted the bait but for the interference of the Pope, who threatened him with excommunication should he dare further to molest the greatest champion of the Cross.

Richard's friends in England were meanwhile exerting themselves to raise the required ransom. In order to secure the amount a general tax was levied, and, the sum thus raised being insufficient, the nobles contributed a fourth of their yearly income, while many of the churches gave up their silver-service to be coined for the king's redemption. When the sum was secured, Queen Eleanor herself took the money to Germany, and her great son was liberated.

In March of 1194, the king arrived in England. He had been absent from the kingdom for four years, the last fifteen months of which he had been held as a prisoner. Great was the joy of the English people, not only in London, but throughout the realm, on again beholding their sovereign. There was a burst of loyal devotion on every hand, and the king in the midst of acclamations might well forget the perils and hardships to which he had been exposed. As for Prince John, who was as timid as he was treacherous, he availed himself of the first opportunity to rush into the apartment of his famous brother, and, flinging himself down at his feet, anxiously pleaded for forgiveness. It was not in Richard's nature to withhold a pardon from his abject brother; but he accompanied the act with the laconic remark to some of his friends that he hoped to forget the injuries done to himself as soon as John would forget his pardon!

Richard took the precaution to have himself recrowned; for he had been a prisoner. As soon as the affairs of the kingdom could be satisfactorily settled, he crossed over into Normandy to defend that province against the aggressions of Philip. For the remaining four years of the king's life he was almost constantly occupied in preparations for war, or making truces with the French, who had neither the good faith to keep a treaty or the courage

to fight. In the year 1199 the report was spread abroad that a treasure had been discovered on the estate of the Viscount of Limoges. He being Richard's vassal, the king claimed the treasure, but the viscount would yield only a part. Thereupon Plantagenet went with a band of warriors to take the castle of his refractory subject. One day, while surveying the defenses preparatory to an attack, he incautiously walked too near the wall and was wounded by an arrow. Though the injury was slight, a gangrene came on, and the king was brought to his death. Before that event, however, the castle was taken and all of its defenders hanged except Bertrame de Gourdon, who discharged the fatal arrow. He was taken and brought into Richard's presence to receive sentence of his doom. "What harm have I done you," said the king, "that you should thus have attempted my death?" "You killed my father and brother with your own hands," said the prisoner, "and you intended to kill me. I am ready to suffer with joy any torments you can invent, since I have been so happy as to destroy one who has brought so many miseries on mankind." Richard was so impressed with the boldness and truth of this answer that he ordered Bertrame to be set at liberty. His soldiers, however, were less merciful, and as soon as the king was dead, his slayer was executed.

Before he expired Richard changed his will, and being childless, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother John. Hitherto he had made a provision that the crown should descend to his nephew, Prince Arthur of Brittany, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet. On the 6th of April, 1199, Richard breathed his last, and in his death was greatly lamented by the English nation, whose name he had made a terror as far as the corners of Asia.

At the epoch of the Third Crusade it was the misfortune of the Christians of Palestine to be rent by faction. One party embraced the adherents of Guy of Lusignan, and the other the followers of the valiant Conrad, count of Montferrat. When Richard and Philip were at Acre the former espoused the cause of Guy, and the latter that of Conrad. After the departure of the French king, however, Richard, finding the country on the verge of civil war, and perhaps discovering the

worthlessness of Lusignan, concluded to recognize Conrad as king of Jerusalem. Guy was reconciled, or at least conciliated, by the bestowal of the crown of Cyprus. But this settlement was of short duration. Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of the ASSASSINS, a new sect of fanatic Moslems, whose leading tenet was to destroy their enemies by secret murder. The destruction of Conrad, however, was charged to the old enmity of Richard, and the factional bitterness of the Christians was increased by this false accusation.

After the death of Conrad his widow was married to Count Henry, of Champagne, who in virtue of the union was by common consent made titular king of Jerusalem. This settlement tended to allay the malignant party strife which had prevailed in Palestine, and, together with the successes of the Crusaders at Acre and Jaffa, gave promise of an actual restoration of the kingdom.

This favorable turn in the tide of affairs was promoted by the death of Saladin. This most distinguished of the later Moslems died a few months after the conclusion of his truce with Richard, and left his Empire to his three sons, who soon established three distinct thrones at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The solidarity of the Caliphate was thus broken, and the Christian kingdom, or rather the prospect of its reestablishment, gained greatly by the division. The bad tendency of Moslem affairs was still further increased by the conduct of the great Caliph's brother, Saphadin, who, stronger than his nephews, wrested from them a large part of Syria, and in 1193 organized it into a government of his own.

It was with some impatience that the Christians of Palestine awaited the expiration of the three years' truce concluded by Cœur de Lion with Saladin. The dissensions among the Moslems gave good ground of hope that the kingdom established by Godfrey might be restored, and the Holy City recovered from the Turks. This feeling was especially potent among the Templars and Hospitallers, whose profession of arms had little glory in the "weak, piping time of peace" which followed the Third Crusade. It became the policy of the two Orders to promote every movement in Western Europe which looked to a

renewal of the holy war. In 1194 they induced Pope Celestine III. to proclaim another Crusade, and the same was preached in Germany, France, and England. At this juncture, however, there was no such exciting cause of an uprising as had existed on previous occasions, and the French and English refused to agitate. In Germany a cause was found in the personal ambition of the Emperor, Henry VI. Without great breadth of mind, he was nevertheless capable of that sort of avarice which could look with eager and covetous eye upon the treasures of the East. It was one of the curses of the Middle Ages that the rulers of Christendom generally preferred to replenish their coffers by robbery rather than by the encouragement of industry and frugality among their subjects.

Henry VI. brought the whole Imperial influence to bear in favor of the new Crusade. The German clergy assisted in the work, and a sufficient agitation was produced to draw together a large army of volunteers. Three formidable bodies of warriors were fitted out and were dispatched in succession to Acre. On arriving at this stronghold of Syrian Christianity the spirits of the Europeans, especially of the Knights, revived, and a momentary enthusiasm was kindled which perhaps under great direction might have led to great results.

When it was known to the Moslems that new armies of Christians were arriving in the East they quickly made common cause to repel the invasion. Saphadin was chosen as the leader most likely to succeed in driving the German Crusaders out of Palestine. On the other hand, the chiefs who commanded the Christian host quarreled and divided their forces. During the years 1195-96 a series of indecisive conflicts ensued, in which, though the Germans were sometimes victorious, no permanent results were reached in the way of reconquering the country. As a general rule the Turks were unable to confront the Knights in battle, but the former were for the most part a light-armed cavalry, that fought or fled as the exigency seemed to demand, and which it was almost impossible for the mailed warriors of the North to beat to the ground.

After two years of this desultory warfare the Emperor died, and the princes and prelates who had commanded his armies in Palestine

returned to Europe. The movement had affected but slightly the destinies of the conflict in the East, and the most critical authors have not dignified the expedition by numbering it among the Crusades. Perhaps a slight solidity was given to the alleged "kingdom," which now, under the rule of the nominal king, Henry of Champagne, included within its limits the better part of the coast of Palestine. In 1196 Henry died, and soon afterwards his accommodating queen, for the third time a widow, was married to Almeric of Lusignan, successor of Guy in the kingdom of the Cypriots. A union was thus effected between the two sovereignties, and the joint rulers were designated as the King and Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

In the year 1198 the papal crown passed from Celestine to Innocent III. The latter was one of the most able and ambitious Pontiffs recently regnant over christendom. Soon after his accession he determined, if possible, to rekindle the expiring fires of religious zeal by proclaiming a new Crusade. He became more largely instrumental in the movement that followed than any of his predecessors since the days of Urban had been in arousing the Christians of Europe to concurrent action against the Infidels. He wrote to all the Christian rulers of the West, urging them to rally to the Cross and to assist the holy work he had in hand, either by themselves enlisting for the war, or by contributing a part of their means for the glorious enterprise. As to the Church, he exacted of all the ecclesiastics in Europe a tithe of one-fortieth part of their revenues, and at the same time, by his messengers, he urged the laity to give in like manner a liberal per centum of their incomes.

So effective were the measures thus originated that the papal coffers were soon filled to overflowing. At this juncture a popular preacher appeared who, like Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard, was destined to enforce and euergize the will of the Pope by an appeal to the masses. Pretending to have revelations from heaven, this fauatic priest, whose name was Foulque of Neuilly, went abroad loudly and vehemently preaching to the people and calling upon them in the name of all things sacred, to enlist in the holy war. To convince them of his mission he performed miracles,

and as a finishing touch to the spectacular, he exhibited *himself* as an example of devotion and sacrifice; for he had formerly been a distinguished libertine.¹ The flame of excitement rose high under the appeals of this dramatic orator, and thousands in France and Flanders rushed forward to take the cross.

Now it was that the gallant Count Thibaut of Champagne, and his cousin, Earl Louis of Blois, fired the French chivalry by their example. At a great tournament held in the count's province in the year 1200, these two nobles publicly renounced the mimic deeds of the knightly ring for the actual glories of war. They assumed the cross, and vowed the vow of service against the Infidels. Great was the enthusiasm created by their devotion, and hundreds of the assembled knights and nobles emulated their deeds by putting on the red badge of Christian warfare. Among the most distinguished of the number was Simon de Montfort, baron of Mante. The excitement spread into Flanders, and Count Baldwin, a brother-in-law of Thibaut, enlisted with a great company of chivalry. Other famous leaders also appeared: from Italy the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat; from Germany, the bishop of Halberstadt; from Hungary, the king. Such was the beginning of the **FOURTH CRUSADE.**

As a means of promoting the cause two great councils were held, the one at Soissons and the other at Compeigne. At these meetings it was resolved to avoid the hardships and disasters which the former Crusaders had undergone, by taking the sea—instead of the land—route to Palestine. It was also determined as a necessary part of this policy to employ the fleets of the maritime Republics of Italy as the best means of transportation to the East. Especially did the princes turn to the Venetians, whose navy was by far the largest and most efficient in Europe. The leaders accordingly sent ambassadors to the veteran Venetian doge, Henrico Dandolo, now ninety-three years of age and blind as a stone, but still fired with the zeal and spirit of youth. The councils of state were convened, and aft-

¹ It was this Foulque whom Richard Plantagenet horrified with the proposition to give his three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Voluptuousness, to the Templars, the Benedictines, and *the priests!*

erwards the citizens were called together in the great square of St. Mark. Here in the presence of the assembled state of Venice the French barons knelt before the majesty of the people, and besought with all the fervor of eloquence the aid of the Republic in the recovery of the holy places of the East.

The Venetians heard the petitions with favor, and agreed to furnish a navy for the required service for the sum of eighty-five thousand silver marks. For this sum it was stipulated that Venice should transport to any designated coast of the East four thousand five hundred knights, nine thousand esquires and men-at-arms, twenty thousand infantry with horses and accouterments, and provisions for nine months. The fleet set apart for this service numbered fifty galleys, being perhaps the best vessels then afloat in the Mediterranean.

Great was the joy of the gathering Crusaders of France on learning that the Venetians had agreed to transport them to Palestine. Soon, however, the ardor of the chivalry was cooled by the untoward circumstance of the death of their chosen leader, Count Thibaut, of Champagne. This positive loss, moreover, was greatly aggravated by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the French barons, whose mutual rivalries prevented a choice of any one of their own number to the command of the expedition. It thus happened that a foreign prince, the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, was chosen as leader of the Fourth Crusade; and thus it happened, also, that what with the embassy to Venice, and what with the delays incident to the bickerings and disputes of the barons, the space of two years elapsed from the tournament of Champagne to the gathering of the Crusaders at Venice, preparatory to their departure for Syria.

When at last, in the year 1202, the warriors of the Cross were mustered in the Place of St. Mark, it was found that many, through the abatement of zeal, had remained at home, and that others were less willing, or, perhaps, less able, than in the first glow of their enthusiasm, to pay the subscriptions which they had made to meet the Venetian indebtedness. Less than fifty thousand marks of the whole sum could now be secured. The doge and

citizens of the Republic refused to permit the departure of the fleet until the entire amount should be paid.

At length, however, the dead-lock was broken in a manner which radically changed the whole character of the enterprise. When it became apparent that the Crusade, even after two years of preparation, must be abandoned because of non-compliance with the contract made by the French ambassadors, the doge himself came forward with a measure of relief. He proposed that instead of the present payment of the remaining thirty thousand marks, the Crusaders should assist him in reducing the revolted city of Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia. If they would do so, the residue of their indebtedness might remain unpaid until the close of the Crusade; and, in that event, he would himself assume the cross, become a soldier of Christ, and conduct the Venetian fleet against the seaports of the Syrian Infidels.

This advantageous proposition, though it seemed to divert the Crusaders from their original purpose, was gladly accepted by them. Indeed, such was the situation of affairs that they had no alternative. At this juncture, however, a new complication arose which threatened to annul the whole compact. The inhabitants of Zara had, after their revolt, made haste to put themselves under the protection of the Hungarians. The king of Hungary was himself one of the promoters of the Crusade, and had taken the cross. Pope Innocent III. now interfered, and forbade the Crusaders to turn their arms against a people who were under the protection of a Christian king, engaged in war with Infidels. But the Venetian republicans stood less in awe of the papal authority than did the feudal barons from beyond the Alps. Not caring whether their action was pleasing or displeasing to His Holiness, they went ahead with the enterprise, and prevailed with most of the leaders to join them in the expedition. The Marquis of Montferrat, however, would not, on account of conscientious scruples, accompany the expedition. The fleet of Venetians and Crusaders departed under command of the blind old doge, who, though seeing not with his eyes, perceived with the inner sight the exigencies of the campaign,

and directed his forces with success. Zara, though one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was besieged and taken after a five

Great was the anger of the Pope when he learned of the thing done by his disobedient children. He excommunicated both Vene-



THE TOURNAMENT OF CHAMPAGNE.

days' investment. The lives of the rebellious inhabitants were spared, but the fortifications were thrown down, and the city itself given up to pillage.

tians and Crusaders; but, when the French barons went humbly to Rome and declared to Innocent their penitence for their evil deed, he granted them a pardon on the con-

ditions that they should restore to the people of Zara the booty of which they had been robbed, and that the alliance with the refractory and perverse Venetians should be at once broken off. It was, however, in a manner impossible for the barons to comply with these conditions. They were so entangled with the Republic, that to break the league was to give up the Crusade and violate their knightly vows. Simon de Montfort, however, more fanatic than the rest, heeded and obeyed the papal injunction. As for the other Crusaders, they went into winter quarters with their allies at Venice and Zara.

During the interval between the capture of the Dalmatian fortress and the opening of the spring of 1203, circumstances occurred which led to a complete change of the original purpose of the Crusade. A new condition of affairs had supervened in the Eastern Empire which excited the hostility of the Western Christians to the extent of making war on Constantinople instead of the cities of Syria. The Comnenian emperors were now represented in the person of Alexius, who had conspired against his brother Isaac, whom he had deposed from the throne, deprived of his eyes, and thrust into a dungeon. The son of Isaac, who also bore the name of Alexius, was but twelve years of age, and was spared by his victorious uncle.

This young prince made his escape and fled to Italy, and, when the Crusaders gathered at Venice, he had sufficient penetration to see in the host there mustered the possible means of his own or his father's restoration to the throne of the Eastern Empire. He accordingly laid his cause before the Christian princes, and besought their aid. His petitions were strongly backed by the influence of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suabia. During the interval, when the barons of the West were lying inactive at Zara, the negotiations were continued, and both Crusaders and Venetians were won over to the idea of a campaign against Constantinople. Indeed, so far as the subjects of the doge were concerned, not much was wanting to inflame the motives already existing for war. For a quarter of a century a rivalry had existed between Venice and the capital of the East. At one time, the Emperor

Manuel had confiscated all the property of the Venetians in the ports of the Empire. At another, the ships of the Venetian merchants had made a descent upon several of the Byzantine islands and laid them waste. By and by the Emperor adopted the policy of encouraging the Pisans, the rivals of the Venetians, by conferring on them the carrying-trade of the East. This act was wormwood to Venice, and she awaited an opportunity of revenge.

The aged but ambitious Dandolo now perceived that by espousing the cause of the young Alexius against the usurping uncle of the same name the wrongs of the Republic might be avenged and her commercial advantages restored in the Eastern Mediterranean. It thus happened that the prayers of the Prince Alexius were supported not only by the Duke of Suabia, but also by the still more powerful voice of the doge.

Such was the temper of the age, that though the attention of both the Crusaders and Venetians was thus diverted to the enterprise of a campaign against Constantinople, neither party of the confederates was disposed to do so without first extorting every possible advantage from the young prince in whose interest the expedition was to be ostensibly undertaken. The Imperial lad was led on under the stimulus of hope to make the most flattering promises. He agreed to pay the Crusaders two hundred thousand marks for the restoration of his imprisoned and sightless father to the throne of Constantinople. He also promised to heal the fatal schism of the Greek and Latin Churches, to the end that spiritual unity might be attained throughout christendom under the Pope of Rome. He would, moreover, when the affairs of the Empire should be satisfactorily settled, either himself become a Crusader or else send out a division of ten thousand men at his own expense to aid in the recovery of Palestine. Furthermore, he would maintain during his life a body of five hundred Knights in the Holy Land, to the end that the Turks might not again regain their ascendancy.

Meanwhile the usurper, Alexius, had been on the alert to prevent the impending invasion of his dominions. He at once set about the work of arraying the Pope against the scheme of his enemies. The papal sanction

was an important factor in all the conflicts of the Middle Ages, and to obtain this the secular princes were wont to bid against each other as in a market. It now appeared that the elder as well as the younger Alexius was willing to sell out the independency of the Greek Church for the support of Rome. The Eastern Emperor accordingly sent ambassadors to Pope Innocent and tendered the submission of the Byzantine Christians as the price of papal interference. Innocent was already angered with the Venetians, and the Crusaders themselves had shown so refractory a spirit as to incur his displeasure. Since, therefore, in either case the solidarity of the church was to be attained by the submission of the schismatic Greeks, the Pope readily, even eagerly, espoused the cause of the Emperor against the prince. The Crusaders were forbidden to disturb the peace of a Christian dominion. The tyrant of Constantinople was promised the protection of Rome. She, and not the barons and knights, would heal the schism of long-suffering christendom. If any would disobey her mandate, let them remember the terrors wherewith she was wont to afflict those who set at naught her wishes. Legates were sent to Zara to acquaint the tempted army with the will and purpose of the Holy Father.

Little were the Venetians terrified by these premonitory mutterings from the Vatican. They openly disregarded the interdict and proceeded with their preparations for the expedition. The Crusaders proper heard the papal voice with more respect, but with them there was a division of sentiment. The more scrupulous were disposed to heed and obey the command of the Pope, but the greater number, either regarding themselves as hopelessly involved and compromised with the Venetians, or else influenced by the lustful hope of repairing their fortunes out of the treasures of Constantinople, chose to stop their ears and follow their inclinations.

When the papal envoys perceived that their mission was fruitless they left Zara, took ship and sailed for Syria. In doing so they bade all follow who would fight for the Cross and obey the voice of the Church. Not a few of the barons and knights accepted this opportunity of escaping from all entanglements and going on board with the legates, departed for

Palestine. The remaining and more adventurous portion of the Crusaders silently defied the Pope, cast in their lot with the Venetians, and made ready for the campaign against the Byzantine capital. Chief among those who thus joined their fortunes with republican Venice in preference to papal Rome were the Marquis of Montferrat, the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Paul, eight others of the leading French barons, and a majority of the warriors who had originally embarked in the Crusade.

The expedition which was now set on foot against Constantinople was the most formidable armament which had been seen in the Mediterranean since the days of Pompey the Great. The squadron included fifty galleys of war, one hundred and twenty horse-transports, two hundred and forty vessels for the conveyance of the troops and military engines, and seventy store-ships for the supplies. The force of Crusaders on board consisted of six thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot, and the Venetian soldiers numbered about twenty thousand.

It now appeared that Alexius Comnenus was much more of a diplomatist and intriguer than warrior. During the whole progress of the expedition which was openly directed against his capital he made no attempt to stay its course or prevent its entrance to the Bosphorus. The harbor of Constantinople was found to be defended by only twenty galleys; for the Greek admiral, Michael Struphnos, brother-in-law of the Emperor, had broken up the vessels of his master's fleet in order that he might sell for his own profit the masts, rigging, and iron which they contained. When in the immediate face of the peril the proposition was made to build a new navy, the eunuchs of the Imperial palace to whom the keeping of the parks and hunting-grounds had been intrusted *refused to have the timber cut!* Such has ever been the folly of those *effete* despotisms which have survived their usefulness.

Nor did the people of the city of Constantinople show much interest in the crisis which was evidently upon them. Like voluptuous idlers floating in the Bay of Biscay, they recked not of the gathering storm. What to them was a change of masters? The tyrant Alexius was in a measure deserted to his fate.

Great, however, was the strength of the

city before whose walls the men of the West were now come with hostile purpose. There rose the massive ramparts of stone; there the lofty turrets of palaces and basilica—a splendid show of beauty, magnificence, and strength, such as the Crusaders had never before beheld.

At first the fleet was brought to anchor on the Asiatic side of the channel. For a few days after the landing the forces of the doge and the Marquis of Montferrat, who may be regarded as the commanders of the army, were allowed to rest in Scutari, and while they were here reposing, negotiations were opened by the Emperor. He offered to expedite the march of the Crusaders into Asia Minor! They were not going in that direction. He warned them against any disturbance in his dominions. It was for the express purpose of disturbing his dominions that they had come. He threatened them with the Pope. The Pope had already done his worst. On the other hand, the doge and barons warned him to come down from the throne which he had usurped under penalty of such punishment as the soldiers of the Cross were wont to visit upon the opposers of the will and cause of offended heaven.

After these mutual fulminations the Crusaders prepared to cross to the other side of the strait. They ranged themselves in six divisions, and, passing across the channel, scattered the Byzantine forces which were drawn up to resist their landing, and captured the suburb Galata. The great chain which had been stretched across the mouth of the harbor was broken, and the few ships remaining to the Greeks captured and destroyed.

The assailants now found themselves before the huge walls of the city. Constantinople was at this time the most strongly fortified metropolis in the world. The act of the Crusaders in undertaking the siege of such a place is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of audacity. Their forces were only sufficient to invest one side of the ramparts. Their provisions were regarded as good for three weeks' subsistence. If only the physical conditions of the situation should be considered, then indeed might Alexius and his officers well look down with indifference and contempt upon the puny preparations outside the walls. But the *mental* conditions were different.

To the Crusaders delay would be fatal. They accordingly exerted themselves to the utmost to bring on the crisis of an assault. In this work the Venetians vied with their allies in the prodigious activity which they displayed. It was determined to assail the walls from the side of the sea and in the parts adjacent. With herculean endeavor the Crusaders succeeded in filling up the ditch and thus were enabled to bring their engines to bear upon the fortifications. In a few days the walls had been sufficiently injured to warrant the hazard of an assault. The blind old doge of Venice took his station on the raised deck of his vessel, and with the banner of St. Mark above his head, directed his men in the attack by sea. The Venetian galleys were brought to the beach immediately under the walls. Drawbridges were thrown from the masts to the tops of the ramparts, and for the foot-soldiers scaling-ladders were planted, and then with a rush and a shout the battlements were surmounted. Twenty-five towers were carried by the marines of Venice, and the banner of the Republic was planted on the summit.

The Crusaders in making the attack from the land-side had met with poor success. The breaches made by their engines proved to be less complete than had been thought, and those who had been set to defend this part of the walls were (if the history may be credited), a body of Anglo-Saxon and Danish guards whom the Emperor had taken into his service. Very different were these brave and stalwart warriors of the North from the supple and degenerate Greeks, who had inherited all the vices without any of the virtues of their ancestors. The Crusaders were confronted in their impetuous charge by these resolute and powerful soldiers, and were unable to break into the city.

As soon, however, as the doge was victorious from the side of the sea, he made haste to fire the part of the city which was in his power, and then hurried to the succor of his allies. On the appearance of the Venetians, the guards and Greek cavalry who, by sheer force of numbers, had almost surrounded the chivalry, and were assailing the hard pressed Crusaders in front and on both flanks, fell back quickly and sought safety within the

walls. Night came on and the allies anxiously awaited the morning to renew the struggle.

But Alexius was not more tyrant than politician. In the darkness of midnight he robbed the Imperial treasure-house, gathered together his terrified followers and fled from Constantinople. With the coming of dawn the Crusaders were amazed to see issuing from the city an embassy which, making its way to the camp, informed the barons and the doge that Alexius had fled, that the blind Isaac had come from his dungeon and was on the throne, and that he desired the immediate presence of his son and deliverers in the city. In answer to this message, two barons and two Venetians were sent to congratulate Isaac on his restoration, and to notify him of the conditions which his son had made, in accordance with which they had come to effect his deliverance and restoration.

Great was the shock to Isaac when he learned of the hard, almost intolerable terms which his rash but loyal boy had made with the mercenary soldiers of the Cross. But he was in the grip of an appalling necessity, and there was no alternative but to ratify the conditions imposed by his masters. All was agreed to. The young Alexius made a triumphant entry into the city and was jointly crowned with his father. For the moment there seemed to be an end of the struggle and the beginning of a lasting peace.

The character of the Latins and Greeks, however, forbade any permanent concord between them. The coarse vigor of the one, and the pusillanimous spirit of the other, made it impossible for them to harmonize in interest or purpose. For the time, the Greeks were obliged to yield in all things to their conquerors. The Patriarch of Constantinople was constrained by the compact and the presence of the Crusaders to do his part by proclaiming from the Church of St. Sophia the submission of Eastern christianity to the Romish See. This was, perhaps, the most intolerable exaction of all to which the people of the city were subjected. Their hatred of the heretical faith and ritual, which they were obliged to accept, was transferred to the young Emperor Alexius, in whose interest the revolution had been accomplished.

Nor was his own conduct such as to allay

the antipathy which was thus aroused. During his two years' sojourn in the camp of the Crusaders, he had become thoroughly imbued with their manners and spirit. Their carousals and debaucheries were now a part of his life as much as of their own. He would not, perhaps could not, shake off the rude and intemperate habits which he had thus acquired by contact with the boisterous soldiers of the West. Under the force of a disposition which had now become a second nature, he continued to prefer the license and uproar of the Crusaders' camp to the refinements and ceremony of the palace and court.

It was not long until the respect and esteem of his own countrymen had been so completely forfeited by Alexius that he found it necessary to retain the Latin warriors in his capital as a means of support. Nor did they appear reluctant—so greatly had their ferocious morality been corrupted—to postpone the fulfillment of their vows in order to enjoy the winter in Constantinople. Meanwhile their self-confidence was in a great measure restored by the pardon received from the Pope. Both they and the Venetians, after their capture of the city, had made such penitential professions to the Holy Father that he gladly extended full absolution to his wayward and refractory children.

During the winter the time was occupied by a portion of the Crusaders with an expedition into Thrace. Alexius himself accompanied the barons on this campaign, and his absence from the city, together with that of the Marquis of Montferrat, was made the occasion of a disastrous outbreak. The Latin warriors, tired of inaction, fell upon and almost exterminated a colony of Moslem merchants, who had long enjoyed the protection of the city. The Mohammedans made a brave defense, and the Greeks came in large numbers to the rescue. In like manner the Latin party in the city rallied to the support of the Crusaders, and the battle became a slaughter. In the midst of the conflict a fire broke out which continued to rage for eight days. One-third of the beautiful city was reduced to ashes. The multitude of Greeks thus dispossessed of their homes were exasperated to the last degree; and, falling upon the Latin residents of the city, whom

they regarded as having instigated the outrage, they obliged them to seek shelter in the camp of the Crusaders.

The circumstances of the deposition and murder of Isaac and his son Alexius in a conspiracy headed by Angelus Ducas, surnamed Mourzoufle, and the assumption of the crown by the latter; the wrath of the Crusaders on learning of what was done; the second siege of Constantinople; the capture and pillage of that city; the desecration of the churches; the overthrow of the Greek Empire, and the establishment of a Latin dynasty in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars,—have already been narrated in the Ninth Book of the preceding Volume.¹ As soon as this work was accomplished, the Western revolutionists set about the partition of the spoils of an empire. As to the vacant throne of Constantinople, the same was conferred on Baldwin, count of Flanders. The new emperor-elect was raised on a buckler by the barons and knights and borne on their shoulders to the Church of St. Sophia, where he was clothed with imperial purple. The Marquis of Montferrat was rewarded with Macedonia and Greece and the title of king. The various provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia were divided among the barons who commanded the Crusaders, but not until three-eighths of the whole, including Crete and most of the archipelago, had been set aside for the Republic of Venice.

As soon as the division of the territorial and other spoils had been effected, the barons and knights departed with their respective followers to occupy their provinces. As to the two fugitives, Alexius Angelus and Ducas Mourzoufle, both usurpers and both claiming the Imperial dignity, the former soon fell into the power of the latter, and was deprived of his eyes; while Mourzoufle himself was seized by the Latins, tried and condemned, and cast headlong from the lofty summit of the Pillar of Theodosius. A new claimant hereupon arose in the person of Theodore Lascaris, who, possessing more of the qualities of heroism than any of his predecessors of the preceding century, obtained the lead of the anti-Latin parties in the East, and became a formidable obstacle to the progress

and permanency of the Latin Empire. Thus, in a marvelous manner, unforeseen alike by Christians and Moslems, the original purpose of the Fourth Crusade was utterly abandoned and forgotten. The impulse of the movement expired west of the Bosphorus; and the blows of the chivalrous barons and knights of France and Italy fell upon the heads of the Byzantine Greeks instead of the crests of the warriors of Islam.

The interval between the Fourth and Fifth Crusades was noted for the extraordinary spectacle of an uprising among the boys and children of France and Germany. In the spring of 1212 a French peasant boy by the name of Stephen began to preach a Crusade to those of his own age. The appeal was directed to both sexes. Heaven had ordained the weak things of this world to confound the mighty. The children of Christendom were to take the Holy Sepulcher from the Infidels! Another peasant boy named Nicholas took up the refrain in Germany and mustered an army of innocents at Cologne. Around the fanatical standards of these two striplings was gathered a great multitude of boys and girls who, in rustic attire, and with no armor more formidable than shepherd's crooks, set out under the sanction of a royal edict to battle with the Moslems of Syria. Embarking from Marseilles under the lead of a few pious fools, older but no wiser than themselves, they came to a miserable end by shipwreck on the island of San Pietro. Such was the so-called CHILDREN'S CRUSADE—one of the strangest and most absurd spectacles recorded in history.

There still remain to be recounted the annals of the last four movements of christendom against the Turks. The conquest of the Greek Empiro was effected in the year 1204. Never was there to all human seeming a more unfortunate diversion of an enterprise than that which turned the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople instead of Jerusalem. The condition of the Islamite dominion in the East was at this juncture precisely such as to invite a renewal of the efforts of the Christians for the recovery of the Holy City. Egypt was dreadfully scourged with pestilence and famine. Syria was rent with the disputes and turmoils of the successors of Saladin. Every circumstance seemed favorable to the restora-

¹ See Volume I., Book Ninth, pp. 927, 928.



tion of Christian supremacy, not only in Palestine but in all the principalities which they had formerly held. And yet of all the advantages afforded by the general condition of affairs, the Syrian Christians secured no more than this: a six years' truce with Saphadin.

Meanwhile, Almeric and Isabella, titular king and queen of Jerusalem, both died; and the shadowy crown of that alleged "kingdom" descended to the Princess MARY, daughter of Isabella by her former marriage with Conrad of Tyre. It was, however, deemed essential by the barons and knights of the West that the young Queen Mary should be strengthened by the arm of a husband, and the choice being left to Philip Augustus of France, that monarch selected the Prince JOHN, son of the Count of Brienne, as most worthy of the honor. Accordingly, in 1210, the prince departed for Palestine, claimed the hand of Mary, and with her was jointly crowned.

When the truce with Saphadin expired, the Christians refused to renew the treaty, and hostilities were presently resumed. It soon appeared that King John, with the handful of knights whom he had brought with him from Europe, was unable to repel the encroachments of the Turks. In his distress he wrote a pathetic appeal to Pope Innocent III., beseeching him for the love of the fallen Cross again to rally the Christians of the West for the salvation of Palestine. His Holiness was most ready to undertake the enterprise. Although he was at present profoundly engaged in the work of suppressing the heretical Albigenses in the south of France, he sent a favorable answer to King John's appeal, and issued a letter to the Christian rulers of Europe, proclaiming a new Crusade. He also directed the clergy of all christendom to urge forward the laity, should the latter lag in renewing the Holy War. The fourth council of the Lateran was called, and a resolution was adopted by the august body to undertake once more the great work of subjugating the Infidels of Syria. Such was the origin of the FIFTH CRUSADE.

The leaders of the new expedition to the East were King Andrew of Hungary and the Emperor Frederick II. Besides the armies led by these two princes a third was organized, consisting of a mixed multitude of Germans, French, Italians, and English. King Andrew

set out with his forces in the year 1216, and was joined on his route by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria. On reaching Palestine the Hungarian monarch made some desultory incursions into the Moslem territories, but besides ravaging undefended districts accomplished nothing honorable to himself or his country. He soon abandoned the enterprise, gathered his forces on the coast, and reëmbarked for Europe. The Germans, however, who had accompanied the expedition, refused to return, and joined themselves with the knights of Palestine to aid them in defending whatever remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Other bands of warriors like-minded with themselves arrived from Germany, and the forces of the Christians were so augmented that it was resolved to make a campaign against Egypt. That country had been reduced to such a state by misrule, famine, and pestilence as to have become an especially inviting field for foreign invasion. There only wanted the additional fact of storied wealth and treasure to inflame to the highest pitch the cupidity of the mercenary chivalry of the West. Nor could it be denied that even from a military point of view the conquest of Egypt was an important, if not a necessary antecedent, to that of Syria.

In the year 1218 an armament fitted out at Acre left the Syrian coast and proceeded against Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile. The Christian forces were landed before the city, and the place was at once besieged. An assault was made upon a castle in the river, and though the assailants were beaten back, so furious was their onset that the defenders of the castle were terrified into a capitulation. A short time afterwards the news was borne to the Christian camp that their great enemy, Saphadin, was dead, and the dread which they had hitherto felt of Syrian assistance to the Egyptians was dismissed. Another circumstance favorable to the Crusaders was the almost constant arrival of other bands from Europe. Some of these were headed by the chief barons of Italy, France, and England, such as the counts of Nevers and La Marche, and the noted earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Chester.

While, however, the forces of the besiegers of Damietta were thus augmented, an

element of discord and danger was introduced in the jealousies and intrigues which at once sprang up among so many eminent leaders. Within the city were the ravages of disease and famine, yet the residue of the courageous people held out for seventeen months. When at last neither passive endurance nor actual bravery availed any longer to keep the Crusaders at bay, the latter burst into the city and found themselves in a metropolis of death.

The other cities of Egypt were greatly alarmed by the capture of Damietta. The

sure the conquest of Palestine. Both the sultans were anxious for peace. He of Damascus demolished the fortifications of Jerusalem and joined with his brother in offering to cede that city and all Palestine to the Christians on the single condition that they should withdraw from Egypt. Thus at last, upon the camp of the Crusaders, pitched on the sands of Lower Egypt, arose out of the Syrian desert the glorious sun of success, flashing his full beams on the spires and Necropolis of Cairo.

The more conscientious soldiers of the Cross



NECROPOLIS OF CAIRO.

After the painting of P. Marilhat.

consternation spread throughout all Syria, and for once the Christians were completely masters of the situation. For the time they might have dictated to the terrified Moslems whatever terms they chose to offer. Meanwhile, Coradinus and Camel, two sons of Saphadin, both weaklings, had been seated on the respective thrones of Damascus and Cairo. It were hard to say which of these two princes was now more seriously distressed. Camel saw his stronghold wrested from his grasp, while Coradinus remembered that the Crusaders were only warring in Egypt with a view to making

were anxious to accept the terms which were offered by the brother sultans. Why should they war any longer since the sepulcher of Christ and all the sacred places of the Holy Land were now freely, almost abjectly, offered by the cowering representatives of Islam? The king of Jerusalem, the French and English barons, and the Teutonic knights, eagerly favored the conclusion of a treaty. But the Templars and Hospitallers, together with the Italian leaders, influenced partly by their insane lust for the treasure-houses of Egypt and partly by the stupid bigotry of Cardinal Pe-

lagius, the legate of the Pope, vehemently opposed the conclusion of a peace, and overrode the wishes and wise counsels of the allied chieftains. Whenever the latter would urge the immense and definitive advantages of the proposed cession of Palestine with the consequent recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and every thing for which the blood and treasure of Europe had been poured out like water for a hundred and twenty-five years, the blatant Pelagius would bawl out with imperious inconsistency that the soldiers of the Cross should never compromise with Infidels. The result was that the auspicious opportunity of ending the Holy War on terms most satisfactory to every sincere knight in Christendom, went by unimproved, and instead of withdrawing from Egypt the Crusaders passed an inglorious winter in the captured city of Damietta.

Perceiving that their enemies were inexorable, the Moslems rallied from their despair and employed the interval in recruiting their armies and planning campaigns for the ensuing year. With the beginning of 1220, the army of Coradinus came out of Syria and was joined to that of Camel at Cairo. The incompetency of Pelagius, and the outrageous folly of his course, were now fully manifested. While hesitating to attack the Islamite armies, he permitted his own forces to remain in the vicinity of Damietta until with the rise of the Nile the Egyptians deliberately cut the canals on the side next the Isthmus, and inundated the country. On a sudden the Christians found themselves in a world of waters, swelling higher and higher. The crisis was overwhelming. The bigots who were responsible for it were obliged to send a humble embassy to the sultan, and to offer him the city of Damietta for the privilege of retiring from Egypt. The sultan accepted the offer, but took care to detain as a hostage the king of Jerusalem until what time the embarkation should be effected. The miserable and crestfallen Crusaders took ship as quickly as possible and sailed to Acre. So completely was the host dispirited that great numbers of the warriors abandoned the enterprise and returned to Europe.

The broils which had so many times distracted the counsels and defeated the plans of the Christian princes in the East were now transferred to the West. Great was the mor-

tification of Christendom when it was known what might have been, and what was, accomplished in Egypt. It seemed necessary to find a scapegoat, on whose head might be laid the sin and ignominy of the failure. Popular indignation with a due apprehension of the facts pointed to Pelagius, and great odium was set against his name. But Honorius III., who had now come to the papal throne, defended his legate from the aspersions of his enemies; and, in order that the blame might rest upon some one sufficiently eminent to bear the disgrace, His Holiness laid the charge of failure at the feet of Frederick II. That distinguished and obstinate ruler had promised, but had not fulfilled. In 1220 he had gone to Rome in a triumphal fashion and had been crowned by the Pope, who had every hope that the eccentric Emperor would become an obedient son of the Church. Now it was said by the papal adherents that the Emperor, after taking the vow of the Cross, had failed to keep his covenant, and had left the suffering Crusaders to their fate among the floods of Lower Egypt.

It soon appeared, however, that Frederick was not to be moved by such imputations of dishonor. The Pope accordingly changed his tone, and undertook to accomplish by policy what he could not effect by upbraiding the imperial Crusader. He managed to bring it about that Herman de Saltza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, should bring to the Emperor from the East a proposal from King John of Jerusalem that his daughter Iolanta should be given to Frederick in marriage. The scheme amounted to this, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should become an appanage of the German Empire. John of Brienne was most willing to give up the shadowy distinction with which he had been honored and to escape from the perils of Syrian warfare, and Frederick was equally willing to accept a trust made palatable by such a gift as the Princess Iolanta. Accordingly, in the year 1225, the project was completed, and the Emperor solemnly bound himself to lead an army to the Holy Land for the reestablishment of the kingdom planted by Godfrey in the City of Zion.

The event showed, however, that Frederick was slow to fulfill what he had so readily promised. A period of five years elapsed and

still he was not ready to depart for the East. Pope Honorius died and was succeeded by Gregory IX., who espoused with zeal the en-

His Holiness excommunicated him, and finally forbade him to do the very thing which he had so long refused to undertake. This last



ENTRANCE OF FREDERICK II. INTO ROME.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

terprise which his predecessor had not lived to see accomplished. Unable to urge the Emperor to go forward by any milder persuasion,

measure seems to have aroused the perverse Frederick by the law of contradiction, for setting at naught both the threats and the inter-

dicts of the Pope, he collected a small squadron and departed for Palestine.

The armament with which the Emperor, still under the ban, set out on his mission consisted of only twenty galleys. Those who had had experience in the long-continued wars with the Infidels were excited to contempt on witnessing the departure of the ruler of the German Empire with such a force on such an expedition. It was not long, however, until their contempt was turned into wonder at the extraordinary success which attended the arms of Frederick. Notwithstanding the anathemas of the Pope, and the unwearied efforts of that potentate to defeat his plans and cover him with disgrace, the Emperor made all speed to Acre, and there with his handful of soldiers prepared for the reconquest of Palestine. Both the Hospitallers and the Templars, acting under the commands of the Pope, withheld their support, and Frederick was left with only his own troops and the Teutonic knights. Such, however, was the vigor of his movements that many of the Syrian chivalry were impelled by a sense of shame, even against the papal interdiction, to join their German brethren in their struggle with the Infidels.

Having made every thing secure at Acre, Frederick courageously set his forces in motion toward Jaffa. Contrary to expectation, this stronghold was taken from the Turks, re-fortified, and garrisoned. It appears that Frederick, more wise than his predecessors in the Holy War, had conceived the project of playing off the sultan of Damascus against his brother of Cairo, and of gaining through their conflict of interests and ambitions what the other Crusaders had failed to reach—the recovery of Jerusalem. But before he was able to achieve any results by this shrewd policy, Coradinus died and Camel was left without a rival to contend with the German invaders. Frederick, however, was not to be put from his purpose. He pressed forward from Jaffa in the direction of the Holy City, and the Infidels fell back before him. Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other important places were taken without a battle, and so great was the alarm both in Jerusalem and in Damascus that the sultan made overtures for peace. Thus, against all expectation (unless it were his own), Frederick found himself in a position to dic-

tate terms almost as favorable as might have been obtained by the conquerors of Damietta. Nor has any one ever been able to discover the nature of the motives which he was able to bring to bear on the sultan to secure so favorable a settlement. It was stipulated that henceforth all Christians should have free access to the Holy City; that the Mohammedans should approach the temple on Moriah only in the garb of pilgrims; that Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other recent conquests should remain to the Christians; that the peace should not be broken for a period of ten years.

Great was the wrath of the Pope on hearing of the victory of the excommunicated prince. The whole power of the Church was rallied to deny and explain away the signal success and good fortune of Frederick. The latter, however, was now in a position to laugh at, if not despise, his enemies. Preferring to consider himself under the ban, he determined to celebrate his coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Nor durst the Moslems offer any opposition to the ceremony. The Emperor accordingly entered the city with his train of Teutonic Knights and soldiers, and, repairing to the altar, took therefrom the crown and placed it on his head; for the patriarch of Jerusalem, fearing the Pope, refused to perform the crowning, nor would the Templars and Hospitallers be present at the ceremony. Thus, in the year 1229, the Fifth and least pretentious of all the Crusades terminated with complete success. The victorious Emperor returned to Acre, and then set sail for Europe, followed by the plaudits of his own countrymen, but jeered at and scandalized by the papal party throughout Palestine. It had already come to pass that Rome looked with greater aversion and hatred upon a heretical and disobedient Christian than upon the worst of the Infidel Turks.

Such was the anger of the papal party against him by whom the restoration of Christian influence in the Holy Land had been achieved, that no efforts were made to conserve the fruits of his conquests. Not satisfied with this negative policy, the adherents of Gregory began a series of active aggressions against Frederick, looking to the undoing of his Imperial title, and the sap-

ping of the loyalty of his subjects. Bitter were the persecutions which were directed against him. When the Empress Iolanta died at the birth of her son, the anti-German party insisted that the child should be discarded along with its father, and that the crown of Jerusalem should be given to Alice, daughter of Isabella and Henry of Champagne. The latter claimant went over from Cyprus to Syria to set up her pretensions, whereupon, in 1230, a civil war ensued between her adherents and the supporters of Frederick. The party of Alice had greatest numerical strength, but the Teutonic Knights remained loyal to their Emperor, and more than counterbalanced the advantage of his enemies.

After the strife had continued for a season, a reconciliation was effected between Frederick and the Pope. The settlement was without any sincere foundation on either side, but was sufficiently meritorious to bring about a peace in Syria. But in that country the mischief had already been accomplished. More than half of the time of the truce concluded by the Emperor with Sultan Camel had already run to waste, and nothing had been done towards securing the conquests made by the Germans in Palestine.

Perceiving their opportunity in the quarrels and turmoils of the Christians, the Saracen emirs of Syria disclaimed the compact which had been made by their sovereign, and renewed hostilities. They fell upon the outposts which had been established by Frederick, and drove away the defenders. Pursuing their successes, they attacked and massacred a large body of Christian Pilgrims on their way from Acre to Jerusalem. Less atrocious, but more serious in its consequences, was the defeat of the Templars, who had undertaken an expedition against Aleppo. So terrible was the loss inflicted upon the Knights, that a considerable period elapsed before they could rally from their overthrow. One disaster followed another, and it soon became apparent that, unless a new Crusade should be speedily undertaken, the Holy Land would be entirely regained by the Infidels. The same Church which had so recently, by neglect and positive opposition, thwarted the efforts of Frederick for the restoration of the

Christian kingdom, now exerted itself to the utmost to organize a new expedition against the Turks. A great council was called at Spoleto, where it was resolved to renew the Holy War, and the two orders of Franciscan and Dominican friars were commissioned to preach the Crusade. It appeared, however, that the monks were lukewarm in the cause, and it was soon known that the moneys which they procured for the equipment of armies were finding a lodgment in their own coffers and the papal treasury at Rome.

In this way seven years of precious time were squandered, and still no relief was brought to the suffering Christians of Palestine. In the interval their fortunes had constantly run from bad to worse. At last the sultan of Egypt, incited thereto partly by the news of the preparations made in Europe for renewing the war, and partly by the hope of restoring his own influence throughout the Moslem dominions, raised an army, marched against Jerusalem, ejected the Christians, and shut the gates of the city against them.

When the news of this proceeding was carried to Europe the people were everywhere aroused from their apathy. Not even the selfish and sordid policy of the Pope and the monks could any longer avail to check or divert popular indignation from its purpose. The barons of France and England assumed the Cross, and in spite of papal opposition and interdict, the SIXTH CRUSADE was organized. In order to make sure that their object should in no wise be thwarted the English nobles met at Northampton and solemnly recorded their vows that within a year they would *in person* lead their forces into Palestine.

Nor were the French barons of highest rank less active and zealous in the cause. Count Thibaut—now king of Navarre—the Duke of Burgundy, the counts of Brittany and Montfort were the most noble of the leaders who sprang forward to rally their countrymen and arm them for the expedition. They even outran the English lords in the work of preparation, and before the latter were well on their way the French were already at Acre preparing a campaign against the Moslems at Ascalon. The latter were driven back, and the French, grown confident, divided their forces. The Count of Brittany plunged into

the enemy's country, made his way victoriously to the very walls of Damascus, and returned laden with booty. The effect of this success, however, was presently worse than a reverse. The counts of Bar and Montfort, emulating the fame gained by the Lord of Brittany, led their forces in the direction of Gaza, and were disastrously routed by the Moslems. De Bar was slain and Montfort taken prisoner. The king of Navarre was constrained to gather up the remnants of the French army and retreat to Acre.

In these expeditions led by the barons of France the Hospitallers and Templars took little part. It was evident that the Knights had no sympathy with any movement by which glory might accrue to others than themselves. Finding in this defection of the two military orders a good excuse for such a course, the French nobles collected their followers, and taking ship from Acre returned to Europe.

In the mean time the more tardy but more resolute English came upon the scene which the continental lords had just abandoned. They were led by one well calculated to achieve great victories, even by the terror of his name—Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. of England, and nephew to the Lion Heart. Such was the fame of the Plantagenet that on his arrival at Acre he was almost immediately placed in control of the affairs of the kingdom, and as the hopes of the Christians rose, the fears of the Moslems were excited.

Nor was the great Earl Richard slow to avail himself of the various conditions favorable to success. It happened that on his arrival in Palestine, the sultans of Cairo and Damascus had fallen into dissensions, and were pursuing different policies with respect to the Christians. Richard, emboldened by a knowledge of this fact, at once demanded of the emir of Karac the restoration of the prisoners taken by that high Turk in the battle of Gaza. When the emir refused or neglected to release his captives, the English forces set out towards Jaffa to enforce compliance, but the Moslems durst not resist one who carried the terrible sword of Plantagenet. The prisoners were liberated before the Christians struck a blow. One success quickly followed another, until with little bloodshed all that the Crusaders had

contended for since the capture of the Holy City by Saladin was accomplished. The humble sultans made haste to renew their offers of peace. Richard acceded to their proposals, for these were all that he or the most sanguine of the Western princes could have desired. It was solemnly agreed by the Moslems that Jerusalem, with the greater part of the territory which had belonged to the kingdom in the times of Baldwin I., should be absolutely given up to the Christians. In addition to this prime concession it was stipulated that all captives held by the Turks should be liberated without ransom. Thus by a single and almost bloodless campaign, headed by the English prince, was the reconquest of the Holy Land at last effected. The Crescent was replaced by the Cross in the city of David, and Richard and his barons, well satisfied with the result, departed for their homes. The immediate care of Jerusalem was left to the Patriarch of that sacred metropolis and to the Hospitallers, who undertook the rebuilding of the walls. As to the crown of the kingdom, the same was decreed to Frederick II., who had previously assumed the somewhat dubious honor in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

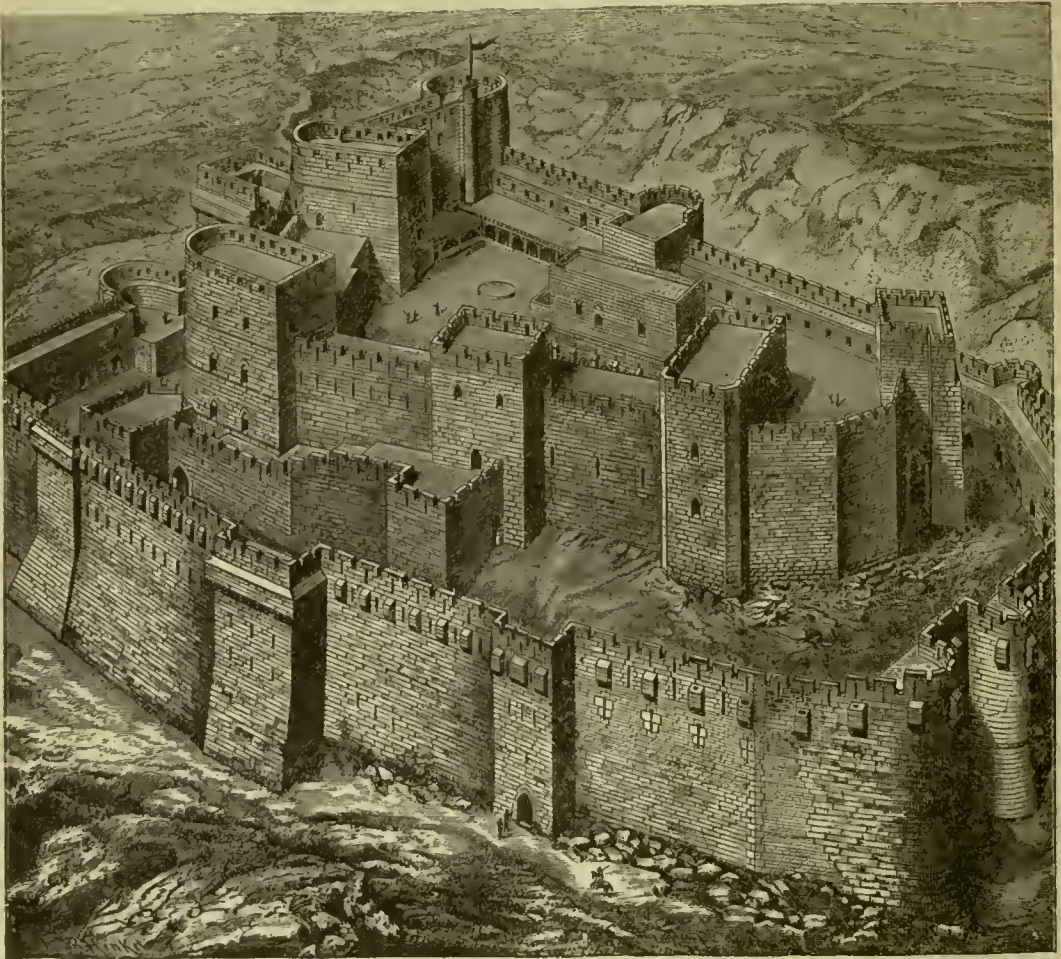
For the moment, it now appeared that the epoch of the Crusades was closed with the complete triumph of the Christians. The essential question at issue had been decided in their favor. It happened, however, that just as this auspicious state succeeded the century and a half of war, a new element was introduced into the Syrian problem. The story of the great invasion of Genghis Khan and his Monguls has already been recited in the preceding volume of this work.¹ It is only necessary in this connection to note the fact that in the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Monguls, the Corasmins of that region were driven from their seats of power to make room for the conquerors. These Corassmians made their way to the west at the very time when the victorious Earl of Cornwall was reëstablishing the kingdom of Jerusalem. Within two years after that event, the Persian brigands, acting under the advice and guidance of the Emir of Egypt, himself justly offended by some hostilities of the Templars, broke into Palestine twenty thousand

¹ See Vol. I., Book Ninth, pp. 930, 931.

strong, and under the leadership of their chief Barbacan, set at naught all rules of war and peace. The Hospitallers had not yet succeeded in restoring the walls of Jerusalem, and the invaders immediately directed their march against that city. Unprepared for defense, the Knights abandoned Zion to her fate.

In the year 1242 the Corasmins appeared before the ruined ramparts and entered without

No other such desperate barbarians had been seen in Palestine since the dawn of history. In order to stay their course, the Knights of Syria and the Moslems joined their forces; but the Emir of Egypt made common cause with the Corasmins. Even a casual glance at the composition of the two confederate armies could not fail to show the complete and utter demoralization of the conflict between the



FORTRESS OF THE EMIR OF KARAC.

resistance. Then followed a scene of butchery hardly equaled by the massacre of the Moslems by the army of Godfrey. In this instance Christian and Mohammedan were treated with no discrimination. Nor did the savages desist from their work with the destruction of human life. The churches were robbed and desecrated; the tombs, broken open and rifled; the sacred places, profaned. Jerusalem, already desolate, was converted into a waste.

Christ and the Prophet. The original antipathies of Christian and Moslem had given place to other conditions of hostility in which the old-time antagonism of Cross and Crescent were forgotten.

The confederate army of Knights and Syrian Moslems was presently induced by the patriarch of Jerusalem and other zealots to risk a battle with the combined forces of Corasmins and Egyptians. Never was there a more

complete and ruinous overthrow than that to which the Christians were now doomed. Their entire forces were either killed or scattered. The Grand Masters of the Hospitallers and Knights Templars were both slain. Only twenty-six Knights of the Hospital, thirty-three of the Temple, and three of the Teutonic Order were left alive of the whole Christian chivalry of Palestine. The blood-smeared and ferocious victors made haste to seize the fortress of Tiberias and Asecalon, and every other stronghold of Eastern Christendom, with the exception of Acre. Here were gathered the fugitives from all parts of the Holy Land, as to a last rock of refuge. Nor is it likely that even this mediæval Gibraltar of the East would have been able to escape the general fate but for the fortunate quarrels which broke out between the Corasmins and their Egyptian allies.

But this unnatural league came to a natural end. The Emir of Egypt sought a more congenial combination of his forces with his fellow Moslems of Syria. Meanwhile the barbarous Corasmins continued to devastate the country as far as Damascus, which city they captured and pillaged. The effect of this terrible devastation was to arouse the half apathetic Moslems from their stupor. With a heroic effort they rallied a large army, confronted the Corasmin hordes in the Desert near Damascus, and routed them with tremendous slaughter. The invaders were driven entirely out of Palestine, and Syria was relieved of her peril.

To the Christians, however, the destruction of the Corasmins brought no advantage. The Moslems had not reconquered the Holy Land to deliver it gratis to the followers of Christ. The sway of Islam was restored in Jerusalem, and the Christian kingdom continued to be bounded by the fortifications of Acre.

As soon as this deplorable condition of affairs was known in Europe the same scene which had been already six times witnessed in the Western states was again enacted. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV. convened a general council of the church at Lyons, and it was resolved to undertake another crusade to restore the Cross to the waste places of Palestine. To this end it was decreed that all wars among the secular princes of the West should be suspended for a period of four years, so that the

combined energies of all might be devoted to a great expedition against the Infidels. Again the preachers went forth proclaiming a renewal of the conflict, and from Norway to Spain the country resounded with the outcry of the monks.

In Germany the old bitterness between the Emperor Frederick II. and the papal party had broken out afresh, and the efforts of the zealots to rekindle the fires of a holy war were not of much avail. Time and again the Imperial forces and papal troops were engaged in battles in which the animosity of the German Knights, beating with battle-axe and sword around the standard-wagons of the Italian zealots, was not less fierce than were the similar conflicts of the Christians and Islamites in Syria. In France and England the flame of crusading enthusiasm burst forth with brighter flame, and many of the greatest nobles of the two kingdoms ardently espoused the cause. Thus did William Long Sword, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter de Lacy, and many other English Knights, who armed themselves and their followers for the conflict. Haco, king of Norway, also took the Cross, and became an ardent promoter of the enterprise, but before the expedition could depart for Syria he was induced by reasons best known to himself to abandon the cause. Most of all, however, was the crusading spirit revived in France, in which realm King Louis IX., most saintly of all the mediæval rulers, spread among all ranks of his admiring subjects the fire of enthusiasm. It was under his devoted leadership that the SEVENTH CRUSADE was now undertaken.

The island of Cyprus was appointed as the place of rendezvous. Thither, in the year 1248, repaired the barons, knights, and soldiery of the West. King Louis, leaving his government in charge of his mother, Blanche of Castile, departed with his warriors and became the soul of the enterprise. As in the case of the Fifth Crusade, it was resolved to make a descent on Egypt, and to conquer that country as the gateway of Syria. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the blind folly, recklessness, and infatuation of the military methods of the Middle Ages than the course now pursued by St. Louis and his army. With a singular disregard of the lesson of the recent

past, the Crusaders proceeded against Damietta, there to repeat in almost every particular the blundering disasters of the fifth expedition.

The force with which the French king set out from Cyprus was one of the most formidable

an expedition attended with worse fortune. The squadron was caught in a storm and scattered. On arriving before Damietta the king was accompanied by only seven hundred of his Knights, and his other forces were

correspondingly reduced. On the shore the sultan had gathered an immense army to oppose the landing of his enemies. Such was the array and such the warlike braying of the trumpets of Islam that the leaders admonished Louis not to attempt debarkation until his strength should be increased by the arrival of his dispersed ships. But he was by no means to be deterred from his purpose. With a courage that would have done credit to the Lion Heart he ordered his vessels to approach the shore, sprang into the waters with the oriflamme of France above his head, waded with his resolute Knights through the surf, and attacked the Egyptian army. Such was the heroism of the onset that the Moslems gave way in dismay before the incredible charge and fled, first



BATTLE OF GERMAN KNIGHTS AND ITALIANS.

Drawn by N. Saneel.

able ever seen in the East. The fleet contained eighteen hundred vessels, and the army numbered two thousand eight hundred Knights, seven thousand men-at-arms, and about seventy-five thousand infantry. But never was

to and then from Damietta. That city, which since its previous capture by the Christians had been converted into a stronghold, was taken without serious resistance, but the Infidels, before retreating, set fire to the commer-

cial portion of the emporium, and the flames destroyed all that was most valuable to the captors.

It was the peculiarity of the military temper of the Islamites of the thirteenth century that they sometimes fled from shadows and sometimes fought like the lions of the desert. There was still in them a residue of that fiery valor which they had displayed in the days of Omar the Great. At the present juncture, after flying from a fortress which they might

Christians found themselves closely invested and in danger of extermination. It was well for them that their scattered fleet, most of which had been driven into Acre, now arrived with reinforcements. At the same time William Long Sword and his English chivalry reached Damietta, and joined themselves to the forces of King Louis. The French, thus strengthened, might have sallied forth with a strong prospect of raising the siege and scattering the Moslem army.



LANDING OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT.

easily have defended, they suddenly turned about in great force, and the Christian army in Damietta was in its turn besieged. The Sultan Nejmeddin, great-nephew of Saladin, now occupied the throne of Egypt; nor did he fail to exhibit those sterling qualities as a soldier which might have been expected in one of so heroic a lineage. Himself suffering from disease, he hastened to Damietta, put to death fifty of his officers for having in so cowardly a manner given up the city to the invaders, took command in person, and soon reversed the fortunes of the campaign. The

Much valuable time was wasted in inaction. At length it was resolved by the Christians to make their exit up that branch of the Nile on which Damietta was located, and force their way to Cairo. As soon as the Moslems discovered the movement, they threw their forces along the river, and strenuously opposed the progress of King Louis's army. After much hard fighting, the Christians reached Mansoura. Here a terrible conflict ensued. Before the city could be taken, it was necessary that the Crusaders should cross the Ashmoun canal, and this was held by the

best of the Islamite warriors. At last, however, the Count of Artois, brother of the French king, gathering around him the bravest of the Knights of England and France, succeeded in forcing his way across the canal in the very face of the enemy, who turned and fled into Mansoura. If the count had now acted with discretion, all might have been well; but, instead of yielding to the prudent counsels of William Long Sword and other cool-headed leaders, he rashly and impetuously pursued the flying foe into the town. The other Knights, not to be shamed by his valor, pressed after him, and the whole disorganized mass of mingled Moslems and Christians rolled through the gates of Mansoura.

In a short time the Infidels perceived the folly of their pursuers, and made a rally in overwhelming numbers. He of Artois and his rash followers found themselves surrounded. Valor availed not. The count himself, Long Sword, and the Grand Master of the Templars, were all either killed outright, or hewed down in blood. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers was taken prisoner; nor would any of the force have escaped but for the opportune arrival of the king with the main army. The Christians succeeded in holding Mansoura, but the victory was comparatively fruitless.

At this juncture Nejmeddin died, and the sultanate passed to his son; but, before the latter was well seated on the throne, the powerful Bibars, general of the Mamelukes, obtained the direction of affairs, and presently took the crown for himself. Under his direction, the Egyptians now took up their galleys from the Nile above the Christian camp, and drew the same overland to a position between the Crusaders and Damietta. In this wise, the army of King Louis was left in precisely the same predicament as the Knights of the Fifth Crusade had been aforetime. In a brief period famine was added to the horrors of disease in the French camp, and it became evident that, unless a retreat could be effected to Damietta, the whole force would be destroyed. Daily the audacious Infidels, emboldened by the near prospect of success, narrowed their lines and renewed their assaults on the failing Christians. When the latter began their retreat, the victorious Moslems captured the camp, and murdered the sick and wounded. All

the stragglers were cut off, and the main body was thrown into confusion, overwhelmed, annihilated. King Louis and his two remaining brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers, together with a few other nobles, were taken prisoners, but the remainder, to the number of at least thirty thousand, were massacred without mercy.

The son and successor of Nejmeddin was named Touran Shah. By him King Louis and his fellow captives were treated with some consideration, and negotiations were opened with a view to securing the ransom of the prisoners. But, before the terms of liberation could be carried into effect, a revolution broke out in Egypt by which the lives of the captives were brought into imminent peril. The Mamelukes, that fierce band of Turcoman horsemen, revolted against the government, and Touran Shah was slain. His death was the extinction of that Kurdish dynasty which had been established by Saladin, in place of which was substituted a Mameluke dynasty, beginning in 1250 with the chieftain Bibars.

At length avarice prevailed over the thirst for blood, and Louis should be liberated for the fortress of Damietta, which was still held by the Christians, and that all his living followers should be redeemed for four hundred thousand livres in gold. In order to obtain the first installment of the ransom, the sorrowing but still saintly warrior-king was obliged to borrow the requisite sum from the Knights Templars. Damietta was surrendered to the Moslems, and Louis, with the shattered remnant of his forces, took ship for Acre.

Most of the French barons and knights, however, considering their vows fairly fulfilled by their sufferings in Egypt, sought the first opportunity to return home. As to the king, no such course was to be thought of. His pride and religious zeal both forbade his retirement from the lands of the Turk until he had done something to requite the Infidels for the destruction of his army. Entering Acre, the pious monarch at once set about the work of reorganizing the small band of warriors who still adhered to his fallen fortunes. Of those who had survived the ill-starred expedition, and of resi-



THE COUNT OF ARTOIS IN THE BATTLE OF MANSOURI.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

dent Christian soldiers in Palestine, he collected an army of nearly four thousand men, but with this handful he was unable to undertake any important campaign. Nevertheless, his energies were successfully directed to the scarcely less essential work of repairing the fortifications of the few places over which the Christians could still claim authority. The walls and fortress of Acre were greatly strengthened, and Cesarea, Jaffa, and Sidon put in a state of tolerable defense. In this way the king succeeded, in the course of four years, in making more secure the little that was left of the Latin kingdom in the East.

The hopes of Louis grew with the occasion. The Egyptian and Syrian Moslems quarreled and went to war. So bitter was the feud between the new Mameluke dynasty and the adherents of the Kurdish House at Damascus, that the French king was able to obtain from the former the release of all his prisoners still remaining unransomed with the sultan of Cairo. More hopeful still was the promise which he secured from that potentate of a recession of Jerusalem to the Christians. Nor is it to be doubted that, if the war between Egypt and Syria had continued, the king would have accomplished a great part of what all christendom had fought and prayed for for more than a hundred and fifty years.

But the early reconciliation of the warring Moslems served to blast all expectation of so happy a result. The sultans not only made peace but combined their forces to crush the rising hopes of the Syrian Christians. The latter were so feeble in numbers that no successful stand could be made against the Infidel hosts that had gathered on every hand. All the fortresses, except that of Acre, were again given up to the Moslems, and even the gates of that stronghold were threatened by the triumphant soldiers of the Creseent. At length, however, the Islamites withdrew without seriously attempting the reduction of Acre, and this movement on their part, together with the news which was now borne to Syria of the death of the king's mother, gave him good excuse for retiring from the unequal conquest. In 1254 he took ship at Acre, and the Seventh Crusade was at an end.

Though in a manner barren of positive results, the expedition of Saint Louis to Pales-

tine had done much to shore up the tottering fabric of the Christian kingdom. Perhaps, if he had in his turn been well supported by the states of the West and by the three great Orders of Knights, a more permanent result might have been achieved. But the Templars and Hospitallers had now forgotten their vows and given themselves up to the mercenary and selfish spirit of the times, to the extent that the Cross was shamed rather than honored by their support. Moreover, a state of affairs had supervened in the West unfavorable to the maintenance of the Christian cause. The Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans had fallen into such bitter rivalries as to preclude any possibility of a united effort in any enterprise. These peoples had grown wealthy and cosmopolitan, and had ceased to care about the different religions of the world. It was enough that those with whom they held intercourse should desire merchandise and possess the means of purchase. For these and many other reasons the discouragement to the cause of Eastern Christianity was extreme, and all who were at once thoughtful and not blinded by religious fanaticism could but see in the near future the probable and final expulsion of the Christians from the remaining fortresses still held by them in Syria.

As soon as the new Mameluke sultan Bibars was firmly seated on the throne of Egypt, he began a career of conquest. He made expeditions into the Moslem states of Syria, and compelled them to submit to his sway. He then carried his ravages into the territories still nominally belonging to the kingdom of Jerusalem. This movement served the good purpose of hushing for the moment the dissensions of the Templars and Hospitallers who had recently been breathing out threats of mutual destruction. They now united their hostile forces, and did as much as valor might to resist the overwhelming forces of the sultan. As a general rule the Knights fought to the last, refusing to apostatize, dying rather than abandon the faith. In 1265 a body of ninety of these invincible warriors defended the fortress of Azotus until the last man was killed. The Templars acted with as much bravery as they of the Hospital. In the year following the capture of Azotus, the prior of the Order of the Temple made a courageous defense of Saphoury, and finally capitulated on a promise

of honorable treatment. Sultan Bibars, however, violated his pledge, and gave his prisoners their option of death or the acceptance of Islam. All chose death, and gave up their lives as a seal to their fidelity. Before the year 1270, all the inland castles belonging to the Orders, including the fortresses of Cesarea, Laodicea, and Jaffa, had been taken by the Infidels. At last, in 1268, the city of Antioch was captured by the Mamelukes. Many thousands of the Christians were massacred, and no fewer than a hundred thousand sold into slavery. For a while it seemed that Acre itself would share the fate of the Syrian capital; but the opportune arrival of the king of Cyprus, and the still more opportune prevalence of the tempest in which the Egyptian fleet was well-nigh destroyed, postponed for a season the final catastrophe.

Such was the imminent doom now impending over the Christian power in the East that the Romish See was at last awakened from its slumbers. The news of the capture of Antioch produced something of the same shock in Western Christendom which had been felt on so many previous occasions. The zeal of Pope Clement IV. coöperated with the devotion of Saint Louis to revive the flagging cause. Nevertheless so completely had the impulses of fanaticism abated that three years were consumed in preparation before the now aged French king was able to gather the armies of the EIGHTH CRUSADE, and set out for the East. On the 4th of July, 1270, the expedition departed from the port of Aignes-Mortes, and came to Sardinia. Here it was determined—such being the king's own wish in the premises—to make a descent on the coast of Africa with a view to the conquest of Tunis. For it was believed that both the king of this country and his subjects might be converted to Christianity.

Such was the extraordinary nature of this enterprise that many of King Louis's barons tried to dissuade him from the project. But the piety of the king, backed as it was by the interested motives of his brother Charles of Anjou, now king of Naples and Sicily, proved superior to all objections, and on the 24th of July the squadron was brought to anchor in the harbor of ancient Carthage.

At this epoch the kingdom of Tunis was

torn by faction. The royal or Saracenic party was opposed by the Berbers. It appears that King Louis had hoped to profit by this dissension and by espousing the cause of the Saracenic ruler to bring him and his countrymen to Christianity. The presence of the French army, however, had the effect to heal the breach in the African kingdom, and both parties made common cause against the invaders. The king of Tunis raised a powerful army to drive his officious *friends* into the sea. He desired neither them nor their religion. For the time no general battle was fought. Both parties avoided it. The Moors knew, and the Christians soon came to know that the climate of that sun-scorched region would avail more than the sword in the destruction of a European army.

Pestilence broke out in the camp of the Crusaders. The soldiers died by hundreds and then by thousands. The air became laden with poisonous vapors. The dead lay unburied, for the living were sick. Many of the noblest of France yielded to the blight. The counts of Vendôme, La Marche, Gaultier, and Nemours, and the barons of Montmorency, Pienne, and Bressac, sickened and died. The king's favorite son, the Duke of Nevers, followed them to the land of shadows, and then Saint Louis himself fell before the destroyer. The few who remained alive eagerly sought to save themselves by flying from the horrid situation and returning to France.

In the mean time, however, another train of circumstances had been laid which led to a continuance of the Crusade after the death of King Louis and the ruin of his army. The barons of England, also, hearing of the fall of Antioch, had felt a generous pang and taken the cross for the rescue. Prince Edward Plantagenet, son of Henry III., and heir of the English crown, rallied his nobles to aid the French in the salvation of the Christian states of the East. He was supported in the work by five of the great earls of England, and a force of lords and knights numbering about a thousand. With this small but spirited army Edward set out from the kingdom which he was soon to inherit, and landing on the African coast joined himself and his brave followers with the army of King Louis to aid in the conquest of Tunis. The French forces, how-

ever, were already in the pangs of dissolution; and when, after the death and funeral of Saint Louis, Edward and his earls tried to persuade the sick and dying soldiers of France

to continue the Crusade by embarking for the East, they refused to proceed. Not so, however, the English. With a steady perseverance peculiar to their race they resolved to go alone



DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

to Palestine and thus redeem the Eighth Crusade from failure.

In the autumn of 1270 Edward and his warriors arrived at Acre. The Christians of that forlorn outpost of the Cross were greatly inspirited by the coming of their English friends, led by one who bore the terrible name of Plantagenet. The Moslems conceived a wholesome dread of the Knights, who had just arrived from the West. The Sultan Bibars, who was already before the gates of Acre, retired in haste when he learned that Edward *Plantagenet* was in the fortress. The scattered Christian warriors of Palestine sought shelter and a renewal of confidence by gathering around the English standard. Prince Edward thus succeeded in rallying a force of about seven thousand warriors, and with this small army went boldly forth to encounter the hosts of Islam.

Marching in the direction of Nazareth the Crusaders soon fell in with a division of the Moslems, whom they defeated and dispersed. Proceeding to the boyhood home of Christ they took the town by storm and slaughtered the inhabitants with an excess of ferocity which might well have signalized the deeds of the first Crusaders. The Christians took up their station in Nazareth, but were almost immediately attacked with dreadful diseases, more fatal than the swords of the Moslems. Hundreds of the small army fell victims to the pestilence. The prince himself fell sick, and while confined to his couch was assailed by one of the Assassins. The wretch, under pretense of giving Edward important information, gained access to his tent, and while the latter was reading the pretended credentials attacked him with a poisoned dagger. Plantagenet, however, was not to be extinguished by a murderer. Springing from the couch he seized his assailant, threw him to the earth, and transfixed him with his own weapon. The prince's physician then excised the poisoned wounds of the prince and his vigorous constitution prevailed over both his injuries and the pestilence. So greatly, however, were his scanty forces wasted that a further continuance of the conflict seemed out of the question.

The news now came from England that King Henry III. was sick unto death, and the prince's presence was necessary to the

peace of the realm. He accordingly determined to avail himself of the overtures made by the sultan, who perhaps not knowing the condition of Edward and his handful of warriors, and entertaining for them a salutary respect had proposed a truce for a period of ten years. A settlement was accordingly made on this basis, and after a residence of fourteen months Prince Edward retired from Palestine. The success of his campaign had been such as to secure another respite to the tottering fabric of Christianity in Syria.

In the year 1274 the Pope's legate in Palestine, the Count Thibaut, was elected to the papal throne with the title of Gregory X. Himself familiar by long and painful observation with the deplorable condition of Christian affairs in the Holy Land, he at once resolved to do as much as lay in the power of the pontiff to rouse the states of Europe from their lethargy. He accordingly, in the year of his elevation to the papacy, convoked the second council of Lyons, and there exerted himself to the utmost to induce another uprising of the people. The effort was in vain. Though several of the secular princes promised to lend their aid in a new movement to the East, their pledges remained unfulfilled, and with the death of the Pope two years afterwards the whole enterprise came to naught.

For eight years the Syrian Christians remained unmolested. This observance by the Moslems of the treaty made with Prince Edward was due, however, rather to the dissensions of the Islamites than to any consideration of a compact which they knew the Christians to be unable to enforce. After the death of Frederick II., in the year 1250, the crown of Jerusalem had been conferred on Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, though his claim to the mythical dignity was controverted by Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily. The latter by his recent victory over Count Manfred of Naples, whom he defeated and slew in the decisive battle of Benevento, had become the leading actor in the affairs of Italy. The new sovereign was, however, so far as his Syrian dominions were concerned, a mere phantom. No attempt was made by him to recover the Holy City or any other of the lost possessions of christendom in Asia. Indeed, the Latin power on the coast existed only by sufferance. In

1280, two years before the expiration of the truce, some Moslem traders plying their vocation in the coast towns and villages of Palestine were attacked and robbed by bands of

salem, was taken and garrisoned by the Moslems. From year to year he continued his aggressions until the mere foothold in the fortress of Acre was all that remained under the shadow of the Cross in Syria.



DEATH OF MANFRED IN THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO.

marauding Christians. After demanding redress and obtaining none, the sultan of Egypt cut short the existing order by raising an army and renewing the conflict. The Latin outposts were cut off one by one until Tripoli, the last remaining fief of the crown of Jeru-

terminate the last Christian dog within the limits of his dominions. He accordingly drew out an immense army of two hundred thousand men, and in 1291 pitched his camp before the walls of Acre.

Perhaps at this time there was gathered

It was a strange spectacle even in these strange times of lawlessness and rapine, to behold the Christians thus pent up in a single town, still displaying the spirit of aggression. It is the duty of History to record that the last Crusaders in Palestine were as brave and reckless as the first. Notwithstanding their feebleness, these strange warriors of the Middle Ages availed themselves of every opportunity to sally forth and attack the Moslem merchants whom chance or interest drew into the vicinity of Acre. This policy was continued until the Sultan Khatil, then reigning in Cairo, enraged at the audacity, not to say perfidy, of these remaining soldiers of the Cross, swore by the name of Allah and his Prophet that he would ex-

within the defenses of the last stronghold of christendom in Palestine such a *melange* of people as never before or since was congregated in a city. Almost every nation of Europe was represented in the multitudes that thronged the streets. So great was the diversity of tongues, races, and religions that seventeen independent tribunals were instituted in the alleged administration of justice. It was Gog and Magog with the immense throng between whom and the swords of Khatil's Mamelukes only the walls and towers of Acre interposed.

Such was the distraction of counsels prevalent in the city, that no adequate measures of defense could be carried into effect. The ramparts were imperfectly defended, and the crowds of non-combatants soon came to understand that safety lay in the direction of escape. In a short time the ships in the harbor were crowded with those who were fortunate enough first to perceive the situation and avail themselves of the opportunity. This process of debarkation went on steadily until it appeared that Acre would be left without an inhabitant. But the knights of the three military orders and a few other warriors, to the number of about twelve thousand in all, showed a different mettle.

Perhaps nothing more heroic has been witnessed in the annals of warfare than the resolute and unwavering courage displayed by this band of European and Syrian chivalry in defending the last fortress of Eastern christendom. For thirty-three days they manned the ramparts against Khatil and his twenty myriads of Mamelukes. With ever increasing vehemence the Moslems leveled their destroying engines against the tottering walls and towers. At last an important defense, known by the name of the Cursed Tower, yielded to the assailants, and went down with a crash. The breach thus effected in the defenses opened into the heart of the city. Then it was that Hugh of Lusignan, whom the folly of the times still designated as king of Jerusalem, gathering together a band of friends and favorites, fled in the darkness, went on shipboard, and left the city to its fate. But the Teutonic Knights, scorning the conduct of the royal poltroon, rallied in the breach with an energy born of heroism rather than despair, and beat back the Moslems with terrible slaughter. The latter rallied

again and again to the charge, and at last the bleeding Knights, reduced to a handful, were overborne by the Infidel host, and hurled backwards from their post of glory. In poured the savage tides of victorious Islam, hungry for blood and revenge. The few inhabitants who remained in the city were quickly butchered or seized as slaves. In the last hours, the surviving Knights of the Hospital and the Temple shared the dying glory of the Teutonic chivalry. Sallying forth from the parts of the defenses which had been assigned to their keeping, they charged upon the Moslems, and fought till only *seven* of the gallant band remained to tell the tale of destruction. This remnant of an Order which it is impossible not to admire for its stubborn exhibition of mediæval virtues gained the coast, and, with good reason, considering that their monastic vows had been fulfilled, saved themselves by embarkation.

For three days after the assault and capture of the city, the surviving Templars defended themselves in their monastery. Here their Grand Master, Pierre de Beaujeu, one of the bravest of the brave, was killed by a poisoned arrow. His companions continued the defense until the sultan, not unappreciative of such heroism, granted them honorable terms of capitulation. No sooner, however, had they surrendered than they were assailed with jeers and insults by the infuriated Mamelukes, who could hardly be restrained. Enraged at this treatment, the Knights attacked their enemies with redoubled fury, and fought until they were exterminated almost to a man. A few, escaping into the interior, continued to smite every Moslem whom they met, until finally, returning to the coast, they took ship and sailed for Cyprus.

Such was the last act of the drama. The few Christians still clinging to the coast towns of Syria made their escape as soon as possible, and left the savage Mamelukes in complete possession of the country. After a continuance of a hundred and ninety-one years, the contest between the Cross and the Crescent had ended in a complete restoration of the ancient *régime* throughout Syria and Asia Minor. The semilune of Islam was again in the ascendent. The hardy virtues of the races of Western and Northern Europe had not been, perhaps could

not be, transplanted to the birthplace of that religious system under the influence of which the Crusaders had flung themselves upon the East. The collapse was fatal. The spirit, which had so many times inflamed the zeal and passion of Europe, had expired, and could be no more evoked from the shadows. Spasmodically, at intervals, for a period of more than fifty years after the fall of Acre, the voice of the Popes was heard, calling on lethargic christendom to lift again the standard of the Cross in Palestine. But the cry fell on deaf ears. The nations would agitate no more; and the picture, drawn with such vivid effect in the preceding century, of the profane and turbaned Turk performing his orgies on the tomb of Christ, kindled no more forever the insane fanaticism of the Christians of the West.

It is appropriate in this connection to add a few paragraphs on the effects which followed the Crusades as their antecedent and cause. It is a difficult question on which to express such a judgment as will fairly reconcile the conflicting views of those writers who have essayed the discussion. It is natural, in the first place, to look at the relative position and strength of the combatants after the conflict was ended. In general, it may be said that neither Islam nor Christianity was much retarded or promoted by the issue of the almost two centuries of war. The prospects of the Crescent in Syria and Asia Minor were nearly the same after the fall of Acre as they had been before the Council of Clermont. The Crusades failed to alter the established condition of Asia; and it is to be doubted whether, taken all in all, the downfall of Constantinople was either greatly delayed or promoted by the Holy Wars.

The same may be said of the religious condition of Europe. The Mohammedans fought to maintain a status; and to that extent they were successful. But they seem never to have contemplated the invasion of the Christian continent as a measure of retaliation. It was sufficient that the soldiers of the Cross were expelled from Palestine, and limited to such intestine strifes as were native to their own dominions.

As to religious opinions, a larger change was effected. At the beginning of the conflict, both Christians and Mohammedans entertained for each other's beliefs and practices

an indescribable abhorrence. A mutual hatred more profound than that with which the first Crusaders and the Infidels were inflamed can hardly be imagined. The fanaticism and bigotry of the Christians was more intense in proportion as they were more ignorant than the Islamites. They believed that Mohammed was the Devil, or, at least, that Antichrist whom to exterminate was the first duty and highest privilege of Christian warriors. By degrees, however, this insane frenzy passed away, and was replaced with a certain respect for an enemy whom they found more intelligent and less bloody-minded than themselves. From the time of the Third and Fourth Crusades it was easy to perceive a change of sentiment affecting the conduct of the combatants. Their battles were no longer mere massacres of the vanquished by the victors. Saladin himself, though still in a measure under the influence of savage Islam, set the example of a more humane and tolerant spirit. In some degree his conduct was emulated by the Christians, and the later years of the war were marked by less atrocity and fewer butcheries.

The altered sentiments of the Crusaders and the Moslems are easily discoverable in the tone assumed by the earlier and later writers who followed the Christian armies. In the older chronicles there is diffused on every page the intense hatred of the author. It is manifest that they write of peoples whom they had not yet seen, of beliefs which they did not understand, of institutions and practices which they had not witnessed. They detest the Mohammedans as if they were monsters, dogs, devils. But in the later annals of the Crusades there is a change of tone and opinion. The Moslems are no longer the savage and inhuman beasts which they had been represented to be by the earlier historians. The Christians had come to understand and to a certain degree to appreciate the ideas and social customs of the Islamites. Friendly relations sprang up in the intervals between the successive Crusades, and it is doubtless true that the Christian dwellers in the Holy Land frequently heard with regret and grief the premonitory mutterings of another outbreak, by which their moiety of peace was to be swept away. Besides this, the later Christian chroniclers have words of praise not

few or stinted for the great Mohammedan leaders with whom they had become acquainted. Bernard le Tresorier pronounces a glowing eulogium on the character of Saladin, and William of Tyre praises Nouredin in a strain of equal commendation. It is evident that by the close of the thirteenth century the opinions of that part of christendom which had come into actual contact with Islam had undergone a radical change. There are not wanting Christian writers of the epoch who go to the length of drawing unfavorable comparisons between the manners, customs, and institutions of their own people in the West and those of the more refined Mohammedans. The historical treatises and letters of the later Crusaders are thus found to express sentiments and opinions which would have been horrifying in the last degree to the contemporaries of Godfrey and Baldwin.¹

It will be seen, then, that the general tendency of the Crusade was, so far as ideas and beliefs were concerned, in the direction of the emancipation of the human mind. Though the Holy Wars were begun under the impulse of religious fanaticism, though they were continued for the express purpose of making religious zeal the criterion of human character and conduct, yet year by year the despotic sway of that fanaticism and zeal was loosened and the mind set free in wider fields of activity. The change of place and scene had a marvelous effect upon the rude imaginations and confined beliefs of the Crusaders. They saw Rome, the mother of mysteries. They saw Constantinople, the wonder of two continents.

¹ The following paragraphs from Sir John Mandeville will illustrate the altered tone of the later Christian writers relative to manners and merits of the Moslems. Sir John thus, in 1356, narrates the story of his interview with the sultan, and of the sentiments which they interchanged:

"And therefore shall I tell you what the sultan told me one day in his chamber. He sent out of the room all manner of men, both lords and others, for he would speak with me in private: And there he asked me in what manner the Christian folk govern themselves in our country. And I answered him, 'Right well; thanks to God.' And he replied, 'Indeed not so; for the Christian people do not know how to serve God rightly. You should give example to the lewd folk to do well, but you give them example to do evil. For your people upon festival days when they should go to church to serve God, then go they to taverns,

They saw Jerusalem, and found it only a Syrian town hallowed by nothing save its associations. They observed the riches and elegant manners of the Moslems, and thus by degrees were weaned from the domination of those ideas which had impelled them to take the Cross.

As to the Papal Church, the influence of the Crusades was more baleful than beneficial. There is no doubt that the ambition of Gregory was sincere; nor are we at liberty to suppose that Urban II. was actuated by other than a true zeal for the honor of the Cross. But the Holy Wars had not long continued until the Popes discovered in the situation a vast source of profit to themselves and the Church. The principle of a monetary equivalent for military service was admitted, and it became the custom with the Crusaders to pay into the papal treasury large sums as a satisfaction for unfulfilled vows. This usage, if not the actual beginning, was at least the powerful excitant and auxiliary of the sale of indulgences by the Church. The principal of buying exemption from military service was extended to other classes of service and duty; and the plan of purchasing the removal of penalties, both past and prospective, became almost universally prevalent.

Another fatal consequence flowing to the Church from the Crusades was the subsequent misdirection of the zeal and fanaticism which she had evoked against the Infidels. When papal Europe ceased to agitate against the Moslems, it became a question with the Popes to what end the forces which had been expending themselves in warfare with the Turks

and remain there in gluttony all day and all night, eating and drinking as beasts that have no reason, and wit not when they have enough.' . . . And then he called in all the lords whom he had sent out of his chamber and there he showed me four that were grandees in that country; and these told me of my country and of many other Christian countries as truly as if they had been there themselves. And they spake French right well; and the sultan also, whereof I had great marvel. Alas! it is a great scandal to our faith and our law when they that are without the law do thus reprove and underrate us on account of our sins. And truly they have good reason. For the Saracens are good and faithful. For they keep perfectly the commandment of the Holy Book Al-Koran, which God sent them by his messenger Mohammed, to whom, as they say, God often revealed his will by the angel Gabriel."

should now be turned. To the endless misfortune of Rome, the remaining energy of the Christian states—the residue of fanaticism which two centuries of war had not wholly consumed—was turned into the two channels of open persecution for unbelief and private inquisitorial tortures for the heretical. The Church which had failed to overthrow the Crescent in Asia, undertook the extirpation of heresy in her own dominions. And the means by which she would accomplish this result were far less honorable to her judgment and conscience than were the measures adopted to destroy the supremacy of the False Prophet in the East. The horrid cruelties to which for several centuries Europe was to be subjected for opinion's sake, were referable in a large measure to the unexpired and malignant energies of the Crusading epoch, misdirected against the clearing judgment and rising conscience of the age.

Among the political effects of the Crusades, the most marked and important was the stimulus given to monarchy at the expense of feudalism. At the outbreak of the Holy Wars, Europe was feudal; at their close, she had become monarchic. Not that feudalism was extinct; not that monarchy was completely triumphant; but the beginning of the new order of things had been securely laid, and the extinction of the old system was only a question of time. The events which led to this result are easily apprehended. The Crusades were the very wheel under which feudalism might be most effectually crushed. The movement at the first was headed by feudal barons, but there was a survival of the fittest. The fittest became kings. The rest sank out of sight. While the Crusades were thus bringing princes to the front, a process of transformation was going on in the home states, out of which the pilgrim warriors had been recruited. Here the smaller fiefs were rapidly absorbed in the larger. The great and powerful barons grew towards the kingly estate, and the feeble lords lost their importance with their lands. At the close of the Crusades, the kings of the Western states found themselves opposed by a less numerous nobility; and many of the surviving grandees were barons of low degree, or knights of shreds and patches. In the contest that pres-

ently ensued, every circumstance favored the cause of aspiring royalty as against that of the feudal nobles.

Still more striking, however, was the influence of the Crusades in promoting the growth and development of the free municipalities of Europe. First of all did the maritime Republics of Italy feel the impetus of prosperity and greatness under the agitation of the Northern states. It is in the nature of war that it makes heavy drafts upon commerce and manufactures. The latter produce and the former conveys to the destined field the arms, munitions, and enginery necessary to the success of the expedition. Before the Council of Clermont the Italian Republics had already grown to such a stature that they were ready to avail themselves of every opportunity to get gain. During the progress of the Holy Wars these sturdy maritime states sprang forward with rapid strides and took their place among the leading powers of the West. The general upheaval of European society contributed wonderfully to the prosperity and influence of the seafaring republicans who, caring but little for the principles involved between the Christian barons and the Moslems, were ready with ships and merchandise to serve whoever would pay for the use of their wharves and fleets. During the latter half of the thirteenth century nearly all the pilgrimages and expeditions to the East were conducted in Venetian vessels, though the ships of Pisa and Genoa competed with their more prosperous rivals for the carrying trade with the ports of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The squandered wealth lifted by religious fanaticism from the products of the peasant labor of France, England, and Germany found its way to the Venetian merchants, and into the swollen coffers of the Romish See.

Not only did the crusading expeditions inure to the benefit of the Italian Republics, but also to the general commerce of the Western states. The naval enterprises were conducted with so great success by the merchant sailors of Italy that trading-ports were established in the Levant, into which were poured and out of which were exported the riches of the Orient. Merchandising became the most profitable of all pursuits. Not only the cities of Italy, but those of Germany, of England,

and of the North of Europe, felt the life-giving impulses of the new commerce established with the East. No other circumstance between the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire of the West and the double discovery of the New World and an all-water route to India, did so much to revive the dormant commercial spirit of Europe as did the Holy Wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Perhaps the influence of the Crusades, as it respects the diffusion of the learning of the East, has been overestimated. It has been the custom of writers to draw an analogy between the effects of the conquests of Alexander the Great and those which followed the establishment of the Latin kingdom in the East. A closer examination of the facts destroys the parallel. The comparative barbarity of the Crusaders, their want of learning and complete depravity of literary taste, forbade the absorption by them of the intellectual wealth of the peoples whom they conquered. Even in Constantinople the French barons and knights appear not to have been affected by the culture and refinement of the city. Only their cupidity was excited by the splendor and literary treasures of the Eastern metropolis. It does not appear that the Crusaders, even the most enlightened of the leaders, were sufficiently interested in the possibilities of the situation to learn the language of the Greeks. The literary imagination of the invaders and conquerors of Palestine seem not to have been excited in the midst of scenes which might have been supposed to be the native sources of inspiration. Poetry followed not in the wake of those devastating excursions. Art came not as the fruit of war-like agitation, or to commemorate the exploits of mediæval heroes.

Perhaps the greatest single advantage flowing from the Crusades was the establishment of intercourse between the Asiatic and the European nations. Hitherto the peoples of the East and the West had lived in almost complete ignorance of each other's manners, customs, and national character. Traveling became common, and the minds of men began to be emancipated from the fetters of locality. Many Europeans settled in the East, and becoming acquainted with the Asiatics, diffused a knowledge of the Orient among their own

countrymen. Relations were established between the Moslem and the Christian states. Embassies were sent back and forth between the Mongol emperors and the kings of the Western nations. More than once it was proposed that the Christians and the Mongols should enter into an alliance, and that the Crusades should be continued by them against the common enemy, the Turks. The impress made upon the mind and destinies of Europe by these relations of the Christians and the Mohammedans, is thus described by the distinguished historian, Abel Rémusat:

“Many men of religious orders, Italians, French, and Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the court of the Great Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valetia, Lyons, Paris, London, and Northampton, and a Franciscan of the kingdom of Naples was archbishop of Pekin. His successor was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. But how many other people followed in the train of these personages, either as slaves, or attracted by the desire of profit, or led by curiosity into regions hitherto unknown! Chance has preserved the names of some of these; the first envoy who visited the king of Hungary on the part of the Tartars was an Englishman, who had been banished from his country for certain crimes, and who, after having wandered over Asia, at last entered into the service of the Mongols. A Flemish Cordelier, in the heart of Tartary, fell in with a woman of Metz called *Paquette*, who had been carried off into Hungary; also a Parisian goldsmith, and a young man from the neighborhood of Rouen, who had been at the taking of Belgrade. In the same country he fell in also with Russians, Hungarians, and Flemings. A singer, called *Robert*, after having traveled through Eastern Asia, returned to end his days in the cathedral of Chartres. A Tartar was a furnisher of helmets in the armies of Philip the Fair. Jean de Plancarpin fell in, near Gayouk, with a Russian gentleman whom he calls *Temer*, and who acted as interpreter; and many merchants of Breslau, Poland, and Austria, accompanied him in his journey into Tartary. Others returned with him through Russia; they were Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians. Two Venetians, merchants, whom chance had brought to Bokhara,

followed a Mongol ambassador, sent by Houlagou to Khoubilai. They remained many years in China and Tartary, returned with letters from the Great Khan to the Pope, and afterwards went back to the Khan, taking with them the son of one of their number, the celebrated Marco Polo, and once more left the court of Khoubilai to return to Venice. Travels of this nature were not less frequent in the following century. Of this number are those of John Mandeville, an English physician; Oderic de Frioul, Pegoletti, Guillaume de Bouldeselle, and several others.

“It may well be supposed, that those travels of which the memory is preserved, form but a



MARCO POLO.

small part of those which were undertaken, and there were in those days many more people who were able to perform those long journeys than to write accounts of them. Many of those adventurers must have remained and died in the countries they went to visit. Others returned home, as obscure as before, but having their imagination full of the things they had seen, relating them to their families, with much exaggeration, no doubt, but leaving behind them, among many ridiculous fables, useful recollections and traditions capable of bearing fruit. Thus, in Germany, Italy, and France, in the monasteries, among the nobility, and even down to the lowest classes of society, there were de-

posited many precious seeds destined to bud at a somewhat later period. All these unknown travelers, carrying the arts of their own country into distant regions, brought back other pieces of knowledge not less precious, and, without being aware of it, made exchanges more advantageous than those of commerce. By these means, not only the traffic in the silks, porcelain, and other commodities of Hindostan, became more extensive and practicable, and new paths were opened to commercial industry and enterprise; but, what was more valuable still, foreign manners, unknown nations, extraordinary productions, presented themselves in abundance to the minds of the Europeans, which, since the fall of the Roman empire, had been confined within too narrow a circle. Men began to attach some importance to the most beautiful, the most populous, and the most anciently civilized, of the four quarters of the world. They began to study the arts, the religions, the languages, of the nations by whom it was inhabited; and there was even an intention of establishing a professorship of the Tartar language in the university of Paris. The accounts of travelers, strange and exaggerated, indeed, but soon discussed and cleared up, diffused more correct and varied notions of those distant regions. The world seemed to open, as it were, towards the East; geography made an immense stride; and ardor for discovery became the new form assumed by European spirit of adventure. The idea of another hemisphere, when our own came to be better known, no longer seemed an improbable paradox; and it was when in search of the Zipangri of Marco Polo that Christopher Columbus discovered the New World.”

Many disputes have occurred relative to the discoveries and inventions alleged to have been brought into Europe by the returning Crusaders. It stands to reason that things known in Asia, and unknown in the West, would be revealed to the pilgrim warriors, and by them reported to their countrymen. It should be remembered, however, that the bigotry of the Crusaders knew no bounds. They went to Asia as *destroyers*. They beat to the earth, with indiscriminating hatred, both man and his works. It was their theory and belief that all things Mohammedan were of the Devil. Acting under this blind and superstitious fanati-

cism, they were little disposed to admit the merit, much less to copy the advantages, of Asiatic discoveries in art and science. It has been said that those great factors of civilization—gunpowder, the art of printing, and the mariner's compass—were known in Asia before the epoch of the Crusades, and there is little reason to doubt that such was actually the case; but it would perhaps be difficult to prove that a knowledge of these sterling inventions

was obtained in Europe from the Christian warriors returning from Palestine. It was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that Europeans began to employ the compass, to manufacture explosives for the purposes of war, and to print from movable types. Perhaps the rumor and general fame of such arts may have preceded, by a considerable period, their actual introduction among the nations of the West.

CHAPTER XXI.—ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.



THE present Book may be appropriately closed with a brief sketch of the history of England and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the former country, beginning with the accession of the House of Plantagenet, we come, in 1154, to the reign of Henry II. This distinguished prince was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, daughter of Henry I. Though no Crusader himself, he gave to the Holy Wars the greatest of all Crusaders in the person of his son, the Lion Heart. The reign of Henry extended to the year 1189, and was on the whole a time of distress and trouble.

The middle of this period was noted for a violent outbreak between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom, the former headed by the king, and the latter by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. On the one side were arrayed most of the barons and lords, and not a few of the clergy, including at one time the Archbishop of York; while on the other were marshaled most of the bishops and priests, backed by the whole power of Rome. From the peculiar structure of English society it happened that the common people, who were grievously oppressed by the barons, were all on the side of the church as against the king. By them the Archbishop of Canterbury was regarded as a friend, champion, and protector, and they looked to him as to one able to deliver them

from the woes of secular despotism. Becket himself had been a soldier, and besides the reputation which he had gained in the field, he bore the name of one of the ripest scholars of the age. He had been the bosom friend of Henry Plantagenet, and by the influence of that sovereign had been raised through successive grades of ecclesiastical preferment to the archbishopric of Canterbury. His break with the king may be dated from the year 1164, when, by setting himself in antagonism to a series of royal measures known as the "Constitution of Clarendon," he incurred the monarch's undying enmity. The great prelate's opposition was without doubt based upon a sincere devotion to the cause of the English commons, no less than on the purpose to maintain the independence of ecclesiastical authority.

In the beginning of the quarrel, King Henry withdrew his son from the tutorship of Becket, and placed him with the Archbishop of York. By and by the Pope interfered, and Becket was at the first ordered to cease from his opposition to the measures of the king. Henry procured the archbishop's trial by the parliament of Northampton, and he was obliged to fly from the kingdom. More than four hundred of his relatives were driven into exile; but Becket, having surrendered his authority into the hands of the Pope, was reinstated by him in all his former and several additional dignities. The measure was openly canvassed in the Romish See of excommunicating King Henry from the communion of

the church. The latter, however, was as obstinate as his enemies. He had the coronation of his son Henry remanded to the Archbishop of York, thus openly denying the primacy of

Canterbury. In the early part of 1170, a superficial reconciliation was patched up between the king and the prelate; but Henry gave some of his less scrupulous barons to under-



MURDER OF THOMAS À BECKET.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

stand that Thomas à Becket's exit from the world would be a fact most pleasing to himself. Hereupon Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito made a conspiracy against the archbishop's life. On the 28th of December, 1170, they met at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, near Canterbury, and were there joined by a body of armed men ready for any business, however desperate. On the following day the leaders, who appear to have desired to stop short of taking the prelate's life, had an interview with him, and tried to frighten him out of the realm. But the soldier priest was not to be terrified, and on the evening of that day, the conspirators forced their way into the cathedral, where Becket was conducting vespers. They first attempted to drag him from the church, but the bishop tore himself from their clutches and knelt down at the altar, already bleeding with a sword gash in his head. His assailants now fell upon him with fury, and dashed out his brains on the floor.

Though the king's party had thus freed themselves from the presence of their powerful enemy, the spirit which he represented was not so easily extinguished. The people of Knaresborough rose in their wrath, and the slayers of Becket were obliged to fly from the kingdom. Everywhere throughout England the tide rose so high against Henry that he and his dynasty were threatened with overthrow. The king of France took up arms and the Pope threatened excommunication. The king, however, escaped from the dangerous situation by taking a solemn oath that he had not been privy to the murder of Becket; but even after this he deemed it necessary to make a further atonement at the altars of the irate church. He accordingly made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket, and after fasting and praying at the shrine of that martyr received a flagellation on his naked back at the hands of the monks. After this public mark of his submission and penitence the excitement subsided, and Henry forbore to give further cause of offense to the ecclesiastical party.

The king now found time to resist an invasion of the Scots. The latter proved to be unequal to the enterprise which they had undertaken. Henry defeated them, compelled

the king of Scotland to surrender a part of his dominions and himself and his sons to do homage for the remainder.

On the death of King Henry, in 1189, the crown descended to his eccentric and famous son, RICHARD THE LION HEART. On the occasion of his coronation an insurrection broke out in London, and the hated Jews became the objects of a popular vengeance which could not be easily appeased. At the first the new king sought to stay the fury of his subjects, and afforded some protection to the hunted Israelites. But when Richard, by nature large-hearted and generous, departed on the great Crusade, the persecutions broke out afresh, and extended into various parts of the kingdom. It was the peculiarity of the times that the brutal religious fanaticism of the people of Western Europe burst forth with indiscriminate madness against all those who were, or had ever been, the enemies of Christ. The Jews were as much hated in various parts of the West as were the Mohammedans in the East. England was the scene of several butcheries hardly surpassed in any age of barbarism. Three years after the crowning of the Lion Heart the city of York witnessed a massacre of unusual atrocity. Hundreds of the Jews were slaughtered without mercy. Their distinguished and kind-spirited rabbi, with a large number of his people, was driven into the castle of York, where, attempting to save themselves from destruction, and despairing of help or compassion, they slew their wives and children, fired the edifice, and perished in the flames.

The earlier years of the twelfth century were a stormy and agitated epoch—a kind of March-month of English liberty. In the closing year of the preceding centennium King Richard Cœur de Lion died, bequeathing his crown and kingdom to his unheroic and contemptible brother John, surnamed *Sansterre*, or Lackland. The latter came to the throne with all of the vices and none of the virtues of the Plantagenets. The Lion Heart had been induced in the last hours of his life to discard his nephew Arthur, of Brittany, in favor of the unprincipled John, who was already intriguing against the interests of England. Philip, who had been the protector of Prince Arthur, abandoned him on the accession of

John to the throne, and a treaty was made between the French and English kings by which it was agreed that the niece of the lat-

ter, Blanche of Castile, should be married to Louis, the Dauphin of France. Arthur was to be given up to the tender mercies of his



DEATH OF THE RABBI AND THE JEWS IN YORK.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

uncle. This settlement, however, never reached a fulfillment. Prince Arthur married the daughter of Philip, and his father-in-law espoused his cause and aided him in the hostilities which ensued.

Shortly after this change of policy on the part of the French king, Arthur was taken prisoner by his uncle John, and was shut up in the castle of Bristol. The English king, with his usual perfidy, gave orders to Hubert de Burgh, governor of Falaise, to which place Arthur had been transferred, to put the prisoner to death; but the heart of Hubert failed him in the execution of the order, and King John was deceived with a false report of the prince's execution and funeral. The people of Brittany also believing that Arthur had been murdered, rose in revolt, and Hubert, in order to save himself from odium and probable destruction, was obliged to divulge the truth.

Great was the wrath thus enkindled against the unnatural king. The barons of England refused to join his standard, and Philip, making war upon him in the French provinces belonging to the English crown overthrew his authority and drove him out of Normandy. That great duchy, after having belonged to England for more than three centuries, was torn away and united to France. So great an offense and injury to the English crown had not been known since the days of Rollo the Dane.

In the ninth year of his reign, King John fell into a violent quarrel with Pope Innocent III. The matter at issue was the choice of a new archbishop for the see of Canterbury. The choice of the Pope was the distinguished Stephen Langton, already a cardinal of the Church. The appointment, however, was violently opposed by John, and, in 1208, Innocent laid the kingdom under an interdict. But the punishment was insufficient to bring the monarch to his senses. He continued his career of injustice and folly, making war on the people of Wales and Ireland, and filling his coffers by confiscation and cruel extortion. On one occasion he called together all the abbots and abbesses of the religious houses in London, and then deliberately informed them that they were his prisoners until what time they should pay him a large sum of money. So flagrant was the outrage thus perpetrated against the

honor and dignity of the church, that the Pope proceeded to excommunicate King John, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The Holy Father, in his wrath, went to the extreme of inviting the Christian princes of Europe to unite in a crusade against the audacious and disobedient king of England. Philip of France, as the secular head of Western christendom, was especially besought to undertake a war; and he was by no means loth to seize the opportunity of increasing his own power at the expense of his fellow prince.

This movement, however, aroused the ire of the English barons, who, though they heartily detested their king and his policy, were not at all disposed to yield to the settlement of their national affairs by the French. Philip proceeded with his preparations for the invasion; and King John, taking advantage of the reaction among his subjects, collected a large army at Dover. Just before his departure, the French monarch received from the Pope, by the hands of the legate Pandulf, a message to abandon the undertaking! For, in the mean time, His Holiness had made an offer to the refractory John that, if the latter would accept Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, and resign the crown of England into the papal hands, the Pope would restore the same to him, and would forbid the invasion of his realm by the French. These terms were accepted by the base Plantagenet, who laid down his crown at the feet of Pandulf. This haughty cardinal is said to have kicked contemptuously the diadem which had once been worn by William the Conqueror. Satisfied with this act of abasement, he then replaced the dishonored crown on the head of the alleged king.

Great was the rage of Philip on receiving the message of the Pope. Fearing to disobey, and unwilling that his military preparations should come to naught, he diverted the expedition against the territories of Earl Ferrand of Flanders. The latter immediately applied to King John for help; and that monarch, responding with an unusual show of alacrity, sent a large squadron to aid the Flemish earl in maintaining his independence. A battle was fought between the English and French fleets, in which the armament of Philip was either destroyed or dispersed. So signal was the dis-

aster, that the land forces of the French broke up in disorder, and returned in haste to their own provinces.

It appears that John was crazed by his victory. Eager to follow up his advantage, he purposed an invasion of France; but his barons, though having no affection for the French, and very willing to go to war to maintain the honor of England, were in no wise disposed to follow the banner of an unpopular king on a foreign expedition. John was therefore obliged to forego his project. But though

In a short time, however, the English king received intelligence that his ally, the German Emperor, had, in 1214, been decisively defeated by the French in the great battle of Bouvines. Seeing that Philip would now be able to concentrate all his forces against the English, John made haste to conclude with that monarch a five years' truce, and quickly made his way back to England.

The Island during the king's absence had become the scene of a great commotion. The barons, thoroughly disgusted with John's vacil-



BATTLE OF BOUVINES.

lating conduct and unkingly bearing, had made a conspiracy against him, and the movement had gained such headway that he quailed before his powerful but disloyal subjects. Archbishop Langton lent the sanction of the Church to the insurrection and proved himself to be an able and far-seeing leader. Having discovered a long-concealed copy of an old charter signed by Henry I., wherein were set forth and guaranteed by the royal seal the rights and privileges of Englishmen, he made it the basis of a new Bill of Rights, which he

unsupported by his nobles and by the temper of his kingdom, he still sought to carry out his retaliatory purpose against the French king. He accordingly sought an alliance with Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, with whom it was arranged to make an invasion of France on the east, while John would do the same in the provinces adjacent to the Channel. An English army, made up in large measure of the refuse of the kingdom, was accordingly landed at Poitou, and an expedition was begun into Anjou and Brittany.

drew up and which the barons determined to maintain with their swords. Such was the famous document known as *MAGNA CHARTA*—the Great Charter of English Liberty.

When the king returned from France the demand was made of him by the barons that he should sign their instrument. This he refused to do, and endeavored to oppose force with force; but finding his banner almost deserted, he came to his senses and consented to hold a conference which had been proposed by the Earl of Pembroke. On the 15th of June, 1215, a meeting was accordingly held at a place called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, and there the king was obliged to sign the Charter.

In general terms *Magna Charta* was intended by its authors to prevent the exercise of arbitrary authority over his subjects by an English king. The royal prerogatives were limited in several important particulars, so that the despotism which had been so freely practiced during the feudal ascendancy, became impossible in England, save in violation of the chartered rights of the people. The great document thus wrenched from the pusillanimous John consisted of sixty-three articles, most of them being negative, defining what the kings of England might *not* do as it respected their subjects. Of positive rights conceded and guaranteed in the Charter, the two greatest were the *Habeas Corpus* and the Right of Trial by Jury. The first was that salutary provision of the English Common Law by which every free subject of the kingdom was exempted from arbitrary arrest and detention; and the second, that every person accused of crime or misdemeanor, should be entitled to a trial by his peers in accordance with the law of the land. The right of disposing of property by will was also conceded, and in case no will should be made, it was provided that the goods and estate of the father should descend to his children by the law of inheritance. On the negative side there were interdicts against outlawry and banishment, and against the seizure of the property of freemen.

It should not be supposed, however, that popular liberty, in the modern sense, was secured or even contemplated in *Magna Charta*. True it is that many invaluable principles and maxims were assumed by the barons, and that

the restrictions of the royal prerogative were of the most salutary character. But the feudal classes of society were still recognized, and the *people*, as a factor in the state, were ignored. Although it was provided that no *freeman* should be seized or distressed in his person or property, but little was said respecting the rights and immunities of the laboring classes of Englishmen. Only a single clause of *Magna Charta* was intended to secure to the peasant those immunities and privileges which in every civilized country are now regarded as his birthright. It was enacted that *even a rustic* should not be deprived of his carts, plows, and implements of husbandry. So great was the difference between the spirit of the thirteenth and that of the nineteenth century!

Notwithstanding the humiliation of King John at Runnymede, he immediately sought opportunity of avenging himself on his barons. Great was his wrath on account of the Charter, and at those who had compelled him to sign it. The barons were little alarmed at his preparations and oaths of vengeance; but with an army of foreign mercenaries he reduced them to such extremity that they in their folly invited Prince Louis, the heir of France, to come to their aid, and promised to reward him with the crown of England. The fortune of war was turned against the king and he was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Dover. In the mean time the barons grew tired of their French protector, and many of them rejoined the standard of John. The latter again entered the field and marched into Lincolnshire, where he was attacked of a fever, and died on the 19th of October, 1216.

It was during the reign of King John, who has the bad reputation of being the worst sovereign that ever reigned over England, that the great outlaw Robin Hood began his career as a bandit. It appears that the true name of this generous brigand who, until the year 1247, set the laws at defiance and measured swords with England, was Robert, earl of Huntingdon. The legend recites that in his youth he attended a great tournament in archery, where by his skill he excited the envy of some rival noblemen, who had the rashness to upbraid him on account of his Saxon blood and uncourtly manners. Falling into a passion under their insults, he turned

upon them and shot down several of their number. He then made his escape into Sherwood forest, where he became the head of a band of outlaws like himself. Their practice was to pillage the estates of the rich, to rob the wealthy and titled personages, distributing the proceeds of their lawlessness to the poor and needy. So persistently was this policy

ter, who took the title of Henry the Third. Being only eight years of age at the time of his father's death, the management of the kingdom was intrusted to the Earl of Pembroke. The latter had the wisdom during his administration to confirm the articles of Magna Charta, and by this means those English barons who had still adhered to the fortunes of Prince Louis of France were won back to the royal cause. Louis, though his forces were greatly reduced, ventured on a battle in 1217, in which he was so disastrously defeated that he was glad to escape with the remnant of his followers from the kingdom. Two years afterward the Earl of Pembroke died, and his office of protector was given to Hubert de Burgh.

When King Henry reached the age of sixteen he was declared capable of conducting the government. In the following year, 1224, Philip of France died and was succeeded by his son Louis, but the latter soon after passed away and the crown descended to his son Louis IX., who being a mere child was left to the guardianship of his mother, Blanche of Castile. Perceiving the exposed condition of the French kingdom on account of the minority of Louis, King Henry determined to invade France and attempt the recovery of Normandy. He accordingly raised a large army, and in 1230 undertook an expedition against the French. But he soon showed himself to be of little competency for such an undertaking. One disaster followed another until in the course of a few months the king was glad to give up the enterprise and return to England. In his matrimonial adventure he was scarcely more

fortunate than in war. In his search for a queen he chose Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Provence, who brought with her into England a retinue of friends, for whom important places in the government were provided. A great offense was thus given to the English barons, who would not quietly brook the elevation of strangers and foreigners to the chief offices of England.

While the king was thus exhibiting his folly



JOHN SWEARING VENGEANCE AGAINST THE BARONS.
Drawn by A. Maillard.

pursued by the merry Robin and his men that they gained a great reputation among the peasants, insomuch that ballads commemorative of his exploits and chivalry became the most popular literature of the times, and have ever since remained as a witness of the esteem in which even a lawless benefactor is held by an oppressed people.

On the death of the king the crown descended to his eldest son, Henry of Winches-

he also showed his weakness. Nearly all his administrative acts were marked by a spirit of narrowness and bigoted imprudence. Popes Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. were not slow to perceive the advantages which might be gained for the Church by an interference with English affairs. Italian ecclesiastics were accordingly insinuated into the principal religious offices of the kingdom, and these became the agents to carry out the papal will and pleasure respecting questions which were purely English. In 1255 the Pope conferred on the king's son Edmund the title of King of Sicily, hoping by this means to induce the English nation to espouse his own cause in a quarrel which he had had with Mainfroy, the Sicilian monarch. But the English barons, more wise than their sovereign, refused to be inveigled into the Pope's scheme, and the enterprise was about to come to nought. Henry, however, finding that no inducement could avail with his refractory subjects, undertook to raise the money for the Sicilian expedition by a means as novel as it was outrageous. He caused to be drawn bills of exchange against the prelates of England, and gave these bills to Italian merchants for money pretendedly advanced by them for the war. The prelates at first refused payment of these forged accounts, but since the ecclesiastics were not supported by either the king or the Pope, who made common cause in support of the fraud, they were obliged to give up the contest and pay the Italian bills.

The effect of these measures was to revive the antipathies of the English nobles against the king. A new rebellion broke out in 1258. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had himself been one of the king's favorites, headed the insurrection. The insurgents gathered in such strength at Oxford that Henry and his son were obliged to sign a treaty, by which it was agreed that twenty-four of the barons, including the Earl of Leicester, should be constituted a sort of commission to reform the abuses of the kingdom. The legitimate work of reform, however, was soon abandoned for the assumption of the right of government by the barons. The nation was thrown into a state of turmoil, which continued with unabated violence for about six years. The struggle is known in history as the WARS OF THE BARONS, and

constituted one of the most disastrous epochs in the annals of England. Louis IX. of France, actuated by nobler motives than were common in the princes of his times, made unavailing efforts to bring about a peace between Henry and his nobles; but neither would the one yield to reason or the other to patriotism.

Not until the year 1264 did events assume such form as to promise a settlement. At that time Prince Edward, heir to the English crown, born to greater candor than his grandfather and greater ability than his father, came forward as a leader of the royal forces, and for a season it appeared that the insurgent nobles had met their match. Many of the barons, seeing with pride the spirit and valor displayed by their prince, went over to his standard. At length a battle was hazarded with the forces of De Montfort, but the result was exceedingly disastrous to the royal cause. Edward's army was defeated and himself captured, and sent with his cousin, Prince Henry, a prisoner to the Castle of Dover.

The Earl of Leicester was now master of the field. He at once conceived the ambition of making himself king of England. To this end he seized the royal castles not a few, and presently allowed his ambition to reveal his purposes. At this juncture, the Earl of Gloucester appeared as a rival of De Montfort, and began to plan his overthrow. Leicester perceived that the heart of the nobles was turned against him, and began to bid for a renewal and continuance of their support. All his acts were done in the king's name. As a sop to Cerberus, he set Prince Edward at liberty. Gloucester established himself on the confines of Wales, and De Montfort, having proclaimed his rival a traitor, and assuming the office of protector to Henry and Edward, set out to overthrow the insurgents. When nearing the camp of Gloucester, the latter managed to open communications with Edward, and the prince made good his escape, and went over to the barons. Many of the nobles followed his example, and Leicester was obliged to send in all haste to London for an army of reinforcements commanded by his son, Simon de Montfort, the younger. The latter was intercepted on the way to join his father, and was decisively defeated by Prince Edward in the battle of Kenilworth. A general engagement

followed at Evesham, in which the Earl of Leicester was routed, and his forces dispersed. King Henry, who was unwillingly detained

among the defeated forces, was about to be cut down by a soldier, but declared his identity in time to save his life. Both Leicester



DEATH OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and his son, the younger Montfort, were slain in the battle.

The story of Prince Edward's departure for the Holy Land, to take part in the Eighth Crusade, has already been narrated in the preceding pages.¹ This event happened in 1270. Henry III. had now occupied the throne of England for fifty-four years. His government was as feeble as himself was decrepit. The land was full of violence and distress. His nephew, Prince Henry, son of Richard, the king's brother, was assassinated by the exiled sons of Leicester, who had survived the battle of Evesham. Richard died of grief. The barons despised their sovereign, and looked forward with pleasant anticipations to the day of his death. Riots and violence prevailed in many parts of the kingdom. At last, in November of 1272, the aged and despised Henry died, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

Prince Edward, on hearing the news of his father's death, set out from Palestine, and arrived in England in 1274. His presence—even the knowledge of his coming—tended to restore confidence and order. He began his reign with the enactment of many salutary regulations relating to the police of the kingdom, and other measures of public safety. He was greatly distressed on the score of means with which to administer the government, and, in his embarrassment, adopted a measure which came near producing a civil war. He appointed a commission to examine into the titles by which the barons of the kingdom were holding their estates, with a view to the confiscation of any which might prove to be illegally held. The commissioners had not proceeded far, however, until they came upon the Earl of Warrenne, who, when summoned to produce his titles, deliberately drew his sword from its scabbard, and, laying his hand significantly on the hilt, replied: "*This* is the instrument by which my ancestors gained their estate, and by which I will keep it as long as I live." This answer reported to the king had the effect of putting an end to the project of fine and confiscation.

In the year 1282 an insurrection broke out in Wales. The people of that country had illy brooked the conditions of peace which

Edward had imposed upon them after the battle of Evesham. Llewellyn, the king, led his countrymen in the insurrection, which came to a climax in a great battle in which the Welsh were totally defeated. Llewellyn was killed, and his brother David, the only remaining heir to the throne of Wales, was taken and beheaded. A good excuse was thus afforded to King Edward for claiming the crown for himself. In settling the terms of peace he promised to give the people of Wales a prince of their own country, and when the condition was accepted he presented them with his own son, who had been born a few days before in the Welsh castle of Caernarvon. To this babe was given the title of PRINCE OF WALES, which has ever since been borne by the eldest sons of the kings of England.

While Wales was thus acquired by conquest a plan, partly the product of natural events and partly the work of Edward's ambition, was brought forth with a view of adding the crown of Scotland to that of England. In that country King Alexander III. had chosen for his queen the sister of the English monarch, and of this union the only issue was the Princess Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway; and of *this* union only a little daughter survived, who became the heiress of Scotland. In 1286 Alexander died, and the Norwegian princess inherited her grandfather's dominions. Edward now proposed that his new-born son and the infant queen of Scotland should be betrothed, and the proposition was accepted by both the king of Norway and the Scottish parliament. It thus appeared that the union of the crowns of England and Scotland was about to be effected. But destiny had prepared the event otherwise. The Norwegian princess on her way from the country of her birth to the kingdom which she had inherited was taken ill on shipboard and died at the Orkney Islands. This unfortunate occurrence produced great grief throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Norway. The union of the former two realms was postponed for three hundred years, and such was the distraction of the Scottish councils that no fewer than thirteen claimants of the crown appeared in the field. While feuds and turmoils prevailed on all sides it was agreed to refer the settlement of the succession to King

¹See *ante*, p. 395.

Edward, who, after weighing the relative rights of Robert Bruce and John Baliol, decided in favor of the latter. The English king, with an eye to his own interest, required that the Scottish castles should be put into his hands before rendering his decision. The result was that Baliol, who had little of the nature and qualities of a king, became a mere puppet in the hands of the English monarch, who proceeded to settle the affairs of the Northern kingdom according to his will and purpose. Hereupon an insurrection broke out, and Edward, marching across the border, defeated

Guienne under this fiction of doing homage for it than Philip refused to make the promised restitution. So deeply at this time was Edward involved in the complications relating to the crown of Scotland that he was unable to recover by force what he had lost by the craft and subtlety of Philip the Fair. Such was the condition of affairs in England from the beginning of the thirteenth century up to the time when, by the capture of Acre, the Christian kingdom in the East was finally overthrown.

Let us then refer briefly to the course of events in France in the later epochs of the



CAERNARVON CASTLE.

the Scots in the great battle of Dunbar. Baliol surrendered himself to the victorious king and was detained in captivity for three years, after which he was permitted to retire into France.

It was at this epoch that the province of Guienne, which had descended to the English crown from the old Queen Eleanor, who had possessed that realm on her marriage to Henry II., was regained by the king of France. Guienne owed fealty to the French crown, and Philip the Fair persuaded Edward to perform the act of homage as a recognition of that relation, at the same time promising to restore the province as soon as the formal act was done. But no sooner had Edward resigned

Crusades. In 1180 Philip II., surnamed Augustus, inherited the French crown. Such were his talents and ambitions, and such his impatience under the restraints imposed on his kingdom by Feudalism, that he set himself to work after the manner of a politician and statesman to overthrow the feudal princes and to build upon the ruins of their privileges and liberties the structure of regular monarchy. What might have been his success but for the condition of affairs in Syria it were perhaps useless to conjecture. It will be remembered that Philip, before coming to the throne of France, had formed an attachment to Prince Richard Plantagenet, and that the two princes,

in order to vex and distract the mind of King Henry II., of England, had made a great parade of their alleged friendship. After the two royal youths acceded to the thrones of their respective kingdoms their attachment continued and led to an agreement between them to undertake that great Crusade of which an account has already been given in the preceding pages.¹

After Philip's return from Palestine, in which country the breach between him and his old-time friend had become irreparable, he made haste to attempt the destruction of the interests and rights of the Lion Heart in Western Europe. To this end he made an attack on Normandy and incited the unworthy John Lackland to seize on England, though both of these schemes were defeated and brought to nought. But not until the foundation of infinite mischief had been laid between the kingdoms of France and England. Philip continued his machinations against Cœur de Lion until the latter, having obtained a tardy liberation at the hands of the German Emperor, made his way as rapidly as possible in the direction of his own kingdom. Hearing that his friend had been set at liberty, Philip sent a hasty message to John of England to take care of himself as best he could, for the devil was unchained!

As soon as Richard had reëstablished his authority in the kingdom, he sought to avenge himself on the perfidious Philip. War broke

out, and continued without abatement almost to the end of the century. In 1194 a decisive battle was fought at Vendôme, in which Philip was disastrously defeated. His money, camp equipage, and the records of the kingdom were captured by the victorious English.¹



BATTLE OF VENDÔME.

In the mean time the French monarch became involved in a quarrel with the Pope, which plunged the kingdom into still deeper distress. The king's first wife, Isabella of Hainault, had

¹ It is noteworthy of the character of the times that up to the battle of Vendôme it had been the custom of the feudal kings of France to bear about

¹ See *ante*, p. 360.

died in 1191, and two years afterwards Philip had taken as a second queen the Princess Ingeberge of Denmark. But the Danish lady soon fell under the displeasure of her lord and was divorced. The suspicion was not wanting that the king had already turned a longing eye upon Maria, the daughter of the Duke of Dalmatia, and that the discarding of Ingeberge was attributable to that circumstance. These proceedings were highly displeasing to Pope Innocent III., and he ordered the abrogation of the marriage with Maria, and the restitution of that with the divorced Ingeberge.

crown after the death of his uncle, Richard Plantagenet. King John, refusing to obey the summons, was declared guilty of murder and felony, and his province of Normandy was said to be forfeited. Philip lost no time in asserting his claim to the countries of which he hoped to deprive his rival. Laying siege to the Château Gaillard, he succeeded, after a rigorous investment of many months' duration, in reducing the place to submission. The rest of Normandy was easily subdued. The whole duchy was wrested from the imbecile John and his successors forever. For two hundred and



MURDER OF PRINCE ARTHUR.

Philip refused obedience, and His Holiness laid the kingdom under an interdict for the space of three years. At last the French monarch was obliged to yield, and the discarded queen was brought back to Paris.

In the early part of the following century, Philip summoned King John of England to come to the French capital and answer to the charge of having murdered Prince Arthur of Brittany, the rightful heir to the English with them from place to place the royal archives. It now penetrated the thick skull of the age that a permanent depository of such records was a necessity of the situation. Philip Augustus accordingly directed the construction of a suitable building in Paris for that purpose.

ninety-three years Normandy had been a part of the English dominions, and would doubtless have so remained but for the pusillanimous character of the king, whose duty it was to defend his continental possessions.

Philip now went on from conquering to conquest. The provinces of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou were successively taken, and added to the French domains. In 1213 the king, supported by Pope Innocent III., undertook the invasion of England. The miscarriage of this expedition, and the diversion of the campaign into Flanders, have already been recounted in the preceding narrative.¹ The battle of Bou-

¹See *ante*, p. 409.

vines resulted in a complete overthrow of the Flemish and German auxiliaries. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were taken prisoners, and were confined, the one in the tower of the Louvre, and the other in the castle Piron.

It was at this epoch that the religio-civil war with the Albigenses broke out in the south of France. From the year 1209 to 1218, the best portions of the kingdom were ravaged with a ferocity that would have done credit to the Mamelukes. The harmless fathers of French protestantism were made to feel how cruel a thing the sword is when backed by religious intolerance. It ought not to be denied, however, that in the outbreak of the war the papal party had a just cause of complaint. In 1208 the

son. In 1223 Philip II. died, and was succeeded by Louis VIII., who, acting under the instigation of the Pope, renewed the war against the Albigenses; but his short reign was terminated by his death in 1226.

After a three years' continuance of the struggle Raymond VII. was induced by the distresses to which his people were subjected to purchase exemption from further persecution and relief from the penalties of excommunication by the cession of a portion of his territories to the king of France and by adopting as his heir to the remainder the brother-in-law of Saint Louis. The Albigenses were thus deprived of the protection of the counts of Toulouse, and to fill up the cup of bitterness



PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

Pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered under circumstances which gave Innocent III. good ground for believing that the heretical nobles of Southern France were responsible for the crime. Suspicion was directed against Raymond VI. of Toulouse, and a crusade was preached against him and his people. By making a humiliating submission, the Count of Toulouse saved himself from the impending blow; and the crusading army was turned against the viscounts Roger of Albi, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Rasez, whose lands were laid waste and confiscated by Simon de Montfort. Raymond thus gained time to renew the conflict, which was continued until 1218, when Simon was killed in the siege of Toulouse. Most of the conquests made by Montfort were recovered by Raymond and his

which the papal party now mixed for the heretics to drink, the Inquisition, with its Chamber of Horror, was organized to complete their extermination. Notwithstanding the fierce persecutions to which these early protestants were subjected, the name of the Albigensian sect survived to the close of the thirteenth century, and even after the beginning of the fourteenth, adherents of the party were still found, not only in Southern France, but also in secluded parts of Italy and Spain.

The course of French history during the reign of Saint Louis has been incidentally sketched in the account already given of the Seventh Crusade. After an absence of six years the king returned to his own realm in July of 1254, and without laying aside the cross, began an administration which was

marked by much pomp and ceremony. He became a reformer of abuses in the kingdom, abrogating oppressive taxes, regulating the French municipalities, and framing new codes of laws. Until a late date the shade-tree was still standing in the Bois de Vincennes under which Saint Louis was wont to sit, hearing the complaints of the poor, and redressing the grievances of those who had suffered wrong.

As it respected integrity of character and sincerity of purpose, Louis IX. enjoyed the best reputation of all the monarchs of his age. So great was his fame for justice and probity, that neighboring princes, when involved in difficulties among themselves, were accustomed

to refer the matters in dispute to the calm temper and impartial judgment of Louis.¹

To this epoch belongs the establishment of a French dynasty in Sicily and Naples. The crown of this kingdom had fallen



CHAMBER OF HORRORS—THE INQUISITION.

into the hands of the imperial family of Germany by the marriage of the daughter of the last Norman king of the Two Sicilies to the father of Frederick II., and when this Emperor died the kingdom was seized by his illegitimate son Manfred. Pope Urban IV., regarding the accession of this pseudo prince as a scandal to christendom, and offended at the additional power thus gained by the Ghibellines, set up Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., as king of the Two Sicilies, and in 1265 the

¹One of Saint Louis's maxims may well be repeated: "It is good policy to be just; inasmuch as a reputation for probity and disinterestedness gives a prince more real authority and power than any accession of territories."

claims of the latter were successfully asserted by the defeat of Manfred in battle. Charles, however, was a man very different in character from his brother, the king of France. His life and reign were marked by personal ambition, selfishness, and cruelty. His name and that of his country became forever afterwards odious in the kingdom which he ruled. Two years after his accession to the throne the German princes, under the lead of Conradin, son of Conrad IV., and last representative of the House of Hohenstaufen, made an attempt to expel the French from Italy, but they were decisively defeated. Conradin was taken prisoner, carried to Naples, and put to death by order of King Charles. When about to be executed, he threw down his glove from the scaffold, appealing to the crowd to convey it to any of his kinsmen in token that whoever received it was invested with his rights, and charged with the duty of avenging his death.

In the year 1258 Philip, eldest son of Saint Louis, received in marriage the Princess Isabella, daughter of the king of Aragon. When this union was affected, it was agreed by the kings of France and Spain that the latter should surrender to the former the towns which he held in the south of France, and that Louis should give in exchange to the king of Aragon those districts of Spain which had been wrested by Charlemagne from the Mohammedans. About the same time the French monarch secured a large portion of the province of Champagne by purchase from Count Thibault, who in virtue of his mother's right had acceded to the throne of Navarre.

Having completed the disposition of affairs in his kingdom, Louis IX. at last found himself in readiness to renew the war with the Turks and Mamelukes. How the expedition with which he left France in the year 1270 was diverted into a campaign against Tunis, how the plague broke out in the French army encamped on that sun-scorched shore, how many thousands perished in anguish and despair, and how the aged king himself sickened and died, have already been recounted in a preceding chapter.¹

Saint Louis left as his successor his son Philip by Margaret of Provence. This prince was with his father in the siege of Tunis, and

¹See *ante*, p. 395.

like him was attacked with the plague. Recovering from the malady he embarked for home and reached Sicily in the latter part of the year 1270. Here his queen died, as did also King Thibault of Navarre. Many other distinguished personages connected with the expedition, including Alfonso—the king's uncle—and the Countess of Provence, fell victims to the pestilence. In the beginning of the following year Philip reached his own dominions, bearing with him in sad procession the dead bodies of his queen and his father.

The new sovereign ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP III., and received the surname of the Bold. In his policy, he imitated the methods of his father. Two years after his return to France, he took in marriage the Princess Maria of Brabant. In the mean time, he had raised to the position of chief minister of the kingdom a certain parvenu named Pierre de la Brosse, whose former vocation of barber had little recommended him for affairs of state. Not long after the king's marriage, De Brosse conceived a violent hatred for the queen, and resolved to compass her downfall.

In 1276, Prince Louis, the king's eldest son, died, and the circumstances were such as to favor the false accusation that Queen Maria had caused his death by poison. For the time it appeared that her cause was hopeless, but a valiant brother came forward, and, after the manner of the age, challenged the accuser to a mortal combat. The cowardly

De Brosse, thus confronted, durst not accept the gage of battle, and was himself executed on a gibbet.

Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou, now king of the Two Sicilies, was pursuing his schemes of personal ambition. Desiring to be regarded as the head of Eastern christendom, he purchased from the granddaughter of Guy of



SAINT LOUIS SITTING IN JUDGMENT.

Lusignan the title of king of Jerusalem. The effect of this and other measures of self-aggrandizement was to raise up around Charles a host of enemies, who made a conspiracy to expel him from the kingdom. A general massacre of all the French in Naples and Sicily was planned to take place at the ringing of the vesper bell on the eve of Easter 1282.

With fatal precision, though the plot had been in preparation for the space of two years, the diabolical plot was carried out. The massacre began in Palermo, and spread from town to

the SICILIAN VESPERS—a fitting prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In the year 1285 Philip the Third found it necessary to undertake a war with Pedro, king



DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN.

Drawn by H. Plueddemann.

town, wherever the French had made settlements, until at least eight thousand innocent people had been butchered. This infamous outrage against human life is known in history as

of Aragon. That ruler had presumed to set at naught the settlement sanctioned by the Pope, by which the crown of Aragon was to be conferred on Prince Charles, son of the

French king. The expedition undertaken by Philip was, however, attended with disaster. A fleet which had been sent out with provisions for his army was captured by the Aragonese commander, De Lauria, and the French troops were left without supplies. It now appeared, moreover, that the health of King Philip had been ruined in the African campaign of his father. Despairing of success, he attempted to withdraw into France, but, on arriving at Perpignan, he found it impossible

into Aragon. For a while, he was withheld from his purpose by the mediation of King Edward of England, whose daughter had been married to Alfonso of Aragon. But the good offices of the English monarch could not permanently avail to prevent hostilities. A war broke out between the French and Aragonese, and continued for some years without decisive results. At the last, the contest was ended by the independence of Aragon, which was attained without material loss of territory.



FUNERAL OF SAINT LOUIS.

to proceed, and died at that place in October of 1286. The crown descended, without dispute, to his son Philip, surnamed the Fair, who ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP IV. In him the mild temper and prudent behavior, which had of late characterized the kings of France, disappeared, and was replaced with violence, avarice, and excess, inasmuch that a strange contrast was presented between the beauty of the royal person and the moral deformity of the king.

At the first, Philip IV. undertook to retrieve the misfortunes of the late expedition

It was during the continuance of this petty and disgraceful conflict that the news of the downfall of Acre, and the consequent subversion of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was carried to Western Europe. That event has already been fixed upon as a proper limit for the present Book. Here, then, on the high dividing ridge from which, looking to the past, we behold the wild and extravagant drama of the Crusades, and, turning to the future, discover the colossal form of Monarchy rising above the ruins of Mediæval Europe,—the free cities growing great and

powerful as the conservators of public liberty, and the convex rim of the New World seen afar in the watery horizon of the West,—we pause, intending to resume, in the begin-

ning of the following Book, the annals of Germany, Italy, France, and England, from the close of the thirteenth century to the discovery of America by Columbus.





Book Sixth.

THE PEOPLE AND THE KINGS.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE FREE CITIES.



BEFORE the close of the crusading epoch a new fact appeared in the political society of Europe—the FREE CORPORATE CITY. True it is that the Roman Empire had been composed of cities. That great power had its myriad feet planted within the walls of towns rather than in rural regions and fields. In ancient times the *country* was an almost unknown quantity in the political affairs of states and kingdoms. Rome was built of cities, and when in the fifth century all her bonds were loosened, to cities she returned. But it should be carefully observed that under the Roman system the corporate town had no *independent* existence. It was a part of the general structure, subject in all things and all respects to the decrees of the Senate and the edicts of the Emperor. In this regard the city which constituted an integral part of the fabric of Rome presented a marked contrast to the *free* city of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the course of time the corporate towns

into which the Roman Empire was resolved fell under the dominion of Feudalism. Not only the peasant populations but the towns also were conquered by the barbarians, and when after the age of Charlemagne society became disintegrated and the Feudal System arose on the ruins, the mediæval cities passed naturally under the common despotism established by the baronial lords. The towns were either included within the limits of the fiefs in which they were geographically situated, or were themselves erected into fiefs under their respective suzerains. It thus happened that in the transformation of Ancient into Modern Europe the urban populations passed through nearly the same vicissitudes as did the countrymen and peasants.

It came to pass, however, that the maintenance of feudal authority over the cities was more difficult than over the country fiefs. The country was the native seat of Feudalism. In the case of the cities there seemed to be something unnatural in the suzerainty of baronial lords who lived in castles on their estates, and whose only care within the city gates was to gather the annual taxes. It is

probable that from the first a feeling of impatience and resentment was cherished by the citizens of the Middle Ages against the coarse but powerful masters whom they were obliged to obey. It could hardly be doubted that when opportunity should occur the cities would revolt and strike for liberty and independence.

Before proceeding to give an account of the insurrection of the mediæval burghers against the feudal lords it may prove of interest to sketch the condition of life within one of the corporate towns of the twelfth century. Strange is the contrast here presented to any thing with which the citizens of the nineteenth century are familiar. The town of the Middle Ages was *walled* to begin with. The rampart, the tower, the gate, the bastion, were necessities of the situation. Protection to what was within, defense against what was without, seemed to be—and was—the first condition of urban prosperity and peace. The city life of the Middle Ages was shut up within an inclosure and was set in the strongest contrast with the open and roving life of the country.

Not only were the cities themselves built with walls and towers, but the houses of the burgesses were constructed with the same regard to defense. The dominant thought was war. The building was generally three stories in height, each story consisting of but a single room. The structure was square, and whether of wood or stone was characterized by great strength and solidity. The first story was the eating-room of the family. Nor was the burgher overscrupulous about admitting domestic animals to this apartment. In the room above, which was high and strong, the master and family had their dwelling. The third story was occupied by the children and domestics. This room was well adapted for defense, the windows being narrow and constructed with a view to the discharge of missiles. On the top of the house was a look-out, or observatory, from which in times of danger the burgher might survey his surroundings and order the best means of defense. As a general rule the dwelling was flanked with a tower built four-square, with projecting corners, and of the most solid materials which the means of the builder could command.

As to the burgher himself he presented a

type of character not other where to be found in the Middle Ages. He was a soldier citizen. By vocation he was a merchant, a trader, a manufacturer, a gardener. In him was an element of thrift for which one might have looked in vain outside of the city walls. Perhaps the burgher owned and tilled a small farm beyond the defenses, and from this gathered the produce which he sold in the market. Perhaps he was a maker of cheese. Perhaps he was a smith, a carpenter, a tanner, a manufacturer of harness. The mediæval towns thus became a kind of rookeries for the industrious, subject always to the discouraging circumstance of the feudal despotism under which they groaned.

For purposes of government and defense the burgesses were organized into a municipality. There was a burgomaster, or magistrate of the town, who was the chief executive, and who presided over the town council. But the authority was lodged in the whole body of citizens. These were called together by the ringing of the church bells, and questions of policy and management were submitted to their vote. Elections of officers were held in the manner of modern times, and every man had his voice in the state: the state was the city.

The perils to which the cities were exposed from the rapacity of the feudal lords encouraged the organization of a town militia. Every burgher became a soldier. He possessed a coat-of-mail and a pike. He was expected to turn out at a moment's notice, clad in his own armor. But while the civic community was converted into a soldiery, it was a soldiery *for defense*. No aggressive movements were contemplated. The bottom fact in the whole situation was a *property interest* which must be defended, and to this end the citizen democrats of the Middle Age bent all their energies.

Great was the activity, the courage, the enterprise of the mediæval burgesses. In those happy intervals when the sun of peace shed his effulgence through the rifts of feudal warfare, the cities were all a-hum with industry. The merchant grew wealthy; the tradesman had his home; the smith enlarged his forge; the gardener obtained a better price for his carrots and cabbages.

It will be easily perceived that the condition of affairs in the towns tended powerfully to association and the growth of democracy. In the city each man was braced against his neighbor. Each felt himself strong in proportion as he was a part of a whole. This was the exact reverse of Feudalism. In that system the man was every thing, the organization nothing. In the city the organization was every thing, the man but little. Two tendencies were thus developed, which in their political relations drew in opposite directions. The one led to the government of the masses by an isolated nobility, and the other to the autonomy of a democratic citizenship.

The burgesses of the twelfth century exhibited two qualities seemingly inconsistent, if not irreconcilable in the same character. These were boldness and timidity—boldness in local affairs, timidity in matters affecting the state. Of the management of their own city they knew every thing and assumed all responsibility. Of the general politics of the kingdom they knew nothing. The wall of the city bounded the horizon of urban activities. Within this circuit there was an immense display of enterprise, courage, self-assertion; but into the great world beyond the timid burgess ventured only with humble demeanor as if he were an unwelcome intruder in the realms of another greater than himself.

Such, in brief, was the condition of city life in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Crusades had just begun. The pilgrim armies were recruited from the baronial estates and villages rather than from the towns. The citizens knew more and cared less for the practices and purposes of Islam than did the less intelligent inhabitants of the country. The latter were more under the influence of the Church than were the mercantile classes in the towns. The trades-people of the Middle Ages had widened the horizon of their knowledge, while the peasants had remained in ignorance, subject to the caprice of the priest and the follies of superstition. It thus happened that the towns were in a condition to profit by the outbreak of the crusading turmoil. The merchant classes got gain at the expense of the country gone mad over the news of Turkish outrages done to Christians in the East.

The chief manufactures of Medieval Europe were located in the towns, and to these the Crusaders must apply for their war-harness and accouterments. The tradesmen were sufficiently pious to furnish the pilgrims with arms and to charge therefor such rates of profit as would have been satisfactory to an Israelite. By this means a large part of the wealth of Feudal Europe flowed into the towns, so that by the middle of the century most of the baronial estates had either consumed their resources or were heavily mortgaged to capitalists living in the cities. The burghers grew great in wealth, while the baronial lords were cleaving the skulls of Turks and Mamelukes in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

From these conditions it is easy to discover the antecedent probability of a revolt of the cities against the authority of the feudal lords. The event answered to the logic of the situation. The burgesses wearied at length of the exactions and tyranny of the barons. Many of the latter were absent in the Holy Wars. Some returned impoverished and therefore hungry. Their rapacity was inflamed with the spectacle of prosperity in the towns. It would be interesting to analyze the feeling and sentiments of a feudal lord of the twelfth century, just returned with broken fortunes from the Holy Land, where he had been fighting the battles of the Cross. With what contempt he must have looked upon the rotund merchants, jolly tanners, and fat cheese-makers in the neighboring market-place! Had he not a right, being a Christian soldier, to take from these sordid trades-people the ill-gotten treasures which they, the base cowards, had heaped up while he was in foreign lands battling with Infidels?

On the other hand, the citizens had come to understand their power. Time and again they had shut their gates and beaten off bands of brigands and robbers, by whom they had been assailed. As for this feudal lord, whose subjects they had been for two hundred years, why should they any longer pay to him the annual tribute by which he supported himself and his bands of retainers in idleness and plenty? Why should the city be taxed from year to year to furnish the

means of that perpetual warfare demanded by the ambition and lust of the baronial master?

Here the issue was made up squarely. On the one side were the feudal lords, their soldiers, peasants, vassals; on the other the burgesses of the cities. The former had the advantage of skill in war; the latter, of walls and plentiful supplies. The towns broke into insurrection. They shut their gates against the barons and challenged the consequences. There was a general revolt of the municipalities of Italy, France, and Germany. It does not appear that there was any preconcerted plan on the part of the cities to throw off the feudal yoke; but the situation in the various civic communities of Western Europe was so nearly identical as to lead to the same result in all. Then followed a war—a war of aggression on the part of the barons to recover possession of their towns, and of the citizens to gain their independence. On the whole the advantage was on the side of the citizens, for they had abundant supplies. They fought for their homes and for existence; for such was the rage of the feudal lords at the insurgents that little mercy was to be expected in case the revolt should fail. It was evident to the burgesses that if they should be reconquered their walls would be thrown down, their houses and markets pillaged, and themselves reduced to a bondage more galling than before. So they fought with desperate courage, and for the most part succeeded.

In some instances the feudal lords were successful in the conflict. When that happened the ramparts were demolished and the municipality virtually extinguished. As a rule the barons, when victorious, were too much occupied with thoughts of revenge to stop short of the signal punishment of the rebel citizens. The leaders were executed and so much property confiscated as to destroy all prospect of a return of prosperity. But in far the larger number of instances the citizens were the victors. The lords, after carrying on the siege for an indefinite period, were beaten off or brought to a parley. When this state of affairs supervened the triumphant burgesses were little disposed to accept any thing less than absolute independence. Here again a likeness of situation begot a similarity of results. In the conferences which were

held between the baffled barons and the burgesses the latter demanded as a guaranty of their liberties CHARTERS OF FREEDOM; and the lords were obliged to concede what they were no longer able to withhold. The charters were granted and the cities became free.

Such was the emancipation of the citizen class or commons of Mediæval Europe. In its results the movement was even more important than the Crusades. It was the beginning of a republican democracy in modern times. The successful insurrection of the cities against the feudal tyranny of the twelfth century was the birth of that great fact called the PEOPLE. A people, considered as a political force, began to exist. Hitherto there had been kings, nobles, prelates, lords, and then a great gap; after that, peasants and serfs, but no *People*. The mediæval burghers, standing shoulder to shoulder, cased in mail and wielding pikes in defense of their city, were the fathers of the people, the political ancestors of ourselves.

For this emancipation of the European Commons no fixed date can be assigned. As a general fact the movement began earlier in Italy and the south of France than in other parts of Europe. It was natural that the insurrection should occur first in these localities; for in the Italian towns and those of Southern France there was much more intelligence, much more enterprise, much more public spirit than in other civic communities of the Middle Ages. In these towns there were many remains of the culture and urban activities of the Romans, and here the people felt most keenly the effects of the barbarian conquest. From the first they were restless under the domination of the feudal barons, and abided the time when they might recover, even by revolt and war, their independence.

The thoughtful reader will not fail to discover in the emancipation of the cities one of the prime causes of the downfall of Feudalism. The feudal system had, in the first place, become independent of monarchy. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the kings were reduced to a shadow. The triumph of the barons was civil, political, and territorial. It now came to pass that the cities did the same thing with respect to Feudalism that Feudalism had done with respect to

royalty. The municipalities struck for independence, and won it. As a consequence of the insurrection, a citizen class, a commons, a people sprang into existence and at once became a factor in the affairs of New Europe—the Europe of the future. Feudalism thus found itself pressed between two hostile facts; namely, Royalty on the one side and the People on the other. By one of those strange vicissitudes so plentifully discoverable on the leaves of history, *the kings and the people were brought into a league against the feudal barons.* This was the secret of the situation. Feudalism began to be pressed between royalty and nascent democracy, and the political society of Europe seemed in the act of emerging from the mediæval gloom in the form of two facts—Kings and People. On the one hand, monarchy began to triumph over the feudal institutions of the age, and on the other a vast citizenship rose up as if born of the earth.

It was under these conditions that the ITALIAN REPUBLICS of the Middle Ages sprang up and flourished. They were simply free cities of a larger growth. They first became self-directing, then independent, then wealthy, then great. It can not be doubted that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the most progressive and liberal societies of Europe were the civic communities of maritime Italy. Here commerce opened her marts. Here thrived enterprise and invention. Here the arts found a resting-place. Here the weird evangelist of the New Era lifted his voice and spoke of letters and philosophy.

The remainder of the present chapter may well be devoted to a sketch of some of the republican cities of the South of Europe. At the head of the Adriatic we first of all look to

“The winged lion’s marble piles

Where VENICE sate in state throned on her hundred isles.”

Built in a lagoon hardly distinguishable from the sea, supported on piles, divided by more than a hundred canals, the city presented, even from the seventh century, a spectacle as interesting as the situation was anomalous. Venice was founded about the year 452, when the fugitives from Aquileia, which had been laid waste by the army of Attila, sought refuge in the marsh-lands and island fens of the Upper Adriatic. Here they began

to build, supporting themselves the while by fishing and the manufacture of salt. From the first these enterprising people, though nominally dependent on the Western Empire of the Romans, asserted and maintained a sort of autonomy, unlike any thing that might be elsewhere found in the dominions of the Cæsars.

The ancient Venetians virtually governed themselves. They elected their own consuls and tribunes, and managed the affairs of the city in what manner soever seemed most conducive to public interest. The democratic forms were preserved until the year 697 when, under the leadership of Christoforo, patriarch of the island of Grado, the ducal style of government was adopted. At the head of the state was the duke or doge, who held his office for life. The first to be elected to this dignity was Paolo Lucca Anafesto, who was chosen in the same year of the revolution. The ducal throne was supported by a civic nobility, the same being composed of the families of the twelve deposed tribunes. The conditions of an oligarchy were thus present in the Venetian constitution, and it was not long until the baleful tendency to concentrate the political power in the hands of the aristocracy was manifested.

During the eighth century the seat of government was several times transferred from island to island, and Venice, like the republican cities of Ancient Greece, became the prey of demagogues. At last, in the year 810, the island of the Rialto was permanently fixed upon as the capital and made the center of the wonderful commercial interest which constituted the basis of Venetian greatness. The other islands were joined to the Rialto by means of wooden bridges.

The nominal allegiance of Venice was transferred to the Visigothic kingdom of Italy. With the downfall of that power the Venetian Republic passed to the dominion of the Eastern Emperors, and from the latter the ducal scepter was claimed by the Imperial house of Germany. In all of these relations, however, the state of Venice remained, as it had been from the first, virtually an independent power. In the year 829 the city was fortunate enough to obtain from Alexandria the bones of St. Mark, who became thenceforth

her patron saint. His shrine was honored with the presence of scores of pilgrims who, coming from distant parts, added to the wealth of the Republic.

In the latter part of the eleventh century Venice began to extend her authority by conquest and purchase. Several territories in Italy, in Dalmatia, in Croatia, and in Istria acknowledged her sway. Her commerce reached to the remotest seas, and embassies were received at the ducal palace from the principal nations of Europe and Asia. In

in this respect that she surpassed all other nations of the Middle Ages in the extent and variety of her merchandise. The carrying trade of the world fell into her hands, and was so skillfully directed that the marts of St. Mark became the commercial and monetary metropolis of the world.

When, in the latter part of the twelfth century, the Lombard cities of Italy made an alliance against the German Emperor, the Venetians joined the league; and when, in 1177, Otho, son of Frederiek Barbarossa, had



CHURCH OF ST. MARK, VENICE.

common with the other states of the West she became involved in the Crusades. Two years after the Council of Clermont she sent out a great squadron to Syria to aid Godfrey of Bouillon in the conquest of Palestine, but the military results of the expedition were not equal to the commercial advantages gained by the fleet while nominally engaged in the Holy War. The Venetians, quick to perceive the advantages of trading-posts in the East, diverted their energies to the securing of commercial privileges in the ports of Syria and Egypt. Such was the energy of the Republic

the rashness to give battle to their fleet, they won over that monarch a complete and decisive victory. It was on this occasion that Pope Alexander III., in whose interest the battle was fought, gave to the doge Ziani a ring, and instituted the celebrated ceremony of *marrying the Adriatic*.¹ As a result of the

¹This nuptial rite, so interesting and poetical, consisted in the espousals of the doge to the Sea. It was celebrated annually, when, on the occasion, the duke would come forth on the Rialto, drop a wedding ring into the water, and exclaim: "We thus espouse thee, O Sea, as our bride and queen!"



MARRIAGE OF THE DOGE OF VENICE WITH THE SEA.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

victory the Emperor Otho was obliged to consent to the calling of a congress, which assembled at Venice and determined the conditions of peace.

It will be remembered that the first armies of Crusaders marched overland, through Hungary, by way of Constantinople, into Asia Minor. Later on the advantages of the water route to the East began to be recognized. Venice became the favored port of debarkation. Here, in the year 1202, the warriors of the Fourth Crusade gathered, preparatory to embarkation in the Venetian fleet. Here it was that the Crusaders, unable to pay the sums which themselves had promised as the price of their transportation to the East, were induced, against the angry protests of the Pope, to make up the deficiency by joining the Venetians in a campaign against the insurgent people of Dalmatia. The story of this episode, of the subsequent diversion of the Fourth Crusade against Constantinople, of the exploits of the blind old doge Dandolo, and of the establishment of a Latin Empire on the ruins of the Greek, has already been narrated in the preceding Book.¹

In her period of greatest renown Venice extended her dominion over the fairest portion of the Byzantine Empire. Southern Greece, Crete, Eubœa, and many of the islands of the Archipelago passed under her sway and shared in the splendor of her ascendancy. The mother city, enriched with the spoils of the East, became the most magnificent of all the cities of Europe. Her nobility were the proudest of the proud. Her palaces were the most splendid of the Middle Ages. Her spirit was cosmopolitan; her wealth unlimited; her learning great; her art superb.

Venice was in some sense a city of Protestants. The papal power was never able to work its will in the palace and square of St. Mark. The doges and people were nearly always in some kind of antagonism to the church. Even when the Inquisition came, it was subjected to civil authority. When, in 1261, Michael Palæologus obtained possession of Constantinople and established his House in the seat of the Eastern Cæsars; when he leaned upon the Genoese, the aspiring rivals

of the Venetians, and shored up his throne with their arms, the subjects of the doge went to war with Genoa, and the two Republics fought with the desperate valor of the free.

Nor was the elder always able to overcome the younger in the conflict. Once and again the Venetians were brought to the verge of ruin. To their other sorrows and calamities were added those which came from internal dissensions and revolutions. In 1355 a great convulsion occurred in the state, which ended in the overthrow of the ducal throne and the execution of the doge Marino Faliero—a circumstance which has furnished to the genius of Byron the materials for one of his splendid and gloomy tragedies.¹

Afterwards, Venice recovered from these shocks and continued to grow in wealth and renown until the beginning of the fifteenth century. The acme of her greatness is generally dated with the reign of the doge Tommaso Mocenigo, who died in 1423.

The city of MILAN is the ancient Mediolanum. Her existence goes back at least as far

¹ The curse which the great poet makes Faliero pronounce, just before his execution, on the ungrateful Venice and her "serpent seed," is the most terrible anathema in English literature:

"She shall be bought
And sold, and be an appanage to those
Who shall despise her!—She shall stoop to be
A province for an empire, petty town
In lieu of capital, with slaves for senators,
Beggars for nobles, panders for a people!
Then when the Hebrew's in thy palaces,
The Hun in thy high places, and the Greek
Walks o'er thy mart and smiles on it for his!
When thy patricians beg their bitter bread
In narrow streets, and in their shameful need
Make their nobility a plea for pity!

When all the ills of conquered states shall cling
thee,

Vice without splendor, sin without relief
E'en from the gloss of love to smooth it o'er;

Meanness and weakness, and a sense of woe,
'Gainst which thou wilt not strive and dar'st not
murmur,—

Have made thee last and worse of peopled deserts,
Then, in the last gasp of thine agony,
Amidst thy many murders, think of mine!
Thou den of drunkards with the blood of princes!
Gehenna of the waters! thou sea Sodom!
Thus I devote thee to the infernal gods!
Thee and thy serpent seed!"

Marino Faliero: Act V., Scene 3.

¹ See Book Fifth, p. 373.

as the third century B. C. After a career of more than six hundred years, this ancient capital of Cisalpine Gaul was plundered by the Huns under Attila in 452. At a later period the city became the metropolis of the Goths and the favorite residence of their kings. In 537, Milan was captured by the great Belisarius, and two years later was retaken by the Goths. In the year 774 Charlemagne overcame the Milanese, and took and wore the iron crown. In the course of time Milan became the most wealthy and populous

In the thirteenth century, Milan was greatly retarded in her development by the turmoils of the Ghibellines and the Guelfs. The partisans of the latter were headed by the noble family of the Della Torre, and the former by the Visconti. For three-quarters of a century (1237–1311) the Della Torre retained the ascendancy in the political affairs of the city, and were then overthrown by the Ghibellines. From this time Milan began to extend her authority over the surrounding districts and towns of Lombardy, until, in



CATHEDRAL OF MILAN.

of the Lombard cities. As such it became the head and principal seat of that Italian party which opposed the policy and progress of the Imperial House of Germany. Once and again, in 1158 and 1162, the city was besieged by Frederick Barbarossa, and on the second occasion was taken and almost destroyed. When, in 1176, the victory of Legnano was gained over the Imperialists, Milan was declared a *Free City*; and though the Milanese continued in a nominal way to recognize the suzerainty of the German Emperor, they were virtually independent of his rule.

VOL. II.—28

1395, she became the capital of the Duchy of Milan, under the Duke Giovanni Galeazzo, one of the Visconti. This great family continued in authority until 1447, when the male line became extinct, and was supplanted by Francesco Sforza, the husband of an illegitimate daughter of the late duke. Of him and his House some account will be given in a subsequent chapter of the present Book.

The beginning of the historic career of the city of GENOA may be set as early as the times of the Roman Republic. It was taken and destroyed by a Carthaginian fleet during

the Second Punic War, but was speedily recovered and rebuilt by the Romans. From the beginning the city was a commercial emporium. From the wharves and harbor the ancient Ligurians sent forth their produce to be exchanged for the wine and oil of other parts of Italy. Under the Empire the city flourished, but, after the coming of the barbarians, declined under the rule of the Gothic kings. Together with the other towns of Northern Italy, Genoa was taken by the Lombards, and from them it was wrested in the eighth century by Charlemagne. The Frankish Emperor placed the authority in the hands of a count under his own suzerainty, and the government was so administered until the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire.

During the ninth century, Genoa was deeply involved in the strifes and turmoils to which all the cities of Lombardy were exposed. The Emperors of Germany contended with the Berengarii for the possession of the iron crown, and the Genoese were parties to the struggle. In 936 the city was taken and pillaged by the Saracens, but this catastrophe seemed to arouse the people to renewed enterprise. A navy was built and a league made with Pisa against the common enemy of christendom. In the early part of the eleventh century the Genoese expelled the Mohammedan freebooters from many of the Mediterranean islands. Corsica, Capraja, and Sardinia were successively freed from foreign domination, and the former two were added to Genoa. By this time, however, the extension of Genoese influence had aroused the jealousy of the other republican powers of Northern Italy. Especially was the enmity of Venice and Pisa enkindled against their rival, and they sought by every means in their power to put a limit to her growth and ambitions.

The first serious break with the Pisans occurred in the year 1070. Soon afterwards the Genoese, in common with the other peoples of the West, took fire at the story of Turkish outrages in the Holy Land, and when at the close of the century the summons came to send relief to King Godfrey of Jerusalem, Genoa responded with an armament. Participating for a season in the war with the

Infidels, she was rewarded with a strip of the coast of Palestine. She soon became involved in a second conflict with Pisa, and when this was brought to a close an expedition was fitted out against the Moors of Spain. In three successive campaigns (1146-48) the islands of Minorca, Almeria, and Tortoso were subjugated, and from these conquests the Genoese went ashore and set up their banners on the coast of Provence. By the close of the twelfth century they became masters of Monaco, Nice, Montferrat, and Marseilles, and but for the intestine struggles of Italy seemed destined to a still wider dominion. In the year 1162, however, a *third* war broke out with Pisa, and this conflict continued with varying vicissitudes for nearly a hundred years. In this way were the possibilities of Republican Italy wasted in the domestic broils and interminable rivalries of her cities.

At last the Genoese triumphed over the Pisans. In 1284 the latter suffered an irreparable defeat in a great naval battle near Meloria, losing three thousand killed and thirteen thousand prisoners. Afterwards, in 1290, the island of Elba was subjugated and the harbor of Pisa destroyed. This left the rival Republic without the power to renew the conflict, while the Genoese gathered whatever spoils remained to be reaped from a ruined city.

Not less bitter was the rivalry between Genoa and Venice. After the establishment of the Latin Kingdom at Constantinople, in the year 1204, the struggle between the two Republics on the opposite sides of Italy continued almost without abatement. It was the policy of the Venetians to maintain the power which they had assisted the Franks in establishing in the East. This brought the Genoese into alliance with the old Greek dynasty of Constantinople, and when, in 1261, the reconquest of the Byzantine Empire was undertaken by Michael Palæologus, the fleet of Genoa gave him such material aid that the Western Republic was rewarded with the suburbs of Pera and Galata, and also the port of Smyrna, commanding the Black Sea. The Venetians were little disposed to yield to their rivals the dominion of those Eastern waters. The war between the rival powers continued until 1276, when a truce put a temporary

period to hostilities. Later in the century the conflict broke out anew, and battles were fought at intervals, until at last a great victory was gained by the Genoese over the Venetian fleet, which suffered a loss of eighty-four galleys and seven thousand men, including the doge. In 1299 a treaty of peace was concluded by which it was agreed that Venice should surrender to Genoa the commerce of the Black Sea, together with the colonies and factories which had been planted on the shore of that important water.

The dominion of the Genoese in the East was upheld by the Paleologi. A half century elapsed before the Venetians felt themselves sufficiently recovered to undertake the overthrow of Genoese authority in the Black and Caspian Seas. In 1346, however, the war was renewed, a great battle was fought within sight of Constantinople and the fleet of Genoa was again victorious; but in a second encounter which occurred off the coast of Sardinia the Genoese squadron was almost annihilated. Such was the alarm of the mother city that, in order to avoid the consequences of defeat, she put herself under the protection of the Duke of Milan. Such a relation, however, could not be long maintained, and the Genoese soon threw off the yoke which they had consented to wear. A third war began with Venice, in the year 1377, and continued until 1381, when a permanent treaty was concluded at the city of Turin; and the two republics, shattered by almost interminable conflicts, agreed to pursue their respective ways in peace.

Besides the internal strifes with which Venice and Genoa were afflicted, and the disastrous consequences of war, two other circumstances contributed to the decline of these the leading Italian Republics. The first of these was the continued successes of the Turks in the East, by which the commercial advantages which the Genoese and Venetians had so long and profitably enjoyed, were taken away; and the other was the discovery of new regions in the West which drew the attention of adventurers and merchantmen into distant parts, and reduced by so much the commercial marine of the Republics. With the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453, Genoa was stripped of all

her remaining possessions in the East, and to make a finality of her enterprise in that direction, Mohammed II. ordered the entrance to the Black Sea to be closed to Western ships.

Only second in importance to the republics of Venice and Genoa was the city of PISA, situated in a plain between the Apennines on the east and the Tuscan Sea on the west. The origin of the city is lost in antiquity. It was founded by the Etruscans before the beginning of authentic histories. It became an integral part of Rome in the second century B. C., but did not attract much attention until long after the downfall of the Western Empire. Pisa shared in common with the other Italian towns the hardships and penalties of the barbarian conquest. In the Middle Ages the Pisans first began to make themselves felt as a political force in Italy, about the middle of the ninth century. Soon afterwards they achieved their independence. Pisa became a free city, and under a republican form of government rapidly sprang forward to a foremost place among the maritime states which bordered the Italian seas.

In the eleventh century the Pisans conquered the Islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Elba, together with the Balearic Islands and many important districts on the main-land of the coast. At this epoch the republic reached her greatest wealth and renown. In 1063 the Pisan fleet gained a great victory over a Saracen squadron at Palermo, thus clearing the Italian waters of the Mohammedan intruders. Nor is it possible to say to what extent the conquests of the mother city might have been carried but for the breaking out of the ill-starred contest between Pisa and the rival republic of Genoa. The struggle resulted not, indeed, in the extermination of the Pisans and the destruction of their political and commercial ambitions, but in their reduction to a rank greatly inferior to that held by Genoa and Venice.

During the Crusades the Pisans busied themselves in establishing a trade in the Levant, where for a long time they maintained their interests in considerable prosperity. In the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines Pisa took sides with the latter, and the Guelphic cities made a league against her. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the

prosperity of the city revived somewhat from the previous depression; but the spirit of party strife hawked at and tore out the vitals of all real progress. Near the close of that century the Pisans became subject to an aristocratic house called the Appiani, and were shortly afterward subjected first to the Visconti of Milan and afterwards to the Florentines.

The fifth of the great free cities was FLORENCE. By the Romans the place was known under the name of Florentia. Tradition has

progressed in wealth and influence until near the middle of the tenth century, when the people gained the right of electing their own magistrates and became independent. The executive power was lodged in the hands of four consuls; and the legislative authority in a senate of a hundred members. In 1207 the multiple executive was abolished, and a single *podesta* or president was elected. Eight years afterwards the Florentines became involved in the strife between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. After a struggle of thirty-three



CATHEDRAL OF PISA AND LEANING TOWER.

assigned the founding to the dictator Sulla. Florence did not, however, become distinguished as a municipality until the later times of the Empire. In the year 406 it was besieged by the Vandal army under the lead of Radagastus. It will be remembered that the general Stilicho came against the barbarians, defeated them in battle, raised the siege, and put Radagastus to death. During the Gothic invasion Florence was captured and destroyed by Totila. Near the close of the eighth century the city was rebuilt by Charlemagne. Afterwards for nearly two hundred years she

years, the Guelphic or papal party was overthrown and expelled from the city.

Not long after this political revolution, another convulsion, more important in its results, occurred. The citizens rose against the nobles, attacked and demolished their palaces and villas, and established a democratic government on the ruins of the aristocracy. Instead of the consulate and senate, two chief magistrates, the one styled "captain of the people" and the other *podesta*, were elected, while the legislative power was remanded to general assemblies.

The strifes between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines continued to vex the people of Florence during the greater part of the thir-



DANTE.

teenth century. In the year 1282 the government was again revolutionized, and fortunately for the city the new political forms which were instituted were more stable than those which had preceded them. The Republic continued for several hundred years without undergoing further political upheavals, and notwithstanding the dissensions to which Florence, in common with her sister republics, was troubled, her growth in wealth and population continued without abatement. Her census showed a list of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom no fewer than twenty-five thousand were armed militia.

The intellectual activity of the Florentines was equal to that of the Venetians, and at an early date in the Middle Ages there were evidences of a revival of letters and art, for which at a subsequent period the city was destined to become the most famous in Italy. At the close of the thirteenth century the illustrious Dante walked about the public places of the city and muttered to himself the dolorous strains of the *Inferno*. The republican form of government in Florence proved

favorable to the spread of the new culture. In the fifteenth century the great family of the Medici gained an ascendancy in Florentine affairs which resulted in the overthrow of the popular forms of government, but was by no means discouraging to the literary and artistic tendencies of the people. Indeed, it was under the patronage of this family that Florence achieved her greatest glory. The origin of the celebrated House dates back to the age of Charlemagne. In the middle of the fourteenth century Giovanni de Medici commanded his countrymen in a war with Milan; but in this age the greatest of the family were Cosmo and Lorenzo, sons of Giovanni. The House of Medici was at its highest estate from the middle to the close of the fifteenth century, when Lorenzo, surnamed the Magnificent, filled all Europe with his fame. In 1471 he was made treasurer of the Holy See, and was for a season in great favor with the Pope. Afterwards, however, he succeeded in effecting an alliance between Florence, Venice, and Milan, for the express purpose of resisting the encroachments of the papacy.



LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

At this Sixtus IV. became deeply incensed at his foreign minister, and henceforth strove with all his power to break the influence of

the Medici in Italy. The Pope is accused of having instigated a conspiracy for the purpose of procuring the assassination of Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano.

The date of the crime was set for the 26th of April, 1478. It was agreed that on that day, at the signal of the elevation of

was rescued by his friends. The members of the Pazzi family were seized and punished for their crime. A feud broke out between the papal party and the adherents of the Medici, which continued to agitate the states of Italy until the close of the century. Nor was the ill-feeling of the parties allayed until a mem-



ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE MEDICI.

Drawn by Conrad Ermisch.

the Host in the Church of the Reparata, the two brothers should be struck down dead. The head conspirator was Francesco de Pazzi, who was to be assisted by the priests. At the preconcerted signal the villainous attack was made. Giuliano was instantly killed, but Lorenzo defended himself with such valor that his assailants were driven back until he

ber of the family of the Medici, Giovanni, was raised to the papal chair with the title of Leo X.

Besides the great municipal Republics of Venice, Milan, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, many other Italian cities ran a similar, though less conspicuous, course of development. To such an extent was this tendency present in

the history of Mediæval Italy that the Feudal System never flourished in the peninsula. The urban activities were too strong to yield to the tyranny of baronial masters. As a general fact it may be said that Feudalism received its death wound, not at the hands of royalty, but rather at the hands of the aspiring democracy of the mediæval cities.

Not only in Italy, but also in France and the provinces of the Rhine, did the towns of the twelfth century achieve their freedom. Not all of the municipalities ran an equally distinguished career, but all passed through a like vicissitude of struggle with the baronial lords. Among the principal French cities of this epoch may be mentioned Rheims, Beauvais, Leon, Noyon, and Vezalay, the last of which, under the leadership of her abbot, sustained a long and obstinate contest, involving a demolition of a large part of her fortifications and houses.

But the limits of these pages forbid a fur-

ther extended notice of the free cities of France and Germany. Suffice it to say that in these democratic municipalities the spirit of political liberty was fostered and a great citizenship established which, after five centuries of alternate repression and growth, was destined to rise up like the sea and make the European monarchs tremble in their capitols.

In succeeding chapters of the present Book it shall be the purpose to give an account of the development of this popular political society, of its union with the kings, and the gradual extinction of Feudalism under the combined pressure of these two forces in society. Let us, then, resume the narrative which was broken off with the recapture of Acre by the Moslems, and trace the history of France from that epoch down to the close of the fifteenth century, at which time the discovery of the New World changed the direction of the activities and diverted the ambitions of mankind.

CHAPTER XXIII.—FRANCE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.



HE transfer of the crown of France from the head of Philip III. to that of his son, PHILIP IV., surnamed the Fair, was not fortunate for the kingdom. The latter sovereign was more noted for beauty of person than for graces of head or heart. Nor was his naturally perverse disposition in any wise improved by his marriage with Jane of Navarre, whose rank was much better than her character.

A few years after the accession of the new sovereign the kingdom became involved in a war with England. The circumstances which gave rise to this conflict are highly illustrative of the spirit of the age. In 1292 two sailors, a Norman and an Englishman, quarreled and fought on the wharf of Bayonne. Finally the Englishman stabbed his antagonist. Under the imperfect law procedures of the age there

was a failure to bring the criminal to justice. Thereupon the Normans made application to Philip III. for redress; but that monarch replied by telling them to take their own revenge. They did not hesitate to follow the suggestion of the king, but put to sea, seizing all the English ships which they could overtake and hanging the crews at the mast-heads.

The British sailors did not even take the pains to apply to the home government for the punishment of these outrages, but retaliated fearfully upon the enemy. A fleet of two hundred Norman ships then sailed into the English seas, and the war continued with every circumstance of atrocity. It was not long until an English squadron, superior to that of the enemy, fell upon the Normans and destroyed fifteen thousand sailors. War was then formally declared between the two nations, and the struggle resulted in stripping the English of the province of Aquitaine,

which was held by the French until the treaty of peace in 1303.

Soon after these events the French king turned his attention to the province of Flanders, which was at this time under the government of Guy Dampierre, a Crusader who had accompanied Saint Louis to Palestine. Philip, with his usual subtlety, corrupted the Flemings with bribes and other incentives until they renounced the government of their lawful earl. In order to secure assistance abroad Dampierre now offered his daughter, the Princess Philippa, to Edward, prince of Wales; but Philip set himself to the task of defeating the marriage. Accordingly, with extreme bad faith, he invited Earl Guy and his wife and daughter to Paris, where, as soon as they arrived, they were seized by the king and thrown into prison. After a year the earl and his wife were set at liberty, but Philippa was detained as a captive. Notwithstanding the efforts of Dampierre, assisted by the king of England and the Pope, Philip would not loosen his perfidious grip on the innocent heiress of Flanders. Angered at this flagrant treachery, a league was formed by the English king, the German Emperor, and the Pope for the purpose of compelling Philip to do the act of justice with the Earl of Flanders. But the French king bribed some of his enemies and seduced others with blandishments until the alliance against him was broken up. King Henry of England was bought off with the Princess Margaret, sister of Philip, and the Prince of Wales with his daughter Isabella. Having thus quieted all his enemies except the Flemings, the French sovereign prepared to subdue them by force, and to this end all trials by combat, private wars, and tournaments were forbidden by an edict until the king's business should be finished.

In 1299 a French army, led by Charles of Valois, entered Flanders. The city of Ghent was besieged, and the Flemish earl, finding himself hard pressed, determined to plead his own cause with the king at Paris. He was accordingly conducted thither under a pledge of safety given by the Count of Valois. But on reaching the French capital Philip disdained the promise given by his brother, and seizing upon Earl Guy and his sons, threw

them into prison. With a better sense of honor than was to be expected in the Capetian princes of the fourteenth century, Charles of Valois protested against the king's bad faith, and when his protest proved of no avail, he quitted his brother's service, and, going to Italy, enlisted under the banners of the Pope.

The perfidy of Philip seemed to secure for him the possession of Flanders. The Flemish towns were garrisoned with French soldiers, and Chatillon was appointed to the governorship. One of the means employed by the king to induce the Flemings to accept his domination was the promise of exemption from taxation. But the monarch soon showed himself as little capable of keeping his own pledge as he had been of observing that made by the Count of Valois. As soon as the people of Flanders found themselves oppressed with grievous exactions, they rose in revolt and did away with their oppressors in a general massacre.

When the intelligence of this insurrection was borne to Philip, he immediately organized an army of fifty thousand men, mostly veterans, and intrusting the command to Robert of Artois, one of the leading men of the century, dispatched this great force to destroy the insurgents. But the event little corresponded with the French king's expectations; for, although the Flemings were poorly disciplined and worse armed, they met the powerful army of France and defeated it in a decisive battle near Courtray. The Count of Artois and his son were slain in the battle, and the bodies of four thousand French knights and noblemen were despoiled on the field.

The chief virtue of Philip the Fair was his courage. Undaunted by the great reverse which had overtaken his arms, he reorganized his forces in overwhelming numbers, reentered Flanders in 1304, and gained a great victory. About the same time the Flemish fleet was defeated, and the people were brought to desperation by the condition of their affairs. Their spirit, however, was equal to the occasion. The inhabitants rose with the courage of heroes and the fury of patriots. Marching in a great body, armed with such weapons as they could snatch, they suddenly appeared before the camp of Philip, who was engaged in the siege of Lisle, and demanded of him that he

should either come forth to battle or grant them an honorable peace. The king preferred the latter alternative, and conceded to the insurgent population better terms than would have been granted but for the wholesome fear with which the Flemish multitude had inspired him.

The old Earl Guy was now set at liberty, but his race was already run. Soon after his return to Flanders it was deemed expedient that he should go back to Paris to complete

The haughty tone of the papal mandate gave mortal offense to the French king, who responded in an equally imperious, not to say insolent, manner. From a sort of armed neutrality between Philip and Boniface increased in bitterness until each descended to vulgarity. The Pope called the king a fool, and the king called the Pope a heretic and magician—the most fearful of all epithets in mediæval ears.

At last the violence of words gave place to



BATTLE OF COURTRAY.

the unfinished treaty of peace. While absent on this mission he died, and was succeeded in the Flemish earldom by his son Robert de Bethune. The inhabitants of the province had by this time discovered that nothing was to be expected from Philip, and were glad to be at peace under one of their own princes.

In the mean time the king of France had become involved in a quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII. This pontiff had in 1295 interfered to prevent a war between France and England, and had gone so far as to command Philip to make a treaty with King Edward.

the violence of action. Philip determined that the Holy Father should attend a council which had been called at Lyons. In order to secure this end he sent a body of picked troops into Italy with orders to bring the Pope, *notens volens*, into France. This band of soldiers, led by a certain Norgaret, made their way to Anagnina, the native town of Boniface, where the pontiff was then residing. Italy was at this time in a partisan broil, the great family of the Colonnæ having arrayed themselves against the Pope and virtually driven him into retirement. This fact gave a

great advantage to Norgaret and his band, who were accompanied to Anagnia by one of the Colonne, ready for any desperate enterprise. The people of the town were bribed to admit the invaders, and they found little dif-

which had been made upon him by his enemies. An insurrection broke out, in which Boniface was rescued from the French and the latter expelled from Anagnia.

The haughty spirit of the Pope could not

recover from the horrid outrage which he had suffered. He fell into a violent fever and went mad, raving at all who approached him, and gnawing off his own fingers in the struggle of death. Thus in the year 1303 the papal throne was vacated, to be presently refilled by the more benign and equable tempered Benedict XI. The pontificate of the latter, however, was destined to be of short duration. After a few months spent in a seemingly vain endeavor to heal the dissensions of his times, he died, and was succeeded by Bertrand de Got, who took the title of Clement V.

The new pontiff was a native of Gascony, which was at that time an appanage of the English Crown. De Got, however, was essentially French in his sympathies and character. He was an



BONIFACE STRUCK BY COLONNA.

Drawn by Vierge.

ficulty in gaining possession of the person of Boniface.

The intemperate anger of Colonna could not be restrained. He struck the Pope a violent blow in the face. The news spread through the town that the sovereign of the Church was bleeding from a vile assault

admirer and partisan of Philip the Fair, and after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter was induced by the king of France to transfer the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon. Even the coronation of the Pope was performed at Lyons, but this audacious innovation came near to putting

a limit to the earthly ambitions of all the participants. After the ceremony was completed, while the newly crowned Pope, accompanied by the king and many of the chief nobles of France, was returning from the cathedral of Lyons, an old wall by which the procession was passing toppled from its base and came down upon them with a crash. The Duke of Brittany and many others were killed. The Pope, the king, and Charles of Valois were all injured, but es-

Grand Master De Molay and the leading knights of christendom should be summoned to Paris to answer for their alleged crimes against the Church and the political society of Europe. The Grand Master and sixty members of the distinguished Order answered the summons, and on arriving at the French capital were thrown into prison. In the Middle Ages the innocence of the accused amounted to little in the predetermined counsels of despotism. Fifty-seven of the knights,



BURNING OF JACQUES DE MOLAY.

caped alive. The incident was noised abroad and produced great consternation; for the age still groveled in superstition, and attributed a natural catastrophe to the anger of offended Heaven.

Scarcely had this ill-omened settlement of the papacy been effected when the king and the Pope, *par nobile fratrum*, undertook the extermination of the Knights Templars. Philip was in the habit of meeting Clement privately in the wood of Avignon, and there the conspiracy against the Order of the Temple was perfected. It was agreed that the

after being submitted to the mockery of a trial, were condemned and burned alive. De Molay and three of his companions were remanded to prison, but were afterwards inveigled into signing a confession of guilt. They were thereupon condemned to imprisonment for life; but when they were placed upon a scaffold to hear their confession read to the people, De Molay in a loud voice thundered forth his denunciation against the fraud which had been practiced against himself and his fellows. Philip thereupon ordered the prisoners to be at once disposed of by burn-

ing. De Molay and his companions died as they had lived, without a fear. From the midst of the flames the undaunted Grand Master denounced the crime of the king and the Pope, and summoned them both to meet him in a brief period at the bar of an avenging God. Thus, in the year 1314, after a career of nearly two centuries, the treacherous death-wound was dealt to the Order of the Knights of the Temple.

The voice of De Molay, half-smothered in the smoke, followed Philip to an early doom. In the same year of the execution of his victims he was hunting in the wood of Fontainebleau when his horse fell with him, inflicting a fatal injury. He lingered for a brief period and died, being then in the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

The most important civil fact in the reign of Philip the Fair was the ascendancy which the crown at this epoch began to gain over the feudal nobles. In the year 1302 the States-general were convened at Paris. This great body was composed of three classes of persons: first, the Clergy; second, the Nobility; and, third, the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate. The representatives of the latter class were now for the first time admitted to a seat in the great assembly of France—a fact which showed conclusively the purpose of the king to employ the *People* as an element in his administrative system, and to use them in the work of repressing the feudal lords.

The measure thus inaugurated of resting the throne of France upon the States-general became popular with the kings of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Many meetings of the national assembly were held, and questions of the gravest moment freely debated by the body. Not until the year 1614 did the French monarchs cease to avail themselves of the power of the nation in matters of government. From that date, however, until the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, the States-general were not convened, and this fact, more perhaps than any other, retarded the political development of France.

On the death of Philip the Fair, in 1314, the crown of the kingdom descended to his son, LOUIS X., surnamed the Fretful. The prince was at this time twenty-six years of age, but was immature, restless, and avaricious. The

real management of affairs was intrusted to the young king's uncle, Charles of Valois, who succeeded in ousting from the government and destroying De Marigny, who had been prime minister under Philip. Marigny was ignominiously put to death, but public opinion afterwards forced Charles of Valois to make reparation, as far as possible, by restoring the estates of the executed minister to his children.

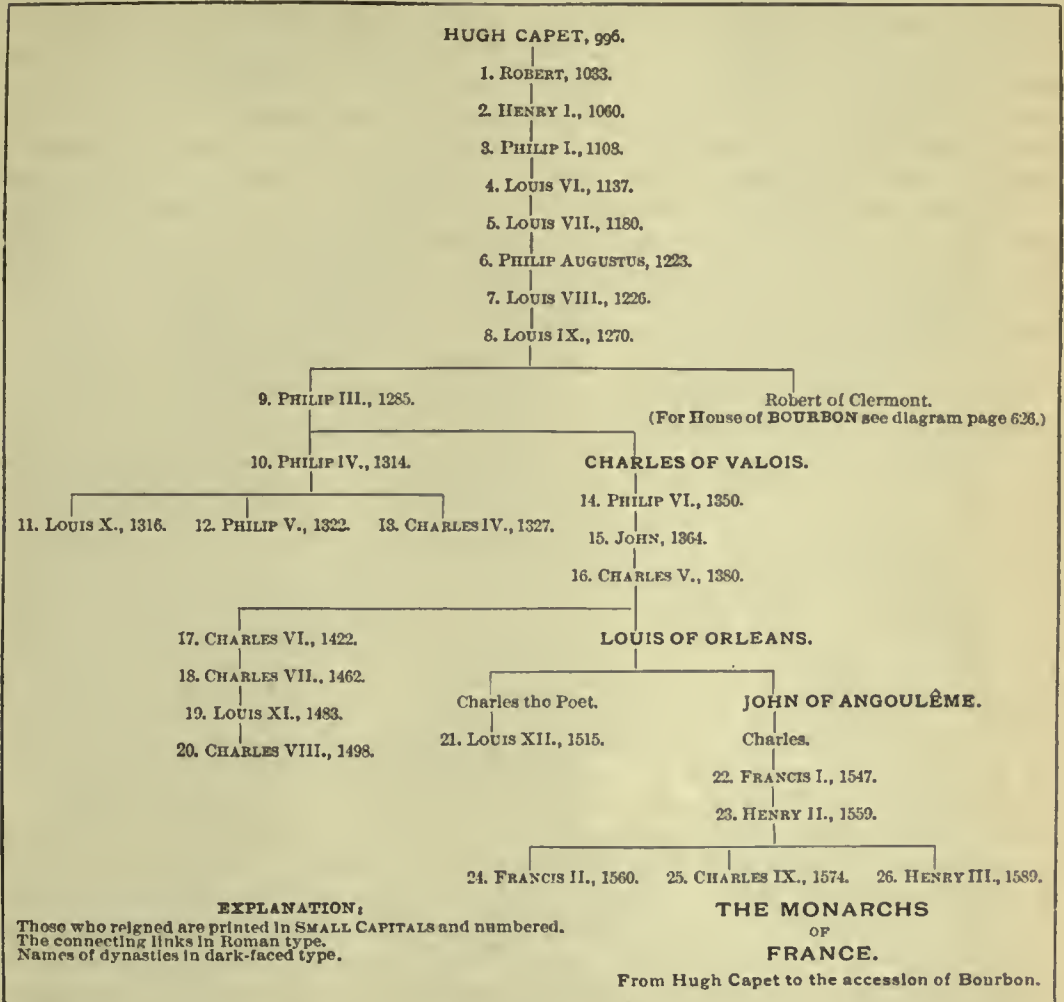
One of the first measures of the new administration was the renewal of the war with Flanders. The king was chagrined to find that the treasures of the kingdom had been exhausted by his father. In order to raise new armies it was necessary to replenish the exhausted coffers of the royal treasury. To accomplish this result Louis adopted the novel and radical plan of emancipating the serfs of France, each freedman to pay a certain sum as the price of his liberation from serfdom. The scheme was not less striking in its conception than unsuccessful in its execution; for the vassal peasants of France, after the manner of the slave class of almost all countries, ancient and modern, preferred their money to their freedom. Seeing his plan about to fail, the king added another edict, by which the serfs were *compelled* to go free for the stipulated price.

By this means Louis succeeded in refilling his treasury, and was enabled to raise and equip an army. In 1316 he advanced into Flanders and laid siege to Courtray. At this juncture nature came to the rescue of the Flemings by pouring down upon the royal camp such floods of rain as made the prosecution of the siege impossible. The king was obliged, in order to escape from the floods, to destroy his baggage and return over almost impassable roads to his own kingdom. He did not long survive his ill-starred expedition. In the following year he fell sick and died from the effects of an excessive draught of cold water, which he took when overheated, after a game of tennis in which he had been taking part in the wood of Vincennes.

This sudden demise of their sovereign greatly embarrassed the ministers of the kingdom, and a regency was appointed during the minority of the boy Prince LOUIS, son of the deceased king. Nor was it long until the royal scion died, leaving his sister Jane to

claim the throne of their father. This, however, was forbidden by the Salic law of France, by which no woman might wear the crown. The parliament confirmed the law against the protests of the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Evreux, who supported the claims of the princess. Such was the complication of affairs that a diversion was easily

But the deplorable condition of the Church, the rivalries and quarrels of the nobles, and the licentiousness of the age prevented the good results which might otherwise have flowed from a comparatively virtuous reign. Several measures promoted by the king were worthy of a more enlightened epoch. He undertook the reformation of the weights and measures and



made in favor of Philip, brother of the late king. The Princess Jane was married to the Count of Evreux's eldest son, and Philip ascended the throne with the title of PHILIP V.

The new reign was of six years' duration, extending from 1316 to 1322. The period was one of great turbulence and disorder. It appears that the king was sincerely anxious to govern well and restore quiet to France; nor were his abilities of an inferior order.

monetary standard of the kingdom; but before the good which he purposed could be accomplished he died at his castle in Vincennes, in 1322. His son Louis had already died in infancy, and his four daughters were excluded from the throne by the same law which had enabled him to reach it. A second time, therefore, the crown of France descended laterally, and rested on the head of CHARLES IV., brother of the deceased king.

The new sovereign, surnamed the Fair, ascended the throne without opposition, but like his predecessor was destined to a brief, and by no means glorious, reign. One of his first acts was characteristic of the Middle Ages no less than of his own personal character. What the Jews were to the monetary affairs of Europe in the eighteenth century, that were the Lombard bankers to the fourteenth. They controlled the finances of the age and acquired that ascendancy which has always belonged to the money lenders of the world. Charles conceived the design of possessing himself of the immense treasures accumulated by the Lombards. He accordingly instituted measures against them, expelled them from the kingdom, and confiscated their riches.

It was at this time that a conspiracy was hatched in Paris for the overthrow of King Edward II. of England. That sovereign had taken in marriage the Princess Isabella, sister of the French king. The latter still exacted homage of the English monarch for the province of Guienne, which was held as a dependency of the French crown. Charles demanded that Edward should come to Paris and perform the act of vassalage; but it was agreed that Queen Isabella might do this act in her husband's stead. It appears that the queen was tired of her weak and irresolute lord, and was willing to see the crown of England transferred to the head of another. She accordingly managed to have her son, the Prince of Wales, accompany her to the French capital. While in that metropolis she gathered about her a company of malcontent noblemen from her husband's kingdom, made a favorite of Roger Mortimer, and with him contrived a plot for the deposition of Edward. It happened, however, that when the conspirators made known their purpose to Charles IV., that monarch, for reasons of state policy, disapproved the whole proceedings and ordered his sister to leave the kingdom. The further course of this conspiracy will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.

After a reign of nearly six years, Charles IV. died. Though three times married, he left no son to succeed him. His two daughters, Maria and Blanche, were set aside according to the Salic law, and the elder branch of the House of Capet became extinct.

The younger of the late king's daughters was not born until after his death, and during this interval of expectancy a regency was appointed. But when the wish of the kingdom was disappointed in the sex of the posthumous heir to the crown, a transfer of the scepter to the House of Valois was resolved on as the best means of preserving the legitimacy of the kingdom. The choice of a new sovereign fell upon the regent Philip, son of Charles of Valois and cousin of the late king. This choice was confirmed by a vote of the peers and the States-general of France, and the new king was crowned in the cathedral of Rheims.

His title was PHILIP VI., and his surname the Fortunate. In France there was little opposition to the change of dynasty. It happened, however, that a claim to the French crown was raised abroad which proved a serious menace to the House of Valois. Edward, prince of Wales, son of Queen Isabella, had now come to the throne of England, and he and his partisans advanced the theory that, though his mother might not herself, under the Salic law of France, inherit the crown of the kingdom, she might nevertheless *transmit* such inheritance to her son. This new principle of descent was not devoid of plausibility, and, if admitted, would of course exclude the Valois princes in favor of King Edward. The latter monarch had a lofty ambition and great abilities. Without announcing his intentions, he secretly cherished the design of uniting under his own rule the crowns of Capet and Plantagenet.

Not deeming the time yet come to advance his claim openly to the sovereignty of France, Edward concealed his purpose and did homage to Philip for the province of Guienne. But he took pains from the first to lay plans secretly and to make preparations for the fulfillment of his hopes. He collected munitions of war and made an alliance with the Duke of Brittany. He instigated the Flemings to revolt against the government of Bertrand de Bethune, and brought them over to the English interest.

After years spent in these preparatory measures, King Edward deemed himself sufficiently strong to undertake openly what he had thus far pursued under covert. Accordingly, in 1336, he threw off the mask and in-

duced the Flemings to proclaim him king of France. He put the *fleur-de-lis* on his banner and assumed the other emblems of royalty be- | longing to the House of Capet. Armies were raised and fleets equipped for the conflict which was to try the fortunes of the rival kings.



SECOND BATTLE OF BOUVINES, 1214.
Drawn by A. de Neville.

The war which ensued was waged at first on the sea. A French fleet entered the English Channel, and for a while swept off all that opposed its progress. At length, however, King Edward's squadron put to sea and encountered the French off Sluys. Here a terrible naval battle was fought, in which the armament of France was well-nigh destroyed.

On the land the war was prosecuted without decisive results. The principal battle which occurred during the contest was fought on the old field of Bouvines, where, a hundred and twenty-six years before, Philip Augustus had gained his great victory over Otho IV. of Germany. Now, in 1340, Philip encountered and defeated an army of English ten thousand strong, and permanently checked the invasion of his kingdom.

After continuing for six years, the conflict was suspended by a truce. But the settlement was treacherous on the part of the French. Philip, with assumed gladness, proclaimed a tournament at Paris, and invited the nobles of the kingdom to participate. Among the rest, several lords of Brittany attended; but they, being under suspicion of disloyalty, were at once seized, condemned without a trial, and beheaded. The act was as rash as it was revengeful. The barons of the realm were deeply offended at the murder of the Breton nobles, and Edward III. found abundant occasion for renewing the war.

The English army crossed the channel in two divisions. The first, numbering forty thousand men and led by the king in person, invaded Normandy; and the second, under command of Earl Derby, entered the province of Guienne. So vigorous were Edward's movements that he penetrated the country almost to Paris before the French were prepared to oppose his further progress. Seeing the impossibility of effecting the conquest of the kingdom with so small a force, the English king challenged Philip to mortal combat, but the House of Valois was not disposed to jeopard its rights by such a hazard. Edward then withdrew in the direction of Flanders, and was presently pursued by the French army in overwhelming numbers.

Philip's anger at the audacious invasion of his kingdom far exceeded his discretion. He pressed upon the English without caution,

over-confident of an easy victory. Edward fell back to the mouth of the Somme, forced his way across the river, and pitched his camp in the plain of CRECY. Here, on the 26th of August, 1346, he was attacked by Philip at the head of the army of France.

Such had been the impetuosity of the French advance that Philip's soldiers, on coming upon the battle-field, were panting from their rapid march. On the other hand, the English yeomanry were fresh and vigorous from a night's rest, and quietly awaited the onset. The conflict that ensued was the greatest and most decisive which had occurred in the history of the two kingdoms since the day of Hastings. On the side of the French the battle was begun by the Genoese archers, to whom, though mercenaries, the king had assigned the post of honor. Perceiving this, the Duke of Alençon, brother of Philip, offended at the prominence given to foreign auxiliaries, threw forward his horsemen and undertook to displace the Genoese from their position. It thus happened that before a single blow fell upon the English the soldiers of Philip came to a conflict among themselves. At this juncture a drenching rain came down, and the excited Genoese neglected to keep their bow-strings dry, while the English deliberately put their bows in their cases and saved them from injury. When the battle was at length renewed, and the disordered French host, fully sufficient in numbers to have surrounded the army of Edward, pressed forward in irregular masses to the charge, the result was such as might have been inferred from the premises. The French were repulsed and routed in every part of the field. Fighting without reason or proper military command, they were hewed down in heaps. The Duke of Alençon paid for his rashness with his life. Horse and rider were crushed together in the horrid overthrow. Of Philip's soldiers, forty thousand were left dead on the field, and it was estimated that as many more perished in the flight and pursuit.

King Philip, flying from the bloody plain of Crecy, sought refuge in a neighboring town, and afterwards made his way back to Paris. The victorious Edward left the scene of his triumph and proceeded to lay siege to Calais. Here he was detained for eleven months, but

was at last successful. Soon afterwards the plague broke out, and such were its ravages that neither monarch was disposed to continue the conflict. Peace was accordingly made between the two kingdoms on terms favorable to England. Calais and several conquests made by the Earl of Derby in Guienne were retained by Edward as the fruits of his French invasion.

Philip did not long survive the humiliation of his defeat at Crecy. After a reign of twenty-two years he died in 1350, and was succeeded by his son JOHN, duke of Normandy.

The new king, already in his fortieth year, had a great reputation as a soldier and general. His qualities as an able warrior promised well for the kingdom; for the age was turbulent and rebellious, and the shadow of the sword was generally more effective than the shadow of the Constitution. King John obtained the surname of the Good, though such a title was hardly justified, in view of his impetuous and vindictive temper.

In the beginning of his reign the king showed himself capable of injustice and cruelty. At this time the constable of France was the Count D'Eu, who was as able and honorable as the standard of his age. On a naked suspicion that his officer had been in correspondence with the English, King John ordered him and some of his associate nobles to be seized and executed. This offense against justice and humanity was heightened by the

disposition which was made of the vacant office. One of the king's favorites was made constable, with the title of Earl of Angoulême. The appointment gave mortal offense to Charles, king of Navarre, who at this time held the same relations to the French crown as did Edward III. of England. For Charles



THE ENGLISH CROSSING THE SOMME.

of Navarre was the son of that Princess Jane who, as the daughter of Louis X., had been excluded from the succession by the Salic law of France. He thus had the same reasons as King Edward for aspiring to the Capetian crown.

When, therefore, Charles saw even the office of constable thrown to another, he was raised in his jealous rage to the white heat of

murder. Taking little pains to conceal his purpose, he gave orders to some of his tools to assassinate the new constable, and the bloody mandate was carried out to the letter. The king would fain have punished the deed according to the deserts of the criminal; but the



BATTLE OF CRECY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

powerful Charles was a dangerous animal in the kingdom of the beasts. Accordingly King John undertook to accomplish by subtlety what should have been done by the open and honorable processes of law. A great tournament was proclaimed at Rouen in 1356, and Charles of Navarre, who had acquired the surname of the Bad, was invited to attend. While lodging in a castle at this city he was seized, with his followers, by the king's retainers, and imprisoned in the Chateau Gaillard.

In the same year with this event, the truce between England and France expired, and the imprisonment of the king of Navarre gave a pretext to Edward III. for renewing the war. That monarch had already invested his son, surnamed the Black Prince, with the duchy of Guienne. The duke proved to be one of the ablest and most courageous of the Plantagenets. Acting, perhaps, under the suggestion of his father, he found vent for his ambitions by an invasion of the territories of King John. The latter was in no mood to be trifled with, and raising an immense army, marched against the intruder, bent on his destruction. It appears that the Black Prince had not expected the storm which he had provoked. At any rate, he sought to escape from his peril by offering to capitulate on condition that John would grant him and his army such honorable terms as one army might concede to another. But the angry French monarch would hear to nothing short of a surrender at discretion. This was precisely the emergency best calculated to make a lion's whelp out of every soldier under the banner of St. George. The Black Prince made no further offer of surrender, but prepared to defend himself to the last.

The English army pitched its camp on a small plain near the famous field of PORTIERS. On three sides of the encampment were vineyards and hedges. To the defense thus afforded Edward added ditches and earthworks, and having thus prepared to receive the enemy, he awaited the onset. The French king was as eager to begin the battle as his father had been at Crecy; but the Cardinal Perigord, legate of Innocent VI., undertook to prevent the disgrace of a battle between Christian princes. For a whole day he was indefatigable in riding back and forth between the

French and the English camp. But King John was angry and stubborn; nor did it appear that the Black Prince was any longer over-anxious to avoid a battle. The prelate's good offices, therefore, came to naught, and on the following morning the two armies made ready for battle. In the three divisions which composed the French forces were nearly all the members of the royal family. Four sons of the king—namely, the Dauphin, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Berri, and the Prince Philip—commanded in different parts of the field; and to these were added the Duke of Orleans, who was second to the king.

In the beginning of the battle, a troop of horsemen who led the charge, attempting to break through the hedges on the English flank, were thrown into confusion and repulsed. Their retreat spread an unwarranted panic through the French army, and two divisions gave way without even striking a blow. The division of King John, however, stood fast, and the battle began in earnest. That part of the French army which participated in the conflict still outnumbered the English, and the king's personal valor, as well as that of Prince Philip, who fought by his side, for some time kept the battle in equipoise. At length, however, the French broke into disordered masses and began to fly from the field. The king found himself and his son surrounded by the enemy. Seeing that he must be taken, he bravely defended himself for a brief period and then surrendered to the Count de Morbec, a renegade knight of Artois, whom he chanced to recognize among his assailants. But the English soldiers were little disposed to recognize the claim of the recreant Frenchman to so grand a prize. A dispute arose over the prisoners and violence was about to decide the quarrel, when the Earl of Warwick came on the scene and led away the captives to the Black Prince's tent.

Whatever chivalry the English character possessed was brought into requisition in the treatment accorded the captives. Nor did Prince Edward show himself deficient in the best virtues of his age. He treated the fallen royalty with every mark of respect, conducted the crestfallen king and his son to Bordeaux, and thence to England. Here John and the Prince Philip were received with whatever

favor might be shown to captives, and were detained by their captors as guests rather than as prisoners for a period of four years.

When it was known that the king was taken, the government of the realm was conferred on the Dauphin. This prince, though



CAPTURE OF JOHN II. AT POITIERS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville

not wanting in large native abilities, was without the experience necessary to the ruler of such a kingdom as France in times of such emergency. Nor were the counselors who surrounded him more fit to guide the ship of state through the tempestuous sea. Beset with many difficulties, the Dauphin adopted plans which he could not execute, and made promises which he could not fulfill. The distress of the kingdom became extreme, and the distraction of the realm was augmented by the conduct of the nobles, who, utterly indifferent to the general welfare, sought each in his own way to build anew the fortunes of Feudalism on the ruins of the monarchy. Great were the cruelties which the unprincipled barons practiced upon the serfs and peasants of France.

It happened, however, under the changed and changing spirit of the age that the new fact called the PEOPLE was no longer to be ignored—no longer to be trodden under the heel of oppression with impunity. The inhabitants of Beauvois rose in revolt against their would-be masters, and arming themselves with what weapons soever they could snatch turned furiously upon the nobles of the province. They gathered in great numbers and began a vindictive massacre of all who opposed their progress. Houses were burned, castles pillaged, noblemen stabbed to death with pitchforks, and a reign of terror begun in all that district of country. The insurrection made such headway that the Dauphin was unable to stay its course. A general alarm spread throughout the kingdom and all the upper classes of society felt the imminent necessity of banding together against the JACQUERIE—for such is the name by which the revolt is known—and both French and English united their forces to put down the insurgents. The king of Navarre made his escape from prison and lent his services to the Dauphin in the common cause. At length the insurrection was suppressed, but not until a large district of country had been wasted and thousands of lives sacrificed by the infuriated peasants.

Charles of Navarre now laid aside the rôle of the unselfish patriot and renewed his claim to the crown of France. A popular leader, named Marcel, appeared in Paris, and after a

show of impartiality espoused the cause of the king of Navarre. He succeeded in winning over to his side a majority of the Parisians, and although the Dauphin was formally appointed to the regency of the kingdom his authority in the capital was subverted.

In the provinces, however, the Dauphin continued in the ascendant. The war that ensued was rather a war of words and recriminations than of violence and bloodshed. By and by the regent, overborne by the insults and opprobrium of his enemies, sought refuge from his troubles by flying from Paris.

In the course of time it appeared that Marcel was a traitor as well as a rebel. Having become dissatisfied with the king of Navarre, he conceived the design of betraying both him and the Dauphin to the English. In the course of his secret maneuvers, however, his designs were discovered; a tumult broke out in the city, and Marcel was slain. The event showed that he had been the main support of the cause of Charles of Navarre. The influence of the latter rapidly declined after the death of his henchman. The French rallied to the cause of the Dauphin, and in the Summer of 1358 he regained possession of the capital.

Charles of Navarre was not to be turned from his ambitions. After a season of reverses he recovered himself and returned to the conflict. He laid siege to Paris, cut off the supply of water, captured the provision trains, took an oath that he would make peace with the Dauphin never, and then—made peace with the Dauphin! For after bringing the city to the brink of starvation and compelling the Valois princes to take up their quarters in the same tent with ruin, Charles, for some inexplicable reason, changed his purpose, renounced his oath, left the city in peace, and disclaimed all right and pretense of right to the crown of France.

King John still remained a state prisoner in England. The Dauphin now found himself free to undertake his father's release. But Edward III., feeling himself master of the situation, would grant no terms which did not compromise the nationality of France. Such terms the peers and States-general could not and would not accept. The year 1359 was spent in negotiations amounting to

nothing. At length the English king determined to *enforce* compliance with his demands by an invasion of his captive's kingdom. With a large army he crossed the Channel and began an unresisted march on Paris.

The Dauphin had now grown in years and gained some wisdom. He shut himself up in the capital and refused to give the English battle. The latter encamped before the city and hooted their vain insults at the walls. After this style of siege had continued for a brief season Edward broke up his camp and advanced in the direction of Chartres. He still thought that the French would at length expose themselves in open fight, but in this he mistook the enemy. Time and again the Dauphin renewed the negotiations, and time and again King Edward demanded impossible concessions. At length he came to the town of Bretigny, near Chartres, and there encamped, with no discoverable purpose except to enjoy himself in the enemy's kingdom.

Nature now came to the rescue of the French. While the English lay at Bretigny a storm arose the like of which had not been known since the days of the Merovingians. Tradition has preserved a fabulous account of the hailstones which pounded the English camp into the mire. It is recorded that six thousand horses were killed in the tempest. Many of the soldiers were beaten down never to rise. Without reflecting that the French were as severely punished as himself—that their vineyards were torn to pieces and their fields ruined—Edward perceived in the catastrophe only the wrath of heaven against himself. He at once inclined his ear to the suggestion of peace. The Dauphin made the best use of the changed mood of his adversary, and the conditions of a settlement were soon determined.

It was agreed that King John should be set at liberty, and that his three sons, together with the Duke of Orleans, should be held as hostages by the English king; that Edward should receive three millions of crowns as a ransom for his royal prisoner; that he should renounce forever his pretensions to the French crown, but retain Calais and the recent conquests made by the Black Prince in Guienne.

As soon as the treaty had been properly

ratified King John was liberated and returned to his own kingdom. Great was the rejoicing of the French, particularly of the Parisians, on beholding their sovereign. It was as though they had again received him from the dead. The French nature, forgetting its injuries and resentment in its exultation, broke forth with every demonstration of enthusiasm. As for King John himself, he seems to have been sobered and turned to religious moods during his imprisonment. At any rate, he at once gave forth his attention of leading a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks. The project was the crowning anachronism of the age. It required a fond and credulous spirit to imagine that Europe—the most enlightened part of Europe—would, after an interval of seventy years from the capture of Acre, again agitate for having the green turban of Islam shaken in its face.

But before the French king could seriously undertake his Quixotical project his attention was forcibly withdrawn to the consideration of a more serious and practical matter. The details of the recent treaty had provided that one-third of the three million crowns given for the king's ransom should be paid before his liberation, and that the payment of the remaining two-thirds should be guaranteed by the detention of the king's sons as hostages. Edward, with marked liberality, permitted the princes thus put into his power to remain in Calais, with liberty to go as they pleased, subject only to the restriction that on every fourth day they should return to their quarters. Soon the intelligence was carried to John that two of his sons, the dukes of Anjou and Berri, galled by the light restraint laid upon them, had left Calais and returned to Paris. Nor did his persuasions and commands avail any thing with the princes to return to their nominal captivity.

The French king, believing that his honor was compromised by this conduct on the part of his sons, determined to keep the faith of a royal knight by going again into captivity. Nor could any persuasion of his less scrupulous peers and ministers prevent the fulfillment of his purpose. He returned to England and soon afterwards fell sick and died, in the year 1364. His remains, after being honored with a splendid funeral by the English king, were

returned to Paris and deposited in the abbey of St. Denis.

It is impossible not to discover in this struggle for the mastery between the French and English nations in the fourteenth century the superiority of the latter. Both at Crecy and Poitiers the overwhelming numbers and superior equipments and abundant supplies of the French army, to say nothing of the courage of the leaders and the confident expectation of victory, should have given them an easy triumph over the soldiery of England. But the event was otherwise. Already the English were beginning to display that wonderful valor and steadiness in battle which has given to them in more recent times their world-wide fame. On the other hand, the defects of discipline were manifest among the French. Petrarch, who was contemporary with Edward and John, though of little discrimination in many things, perceived the true causes of the superiority of the English soldiery; but his comments regarding the previous reputation of the Saxons are an absurd misconception of the facts. He says:

“In my youth the inhabitants of Britain were the most cowardly of all the barbarians, inferior even to the vile Scotch; but now the English, having been trained under a wise and brave king, Edward III., are become a brave and warlike people. As to the French, when you enter their camp you might think yourself in a tavern. The soldiers are doing nothing but eating, drinking, and reveling in their tents. When called out to battle, they submit to no chief, obey no orders, but run hither and thither like bees that have lost their hive; and when they are made to fight they do nothing for the love of their country, but are wholly swayed by vanity, interest, and pleasure.”

Such is, doubtless, the true explanation of the overthrow of France at Crecy and Poitiers.

On the death of John, A. D. 1364, the crown of the kingdom descended to his son CHARLES, surnamed the Wise. He received an inheritance of exhaustion and distress. The kingdom was desolate and the treasury empty. The devastating effects of war were seen on every hand, and the seditious and disloyal spirit of the feudal barons wrought

havoc with the best interests of France. It was in the highest degree fortunate that the new sovereign was worthy of his station. He was the greatest and best of the Valois princes, and far surpassed in virtue and self-command any king who had occupied the throne of France since the days of Saint Louis. Charles adopted a new policy in the administration of the kingdom. Instead of spending his time in the field in directing military movements in person, he gave his first attention to affairs of government proper, and intrusted the command of his armies to able subordinates, whom he held responsible for success. In this way French generalship was developed; nor was the monarch robbed of the glory achieved by his arms. The distinguished Du Guesclin of Brittany acquired great reputation as a commander and well deserved his fame. In 1367 he was sent into Spain to take part in a civil war which was raging in that country between the Castilians, led by Henry of Trastamare, and his half-brother Pedro, who wore the crown of the kingdom.

But while the party of Prince Henry was thus aided by the French, King Pedro invited the Black Prince to come to his assistance, so that the civil conflict soon became a war between England and France. In the first year of the struggle Du Guesclin and the Black Prince met in battle near Najara, and the former was disastrously defeated and taken prisoner. The French expedition in Spain was completely wrecked; but so far as the fortunes of King Charles were concerned he was the gainer rather than the loser by the defeat. For it was the feudal lords with their “free companies,” or bands of independent retainers, who for the most part composed the army of Du Guesclin, and the overthrow of this class of society was a benefit rather than an injury to the growing monarchy.

The immediate effect of the battle of Najara was to confirm Pedro the Cruel on the throne of Castile. The people, however, were by no means won over to his cause. The same power which had obtained was now necessary to secure the crown to its wearer. It was soon evident that, without the support of the English, Pedro's government would suffer a revolution. In the face of this fact the

king took no care to curb his rapacious disposition. The Black Prince became offended at his conduct, withdrew to Bordeaux, and left King Pedro to his fate. The retraycy of the English was the signal for a revolt of the Castilians. They rose on every side, overturned the throne of Pedro, killed him in battle, and gave the kingdom to their favorite, Henry of Trastamare.

Soon after his withdrawal from Spain, the Black Prince was taken sick, and suspicion blew abroad the rumor that he had been poi-

soned for his continental possessions. When he refused to do so he was declared a rebel, and Du Guesclin, who had now obtained his liberty, was made constable of the kingdom and commissioned to recover for the French crown the provinces which the English had gained by conquest. Owing to the sickness of the Black Prince, the command of King Edward's armies in the field was given to John of Gaunt, fourth son of the English monarch. Du Guesclin, in the prosecution of the war, avoided battle and sought to cut



DEATH OF DOM PEDRO.—Drawn by Conrad Ernish.

soned. At any rate, his health gave way and his spirits also. He became morose and gloomy, and his temper, which had hitherto been the admiration of his contemporaries, descended to petulance and vindictiveness. The Gascons became discontented, and King Charles saw with satisfaction the growing disloyalty of Edward's subjects in France.

With a policy not unmixed with craft, Charles encouraged the Gascon nobles to break off from their allegiance to the Black Prince. By and by the English king was summoned in the old-time fashion to go to France and do

off detachments of the enemy and to encourage defections. The policy of the French was so successful that the fortunes of the English steadily waned until Edward III., instead of advancing his claims to the crown of France, was brought to the verge of losing every thing which he had won in years of warfare.

At this juncture Du Guesclin died, and so great was his fame that several of his generals refused to be his successor. But this irreparable loss to the French was fully counterbalanced by the death of the Black Prince, who, after returning with ruined constitution to

England, lingered for a brief season, and expired in 1376.¹ In the following year King Edward died, and the crown descended to Richard II., son of the Black Prince.

While the affairs of France and England were thus brought to a conclusion little favorable to the interests of the latter country, the king of Navarre maintained his hostile attitude toward the House of Valois. It appears that the ruler of the Navarrese was not above subtlety and murderous intent. He is accused of being privy to the death of King Charles, though the accusation was never established by positive proof. The deed is thought to have been done by the agency of the son of the king of Navarre, who, with some attendants, had been sent on a pretended mission to the French capital. To them the finger of suspicion was pointed with so much significance that they were arrested and thrown into prison. Though the prince himself escaped with his life, the attendants were condemned and put to death. After lingering until September of 1380, Charles V. died, being then in the seventeenth year of his reign.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of his time, the reign of Charles of Valois was a period of progress in the history of the French monarchy. The court became more refined than ever before. The manners of French society were greatly improved. It was the dawn of that rare but somewhat affected culture for which the court circles of France were destined in after times to become so noted. A large part of the new refinement should be attributed to Queen Jane of Bourbon, who acquired the reputation of being the most elegant as well as the most royal lady of France. Though the old absurdities of dress and many of the ridiculous social formulæ of the Middle Ages were still upheld, the germs of the new era, bursting into life here and there, were discoverable in the palaces of the French nobility.

On the death of Charles V. the crown rested on the head of his son, also bearing the

name of CHARLES, and honored with the title of the Well Beloved. The young prince was but thirteen years of age when his father died, and a regency became a necessity of the situation. The same was given to the young king's uncle, the Duke of Anjou; but the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, brothers of the late king and of the regent, were jealous of the ascendancy of the Duke of Anjou in the affairs of the kingdom, and in this jealousy were planted the seeds of a discontent and turmoil as fatal to the interests of France as were the parallel disturbances and revolutions occasioned by the strifes of York and Lancaster in England.

Soon after the beginning of the regency, Joanna, queen of Naples, herself a princess of the House of Anjou, became involved in a difficulty with her heir, Charles Durazzo, and undertook to exclude him from the succession by appointing the Duke of Anjou in his stead. Durazzo, however, gained possession of the kingdom; but the French regent was in no wise disposed to yield the claim which had been given him by the queen. He accordingly seized upon the royal treasury of France, together with a secret accumulation of gold and silver which had been hidden in one of the palaces, and with the means thus accumulated proceeded to equip a large army for the invasion of Italy and the establishment of his pretensions to the Neapolitan crown.

In the beginning of his expedition the duke gained some advantage over the army of Durazzo, but the tide soon turned, and one disaster followed another until the French cause was utterly ruined. The army of Charles was routed and dispersed. The baggage and supply trains were captured. All the treasures of which France had been despoiled to maintain the ill-starred campaign were wasted or taken by the enemy. It is related that of all the gold and silver which the regent carried out of France only a single drinking-cup was saved. In complete humiliation the duke made his way back to Paris, and presently died of mortification and despair.

Notwithstanding the complete collapse and failure of the expedition against Naples, the claims of the Duke of Anjou to that kingdom were renewed by his son Louis, who, after his father's death, assumed the title of Louis II.,

¹One may well muse over the might-have-been of English history if the Black Prince had lived to inherit the crown. Perhaps, in that event, the Houses of York and Lancaster had never drawn the sword, the House of Tudor never reigned.

king of Naples. But the pretensions thus advanced had only a fictitious importance, being valuable to future rulers of France, ambitious to invade Italy, rather than to the contemporaries of the House of Valois.

The absence of the Duke of Anjou in the Neapolitan war furnished the Duke of Bur-

revolt, the French duke made his relationship the pretext for interference. He advanced into Flanders at the head of a large army, and gained a great victory over the iusurgents in the battle of Rosbec. The affairs of the earldom were settled on a basis satisfactory to the duke, and he returned in triumph to Paris.

In the mean time an insurrection had broken out in the French capital. The taxation had become so burdensome as to be no longer endured. A great mob had risen and almost gained possession of the city. But the victorious Duke of Burgundy soon suppressed the revolt, and made the rash insurgents feel the full force of his vengeance. Some he beheaded, some imprisoned, and others put into sacks and drowned in the Seine.

On arriving at the age of eighteen Charles VI. took in marriage the Princess Isabella of Bavaria; but the new queen brought nothing of dignity or reputation to the court of France. Her manners, indeed, were of so low an order as to undo in some measure the work of culture which had been begun



YOUNG CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF MANS.

gundy with a good pretext for seizing upon the regency. More aspiring than his brother, he used the resources of the kingdom and the young king himself as the means of promoting his own ambitions. One of the steps in his progress was his marriage with the heiress of Flanders, with whom he expected sooner or later to receive the earldom of her father. Shortly afterwards, when the Flemings rose in

by Queen Jane. To this unfortunate circumstance must be added the depravity of the king himself, whose education had been neglected, and whose character had little of manhood and nothing of the kingly quality. His great bodily strength and a certain easiness of temper, like that of the second Charles Stuart of England, were his best recommendations to public favor and esteem.

The recollection of the still recent invasion of France by Edward III., of the victories of Crecy and Poitiers, and of the conquests made by the Black Prince was fresh in the mind of Charles VI., and he resolved to repay the aggressive English in their own coin. It was found, however, when it came to planning an expedition against the British Islands, that the French had no fleet sufficient for such an enterprise. The equipment of such an armament was accordingly undertaken, and the year 1386 was spent in that work. Nine hundred ships were built and collected at the port of Sluys, and every preparation of men and means was made to secure the success of the campaign. Such, however, was the jealousy of the Duke of Berri that one obstacle after another was thrown in the way of the expedition, and the departure was so delayed that the season of storms set in and rendered sailing perilous. The French were so inexperienced as seamen that the fleet was badly managed, and when overtaken with adverse winds was dispersed and wrecked.

The remainder of the vessels returned to the French coast, and in the next year, 1387, the armament was refitted and again made ready to cross the Channel. But the same delays were again caused as in the previous departure. The Duke of Brittany, acting under the influence of his enmity against the Constable Du Clisson, and ready to assist the fortunes of the English, sent a perfidious invitation to the constable to pay him a visit, but when the latter accepted the invitation, he was detained as a prisoner. The French armament was thus deprived of a commander, and those who had joined the expedition left the fleet and scattered to their homes.

In the mean time the king, on arriving at the age of twenty-one, with some show of self-assertion, took the government into his own hands and dismissed the Duke of Burgundy from the regency. He took his own brother Louis, duke of Orleans, as his chief adviser, and restored to favor many of the servants and ministers of his father. There was a brief period of what promised to be a reform in the government; and the French, in gratitude for this spasmodic display of virtue on the part of their king, conferred on him his title of Well Beloved.

But it was impossible that such a character as that of Charles VI. should long adhere to the policy of reform. Circumstances conspired with his own disposition to turn the salutary current of public affairs into the muddy flats of violence and depravity. Shortly after the abolition of the regency a certain Peter de Crayon, a tool of the Duke of Brittany, waylaid the constable Du Clisson in the streets of Paris and gave him what he supposed to be a fatal stab. The wound, however, was not mortal, and the constable appealed to the king for justice and vengeance. Charles readily sympathized with the passion of his wounded minister, and an army was raised to retaliate on the Duke of Brittany for his conduct. The latter refused to give up the assassin, and in 1391 the king advanced against him. At the town of Mans, which had been appointed as a place of rendezvous, the king was seized with a fever, and as he proceeded on the march through the heat and dust of August, he fell into a delirium, and in his frenzy, while still on horseback, made an attack on his guards, whom he imagined to be enemies. He was with difficulty seized and bound and conveyed back to Mans. Such was the shock given to the expedition by the king's sudden insanity that the punishment of the Duke of Brittany was forgotten in the general anxiety of the captains and soldiers.

After a season Charles returned to his senses, but his restoration was not complete. In 1393, during the wedding ceremony of one of the queen's maids-of-honor, the king and five of his companions disguised themselves after the manner of the times among the nobility and appeared at the nuptials in the character of savages, clad in coarse garments covered with flax. While passing along in the procession one of the disguised came too near a flambeau and his flaxen garments caught on fire. In a moment the whole five were enveloped in flames, and four of them burned to death. The fifth jumped into a cistern and saved his life. The king, who was fortunately at a short distance from the others conversing with the Duchess of Berri, was wrapped by her in her mantle and thus preserved from the holocaust; but the shock to his nerves was such as to induce a

return of his malady. The second attack proved to be more serious than the first, and Charles never again recovered his reason.

The disaster thus entailed on France was more serious than would have been the death of the king. His condition was precisely such as to give full opportunity for the renewal of the quarrel and bitterness which had prevailed during the regency.

The civil strife which now ensued in the kingdom was on behalf of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, the former the uncle and the latter the brother of the king. The angry contention of the opposing factions was intensified by the jealousies of the two duchesses. From this time forth it appeared that although woman was excluded by the Salic law from the throne of France, she was nevertheless capable of becoming the power behind the throne, wielding by her influence in society and her disposition to intrigue a scepter which, though shadowy, swayed the destinies of the realm more effectively than the real bâton of the king.

The civil turmoil thus unfortunately engendered was scarcely abated by the death of the Duke of Burgundy, which event occurred in 1403. Prince John, the duke's son, inherited not only his father's titles and estates, but also his father's animosities. The struggle of uncle with nephew now became a struggle of cousin with cousin, and the incidents of the strife were marked with all the violence and vindictiveness of which human nature, under the sway of cruelty and ambition, could well be capable. When neither of the dukes could overcome the other by any of the means known to honorable warfare, resort was had to assassination, the last weapon of the treacherous. In this instance it was the Duke of Burgundy who added to the measure of his guilt the crowning atrocity of murder. Having formed a plot against his cousin's life, he had him stricken down by an assassin in the streets of Paris.

It was now the turn of Prince Charles, son of the murdered duke, to take up his father's cause and to appeal to France for vengeance. The Duke of Burgundy was summoned to the capital to answer for the murder of his cousin; but he came attended by so large a retinue of armed men that the judges were obliged to

acquit him of the crime. Nor did the people rise in behalf of the House of Orleans, for the late duke had done so much violence to public and private right as to alienate the affections of the populace. The Duke of Burgundy was admitted into the capital, and the proud Duchess of Orleans, unable longer to face her rival, died of rage and despair.

In the mean time Duke Charles, finding himself without the support requisite to cope with the victorious Burgundians, sought to strengthen himself by marriage with the daughter of the Count Armagnac. From this circumstance the Orleanist faction became known as the ARMAGNACS. As in the case of the great struggle between the English Houses of York and Lancaster, the opposing partisans assumed badges by which they were henceforth distinguished, that of Orleans being a white scarf with the cross of St. George, and that of Burgundy a red scarf with the cross of St. Andrew. Meanwhile the poor king, of whose person the warring factions were constantly striving to gain possession, wandered on through the chartless morasses of insanity, and when at intervals the star-gleam of momentary reason shot into his clouded understanding, he would fain shake off both the selfish partisans who sought to rise upon his ruin.

The only circumstance ameliorating the condition of the kingdom was the peaceful relations with England. In that realm the feeble RICHARD II., son of the Black Prince, had had a brief and inglorious reign, terminated by the usurpation of his cousin, Henry Lancaster, who took the throne with the title of HENRY IV. But the latter was little more successful than his predecessor, nor was the internal condition of the kingdom sufficiently healthy to permit the monarch to engage in foreign war. In 1413, however, the English king died, and was succeeded by his daring and soldierly son, HENRY V. Two years after his accession, he raised an army of forty-six thousand men, crossed the Channel to Havre, reasserted the claims of his great-grandfather to the throne of France, and laid siege to Harfleur. This place was soon taken, and the news of the capture had the effect in Paris to still for a time the angry contentions of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

But when the French army was thrown

into the field its progress was greatly delayed by the rivalry of the leaders. Meanwhile Henry advanced by way of Calais to AGINCOURT, where he arrived in the middle of autumn, 1415. Here, on the 24th of October, the third great battle between Mediæval France and England was fought, and the result was as disastrous to the former country as had been her overthrow on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers. Again the want of discipline in the French army was painfully apparent.

of life to which they had given themselves up in the enemy's country had so broken the health of the army as to make it a matter of wonder that King Henry had won the battle. After the conflict he felt constrained to recuperate his wasted energies by returning to England. The French leaders, meanwhile, according to the folly of the age, fell to quarreling as to who should have the office of constable, made vacant by the death of D'Albret.



ROVING BANDS OF ARMAGNACS.

Drawn by John Shenberg.

Rushing forward to the onset without order or command, the knights and nobles were cut down by hundreds. The Constable D'Albret, who was commander-in-chief, the Duke of Alençon, and two brothers of the Duke of Burgundy were slain, and the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with fourteen hundred other knights and noble warriors, were taken prisoners.

Though the victory of Agincourt was decisive, the English were little able to avail themselves of their success. For the heat of the recent summer, and the luxurious manner

The mind of France was now agitated with the question of the succession. The Princes Louis and John, eldest sons of the insane Charles VI., died under suspicion of poison. The third son, bearing his father's name, had taken in marriage the Princess Mary of Anjou, daughter of Louis II., titular king of Naples. It was that imaginary sovereign who was suspected of poisoning Louis and John in order to make way for his son-in-law to inherit the crown of France. The Prince Charles, now become Dauphin of the kingdom, joined the faction of the Armagnacs, and his mother.

who adhered to the fortunes of the Burgundians, was thrown into prison. Escaping soon afterwards, she became one of the most deadly enemies of her son.

In the year 1418 a dreadful riot occurred in Paris. The Burgundian faction gained possession of the city and put their opponents to the sword and gallows. The Duke of Armagnac was killed, and his leading followers perished with him. The life of the Dauphin was saved by Du Chastel, who hurried him to

ship; but just as the duke was kneeling to kiss the hand of Charles, the co-conspirators of the latter sprang from their covert on the bridge where the meeting was held, and the Duke of Burgundy fell under their swords. His estates and titles descended to his son Philip, surnamed the Good.

No sooner had the latter become Duke of Burgundy than he laid a plan for the complete overthrow of the House of Valois. He entered into negotiations with Henry V. of



BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

the Bastille and secreted him until he could make his way out of Paris. The queen-mother and the Duke of Burgundy made a triumphal entry into the capital, little regarding the bloody pavements still reeking with the gore of the Armagnacs.

In a short time a conspiracy was formed between the Dauphin and Du Chastel to take the life of the Duke of Burgundy. Nor would it be easy to say whether the prince or the duke was more treacherous in contriving to destroy the other. With well-dissembled purpose each met the other, pretending friend-

England, with a view of securing to the latter the succession to the French crown. The insane Charles VI. still lingered as the nominal head of the nation. Philip the Good contrived to have King Henry declared regent of France and rightful successor to the throne when the distempered Charles should cease to be. As a preparatory measure, the Princess Catherine, daughter of the king, was given to Henry as his queen, and it was hoped by the managers that the issue of this marriage should inherit the united crowns of the two kingdoms. Meanwhile the Dauphin, ac-

accompanied by his adherents, including several of the peers and some of the professors in the University of Paris, retired to Poitiers and awaited what turn soever might be made by the wheel of fortune.

In 1421 Queen Catherine presented her lord with an heir. In great joy at the event the king took the child to Paris, and there both he and the royal infant were crowned. But as to King Henry V. the end was now at hand. He died at Vincennes in August of 1422, bequeathing the regency of France to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and the English crown to his infant son, afterwards HENRY VI. Nor did the disordered faculties

grip on the country. It thus became necessary that CHARLES VII. should have his coronation performed at Poitiers. And so, with a feeble show of pomp and an actual display of poverty, the new reign was ushered in!¹

Meanwhile the English, ready to gain advantage from every circumstance, sought to profit by the transfer of the crown. The Duke of Bedford and his generals sallied forth, and, marching from town to town, carried all before them. As to the Burgundians, however, their union with the foreign enemies of France proved the ruin of the faction, for their unpatriotic conduct alienated from them the affections of all true Frenchmen. In the



MASSACRE OF ARMAGNACS BY THE BURGUNDIANS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of Charles VI. much longer tenant their mortal habitation. In the fall of the same year he died, being then in the forty-third year of his reign and the thirty-first of his insanity.

The coterie of nobles who adhered to the fortunes of the Dauphin were not slow to proclaim him king. It appears that the real heart of France had never sympathized with the Burgundian scheme for the establishment of an English dynasty, and the proclamation of their own prince was an act well pleasing to a majority of Frenchmen. It was not possible, however, that Charles should be crowned at Rheims, and that for the sufficient reason that Rheims was held by the English, who were not at all disposed to relinquish their

midst of multiplied losses Charles fell back before his adversaries, and his army took refuge in the city of Orleans, that being the only important place remaining in possession of the king.

The victorious English were not disposed to stop short of an absolute conquest of France. They accordingly advanced against Orleans, and in 1428 laid siege to the city. The investment was planned by the Earl of Salisbury, who constructed a series of towers to

¹ Tradition has preserved the story that Charles the Victorious, shortly after his coronation, being in need of a pair of boots, was refused credit by the bootmaker, and obliged to go away without those articles so essential to the kingly comfort and respectability.

be brought against the walls, after the military tactics of the Middle Ages; but the towers were not sufficiently numerous to command all parts of the walls, and the Count of Du Nois, who was at the head of the royal forces outside the city, succeeded in establishing

this pious purpose, the French sallied from the city and attacked the escort of the supply trains. But the English were equal to the emergency. They poured out of camp, joined battle with the French, and the *Battle of the Herrings* ended in a complete victory for the

besiegers. The besieged were reduced to the greatest dependency. They offered to surrender on condition that the city should be delivered to the Duke of Burgundy, and not to the Earl of Suffolk; but this condition was rejected with disdain.¹

Now it was that the slight figure of a girl was seen on the smoky horizon of war. JOAN OF ARC, daughter of the peasant of Domremy, left her father's house on the Meuse and came to Orleans to deliver her suffering country from the oppression of the English invaders. Albeit she had seen a vision of angels. The Virgin had appeared to her, and had admonished her in tender accents to lift up the Oriflamme of sorrowful France. The hated Burgundians had made an assault upon her native village,



JOAN OF ARC.

communication with the besieged, and in supplying them with provisions and stores.

During the progress of the siege the Earl of Salisbury was killed, and was succeeded by the Earl of Suffolk. A short time afterwards, as the season of Lent approached, the Regent Bedford undertook to provision his army with herring, in order that the soldiers might not commit the sacrilege of eating meat during the period of the interdict. Hoping to defeat

and La Pucelle (for so Joan was called) fired with holy indignation at the outrage. The voices which had appealed to her became more clear and distinct. In 1428 she went to the governor of Vaucouleurs, but he

¹ It was on this occasion that the regent Bedford asked the significant question whether the French thought him fool enough to "beat the bush while the Duke of Burgundy caught the hare."

rejected her pretensions with scorn. Afterwards she sought the king himself, and was granted an audience at Chinon, where Charles then held his alleged court. That distracted prince, like a drowning man, was ready to grasp at a feather.

The Maid told him of her mission to raise the siege of Orleans, and to escort himself to Rheims, to be crowned in that ancient and honorable city. Although most of the king's courtiers considered Joan insane, or, worse than that, a dealer in the Black Art, come to work his Majesty's ruin, the king heard her with anxious attention, and in the end she was granted a royal escort to accompany her on her way to Orleans.

Arriving at the besieged city, the maiden of Domremy soon inspired the discouraged soldiery with fresh hopes of success. She had already clad herself in armor, and it was not long until she was looked to by the French as the Angel of War. They did her bidding with implicit faith. She commanded in several sorties which were made against the camp of the besiegers. Meanwhile her fame reached the English soldiers, and they, not less superstitious than the men of Orleans, dreaded the appearance of the Maid as the Trojans feared the apparition of Athene. So great a terror was presently spread among the besiegers that the invest-

ment fell to pieces, and by the close of May, 1429, the siege of Orleans was abandoned.

As soon as this, the first half of her mission, was accomplished, Joan undertook the other part, which related to the king. In the



CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS.

mean time the national spirit of France was thoroughly aroused. The people looked to the consecrated banner of the Maid of Orleans as to the sure sign of victory and deliverance. She conducted Charles VII. in triumph from Chinon to Rheims, where, in the great cathe-

dral, he was crowned with enthusiastic acclamations. This done, Joan regarded her mission as at an end. Whatever might have been the source and origin of her power, she believed that her work was now accomplished, and was anxious to put off her soldier's



WOUNDING OF JOAN OF ARC.

Drawn by A. de Neuville

garb and return to her father's cot by the Meuse.

But the French, having conquered under her banner, were unwilling to spare her services. Against her judgment and conscience, she was overborne by Du Nois and induced to remain with the army. Her power, however, was no longer displayed. In the beginning of winter she took part in an assault which was made on Paris, then held by the English and Burgundians. The result was a serious repulse, in which the Maid of Orleans was wounded by an arrow. In the following year she succeeded in making her way into Compeigne, which was at that time invested by the English. In May of 1430 she headed a sortie which was made against the besiegers, but the movement was a failure, and the Maid was taken prisoner. She was conveyed to Beaufort and there confined in a fortress.

Afterwards she was taken to Rouen and again put into prison. In the mean time, the University of Paris, then completely under the influence of the Burgundians, and hoping to curry favor with the English by destroying her who had been instrumental in overturning their dominion in a large part of France, demanded that she should be tried on a charge of sorcery. To this the English authorities, more generous than the Parisian bigots, gave a reluctant consent. An inquisition was accordingly set to investigate the alleged crimes

of the girl of Domremy. After a trial of several months' duration, the papers of the tribunal were made up and sent to Paris. Here they were passed upon by the magnates of the university, and a verdict rendered that the acts and sentiments of the Maid were of diabolical origin, and that she should be



BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC.

burned at the stake. When the sentence of death was read to her by the Bishop of Beauvais she was given the alternative of recantation or death. Being in mortal terror, she denied the reality of her visions and was taken back to prison. But here the voices returned, and being caught in man's apparel, which had been perfidiously left in her cell, she was declared by the bishop to have re-

lapsed into her old-time familiarity with the devil, and was brought forth and burned to death in the market-place of Rouen. Not satisfied with the infamous deed which they had done on the innocent, the ecclesiastics gathered up her ashes and scattered them in the Seine.¹

It is probable that a part of the ill-success of the English in maintaining their ascendancy in France was attributable to the dissensions which at this time sprang up between them and their unnatural allies, the Burgundians. A quarrel broke out in the Regent's military household between his brother, who was Duke of Gloucester, and the Duke of Burgundy. Nor did the antipathy which was thus aroused subside even when Bedford brought the young king of England to France and had him crowned a second time in the capital.

In the year 1435, the Burgundian faction, headed by their duke, openly renounced the English alliance and went over to Charles. The defection was well-nigh fatal to the English cause on the continent. The Duke of York succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Regent, and was himself superseded by the Duke of Somerset. But neither the one nor the other was able to support the tottering banner of St. George. The city of Paris rose in insurrection and expelled her English masters, and in the latter part of 1437 Charles VII., after an absence of seventeen years from the kingdom, reëntered the city in triumph. But the resources of France were so nearly exhausted that want and famine, followed hard in the footsteps of the royal pageant. Then came pestilence with its horrid train, and she that was destined to be the most gay and beautiful of modern cities heard the howling of wolves in her environs by night. For the dead lay unburied, and the streets were a desolation.

In the course of the two years following the plague (1439-40) the kingdom began to revive. Charles himself would fain have con-

tributed something to the welfare of his subjects. A truce was made with the English, and the king set the example of devoting his energies to the pursuits of peace. But a thorn was already prepared for the royal side. The Prince Louis, now Dauphin of the kingdom, began to display that willful and malignant temper which was destined to fill the remainder of his father's life with anxiety and bitterness. While contriving to execute a plan which he had formed to assassinate a member of the royal household, the prince was at length arrested and banished for four months to the province of Dauphiny. This exile, which was intended as a temporary punishment, inflicted with the hope of reforming the culprit, was destined to be everlasting.

For at the end of his term the obdurate Dauphin refused to return to Paris, and set up a government of his own, which soon proved to be as oppressive as his disposition was refractory. The overtaxed people of Dauphiny cried out to the king, and the latter sent a cohort into the province to rearrest his contumacious son and bring him to the capital. But Louis, learning of what was intended, abdicated his alleged government and fled to the Duke of Burgundy, at whose court he remained until the death of the king. That event happened in 1461, and appears to have been brought on by starvation; for the king, fearing poison, refused to take his food until what time his bodily powers were exhausted and nourishment could not restore him. He expired in the fortieth year of his reign, leaving the kingdom to the loving Louis, at whose hands the father's mistress, Agnes Sorel, had recently received her death-draught, and from whom the king had expected a similar fate.

Failure should not be made to recall the attention of the reader to the great drama which in the mean time was enacted in the East. Now it was that the famous Empire of the Byzantine Greeks was reduced to the limits of Constantinople. The Turks, under the lead of Mohammed II., hovered in swarms around the contracted center of the old civilization. So far into the wide champaign of modern times was flung the colossal shadow of antiquity! The capital of the East was well defended, and for several years the

¹The death of Joan of Arc did not fail to furnish a theme of retributive justice. It is said that all of her judges met violent and sudden deaths, though one of them, the Bishop of Liseux, attempted to avert his fate and expiate his crime by founding a church.

Moslems beat in vain about the impregnable ramparts. At last, however, on the 29th of May, 1453, the city was carried, and the long baffled Turks gave free rein to their passions as they rushed in and possessed themselves of the palaces of the Cæsars.

At the time of his father's death, the Dauphin Louis was in Brabant. Hearing of that event, he mounted his horse and, accompanied by the Duke of Burgundy, made all speed for the paternal kingdom. The new

wage with the ambitious monarchy of France. An alliance, called the League of the Public Good, was formed among the barons and nobles, and it soon became apparent that there was an irrepressible conflict to be waged between the king and the remnants of the feudal aristocracy.

No sooner was Louis seated on the throne than he threw off the House of Burgundy, by whose aid he had been supported, and thus converted the powerful adherents of that



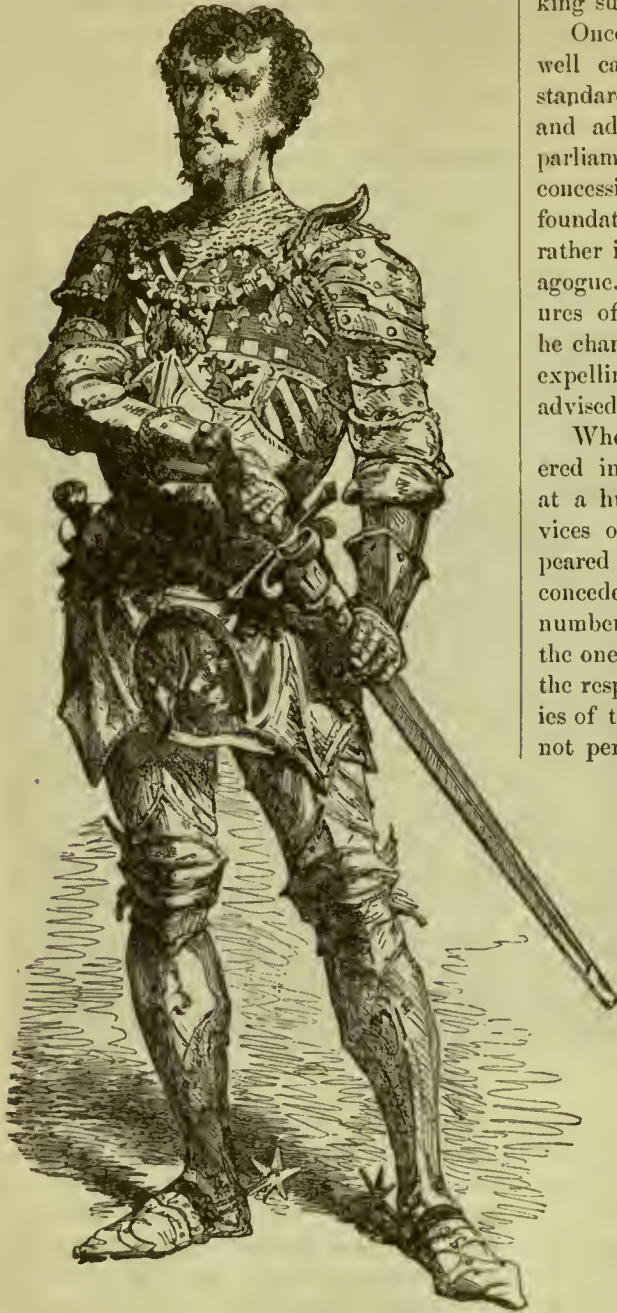
BATTLE OF MONTLIÉRI.

king was already thirty-eight years of age, but his character was in most respects unworthy of his years. He made his entry into Paris with an army, dismissed his father's ministers, took from his younger brother all his estates except the county of Berri, and filled every vacant place with some favorite from his own followers. Only one merit was conspicuous in the new government, and that was force.

The initial character of the reign of LOUIS XI. excited an intense antagonism among the nobility. Here began that final warfare which expiring Feudalism was destined to

branch of the royal family into deadly enemies. The dukes of Berri and Brittany were also driven by bad treatment into the ranks of the opposition, but the real leadership of the feudal party fell to Count CHARLES of Charolais, surnamed the Bold, son of the Duke of Burgundy. He it was whose rash but noble nature, strongly in love with the old liberties of Mediæval Europe, and smarting under the sense of wrongs inflicted by the ungrateful king, urged him to unsheath the sword against the oppressor and become the champion of his order.

The leaders of the League called out their forces and began to assemble in the neighborhood of Paris. At that time the king was



CHARLES THE BOLD.

absent in the county of Bourbon, whither he had been called to put down an insurrection. As soon as this work was accomplished, he returned and attempted to enter the capital, but the Burgundian forces were in his way

near MONTHERI, and an indecisive battle ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory. Charles the Bold retained the field, and the king succeeded in entering Paris.

Once in his capital Louis adopted a policy well calculated to rally the people to his standard. He reduced the rates of taxation and admitted citizen representatives to the parliament; but it soon appeared that these concessions were merely for effect, having no foundation in a real preference for liberty, but rather in the motives peculiar to a royal demagogue. For no sooner had the liberal measures of the king produced their effect than he changed his course even to the extent of expelling from the ministry all who had advised the popular statutes.

When all of the feudal armies had gathered into one, their numbers were reckoned at a hundred thousand men. The essential vices of the old aristocratic system now appeared in full force. The leaders would not concede the command-in-chief to any of their number. Charles of Burgundy was manifestly the one upon whom should have been devolved the responsibility of command, but the jealousies of the dukes of Berri and Brittany would not permit him to take the post of honor and

danger. On the other side Louis was *one*. His single will was unimpeded in action. His plans had unity, and he deliberately proceeded to take advantage of the divided personality of his enemies. He adopted the policy of breaking up the League by craft rather than by force. By appealing to the individual interests of the different leaders he soon learned that each had his price, and that most could be cajoled with fair promises, which the king never intended to fulfill. In this way it was agreed that the Somme towns should remain to the House of Burgundy, and that the Duke of Berri should have Normandy as his duchy. But no sooner was the confederacy broken

up than the nobles began to discover that they had been overreached. When the Duke of Berri was about to establish himself in his province he was suddenly expelled by his brother, the king, and was driven into Brit-

tany. Soon afterwards the Duke of Burgundy died, and was succeeded by Charles the Bold, who, if his prudence had been equal to his courage, his wisdom to his chivalry, might well have given a check to the career of the ambitious king.

It was presently the fate of Louis to fall into a snare of his own setting. In 1467 the Flemings, rarely at peace with their sovereign, were in one of their periodic revolts. According to the treaty of Conflans the province of Flanders fell to Charles the Bold. The suspicion became rife that the Flemish insurrection was the indirect work of the king. But there was no proof that such was the case, and the chief cause of complaint on the part of Duke Charles related not to Flanders, but to the treatment meted out by the king to the Duke of Berri. In order to settle this matter a conference was sought and obtained by Louis with Charles at the castle of the latter in Peronne. Putting himself upon the honor of his powerful vassal, the king repaired thither, and was making fair progress in his work of cajoling the duke out of his wits, when the news came that the Flemish revolt had broken out afresh, and that the movement had undoubtedly been instigated by the agents of Louis. On learning this fact Charles the Bold gave way to justifiable anger, shut up the king in his castle, and set a guard to prevent his escape. Time and opportunity were thus afforded Louis to reflect upon the legitimate consequences of his perfidy.

But it was not in the royal nature to despair of extricating itself from the embarrassment. He began at once to tempt his attendants, and upon some of them he made such impression as to furnish him good grounds of hope. For one or two days there was danger that Charles the Bold, in his ungovernable passion, would put the king to death. But as he became more calm he perceived the impolicy of such a measure, and it was presently determined that Louis should have his liberty.

The royal prisoner, however, was not set free without the exaction of such terms as seemed favorable to the Duke of Burgundy. The latter required that the king should restore to the Duke of Berri the counties of Champagne and Brie, and that he should accompany the expedition for the suppression of the rebellion

in Flanders. Louis was thus obliged to become a participant in the merciless punishment of those whom he himself had incited to revolt. Such was the disastrous termination of the king's visit to Peronne that the witty people of his capital made game of the royal adventurer, and taught their parrots to cry out *Peronne!* as his Majesty's equipage was passing.

No sooner, however, was Louis safe within his own dominions than he began to take counsel with himself how to avoid the fulfillment of his pledges. He began to trifle with his word, to procrastinate, to offer the Duke of Berri some other provinces than those which had been pledged, and finally to set aside the whole engagement as of no effect.



COAT OF ARMS OF CHARLES.

At length, in 1471, the Duke of Berri died, and it was believed that Louis had procured his taking-off by poison.

The impetuous nature of Charles the Bold was galled to an agony of resentment at these treacherous proceedings. He drew his sword in earnest, carried the war into Picardy, and spread terror wherever the banner of Burgundy was raised. For several years a civil war, filled with details as tedious as they were cruel, was waged between the Houses of Valois and Burgundy. At length a new character appeared on the scene in the person of Louis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol. This nobleman was one of those whom the king had won over from the Burgundians by making him constable of the kingdom. St. Pol accepted the office with a secret understanding that as opportunity might offer he would

play into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. As a matter of fact the Count Louis was not for either master save as being so | might subserve his own interest. Soon, however, he fell under suspicion of both the ill-served duke and the worse-served king. They



MEETING OF LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES THE BOLD IN PERONNE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

in their turn, for the nonce, forgot their own enmity in the presence of the double-dealing of the constable. They combined to destroy him as a traitor, and made an agreement that as soon as St. Pol should fall into the power of either he should be at once put to death or else be delivered to the other. It happened that the count was captured by Charles, and he, true to his promise, sent him a prisoner to the king, who had him condemned and executed in 1475.

In the same year of this event Louis XI. was obliged to face an English army under the lead of King Edward IV. The latter entered France as the champion of the Burgundian cause, but Louis rightly judged that the York ruler would gladly be at home if he could be with honor. He accordingly adopted the plan of buying off the invaders with such bribes as seemed suited to the exigency and tastes of each. A treaty was made between the two kings on the bridge of Paquigni, and it was there agreed that the friendship of the high contracting parties should be cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Edward to the heir of France.

Neither the interests nor the wishes of Charles the Bold were in any way consulted in this treaty. He refused to sanction the terms, but soon afterwards was sufficiently placated to assent to a separate truce with the French king for a period of nine years. His warlike nature, however, was now fully de-

veloped, and he at once turned his attention to the province of Lorraine, whose duke he dispossessed of the realm. He also made an attack on Savoy, and then on the Swiss cantons. In the latter campaign he was met with a stubborn resistance, and in the spring of 1476 was defeated in the battle of Grand-



DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

son. But it was a part of Charles's disposition to be exasperated rather than made wise by disaster. After his defeat at the hands of the Swiss mountaineers, he rallied his forces and renewed the conflict with as much daring as imprudence. The result was a complete overthrow in the battle of Nancy, which was fought in the beginning of 1477. Here the rash and impetuous duke lost his life, the

deed being the work of treachery. A certain Italian named Campobasso, who had won the confidence of Charles, turned traitor and ordered his men to kill him during the battle. The duke, three times wounded, fell on his face in a morass, and was frozen to death during the night. On the morrow the Duke of Lorraine discovered the body, cut it from the ice, and gave it honorable burial.¹

With the death of Charles the Bold the dukedom of Burgundy was extinguished. The title to that power which had measured swords with the French monarchy descended



JAMES ARTEVELDE.—Statue in Ghent.

to Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold ; but this princess was soon tossed helplessly on the angry waves of revolution. The duchy of Burgundy was seized by Louis. The people of Ghent, whose patriotism, still burning with the heat which had been kindled in the preceding century by the great popular leader, James Artevelde, could not easily be quenched, rose in insurrection, killed their governor, and declared their independence.

¹ It was on this occasion that the Duke of Lorraine pronounced his celebrated funeral oration of twelve words: "God rest his soul! He has given us much trouble and grief."

In vain did the Duchess Mary attempt to arouse the loyal sympathies of her people. She proposed a marriage with the Dauphin of France and the consequent permanent annexation of the duchy to that kingdom. But this proposal was betrayed by Louis to the subjects of Mary, and their discontent was thus further aggravated. Her ministers were condemned to death ; and though in her despair she went into the market-place where the scaffolds were built for execution, and madly besought the angry population to stay their hands from the murder of her faithful servants, her prayers and tears were all in vain. Her ministers were executed and herself imprisoned. She was obliged to renounce her French marriage, and was presently afterwards united with Prince Maximilian, son of the German Emperor, Frederick III.

In 1481 the duchess died. Her claims to Burgundy were bequeathed to her children, Philip and Margaret. The latter was sent into France to be educated, and was betrothed to the Dauphin. King Louis had, in the mean time, wearied of the marriage engagement of his son with the daughter of Edward IV. of England. That contract was accordingly renounced in favor of the union of the French heir with the Burgundian princess. This change in the policy of his rival was a serious blow to the hopes of King Edward, who but a short time survived his disappointment.

Nor was Louis XI. destined much longer to hold the reigns of power. He had lived, however, to triumph over all his foes. He had seen his plans succeed and those of his enemies be blasted. More than this, he had witnessed the ruin of the feudal nobility, and the building, under his own auspices, of the great fabric of French Monarchy. The territory of France had been widened almost to her present limits. Those provinces which had belonged to the English—Normandy, Angoumois, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge—were reincorporated with the kingdom, and became henceforth essentially French. Between 1461 and 1483 no fewer than ten provinces were added to the dominions of France.

Louis, thus triumphant and abounding in power, fell a prey to the fear of death. With broken constitution, haunted with real and imaginary terrors, he sank lower and lower into gloom and despair, and in 1483 died, pursued by the phantoms of his crimes. With the close of his reign, with the upbuilding of the monarchy on the ruins of the old feudal liberties of the realm, we mark another period in the history of France. Here, at a point within nine years of the discovery of America by Columbus, and within less than a generation of the outbreak of the Reformation, we make a pause and turn to the history of Germany, purposing to sketch the annals of that country from the close of the Crusades to the accession of Maximilian I.

It only remains, before passing from the two centuries of French history just reviewed, to note with emphasis the essential fact, the fundamental principle, which became dominant in France in the times of the later princes of Valois; namely, the suppression and break-up of the feudal nobility, and the appearance of a real *King* and a real *People*. The Government of France displayed itself with a vigor never before witnessed since the days of the barbarian monarchy, and the government was *civil*—no longer a mere military force. In commenting upon this notable period the broad-minded Guizot says, with his usual clearness:

“The French government had never been more destitute of unity, of cohesion, and of strength than under the reign of Charles VI. (1380–1422), and during the first part of the reign of Charles VII. At the end of this reign (1461) the appearance of every thing was changed. There were evident marks of a



LOUIS XI. IN PLESSIS-LEZ-TOURS.

power which was confirming, extending, organizing itself. All the great resources of government, taxation, military force, and administration of justice, were created on a great scale, and almost simultaneously. This was the period of the formation of a standing army, of permanent militia, and of *compagnies-d'ordonnance*, consisting of cavalry, free arch-

ers, and infantry. By these companies Charles VII. reëstablished a degree of order in the provinces, which had been desolated by the license and exactions of the soldiery, even after the war had ceased. All contemporary historians expatiate on the wonderful effects of the *compagnies-d'ordonnance*. It was at this period that the *taille*, one of the principal revenues of the crown, was made perpetual—a serious inroad on the liberty of the people, but which contributed powerfully to the regularity and strength of the government. At the same time the great instrument of power, the administration of justice, was extended and organized; parliaments were extended and multiplied, five new parliaments having been instituted in a short space of time: under Louis XI., the parliaments of Grenoble (in 1451), of Bordeaux (in 1462), and of Dijon (in 1477); under Louis XII., the parliaments of Ronen (in 1499), and of Aix (in 1501). The parliament of Paris also acquired, about the same time, much additional importance and stability, both in regard to the administration of justice and the superintendence of the police within its jurisdiction."

With a like philosophical clearness and truthfulness the same historian continues:

"Before his [Louis's] time the government had been carried on almost entirely by force and by mere physical means. Persuasion, address, care in working upon men's minds, and in bringing them over to the views of the government—in a word, what is properly called policy—a policy, indeed, of falsehood and deceit, but also of management and prudence—

had hitherto been little attended to. Louis XI. substituted intellectual for material means, cunning for force, Italian for feudal policy. Take the two men whose rivalry engrosses this period of our history, Charles the Bold and Louis XI.: Charles is the representative of the old mode of governing; he has recourse to no other means than violence; he constantly appeals to arms; he is unable to act with patience, or to address himself to the dispositions and tempers of men in order to make them the instruments of his designs. Louis XI., on the contrary, takes pleasure in avoiding the use of force, and in gaining an ascendancy over men by conversation with individuals, and by skillfully bringing into play their interests and peculiarities of character. It was not the public institutions or the external system of government that he changed; it was the secret proceedings, the tactics, of power. It was reserved for modern times to attempt a still greater revolution; to endeavor to introduce into the means, as well as the objects, of public policy, justice in place of self-interest, publicity instead of cunning. Still, however, a great step was gained by renouncing the continued use of force, by calling in the aid of intellectual superiority, by governing through the understandings of men, and not by overturning every thing that stood in the way of the exercise of power. This is the great change which, among all his errors and crimes, in spite of the perversity of his nature, and solely by the strength of his powerful intellect, Louis XI. has the merit of having begun."

CHAPTER XXIV.—GERMANY IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.



WITH the execution of Prince Conradin on a scaffold in the market-place of Naples, October 29th, 1268, the House of Hohenstaufen became extinct.¹ Then followed a period in German history known as the Interregnum. Indeed, a condition of affairs fit to

be so designated had supervened as early as the death of Conrad IV., in 1254. Such was the confusion of the epoch that the German people were wont to call it "the Evil Time, when there was no Emperor."

The prevailing feature of this troubled period was the want of any central authority. For a season it appeared that the political society of Germany was again broken up to its foundations. After the downfall of the Ho-

¹ See Book Fifth, p. 420.

henstaufens, there were more than sixty free cities within the limits of Germany Proper. There were a hundred and sixteen ecclesiastical princes exercising the rights of secular government, besides a hundred independent dukes, counts, and barons; and though many were ambitious to gain the Imperial distinction, none seemed able to rise against the opposition of the rest.

At length, in the year 1273, a diet was called at Frankfort by the Archbishop of Mayence, who proposed as a candidate for the crown of the Empire the Count RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG, then governor of Alsatia. The nomination was supported by Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, and also by most of the ecclesiastics who were members of the diet. This circumstance, together with the personal character of the candidate, and the fact of his having six marriageable daughters to whose hands the electors might aspire, secured to him the election. He was chosen with the title of King of *Germany*, preferring a humble reality to a glittering fiction. By this piece of modesty he was soon enabled to make a satisfactory settlement with Pope Gregory X., with whom he had a conference at Lausanne in the first year of his reign. The pontiff on his part recognized the validity of Rudolph's election to the throne of Germany, and supported him with the whole power of the Church.

The new sovereign was not destined, however, to have smooth sailing in the political ocean. As an assertion of sovereignty he laid claim to those estates which were held by Italian lords in Germany, and was obliged to draw the sword to make good his authority. The Counts Ulric and Eberhard of Würtemberg and Ottocar II. of Bohemia made an alliance against the authority of the king, and the latter led forth his army to suppress his rivals. He first restored order in Würtemberg, and at the same time succeeded in stirring up a Bohemian revolt against Ottocar. The king advanced to Vienna, and after a short siege compelled the city to surrender.

Ottocar soon found that the lion of the tribe of Hapsburg was not to be trifled with, and that his own safety required him to conclude a peace. Accordingly, in 1276, a treaty was made, and Rudolph was constrained to re-

nounce his claim to Carinthia, Styria, and Austria; but it was no part of the purpose of Ottocar to maintain the peace. He immediately began to intrigue with the Poles and other peoples in the north of Germany, winning not a few to his support. The Emperor on his side was backed by the Count of Tyrol, by Frederick of Hohenzollern, by some of the bishops, and by the Hungarians, with whom he made an alliance. In 1278 he marched against the defiant Ottocar, and fought with him a decisive battle on the river March. The Bohemian king was killed, and all of his forces that survived the fight were either dispersed or taken.

Rudolph displayed the qualities of a true king in the way in which he used his victory. No advantage was taken of the fallen enemy. Instead of that the shattered fortunes of the House of Bohemia were somewhat restored by the marriage of Rudolph's daughter to Wenceslaus, the surviving son of Ottocar. Nor did the other German princes who had aided the Bohemian king in his attempt to overthrow the new dynasty experience at the Emperor's hands any other than kind and conciliatory treatment.

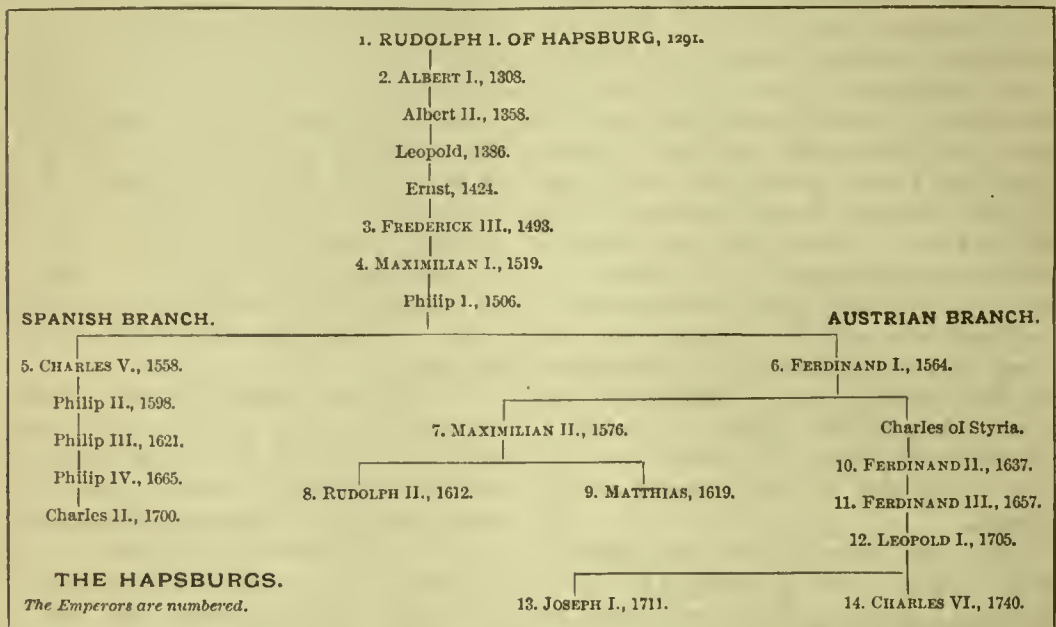
For five years Rudolph remained in Austria. In 1282 a new diet was held at Augsburg, and that body, with much unanimity, confirmed the king's title to the crown of Germany. Immediately thereafter the Emperor began to exert himself to the utmost to suppress the quarrels and feuds which prevailed among the German princes. He made a proclamation of what was called a *National Peace*, forbidding further turmoil and war between the Teutonic states, and although an edict of the thirteenth century was altogether insufficient to bring in the millennium, yet a great and salutary influence was exerted by the pacific measures of the king.

The second measure to which Rudolph gave his attention was the suppression of lawless violence in Germany. Until now the robber knights and banditti had continued their career with almost as much license and ferocity as in the gloomiest periods of the Dark Ages. The king determined that the reign of the highwayman's lust should cease. To this end bands of Imperial troops were sent into the districts infested by the robbers,

and their strongholds, to the number of sixty, were broken up. Many of the noble brigands, who had spent their lives in spreading terror through all the regions in which they had their castles, were hunted down and dragged to the gibbet.

In the course of time the Emperor gave his thought to the question of the succession. In 1290 his eldest son died, and in the following year, in a diet held at Frankfort, the king attempted to have his second son Albert declared his successor. But the scheme ended in failure; for the sturdy electors, imbued with the stalwart virtues of the race, were

makers, and was overthrown in a revolution headed by Albert of Hapsburg, son of the late king. It was not, however, until 1298 that the diet formally abrogated the election of Adolph and declared Albert to be king of Germany. Even then the deposed ruler would not yield without an appeal to arms. A few days after the election of ALBERT to the throne a decisive battle was fought between his forces and those of his rival. The conflict resulted in the complete overthrow of Adolph and his army. He himself, badly wounded, but still fighting desperately, was met face to face by the king, and struck dead with a blow.



more disposed in the important matter of choosing a king to regard the law of fitness than the law of descent. At last, in July, 1291, within two months of the capture of Acre, the veteran Rudolph, already seventy-three years of age, died; nor was the vast influence which he had exerted in the affairs of Germany, sufficient to determine at once the succession according to his wishes. Instead of choosing his son Albert to succeed his father, the electors, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Mayence, entered into an intrigue with Adolph of Nassau, who, by promising every thing to his supporters, secured a majority of their votes. In a short time, however, he became embroiled with his

The new sovereign had his father's will and genius, but few of his father's virtues. He is represented as of a cold disposition, little regardful of the rights or happiness of any but himself. The larger part of his reign was devoted to the work of establishing the Imperial succession to the House of Hapsburg. To this one great purpose all minor considerations were forced to yield; and though such a result could not much conduce to the prosperity of the kingdom, he was measurably successful in carrying out his plans and purposes. In the beginning of his reign he was met with the determined opposition of Pope Boniface VIII., who, though Albert had promised much to the Church, was offended

at his haughty and arrogant demeanor, and would fain put a curb on his ambition.

This break between the Empire and Rome was as much attributable to the arbitrary and willful character of the Pope as to the assumptions of the German king. It will be remembered that at this same time Philip the Fair of France was under the ban of Boniface for reasons not unlike those which occasioned the break with the Hapsburg. This circumstance brought Rudolph and Philip into an alliance, and the league was supported by the free cities of the Rhine, which were won over by a remission of the taxes claimed by the bishops. In a short time the combination against him had become so formidable that the Pope was led, for policy's sake, to make overtures to Albert, with a view to breaking up the alliance. To this end Boniface, who was more angry at Philip than at Albert, offered to the latter, as the price of abandoning the cause of France, the disposal of the crown of that kingdom. For the Holy Father had placed Philip under the ban of excommunication, and declared the crown a forfeit. But before this imbroglio could be settled nature cut the complication by sending the Pope out of the world in an insane rage, to which he had yielded on being seized by some of his Italian enemies.

Meanwhile the ambition of Albert raised up a host of adversaries. All around the horizon there were mutterings of rebellion and civil war. For five years after the death of Boniface the Emperor was in a constant broil with his vassals and foreign foes. In the year 1308 it became necessary for him to enlist an army in Baden. Journeying thither, accompanied by a certain Prince John, who was his nephew, but whose kinship of blood had not expelled disloyalty from his nature, and four other knights who also had in them the poison of treachery, he was seized by them while crossing a river and landed on the other bank, only to be murdered. The conspirators, however, gained no advantage from their bloody deed. The Empress Elizabeth, whose character was not dissimilar to that of her slain lord, proved fully equal to the task of avenging his murder. With that excess of cruelty for which the enraged woman in power has always been so noted, she seized upon the

families and relatives of those who had engaged in the plot against her husband, and had them butchered to the number of a thousand. The immediate perpetrators of the crime, with the exception of Prince John, were put to death with torture. As for the chief conspirator, he made good his escape; nor is it certain to what fate his after life was devoted. The spiteful history of the fourteenth century was obliged to content itself by branding him with the infamous title of the *Parricide*!¹

One of the marked features in the history of Germany at this epoch was the caution and conservatism of the electors of the Empire. They were in no hurry when one ruler died to choose another in his stead. In the present emergency the Archbishop of Mayence entered into correspondence with other high ecclesiastics to secure the crown to the Count Henry of Luxembourg. A diet was held at Coblenz, and after a canvass of the merits of various candidates Count Henry was chosen king. In the beginning of 1309 he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle and took the title of HENRY VII.

The first complication arising after the accession of the new ruler was a clash between the Imperial authority and that of the free cities of the Rhine. Owing to the depleted condition of the treasury it became necessary to reimpose the taxes on those municipalities which, by the previous edict, had been freed therefrom. In doing so King Henry found it desirable to compensate the cities by enlarging their corporate rights. In some of his measures he displayed a liberality of policy worthy of a more enlightened age. Austria was given to the sons of murdered Albert of Hapsburg, and the body of that monarch, as well as that of Adolph of Nassau, was interred with honor in the burial-place of the cathedral of Speyer. About the same time

¹ It is said that Albert of Hapsburg was in his personal aspect one of the most repulsive monarchs of whom the Middle Ages could boast. Besides the peculiar pains taken by nature to write her displeasure on his visage, his countenance was marred by the loss of an eye, for, when poisoned in his youth, the learned physicians to whom he was intrusted took out one of his eyeballs and hung him up by the heels, in order that the poison might escape through the artificial *foramen* in his head!

the son of Henry, though only fourteen years of age, received as his bride the heiress of Bohemia, daughter of Wenceslaus II.—an event which showed that the king was looking to the union of the Bohemian crown with that of the Empire.

In the next place Henry renewed the project of Rudolph of Hapsburg for the establishment of a national peace throughout Germany. To promote this object a diet was called at Frankfort in 1310, and another edict

Germany. In this purpose he was supported by the Pope, as also by the German princes. In the same year of the diet of Frankfort the king set out with an army, crossed the Alps by way of Mont Cenis, and was hailed as a deliverer by the people of Milan. Here he received the iron crown of Lombardy, and was eulogized by Dante as the Savior of Italy.

It now became the policy of both Guelphs and Ghibellines to secure the support of Henry for their respective factions. Finding



THE BATTLE AT MORGARTEN.
After Pleuddemann.

was sent forth forbidding further warfare among the German states. Count Eberhard of Würtemberg was driven from his possessions for refusing to sanction the pacific measures of the government. Having at length secured what seemed to be a permanent peace in his own realm, the Emperor next turned his attention to Italy, still torn by the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. With a view to putting an end to these bloody turmoils, and perhaps impelled by personal ambition, Henry determined to secure for himself the Imperial crown as well as that of

him disposed to act with impartiality, both parties were displeased with his conduct. The Guelphs revolted and went to war, and it was two years before Henry was able to resume his march to Rome. At this time the Eternal City was distracted with the contentions of the two powerful families, the Colonnæ and the Orsini, the former of whom supported and the latter opposed the cause of the Emperor. At length Henry was crowned in the Church of the Lateran by a cardinal. For there was no Pope in Rome to officiate at the ceremony, the Holy Father being then at Avignon.

It now appeared that the project of the pacification of Italy was a delusive dream. The Guelphs, rather than submit to the Imperial authority, made an alliance with King Robert of Naples, while Pisa and Sicily took sides with the Germans. Meanwhile the papal power, now about to return to Rome, and France, urged on by Philip IV., both interfered in the affairs of Italy. But just as the tempest of war seemed blowing up from all quarters of the horizon the problem was suddenly simplified by the death of the Emperor, to whom a cup of poisoned wine was administered by a treacherous monk who was officiating at the sacrament.

In 1314 another diet was convened at Frankfort, but when it came to a choice of a new king the electoral vote was found to be divided between the son of Henry VII.—John of Bohemia—and Frederick of Austria, surnamed the Handsome, son of the Emperor Albert. The adherents of John presently went over to Duke Louis of Bavaria, who thus received four votes out of the seven and was declared elected; but the supporters of Frederick were unwilling to accept the decision of the majority, and a civil war broke out between the rivals. Bavaria, Bohemia, Thuringia, and the free cities supported the cause of Louis, while Frederick was backed by Austria, Hungary, and the Palatinate of the Rhine. A decisive battle between the adversaries was fought in 1315 at Morgarten, in which the Austrian forces were overwhelmingly defeated. The effect of the engagement, however, was to secure the freedom of the Swiss cantons rather than to determine who should wear the crown of the German Empire. At this juncture Pope John XXII. interfered in the contest, declaring in favor of Frederick, who was thus enabled to prosecute the war with fair prospects of success. The strife continued until 1322, when the great battle of Mühlendorf was fought, which, by the overthrow of the Austrians and the capture of Frederick, put an end to the struggle.

The events soon showed that the victorious Louis, now recognized as king, was not without his ambitions. As soon as a nominal peace was secured in the German states, he began to interfere in the affairs of Italy. On account of the assistance rendered by him to

the Visconti of Milan he was excommunicated by the Pope, who, not satisfied with cursing the king in person, extended the interdict to all Germany. This action of the Holy Father, however, was less terrible than of old, and the Germans paid little attention to the ecclesiastical bellowings of Italy.

In a short time a formidable plot was formed to drive Louis from the Empire. The leaders of the conspiracy were Duke Leopold of Austria and Charles IV. of France. At the first several of the German princes were seduced from their loyalty and led into the intrigue. Afterwards, however, they broke off from the treasonable scheme and returned to their allegiance. But Leopold continued the contest. Louis, in the emergency, set his rival, Frederick, at liberty and sent him as a mediator to the Duke of Austria. The negotiations failed, but Frederick was permitted to go free, and was honored as of old with the confidence of the king. The renewal of the friendship between the two princes cast oil on the troubled waters of Germany, and a more peaceful state of affairs supervened. In 1326 the implacable Leopold died, and Louis was relieved from all further anxiety respecting the possession of the crown.

The king now found opportunity to renew his ambitious scheme for a coronation at Rome. In 1327 he made an expedition into Italy, fought a victorious battle with the Guelphs, received the iron crown of Lombardy, marched without serious opposition to the Eternal City, and was there crowned by two excommunicated bishops. In a great assembly of the Roman people the new Emperor presided. John XXII. was declared a heretic, and a new Pope was elected, with the title of Martin V. For two years (1328–30) Louis remained in Italy; but the imposition of heavy taxes, to which he was obliged to resort as a means of supporting the Imperial government, soon alienated the affections of his subjects. He grew into disfavor. Hatred took the place of friendship, and when he finally set out for Germany he was followed by the execrations of those whom he had intended to release from bondage.

Louis of Bavaria now became greatly concerned about the status of his soul. He had in him enough of the superstition of the age



CAPTURE OF FREDERICK THE HANDSOME IN THE BATTLE OF MUHLENDORF
After the painting of W. Truebner.

to be fearfully galled by the papal interdict. For this reason he began to make overtures to the long offended Pope, and to seek in many ways to recover the favor of that irate potentate. The pontiff, however, was little disposed to treat with consideration one who had so long defied his authority. He demanded as a measure precedent to any favorable recognition that Louis should abdicate the throne of Germany. In insisting upon this impossible condition the Pope was backed by the king of France, who desired the German crown for himself. In order to open negotiations with his powerful enemies, Louis sent to them as his ambassador King John of Bohemia; but the latter acted with no sense of the kingly affairs which he was appointed to discuss, and he was presently recalled. Nor was the temper of the German electors such as to permit their king further to humble himself, even with the hope of securing the peace of his soul. So the strife dragged on until 1334, when John XXII. died, and the papal crown was transferred to the head of Benedict XII.

By this time the mental condition of Louis had become so intolerable that he was willing to comply with any terms which the Holy See might impose. He offered to abdicate the throne of Germany, and to submit to what rigors of punishment soever the Pope might see fit to inflict. Nor is it doubtful that a reconciliation of the House of Bavaria with the Head of the Church would have been effected on the humiliating conditions referred to, had it not been for the interference of Philip VI. of France, who like his predecessor saw the phantom of the Imperial crown in his dreams.

It appears that this arrogant pretense of a rival monarch had the effect of rousing Louis from his apathy. He called a diet to assemble at Frankfurt, and before the august body of princes, bishops, and citizens (for the free cities were now represented in the diet), he laid his cause and that of the German people. The spirit of the race was fully displayed in the answer of the representatives. They declared that their sovereign had taken all proper steps and submitted to all proper conditions in the hope of recovering the favor of the Church, and that the Pope only, by his

bigoted obstinacy, was responsible for the estrangement of Germany from the fold of the Faith. It was declared that the papal interdicts were of no effect, and that the German priests should give no further heed to the measures taken at Rome to distress the Emperor and his people. In order to secure support an alliance was concluded between Louis and Edward III., the former agreeing to support the claims of the latter to the crown of France. Philip VI. was thus apprised of the fact that while he himself was a conspirator against the throne of Germany, the English king had secured a powerful support in his scheme to gain the crown of France for the House of Plantagenet.

The league between England and Germany was to last for the space of seven years. It was stipulated that Edward's army was to be reinforced with German troops, and that Louis's coffers were to be filled with English gold. For a short time matters went well, and the alliance promised favorable results for both kingdoms; but after a year the Emperor again fell a victim to his fears of Rome. He broke off with Edward III. and listened favorably to the insinuations of Philip. The effect of this course was to break down his influence with the German people, and to make him an object of universal dislike. At last the princes of the Empire were completely disgusted, and those of the number who were under the influence of Rome proclaimed Charles of Bohemia as king of Germany. The free cities, however, supported by the secular princes, adhered to the cause of Louis, and Charles made little headway in obtaining the actual sovereignty of the kingdom. After journeying into France and thence into Italy, he returned to his own realm and gave up his pretensions to the German crown.

In the last years of the reign of Louis of Bavaria, Germany, in common with the other states of Northern Europe, was visited with one of the most terrible plagues known in history. The Black Death, as the pestilence was called, spread from town to town, from district to district, from state to state. Many parts of the country were almost depopulated, and only a few places escaped the ravages of the disease. Nor did Superstition fail to point her ominous finger to this visitation as the work

of offended Heaven, seeking to be avenged upon the children of men for the sins of their kings. Louis himself escaped the plague only to become a victim of apoplexy. In 1347 he engaged in his favorite amusement of hunting, and while in the heat of the chase fell dead from the saddle.

Perhaps the most notable feature of progress in the political society of Germany during the thirty-three years of Louis's reign was the growth and multiplication of free cities. In the course of a half century the number of these aspiring corporations had increased from sixty to one hundred and fifty; and every such city became a nucleus and stronghold of that *People* which was to constitute one of the two principal facts in the history of modern Europe—the kings being the other.

Great was the freedom of the German electors in the later Middle Ages in the choice of their sovereigns. They were less constrained by prejudices for particular dynasties and deference to the law of descent than were the dominant political agents in any other kingdom of Europe. After the death of Louis of Bavaria the electors were much confused in choosing a successor. Prince Louis of Brandenburg, son of the late king, might have had a fair support for the place made vacant by his father's death, but he was without ambition, and refused to press his own claims to the crown. Charles of Luxembourg had some supporters, but the secular princes were mostly against him. At one time a considerable party offered the crown to Edward III. of England, but that monarch refused the glittering bait. The same party thereupon chose Count Ernest of Meissen as king, but he sold his claim to Charles of Luxembourg for ten thousand silver marks. The electors next brought forward as a candidate Prince Günther of Schwarzenburg, but his election could not be secured. Indeed, the prince perished by poison before the complication was untangled by the final election, in 1348, of the Luxembourg prince, who took the title of CHARLES IV.

If all the monarchs of the Middle Ages, or any considerable number of them, had begun their reigns as wisely as did the new sovereign of Germany, Modern Europe would have much sooner emerged from the shadows

of ignorance and barbarity. His first important act was to found and endow the University of Prague, the first great German institution of liberal learning. Such was the unprecedented success of the king's undertaking that in the course of a few years the halls of the new school were crowded with six or seven thousand students. Nor was Charles much less successful in substituting order for anarchy throughout the states of Germany. But for the long-standing difficulties with Italy he might have established a reign of peace from one border of his dominions to the other. Such, however, was the obstinacy of the papal power that a considerable period elapsed before the king was able to secure his coronation at Rome. This consummation was not reached until the spring of 1355, and even then Charles was obliged to accept the Imperial crown from the hands of a cardinal sent from Avignon.

No sooner had the coronation been accomplished than the Emperor, tarrying in Rome but a single day, began his return to Germany. He did not, however, retire from Italy until he had made an entirely new departure in the Imperial policy respecting the Italian Republics. To them he deliberately sold whatever prerogatives the German Empire still retained over them, and receiving the money as a merchant might do at his counter, retired from the South, followed by the stinging satires of Petrarch.

None the less, the business-like Emperor was greatly improved in his fortunes by his transactions in Italy; nor did the matter-of-fact Germans see any thing in the recent business to be mocked at or condemned. Soon after Charles's return he convoked a great diet at Metz, and laid before the body the important question of establishing a constitutional form for the Imperial elections. This great work was accomplished by the close of 1356.

Another question of not less importance was the determination of the relations of the German princes to the Empire. It had become manifest that German unity could never be attained under the system of local independence which had thus far prevailed. In order to remedy the defects incident to the old system of government and to secure na-

tionality to the race, an instrument called the *Golden Bull* was prepared, wherein were set forth the principles of the diet respecting the relations of the Empire to the local governments of Germany. "Every kingdom," said the great document, "which is not united within itself will go to ruin; for its princes are the kindred of robbers; wherefore God removes the light of their minds from their office; they become blind leaders of the blind, and their darkened thoughts are the source of many misdeeds." The instrument then goes on to recognize and confirm the Seven Imperial Electors, namely, the three archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The four secular rulers here enumerated were to be absolute in authority over their respective realms, and their rights were to be transmitted to their oldest sons according to the laws of descent. As to the cities, their freedom was recognized, but they were forbidden to raise armies without the consent of the Emperor.

For a while after the establishment of this so-called Constitution of Germany, affairs went smoothly and promised well for a continuance of peace. Eight years after his coronation Charles took care that his son Wenceslaus, then but two years of age, should be crowned at Prague as king of Bohemia. In the mean time, Pope Urban V. became more dissatisfied than his predecessor had been on account of his constrained residence at Avignon. He accordingly appealed to Charles to aid him to restore the papal power to its proper place in the Eternal City. The German Emperor heard the appeal with favor, and in 1365 set out with a considerable force to conduct the Holy Father to Rome. Having paused *en route* to crown himself king of Burgundy, he followed and supported the eager Pope on his way to Italy. Once in Rome, he behaved with such subserviency as to draw upon himself the contempt even of that over-religious metropolis. In humble garb he walked from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, leading the Pope's mule by the bridle. The Romans had by no means forgotten the former conduct of the Emperor in selling out his rights to the Italian Repub-

lics, and they lost no opportunity to evidence their displeasure. But the impassive temper of Charles turned aside their every manifestation of hostility by a proclamation of amnesty, and to this show of mildness he added the virtue of an early departure from Italy—an event which marks the end of German interference in the affairs of the South.

In the settlement of the state of Germany under the *Golden Bull*, it was not contemplated that the Imperial crown should be transmitted by the law of descent. Nevertheless, Charles IV. spent a large part of his reign in contriving, by family marriages and otherwise, to retain the succession in his family. Nor did he hesitate to employ the golden argument of money to win over the electors to his purpose. It is said that in a diet held at Frankfort in 1376, by which body the Emperor's son, Wenceslaus, was named as his successor, each of the princes received a hundred thousand florins for his vote. For two years longer Charles, already more than sixty years old, "lagged superfluous on the stage," and then died.

In the mean time two important movements had taken place in Northern and Southern Germany. In the latter district, particularly in Württemberg, the cities declared war against Count Eberhard, against whom they prosecuted a fierce conflict for a period of ten years. It became a warfare of the rising *People* against the still vital leaders of Feudal Germany. About the same time the free cities of the North formed the celebrated union known as the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, destined for several centuries to exercise a marked influence on the affairs of Germany, and indeed of all the West. This famous municipal union planted its agencies in all parts of Europe from Russia to Portugal, from the Baltic to the strait of Messina. Such were the vigor and growth of the Hanse towns, their vast shipping interests, and thrift in commerce, that even the Emperor might well stand in awe of their power.

After the death of Charles IV., King Wenceslaus assumed the government according to the program of the Diet of Frankfort. He was, however, little qualified for so arduous a duty. His youth—for he was but seventeen years of age—and a system of high

pressure under which his education had been forced with a view of fitting him for the Imperial office, had incapacitated him rather than promoted his chances for success. Nevertheless, he began his reign with a sincere endeavor to promote the interests of his subjects. It was at this juncture that Leopold of Austria, whom Wenceslaus had appointed governor of several free cities, undertook to promote the interests of the House of Hapsburg by seizing the cantons of Switzerland. But the Swiss were supported by the free cities of Suabia, and made a gallant fight for

steel. How could the Swiss hope to break through and disperse so formidable a phalanx?

But on the side of the Swiss was the resolution of despair. When the lines were near together Arnold of Winkelried, with a heroism that has made his name immortal, rushed forward from the ranks of his countrymen, and with the wild cry, "Make way for liberty," threw himself upon the forest of Austrian spears. With extended arms he swept twelve of the bristling lances in his grasp, into the small breach thus made in the enemy's lines the Swiss threw themselves with



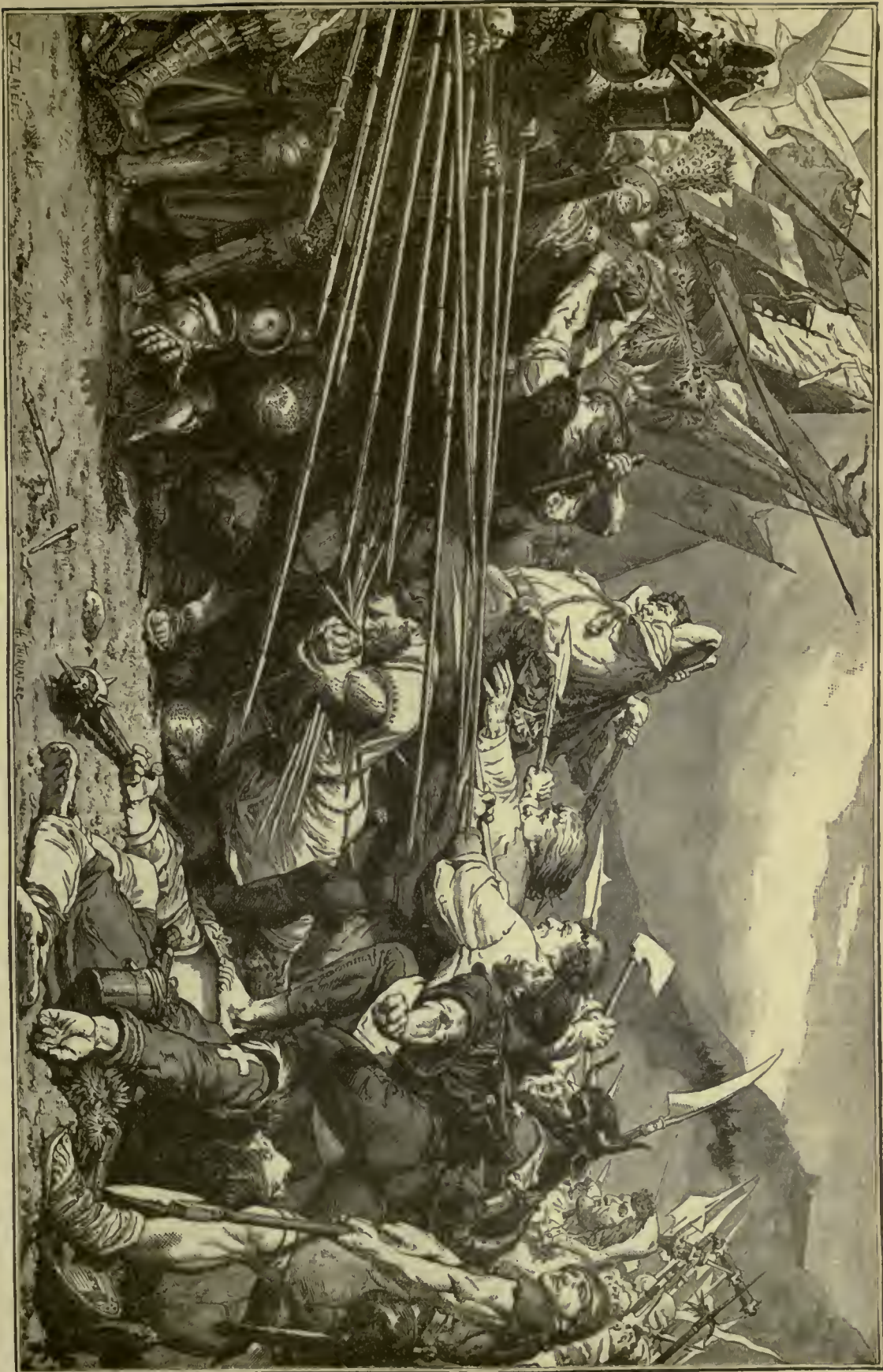
HANSEATIC SHIP.

independence. Leopold undertook to enforce his pretensions by an invasion of the country.

In 1386 he marched an army of four thousand well-armed soldiers and knights into the Swiss cantons. Against this formidable force the mountaineers were able to assemble only thirteen hundred men, and even these were without experience in war, being farmers, fishermen, and herdsmen, armed with pikes and battle-axes. The two armies met in the pass of Sempach, and never did the probability of victory incline more strongly to one of the contending forces than now to the side of Austria. The lines of Leopold as they advanced to battle looked like a solid wall of

a valor worthy of their leader. They hewed right and left, and the strong knights of Suabia fell prostrate under the tremendous blows of the Swiss battle-axes. The gap was widened, and the whole force of mountaineers rushed through the Austrian lines. Leopold and seven hundred of his leading knights were slain. The rest were turned to flight and scattered in all directions. The battle was really decisive of the fate of Switzerland. The free spirit of the men of the mountains was never again in such serious peril of extinction.

The effect of the victory of Sempach was to inspire the Suabian cities to continue the

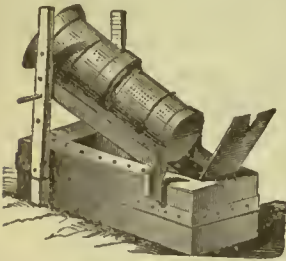


THE HEROIC DEATH OF ARNOLD VON WINKLERIED AT THE BATTLE OF SEMPACH.

war in which they were engaged with the nobles. But they were destined to humiliation and defeat. In the battles of Döfingin and Worms the citizen army was overthrown and ruined. The privileges of the municipalities were taken away, and in 1389 they were formally forbidden by a diet to form another union. Wenceslaüs exerted himself to the utmost to enforce the decree, and the attempt to form a Suabian Republic was thwarted by the united efforts of the king and the princes.

Like his father, Wenceslaüs was essentially Bohemian in his tastes and preferences. He made Prague his capital, and discriminated in other ways against the Western and Southern states of the Empire. As a ruler, he displayed all the ferocious qualities of a barbarian monarch. An executioner stood ever at his right hand, ready to do his bidding. Packs of bloodhounds were kept in the royal

kennels, ready to be loosed upon any and all who chanced to give offense. He gloried in brutality and bloodshed, and was complimented when an anonymous scribe named him a second



OLD SWISS MOUNTAIN CANNON.

Nero. In the midst of excesses which would have done credit to the original of that name, his wit shot forth like angry lightning.¹ Nor could it be doubted that ere-long conspiracy and assassination would make a league against him. A movement was set on foot, headed by the Dukes Jodocus of Moravia and Albert of Austria. The Emperor was taken prisoner by the conspirators and was kept in confinement until what time he was released through the influence of his brother Sigismund. Seeing that the resumption of the Imperial office was impracticable, Wenceslaüs, as soon as he was liberated, devolved the duties of the same upon his

¹ It was Wenceslaüs who, on a certain occasion, when he had laid a contribution of four thousand florins on the city of Rothenburg and the inhabitants had refused to pay, sent them this message: "The devil began to shear a hog, and spake thus, 'Great cry and little wool!'"

brother, who took the title of Vicar of the Empire.

Wenceslaüs, however, still retained the nominal sovereignty, and in 1398 ventured to call a Diet at Frankfort, where, when the princes had assembled, he renewed the old-time project of the general pacification of Germany. This movement on the part of the Emperor, and more particularly a scheme undertaken by him and Charles VI. of France to restore the peace of the Church by deposing both of the Popes, one of whom was reigning at Avignon and the other at Rome, led to a counterplot among the electors for the deposition of Wenceslaüs. This resulted in the choice of the Count Palatine, RUPERT of Bavaria, as Emperor, he receiving four votes out of the seven; but the other three electors continued to support Wenceslaüs and Sigismund the Vicar. Thus, for the nonce, the German Empire presented a double-headed aspect.

As soon as Rupert's alleged election was accomplished he resolved to gain universal recognition by a coronation at Rome. Accordingly, in 1401, he led an army into Italy, made an alliance with the Milanese, and marched as far as Brescia, where he was met and utterly overthrown by an army of Lombards. He and his Imperial pretensions went down in a common wreck.

While this movement was taking place Wenceslaüs managed to improve his fortunes by effecting a reconciliation with the dukes of Moravia and Austria. His pride grew as his prospects brightened, and he indulged his temper by quarreling with the Vicar Sigismund, who thereupon put him into prison. Such was the confusion thus introduced into the Empire that a number of the minor princes undertook to form a sort of second electoral college. Two of the leaders of this movement were at the same time engaged in a secret correspondence with France. It soon appeared that the new union was as much pervaded by the spirit of self-interest as the old; nor was it long until the League of Marbach, as this alliance of the princes was called, was resolved into its elements. At no previous time since the days of Charlemagne had Germany seemed so near to dissolution and anarchy as in the first years of the fifteenth century.

In the mean time a struggle of gigantic proportions had been taking place on the eastern shore of the Baltic, between the Teutonic Knights and the Poles, assisted by the Lithuanians. In 1398 a great battle was fought before the city of Wilna, and the army of the Knights, numbering sixty thousand men, was defeated with great losses. But the resolute Order, though overthrown in battle, soon rallied and renewed the conflict. A new army, a hundred thousand strong, was marshaled for the final struggle. The Poles also, aided by the Russians and the Tartars, gathered an equally formidable force, and in 1410 the decisive battle of Tannenberg was fought, in which the German Knights were routed, with a loss of forty thousand men. The power of the Order was broken, and the Slavic race was henceforth in the ascendent in the countries east of the Baltic.

Just before the battle of Tannenberg the Emperor Rupert—if, indeed, he may be properly classified among the Emperors—died. The Imperial power was thus left to Wenceslaus and Sigismund. The problem of the epoch was somewhat simplified by this event, but Germany was not much the gainer. In the mean time Holland had broken off from the Empire, and the larger part of Flanders had gone over to France. Luxembourg was hardly any longer to be regarded as a part of the Imperial dominions, and with that kingdom was incorporated Burgundy and parts of Lorraine. Indeed, on every hand the boundaries of the Empire had become so shifting and uncertain as to make a definition impossible.

When, after the death of Rupert, a diet was convened to determine the Imperial succession, or rather who was the actual Emperor, the electors were again divided between Sigismund and Jodocus of Moravia. The latter, however, died soon afterwards, and the former received the crown. He was, on the whole, one of the ablest rulers of his times—a man of learning and wit, popular in bearing and pleasing in address. The chief vices of his constitution were fickleness, profligacy, and the fact that he was the brother of Wenceslaus.

In the beginning of his reign SIGISMUND was confronted with religious rather than civil difficulties. The condition of the Church was

never before more deplorable. Christendom was claimed by three Popes, each of whom had excommunicated the other two. The bishops and priests had become proud, luxurious, and profligate. It was evident, even to the half-barbaric mind of the fifteenth century, that the ecclesiastics were administering upon the estate of religion for their own benefit.

The people, in their interests, hopes, and sympathies, were utterly abandoned and forgotten by the spiritual leaders of the age. It was this condition of religious starvation which in Bohemia, as early as 1360, led to the appearance of a class of independent or parish clergymen—preachers in the first intent—who went among the people, heard their cries, and ministered to their wants. It was impossible that such men should fail of a following. The poor rallied at their call, and the weak found in them their natural friends and protectors. The angry priests who saw themselves abandoned for their betters, stormed at the people below them. From the stone steps of their cathedrals they hurled anathemas at the insurgent crowds, who, sometimes with arms in their hands, fought and butchered in the streets. Unable to control the opinions and practices of the people they took up the axe of persecution, and hewed right and left; but the cause grew in spite of opposition, and, though the sowers fell in the field, the seed of that great religious revolt was scattered, which, with the coming of the sixteenth century, was destined to bring forth fruit a hundred fold.

There can be no doubt that the great university founded by Charles IV. at Prague was one of the leading antecedents of the insurrection in the Church. John Huss, the great Bohemian insurgent, born in 1369, was educated in the university. There he taught and there he defended the doctrines and deeds of Wickliffe, the English forerunner of the Reformation. He became rector of the university, and, together with the youthful Jerome, one of the Bohemian nobles, gave character to the doctrines and beliefs of the institution. This influence was shed abroad over all the kingdom. The success and reputation of Huss inspired him with boldness, and he denounced in unsparing words many of the leading opinions and practices of the

Church. He preached against absolution, the worship of saints, the sale of indulgences, and the doctrine of purgatory. He demanded that both bread and wine should be given to all Christians in the sacrament, and not bread alone, as was the practice of the priests. Indeed, his teachings were fully as radical and subversive of the current usages of Rome as were those of Luther more than a century afterwards.

While the doctrines of the Bohemian reformers were popular with



A BISHOP ANATHEMATIZING A CROWD OF INSURGENTS.

Drawn by W. Dietz.

their own countrymen, the Germans who were gathered in the university of Prague were little disposed to accept them. On the contrary, they remained attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Holy Church as the same were expounded by the Popes and bishops. The university was rent with a schism. About five thousand German students and professors left the institution, and in 1409 removed to Leipsic, where they established a new university on the principles of the old theology.

Great was the anger of the Pope when he heard of these proceedings. He immediately issued a bull of excommunication against Huss and his followers. Fortunately for the cause of the reformers, a quarrel broke out between the Holy Father and the king of Naples, and the former, having excommunicated the latter, offered a free indulgence to all who would take up arms against him. This gave to Huss and Jerome a tremendous advantage before the Bohemians. The act of the Pope in offering to remit the crimes of those who would fight against his enemy was denounced as a scandal to christendom. Huss publicly burned the Pope's bull in the streets of Prague and set his authority at defiance. At this juncture the violence of the reformers occasioned a reaction in favor of the papal party. Wenceslaus took up the cause of the Church, and drove Huss and his friends out of the city. Many of his followers, seeing that hardship and exile lay in the direction of an adherence to his doctrines, chose to submit and be reconciled to the Church.

A general demand was now heard for the convocation of a council, to which should be submitted the matters in dispute between the Pope and his subjects. The prelates of the Church were accordingly assembled at Pisa in 1409. A new Pope was elected to take the place of the two already in existence, but neither the one who held his court at Avignon nor he at Rome would yield to the decision of the council, and there were three pontiffs instead of two. Matters thus grew worse in the papacy instead of better, until the Emperor Sigismund, urged on by the universal voice, convoked another council to assemble at Constance in 1414.

No such a body of prelates and dignitaries had ever before convened as the representa-

tives of the Church. Pope John was present in person. With him came six hundred Italian bishops and priests. The other two Popes sent ambassadors to the council. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople were present. The Grand Masters of the Knights came obedient to the call. Thirty-three cardinals and twenty archbishops took their seats in the assembly. One might have supposed that the religious affairs of not one but many



JOHN HUSS.—FROM THE LUTHER STATUE IN WORMS.

planets might have been satisfactorily adjusted by a body of such dignity and wisdom. It is said that thirty different languages were heard in the council, and that a hundred and fifty thousand strangers were gathered in the city of Constance.

In the conduct of business it was agreed that four nations—German, French, English, Italian—should be recognized in the council, and that the votes of three of these nations should be necessary to carry a measure into effect. At the first Germany and England

voted together in favor of a general reformation of the Church. But France and Italy favored the limitation of business to a settlement of the quarrel between the Popes. After much discussion England was won over from her reformatory attitude and cast her vote with Italy and France. Thus was the reformation of the fifteenth century postponed to the sixteenth.

The council next proceeded to elect a new

The great Huss had himself been invited to attend the assembly, but had refused to do so until he was granted a safe conduct by the Pope. Notwithstanding the fact that he came to the council under this special protection of the Head of the Church, he was seized on his arrival and thrown into a dungeon. Sigismund made some vain efforts to have him released but could secure for the reformer nothing better than the mockery of a trial. Huss



HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.—After the painting by K. F. Lessing.

Pope—Martin V. Of the three already existing Gregory XII. made a voluntary abdication; John XIII. fled from Constance, was captured and imprisoned at Heidelberg, and Benedict XIII. refused to obey the edict of the council. As for the new Pope, he immediately began to fortify himself in authority by concluding separate agreements with the leading princes of the Empire.

In the next place the Council of Constance turned its attention to the Bohemian heresy.

sickened in prison, but in June of 1415 was brought forth to be tried. In vain did he attempt to lift his voice before his judges. His fate was already determined. When he endeavored to speak his plea was drowned in the outcry and hisses of the priests. Vainly did he offer to submit his doctrines to the tests of Scripture. The only concession which would in any wise be granted was the alternative of instant recantation or death in the fire.

Huss had in him the materials of martyr-

dom. He steadfastly refused to recant, and on the 6th of July was led before the assembly to be condemned. The scene was one of the greatest solemnity. The rage of the priests could hardly be restrained. It is related that when Huss made himself heard above the din in an appeal to the Emperor for the promised protection Sigismund blushed with shame and confusion. The martyr was then condemned to death. His priestly garments were stripped away, and the bishop who pronounced the sentence commended the soul of the hero to the Devil. On the same day of his condemnation he was led forth and bound to the stake. His resolute spirit faltered not even to the last. The flames rolled around him, the voice of his supplication was drowned, and the deed was done. When the cinders were cooled, the ashes of John Huss were taken up and thrown into the Rhine.

Jerome of Prague met a similar fate. Like Huss, he had been solemnly promised a safe conduct to the council. But the prelates resolved that no safe conduct should protect a heretic. On arriving at Constance he was seized and thrown into a foul dungeon. Although the Bohemian nobles to the number of four or five hundred signed an address, protesting against this cruelty and injustice, and defending the prisoner against the charge of heretical teaching, the mad course of persecution could not be stayed. When Jerome, in the autumn of that year, was brought by his sufferings to the point of death, he gave way to a fit of weakness and despondency and promised to renounce his teachings. But with the return of his courage he recanted the recantation, and avowed again the truth of his doctrines. Hereupon he was seized a second time, tried, condemned, and burned at the stake.

The Church next undertook the reorganization of the University of Prague. It was seen that the free learning of that institution would prove fatal to the Faith. The spirit

of the Bohemians was now thoroughly aroused. They had seen their favorite professors put to death with every circumstance of atrocity. They now perceived that their favorite seat of learning was to be invaded, its rights taken away, its fame and usefulness destroyed. Against the interdicts of the council they set themselves with such resolution that for the time the university was rendered impregnable to the assaults of its enemies.

After a session of nearly four years' duration, the Council of Constance adjourned in May of 1418. As to the reform of the



BURNING OF HUSS.

Church, for which purpose the assembly had been ostensibly convened, not a thing had been accomplished. After forty-five months of wrangling, the greatest, wisest, and most imposing body which Christendom had ever assembled, could present nothing to the world, nothing to history, but the vision of two stakes with their dying victims, crying up to heaven through the crackle and roar of the flames, and casting spectral shadows across the placid bosom of Lake Constance.

While this murky farce, set in the midst with two live coals blood red as carbuncles on the ashen breast of barbarity, was enacting at Constance, an important civil event took place in the relations of the Empire to a new House,

as yet but little known in the affairs of Europe. Sigismund, finding himself under the necessity of replenishing his coffers, had recourse to a loan, which he secured from Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, at that time burgrave of Nuremberg. This prince was a lineal descendant of that Frederick of Hohenzollern who in 1278 had aided Rudolph of Hapsburg in gaining the crown of the Empire. In order to secure the loan of a hun-

Brandenburg for the sum of three hundred thousand florins. The offer was accepted, and the Hohenzollern prince became one of the electors of the Empire.

In 1418 Wenceslaus found himself prepared to begin a war with the Turks. This movement gave occasion for an insurrection in Bohemia. In that country an army of Hussites, numbering forty thousand men, rose in revolt and put the Imperial authorities at defiance.

In Prague they stormed the city hall and threw the burgomaster and other officers of the government out at the window. Such was the rage and mortification of Wenceslaus on hearing of these events that he fell down in a fit of apoplexy and died.

It was not long, however, until the sudden liberation of religious thought in a half-barbaric age produced its natural results in Bohemia. A schism broke out among the Hussites. A moderate party and a party of radicals arrayed themselves in hostility, the one against the other. The Calixtines would fain preserve the body of churchly doctrine, working out such reforms only as to them seemed necessary on account of the corruptions which had



FREDERICK OF HOHENZOLLERN.

dred thousand florins Sigismund exacted to the count a mortgage on Brandenburg. Frederick thereupon moved to the mortgaged territory, and assumed the government, as though the title thereto had already been transferred to himself. So great were the abilities which he now displayed as a ruler, so marked his success in subduing the bandit knights who infested the country, that Sigismund, willing still further to fill the Imperial treasury, offered Frederick the absolute sovereignty of

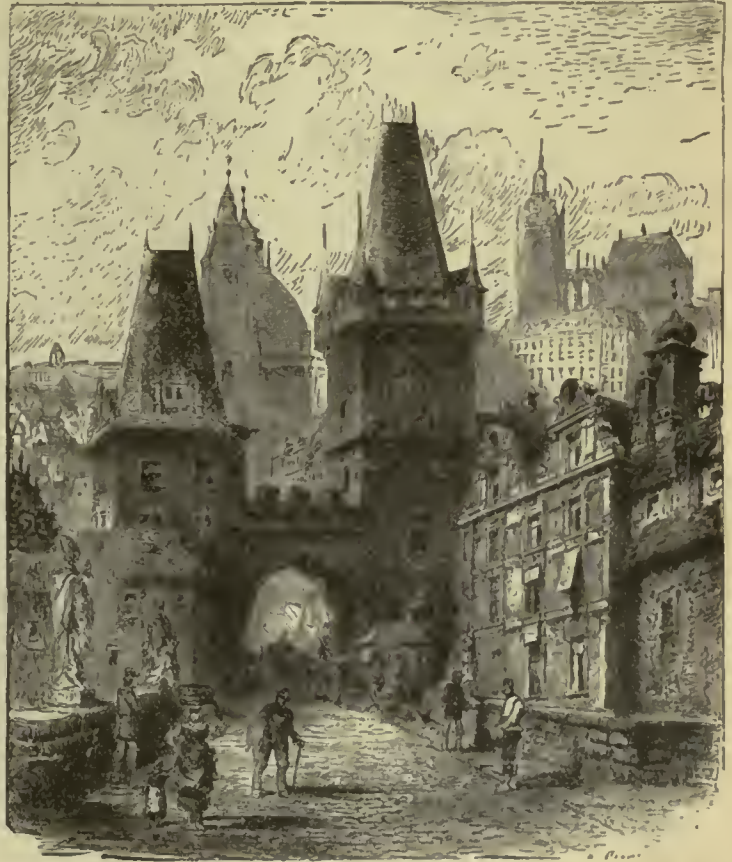
erept into the ecclesiastical kingdom; but the fanatic Taborites would sweep away the landmarks of the past and abolish Rome altogether. They would bring in and establish the Brotherhood of Man in all the earth. As commander of this host, an old, bald-headed, one-eyed man, named Ziska, was chosen; and, as if to make up for the lack of military experience with a thundering title, he styled himself "John Ziska, of the Chalice, Commander in the Hope of God of the Taborites."

None the less the hawk-beak nose of John Ziska had not been set upon his face as a false sign of genius. He soon revealed alike to his followers and his enemies such qualities as spread the fire of battle among the one and sent the specter of terror among the other. With great energy he armed the Taborites and taught them the tactics of war. By the time that Sigismund, urged by the importunities of the Pope, had succeeded in collecting an army of a hundred thousand men, and, advancing to Prague, the hardy and resolute Bohemians were ready to meet him in the field. In the autumn of 1420 a great battle was fought, out of the smoke of which (for Ziska had procured some cannon for his gunners) the Bohemian commander came forth victorious. The powerful army of the Empire was routed and dispersed.

But for the quarrels which now broke out among the different parties of the Hussites, it would seem that the work of Luther and his coadjutors might have been antedated by a century. The radical Taborites, however, went into communism, and would fain have a universal division of property. This doctrine repelled the Bohemian nobles, and Ziska lost a large part of his support. He nevertheless undertook to pacify his country with the sword. His severity against the priestly order knew no bounds. He burned more than five hundred convents and monasteries, slaughtered the monks, and wasted the country. In the schismatic license which now prevailed a new sect called the Adamites sprang up, and would fain restore Paradise by going naked. The fanatics gathered in the town of Raby, and were there besieged by the Taborites. While endeavoring to capture this place Ziska

lost his remaining eye by a random arrow from the walls. But not even the blackness of darkness could conquer his invincible spirit. He continued to direct the conduct of the war, and became the Belisarius of Bohemia.

The event which now followed was one of the most remarkable to be discovered in the dun horizon of modern times. It was not to be presumed that the Empire would submit to the religious independence of Bohemia. To



OLD STONE BRIDGE OF PRAGUE.

do so would be to admit that the solidarity of Europe might be broken up with impunity, and that the Church was a failure. An Imperial army of two hundred thousand men, commanded by four of the electoral princes, was now hurled against the insurgent kingdom. Another almost equally formidable force, led by the Emperor and Duke Albert of Austria, was to enter Bohemia on the other side; and the Taborites and other malecontents were thus to be crushed between the closing walls. But the heroism of the blind old Ziska rose with

the occasion. He became the impersonation of War. He led forth his uncouth veterans, armed with iron flails, maces, and clumsy guns; and on the 8th of January, 1422, struck the electoral army as if with the sword of fate. He was borne about the field and directed the battle in person. The electoral forces were scattered like leaves before the wind. Having wrought their overthrow, Ziska wheeled about and fell upon the Emperor, who was in like manner routed and obliged to flee for his life. Such was the completeness

hand. In the year 1424 he began an expedition into Moravia, with a view to the expulsion from that country of Duke Albert of Austria, but while on the march he fell a victim to the plague.

After the death of their great leader the Taborites divided into two factions. One party chose for their leader a priest named Procopius the Great; and the other party, who called themselves the Orphans, chose another priest, who was styled Procopius the Little. Two years after the death of Ziska,



ZISKA VICTORIOUS.—Drawn by W. Camphausen.

of the double victory that but for the internal misfortunes of Bohemia her religious emancipation must have been secured.

The dissensions among the Hussites, however, became fiercer under the stimulus of success. The moderate party predominated in Prague, and Ziska was so angered at their conservatism that he prepared to take the city. In order to avoid such a calamity the leaders of the Calixtines made concessions to the implacable old general, and the Taborites made a triumphant entry into Prague. But the end of the career of Ziska was now at

Bohemia was for the third time invaded by the Imperial army. In the presence of the overwhelming danger the various sects of Hussites were obliged to leave off quarreling and unite their forces against the common enemy. Doing so, they gained another great victory over the forces of the Empire. Following up his advantage, the leader of the Taborites made an invasion of Austria and Silesia, and the Germans in their turn felt the terrors of war in their own country.

For the fourth time the Pope stirred up the orthodox princes to undertake the suppression

of the heretics. A force of two hundred thousand men was again thrown into the field, under the lead of the Archbishop of Treves, the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Saxony; but this great army met the same fate as its predecessors, being overthrown, routed, and dispersed by the victorious Taborites.

Procopius the Great now undertook to secure the religious unity of all the followers of Huss. In this work he was much more successful among the soldiers than among the people. Gathering most of the Hussite forces together, he made expeditions into Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, in all of which countries he triumphed over his adversaries until it appeared that none would be able to stay his course. A hundred towns and fifteen hundred villages sank into ashes in his route. Such were the tremendous heaps of booty piled up by his army that only a part of it could be taken into Bohemia—the rest was destroyed.

But for the obstinacy of the Pope a religious peace would now have been concluded. The pontiff, however, would hear to nothing but the extirpation of the heresy. Sigismund would gladly have left the Bohemians to themselves. He found more congenial work in a war with the Turks, which he undertook on the side of Hungary. In 1431 he concluded a peace on the Danubian frontier, and then listened to the appeal of Pope Eugenius IV. to reundertake the conquest of Bohemia. A fifth Imperial army, numbering a hundred and thirty thousand men and led by the Dukes Frederick and Albert, was thrown into the field, only to follow in the wake of its predecessors. In 1431 the Taborites won a complete victory over the enemy in the great battle of Thauss. They then marched in triumph to the Baltic, and made a successful invasion of Hungary.

The Pope was at last driven to call a council to settle a quarrel which five Imperial armies had been unable to decide in favor of the papacy. A mandate was accordingly issued for a general assembly of the Church at Basel. The Hussites would not attend until they were first guaranteed a safe conduct to and from the council. They then appeared to the number of three hundred, and as a basis of

what they would accept presented the same four articles of faith and practice for the maintenance of which they had heaped the plains of Bohemia with dead men. These articles were: first, the free preaching of the Gospel; second, the administration of both bread and wine in the sacrament to the laity; third, the renunciation of temporal power by the priesthood; and fourth, the punishment of sin by properly constituted authority. When it became evident that the prelates would not assent to these propositions, the Hussites withdrew from the council with the statement that any further negotiations with them would have to be carried on in Prague.

After vain wrangling as to what should next be done, it was decided to send a commission after the recusants and try to bring about a settlement. This course was accordingly taken, and the representatives of the Mother Church were obliged to make the concessions demanded by the heretics. In doing so, however, the commissioners managed to add to each of the four propositions of the Hussites certain saving clauses, which were intended to give the Church an opportunity of renouncing her engagement as soon as she should feel sufficiently strong to do so.

The negotiations at Prague had been managed on the side of the Bohemians by the conservative party. The Taborites and the Orphans believing that the treaty had thus been drawn in the interests of their enemies would not accept the settlement. The consequence was that the moderate party now united with the nobles and the Church against the fanatics. A civil war broke out, and for a short season raged with great fury; but in the space of two years the two heretical sects were scattered and exterminated. By the year 1434 the great religious insurrection of Bohemia was at an end, and the sea of papal authority, rolling back into the beds of the convulsion, again washed the ancient shores of Europe.

When the revolt was ended and quiet somewhat restored, the Emperor undertook in person to revive by his presence and counsel the wasted energies of Bohemia. He made a visit to Prague in 1436, and sought to create a reaction in favor of the Empire and the Church; but the Bohemians received him

with little favor. It was not long until a conspiracy was formed for his expulsion from the country, nor was the suspicion wanting that the Empress was a party to the plot. Sigismund hereupon beat a retreat from the land of danger, and returned into Moravia. Here, in 1437, at the city of Znaim, he fell sick and died, taking care that the latter ceremony should be performed in his Imperial robes and chair of state. Of all men the kings of the world have had the least sense of propriety in the presence of death.

In his last hours Sigismund named his son Albert as his successor. For once the electors were of the same opinion as the Emperor. Convening in the spring of 1438, they confirmed the choice of the late sovereign, and the Prince-elect became ALBERT II. At the time of his election he was Duke of Austria. From his father he inherited the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. He thus found himself in possession of a more complete sovereignty than any of his predecessors since the feudal break-up of society. To him, rather than to Rudolph, the princes of the House of Hapsburg looked as to the founder of that great and long-lived dynasty.

But Albert II. was destined to a brief and undistinguished reign. After his accession his attention was at once drawn to the war with the Turks. Against that aggressive race he organized an expedition; but before any decisive results could be reached he sickened and died in the second year of his reign. His son, Ladislaus, was born after the father's death, and could not well be considered in the Imperial election which followed in 1440.

On convening, the electors chose Frederick of Styria as the successor of Albert. The new sovereign took the title of FREDERICK III.—though that act no doubt cost him an effort; for he was so indolent as to regard with little less than horror all exertion whether of mind or body. The real sovereign was the Imperial secretary, Æneas Sylvius, who was destined in after years to reach the papacy with the title of Pius II. Of course, under the influence of such a minister Frederick became as clay in the hands of the papal potter.

In the mean time the great project of

reforming the Church had been constantly agitated. The Council of Basel was still in session. But it was noticeable that the demand for reform was not made by those who needed it, namely, the Popes and bishops. On the contrary, the high ecclesiastics guilty of the abuses complained of, set themselves like flint against all measures by which these abuses might be abolished. When the prelates assembled at Basel would fain have taken some steps towards a real reform Pope Eugenius IV. threatened to excommunicate the whole body. Hereupon the council displayed some spirit by deposing the Pope and choosing Amadeus of Savoy, who took the title of Felix V.

But Eugenius would not abdicate, and a schism broke out which promised any thing else than reform. The council in the main received the support of the secular princes, and Eugenius was about to be compelled to yield the papal crown to his rival. At this juncture, however, Frederick III. appeared on the scene. To be sure, he was no more than an Imperial puppet in the hands of Æneas Sylvius, his minister. The Emperor came as the champion of Eugenius. The Concordat of Vienna was issued in 1448, and its effect was to render null the edicts of the Council of Basel. Felix V., recently elected by that body, was forced to relinquish his pretensions, and the council itself, which had removed its sessions to Lausanne, adjourned in disgust. For *seventeen years* the prelates had been proposing and debating and then proposing again, and were now obliged, after the vain projects of more than half a lifetime, to yield to the mountainous pressure of Rome, and give up all hope of the work for which they had been called together.

Some years before this event, and in no wise connected with it, a violent feud had broken out between Zurich and the other cantons of Switzerland. The quarrel seemed to furnish Frederick III. with the long wished for opportunity to reestablish Imperial authority over the Swiss. The project, however, met with little favor in Germany, and the Emperor applied to Charles VII. of France for an army. The latter furnished him a force of thirty thousand men, commanded by the Dauphin, and in 1444 the invasion of Switzerland was begun.

In August of that year a mere handful of Swiss, numbering no more than sixteen hundred men, but fired with the audacious patriotism for which the men of the mountains have always been famous, marched forth and opposed themselves to the host of France. At St. James, near the city of Basel, they encountered the overwhelming masses of the enemy. It was a battle of twenty men to one, and the one perished. Not a man of the Swiss remained to tell the story. But so des-

for freedom. They rose against their rulers, the subordinate princes of the Empire, and took the field with whatever citizen armies they could extemporize for the conflict. For two years they maintained an unequal struggle with the Counts Frederick of Hohenzollern and Albert Achilles of Brandenburg. In 1450 the war was terminated by the defeat of the allied citizens and the restoration of princely rule over the municipalities. In the next year the Emperor sought a coronation at



ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE WITH THE SUABIANS.

perate was the courage with which they met the adversary, and so fearful the price at which they sold their lives, that the French army could not recover from the staggering blow. Turning back from an enterprise which it was evident they could not accomplish, the mercenaries of Frederick gave themselves to the more congenial work of pillaging Baden and Alsace.

The effect of this second emancipation of Switzerland by the sword was to encourage the cities of Suabia again to renew the battle

Rome. The Pope gladly accepted his humble servant, who led the mule of His Holiness through the street on the way to St. Peter's. After a twelve months' sojourn Frederick returned to Aix-la-Chapelle.

During his absence disturbances had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia, both states making common cause in demanding that Ladislaus, son of Albert II., should be liberated from the half-captivity in which he was held at the Emperor's court. This demand was powerfully supported by the Bohemian

leader, George Podiebrad, and by the great Hungarian, John Hunniades. Under the pressure which they were able to create, the Emperor was obliged to give up Austria to the Prince Ladislaus, who was soon afterwards elected to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary. In 1457, however, the young ruler died. The Hungarians thereupon chose for their king Matthew Corvinus, son of Hunniades, while the Bohemians elected George Podiebrad. Austria, which had reverted to Frederick III., was virtually governed by his brother Albert.

In glancing at the general condition of Germany at the middle of the fifteenth century, we find that Feudalism, which had virtually relinquished its grip in the countries west of the Rhine, or at least the spirit of Feudalism, was still in a measure dominant over political society. Within the limits of the alleged "Empire" were no fewer than three hundred and forty independent principalities. These were dukedoms, bishoprics, counties, abbeys, baronies, and cities. This group of petty powers arranged itself in new combinations at will. When one league had subserved its purpose, another took its place. During the reign of Frederick III., several diets were called, but few attended, and little business was transacted which tended to promote the general interests of Germany.

To this period belongs the history of the second great overthrow of the Teutonic Knights. In proportion as that powerful and half-barbaric Order recovered its energies after the defeat at Tannenberg, it became more oppressive than ever. Intolerable burdens and exactions were laid upon the cities which the Knights governed. The secular nobility were almost as much oppressed as were the people of the towns. At last the country barons who were not members of the Order made a league with the cities, and a revolt broke out against the Knights. The authorities of the Order were obliged to grant new charters or the renewal of the old to the insurgent cities. The latter purchased of Frederick III. the right to exact whatever terms they might be able to dictate to the Knights; but the Knights outbid the citizens in the market of duplicity, and the Emperor withdrew the privilege which he had granted.

The cities then appealed to the Poles for assistance, and the Teutonic Order did the same to the Emperor. The Poles were not slow to accept the proffered alliance, but Frederick left the Knights to their fate. They were defeated by the forces of the league, and West Prussia was taken from them and annexed to Poland.

To the latter part of the reign of Frederick III. belongs the history of his relations with Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The career of that audacious prince has already been traced in a preceding chapter. In his ambitious schemes to acquire the territory of his neighbors, and to erect out of the same a kingdom that might rival France and Germany, he was supported and encouraged by Frederick. The next thing seemed to be to unite the Houses of Hapsburg and Burgundy by marriage. With a view to promoting this design a meeting was had between Charles and Frederick in 1473, and it was arranged that the Princess Mary, heiress of Burgundy, should be given in marriage to Maximilian, son of the Emperor. It was unfortunate for the high contracting parties that their conference broke off with jealousy and distrust.

Presently afterwards Frederick III. exhibited his character or want of it by making an alliance with the Swiss as against the hostility of Charles the Bold. The complication led to the signing by the Emperor of what was called the Perpetual Peace with the Swiss, by the terms of which all claims of the Hapsburg princes to the mountain cantons were relinquished. Two years afterwards the great battle of Granson was fought between the mountaineers and the forces of Charles the Bold, and the latter, though outnumbering the Swiss three to one, were totally defeated. Charles presently rallied his forces, and a second battle ensued near the lake of Morat. Again the Burgundians were routed, leaving fifteen thousand dead on the field. These two disasters put a virtual end to the ambitious, almost insane, scheme of the great Burgundian prince. It only remained for the battle of Nancy, fought in the beginning of the following year, to put a period to his audacity and life.

Soon after her father's death, Mary of Burgundy was, according to the compact made

four years previously, married to the Duke Maximilian. The latter thereupon established himself in Flanders; and when Louis XI. attempted to gather up the fragments of Burgundy, repelled him beyond the borders. In 1482 Mary of Burgundy died from the effects of an injury received in a fall from her horse. She left two children, Philip and Margaret, the latter of whom was claimed by the king of France as the future bride of the Dauphin. French influence was again exerted in connection with a party in Flanders to deprive Maximilian of the regency of the country. But the latter defended himself in a war of two years' duration, and in 1485 was accepted by the Flemings as their rightful governor.

Such was the trend of events on the side of Switzerland and Burgundy. In the mean time Matthew Corvinus, king of Hungary, had succeeded in expelling Frederick III. from Vienna. The princes of the Empire were so little touched by this event that they resented not at all the indignities done to their Emperor. In 1486 a diet was convened at Frankfort, and Frederick invoked the aid of the princes against Hungary; but they refused to unite in such a cause. The body, however, performed one important act in the election of Maximilian king of Germany. The latter immediately set his hands to the task of securing the ascendancy of his House over Austria. But before that work could be accomplished he was summoned to another part of his dominions by a new revolt of the Flemings.

The aged and imbecile Emperor was now left naked to the contempt of the epoch. As the last resort of weakness he appealed to the free cities of Suabia to aid him in the proper assertion of his Imperial authority. A new league was formed, embracing twenty-two municipalities, and a citizen army was raised to relieve Maximilian, whom the Flemings had captured at Bruges. This joint undertaking of the Emperor and the cities was successful, and in 1489 Maximilian, delivered from prison, was restored to the regency. In the following year Frederick had an interview with Matthew Corvinus, and it was agreed that Austria should be relieved from the domination of the Hungarians. Soon afterwards Corvinus died. Frederick thereupon

advanced to Vienna, led an expedition into Hungary, concluded a treaty at Preshburg, and was restored to the rights hitherto possessed by the Hapsburg princes.

At this juncture Maximilian met a second reverse of fortune. Being now a widower, he sought the hand of the Princess Anna, heiress of Brittany. The offer was accepted, and the marriage performed by proxy. But before the *real* marriage could be consummated Charles VIII. of France, though himself betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, fell politically in love with Anna; and having the right of might, proceeded to marry her out of his rival's hands. The offended Maximilian then made a league with Henry VII. of England; and, supported by the free cities of Suabia, began a war on France. This formidable movement, however, received a serious backset by the refusal of the Netherlanders to support the league. Learning this fact Henry VII. withdrew from the alliance, and in 1493, Maximilian was obliged to conclude a treaty of peace.

Frederick III. was now in his dotage. The government of Germany had been virtually transferred to his son. The Emperor established his residence at Linz, and there gave himself up to piety and alchemic superstitions. It was one part of his daily creed to close the door behind him by thrusting back his right foot. The merit and good fortune of so doing were increased by the violence of the action. On a certain occasion the stiffened and rheumatic Frederick thrust his foot backwards with so much energy as to strain his limb. An inflammation was excited, and amputation became necessary. It was now midsummer, 1493. The Emperor died from the effects of the operation. In the previous October Christopher Columbus had set up the banner of Castile on the beach of San Salvador. It was the dawn of the Modern Era. Here, then, at the accession of MAXIMILIAN I., we take leave, for the present, of the political history of Germany, and turn to that of England. Before doing so, however, failure should not be made to mention an event of startling significance in the annals of the fifteenth century, and of the vastest importance to the progress of human thought and freedom. This was the invention of PRINTING. It is

agreeable to turn from the follies and intrigues of ignorant kings and bigoted pontiffs to that noiseless underdeed of the mind of

man, silently working out one of the great problems of civilization.

The stamping of playing cards from



CHARLES VIII. RECEIVES ANNA OF BRITTANY.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

blocks seems to have forerun the art of wood engraving. The latter began to be in vogue as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century. The first application of the art to the printing of books dates to the year 1420, when Lawrence Coster, of Harlem, produced an entire book from wooden blocks,

overcome in the early part of the preceding century.

The invention of a press for printing followed close after that of the types. The date ascribed to this second step so essential to the multiplication and diffusion of knowledge, is 1440. In this work Gutenberg was assisted



DESTRUCTION OF PRINTING PRESSES IN MAYENCE.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

each page constituting a single engraving. To John Gutenberg, of Mayence, however, belongs the honor of having invented *movable* types, and of casting the same of metal. The chief difficulties which impeded his progress were in discovering a suitable compound for the types and in finding an ink that would yield clear impressions. The problem of manufacturing paper from linen had already been

by his partner, John Faust. The latter was of a more practical turn and less of an enthusiast than his co-laborer, and the two could not agree. Gutenberg withdrew from the partnership, and Faust took in his place another genius named Peter Schœffer, and the work went on more successfully. Schœffer found out the right combinations for the types, and also succeeded in making a good

ink. Then the work of printing began in earnest. In 1457 the first printed book appeared, being a psalter in Latin. Four years later a Bible was printed, that also being in Latin. Then in 1463 a German Bible appeared. Considering the difficulties to be overcome in what was at the first so prodigious an undertaking, the excellence, mechanical and literary, of these earliest printed volumes was, and has ever since remained, a marvel. It was evident from the first instance of complete success that the days of manuscript books were ended; for from the first the price of the printed was only about one-tenth as much as that of the written volume.

It was the purpose of the inventors to secure the full advantage of their invention by keeping their work a secret, and in this they

succeeded for about five years. In 1462, however, the city of Mayence was taken by Adolph of Nassau, and thus the seal of the mystery was broken by violence. A knowledge of the invention was diffused, and it was not long until the printing-press was doing its beneficent work in Holland, Italy, and England. Thus, in the middle of the fifteenth century, were the means provided for the emancipation of thought and the universal enlightenment of men. To the trembling Belshazzar of Superstition the shadow of the printing-press was the handwriting on the wall which foretold the subversion of the ancient kingdom of darkness. No wonder, therefore, that the monks, who were the secretaries of this deity, did all in their power to suppress the work of Gutenberg and Faust, and to bar up the gates of the Morning.

CHAPTER XXV.—ENGLAND IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.



WHEN the Christian kingdom in Syria was finally subverted, the English throne was occupied by Edward Plantagenet, son of Henry III. The history of his reign has already been given in part in the preceding

Book.¹ After the defeat and imprisonment of John Baliol the English king presumed to treat the Scots as vanquished enemies. Earl Warrene was appointed to the government of the kingdom, and the subordinate officers were distributed to the English as against the Scots. The latter were galled by the position to which they were reduced.

Such was the condition of affairs in the closing years of the thirteenth century. At this juncture the great national hero, William Wallace, appeared on the scene, and undertook the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of the English. Such were his abilities and such was the magnetism of his name that he soon drew to his standard the best ele-

ments of Scottish society. The nobles of the North, however, were as little disposed to unite in a common cause as were those of the continent. Quarrels broke out among them, and the progress of the revolution was checked by their dissensions. Nevertheless, Wallace upheld the banner of his country for the space of eight years. At times it appeared that the English would be driven entirely beyond the borders of Scotland; but in the battle of Falkirk, Edward won so complete a victory that the Scottish cause was ruined. With almost unparalleled courage Wallace continued to conflict until 1305, when he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was put to death.

The cause for which Robert Bruce and William Wallace had died was now transmitted to the younger Bruce, also bearing the name of Robert. This prince was not lacking in the qualities of a great leader. He stood as the representative of the national sentiment as against the English, and was crowned by the Countess of Buchanan, a member of that family who had long exercised the right of

¹ See Book Fifth, pp. 415, 416.

presiding at the coronation of the Scottish kings.

But the virtue and strength of the North failed in the presence of Edward's army. The

Younger Bruce became an adventurer, and was presently driven to find refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Still, from these inaccessible strongholds the Scottish patriots



BRUCE WARNED TO FLY FROM LONDON.

continued to make their descents upon their enemies. While on an expedition against the mountain guerrillas Edward sickened and died, in the summer of 1307, being then in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

There was little danger, however, that the English crown would go a-begging among strangers, for Edward was the father of seventeen children. The throne was immediately claimed by the eldest son of the late monarch, who took the title of Edward II. In the same year of his accession he took in marriage the Princess Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair of France—a union which added nothing to the happiness or prosperity of either kingdom. It was the misfortune of the new sovereign to be guided in public and private affairs by a worthless favorite named Piers Gaveston, whom Edward I. had made his son promise not to recall from banishment. So insolent was the conduct of this barnacle of the kingdom that the nobles made a conspiracy to drive him out of England. Edward was obliged, under the pressure, to pretend to dismiss Gaveston from his council, but instead of sending him away to Gascony, the king gave him a secret commission as Governor of Ireland. A year afterwards he was recalled to resume his old place at the English court.

Hereupon—a so great was the anger of the people—a civil war broke out. The earls of Pembroke, Lancaster, and Warwick headed the insurrection, and after some desultory fighting Gaveston and his adherents were captured in Scarborough Castle. It was not to be expected that the culprit who had so mortally offended the English nation would be permitted to escape. His captors led him forth to Blacklow Hill and cut off his head.

The foolish Edward would fain have gone to war with his barons to avenge the death of his worthless favorite, but he durst not undertake so perilous a business. In 1313 he accepted, at their dictation, the peace which they were pleased to offer. The turmoil thus provoked in England gave excellent opportunity to the Scottish patriots to renew the struggle for freedom. The Younger Bruce gained one battle after another until the entire English possessions within the limits of Scotland were reduced to the three castles of Berwick, Stirling, and Dunbar. After the

settlement of his troubles with the barons King Edward raised a powerful army, and advanced to the North determined to exterminate the Scots at once and forever. Bruce had mustered his forces, to the number of thirty thousand, at BANNOCKBURN, in the vicinity of Stirling Castle. Here he took a strong position, and made ready to defend himself to the last. He put the river in his front and a bog on either hand. Pits were digged, into which the English cavalry might plunge on the charge. Thus securely posted, the Scots awaited the attack of the overwhelming and confident enemy.

On the morrow the battle was begun by the cavalry commanded by the young Earl of Gloucester, nephew of the king. Before reaching the Scottish lines, the horsemen began to fall into the pits. The leader himself thus perished in the very beginning of the engagement. In a short time the cavalry turned and fled, pursued by the forces of Sir James Douglas. This unexpected retreat threw the English into confusion and a general rout ensued which Edward and his officers were unable to check. In order to escape with his life, the king was obliged to take to flight. The English camp was plundered by the victorious Scots. Edward's forces fled for nearly a hundred miles before they felt themselves secure from the swords of the avenging Scots. So decisive was the victory won by Bruce that he was enabled to take the throne of Scotland.

The effect of such a disaster was not conducive to the fortune of Edward in his own kingdom. Civil strife again broke out, which was fanned into a flame by the king's choice of a new favorite, a certain Hugh Spenser of Wales. The latter soon became as unpopular as Gaveston himself, and the Earl of Lancaster headed a revolt against him. In 1322, however, the earl was overthrown and captured. It was now his turn to receive the full stroke of the vengeance which he had provoked. He was tried, condemned, led out to a hill near his own castle of Pontefract, and there beheaded in the same merciless manner as Gaveston had been ten years previously.

In the history of France the circumstances of the beginning of the long hostility of the

English and French kings has been narrated. It will be remembered that, after the Feudal manner, the province of Guienne was held by the ruler of England. In return for such holding he must do homage to his suzerain, the king of France. As the two kingdoms grew in power and importance such an act became especially distasteful to the Plantagenets, who would fain keep their continental province by some other tenure. In 1325 Queen Isabella was sent by the English king to do homage by proxy to her brother.

It was for the husband an unfortunate mission. The queen was in a frame of mind little calculated to conserve the interests of her liege. As soon as she was in France she entered into a conspiracy with the exiled nobles recently expelled from England for taking part in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion. A leader of the movement was the unscrupulous Roger Mortimer, who had already been twice pardoned for treason. In 1326 he and the queen returned to England, and Edward, whose absurd partiality for the favorite Spenser had alienated the affections of his subjects, was driven from the throne. He made his escape into Wales, and flattered himself that the people of the West would rise in his favor. But not so. After drifting fugitive for a season he was captured in the monastery of Neath by the young Earl of Lancaster, and imprisoned at Kenilworth. His favorite was taken and put to death.

In the mean time the queen had gained possession of her son Edward, afterwards Edward III., and together with Mortimer had had him proclaimed regent of the kingdom. Of course the real power—for the prince was but fourteen years of age—was in the hands of the queen and her unscrupulous favorite. They proceeded to declare that the imprisoned Edward II. was incapable of governing; and the declaration had the merit of truthfulness, a strange virtue considering the source whence it emanated. They then proclaimed the young Edward king, but the prince, with commendable respect for his unfortunate father, refused to accept the crown while the real king still lived. Hereupon a supple parliament made haste to declare the deposition of Edward II., and sent an embassy to Kenilworth to notify the royal prisoner of his dethronement. The

monarch meekly submitted to his fate. Sir Thomas Blount, high steward of the kingdom, broke the scepter, and declared the reign of Edward of Caernarvon at an end.

It is in the nature of such revolutions that the conspirators must fortify their crime with other crimes more criminal. It was clear that while the deposed Edward lived the crown could never rest securely on the head of his son—that the queen and her paramour could never be at heart's-ease. The dethroned monarch was accordingly put into a course of discipline intended to extinguish him in such manner that silent nature might bear the blame. He was given into the keeping of Lords Berkeley, Maltravers, and Gournay, by whom he was to be *cared for* by turns. The first nobleman was more humane than the other two, and Edward was kindly treated while he remained at Berkeley castle; but Maltravers and Gournay omitted no indignity and neglect which were calculated to kill. At last, in the year 1327, he was murdered outright at the castle of Lord Berkeley, during the absence of that worthy man from home. The way was thus opened for the full assumption of the crown by EDWARD III. Being still a mere boy the queen and Mortimer had for a while the management of affairs in their own hands.

The next crime which was deemed expedient by this unroyal pair was the murder of the Duke of Kent, brother of Edward II. Other deeds of similar sort followed, until the patience of the English was exhausted and civil war was threatened; but this calamity was averted by the turning of public attention to affairs on the Scottish border. Robert Bruce, now king of Scotland, sought opportunity in the distracted condition of England to retaliate upon that country for the injuries which his own had suffered at her hands. Supposing that the young son of an unwarlike king would be ill able to sustain a conflict with a veteran like himself, the Scot began a series of hostilities on the northern frontiers of England. But he reckoned without his host. In a short time the English king taught the Bruce that Edward III. was a very different personage from Edward II. King Robert was presently obliged to sue for peace, and to accept the same on terms favorable to England.

Edward now sought marriage. He chose for his queen the Princess Philippa of Hainault, who proved to be in almost every par-

to look upon her as the angel of all good gifts. A stronger contrast could hardly be drawn than that existing between the charac-



QUEEN PHILIPPA WITH THE POOR.

After the painting of F. Pauwels.

ticular the superior of the royal ladies of the century. She was gentle, amiable, and given to charity. The poor of the kingdom came

ter, manners, and influence of Philippa and those of the reckless queen mother, Isabella. Nor was the comparison of King Edward with

the princes of his age unfavorable to the former. He was as much of a gentleman and scholar as could be expected in a ruler of his times. To these attainments he is said to have added a pleasing address and a dignified expression of countenance. His moral qualities were fairly good and his courage unquestionable. If ambition could have been considered meritorious, then indeed would Edward III. have been one of the worthiest of mediæval sovereigns. He would rule not only England, but all other realms which he might be able to subdue.

Fortunately or unfortunately for the age, the circumstances existing in the neighboring states were such as to excite rather than allay the ambitious projects which at an early date of his reign gained the mastery of the mind of Edward. In France the three sonless sons of Philip IV. had successively reigned and died. The daughters of these kings were excluded from the throne by the Salic law of France. Should the French crown now go back to the son of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV., or might it not rather be transmitted to the son of Isabella, sister of three kings and mother of another? With the death of Charles IV. of France, in 1327, Edward did not hesitate to declare that, though his mother might not *wear*, she might none the less *transmit* the French crown to her son.

It was the peculiarity of the situation that the very foundation of Edward's claim to the French throne was now his weakness. For the queen mother, Isabella, was living with Roger Mortimer at Nottingham Castle, and the twain had rendered themselves so odious to the English nation that the king found it necessary to dispose of them before the people could be induced to enter into his project for the conquest of France. As usual in such cases, the wrath of Edward fell on *him* rather than *her*. After bringing over the governor of Nottinghamshire to his interests and wishes, the English king contrived by means of a subterranean passage to enter the apartment where his mother and Mortimer were. In vain did she plead with her politically angry son. He caused Roger to be seized in her presence, carried a prisoner to Westminster, tried, condemned, and hanged on a gallows at Tyburn.

The queen mother was for her part obliged to take up her residence for the rest of her days at Rising—though Edward forbore to treat her with the disrespect which her conduct seemed to merit.

Once freed from the ascendancy of the unworthy, the government of Edward rose rapidly in public esteem. He soon found himself so fortified in the confidence of the nation that he felt warranted in beginning his career as a warrior. His first foreign campaign was against the boy David, now king of Scotland. Robert Bruce, the father of the latter, was dead, and the son proved no match (how could he, at the age of seven?) for the English king. In less than a year David was dethroned, and the crown of Scotland conferred on the son of John Baliol, under the protection of Edward.

But this sudden reverse to the patriot party of the Scots was by no means fatal to their hopes. They continued the war in the old way, rallying after each defeat and returning to the conflict. It was not long until the astute Edward perceived the unprofitableness of such a war. The prize was not worth the expenditure. After nearly five years spent in the effort to pacify the men of the North under the rule of the younger Baliol, the English king determined to turn his attention to the more promising field of France. He accordingly equipped an army, and in 1338 proceeded by way of Antwerp to invade the kingdom of Philip VI. But the campaign was checked at the very beginning, and Edward fell back to renew his preparations. After nearly two years spent in equipping a fleet and raising additional forces, he again sailed for the continent. Off Sluys he encountered the French squadron, and against all expectation gained a complete victory. Edward was enabled to land his army and proceed as far as Tournay; but the news came to him of troubles at home, and in 1342 he was induced to accept a truce with Philip in order that he might the better care for the interests of England.

He returned to find the coffers of the kingdom empty and the country disturbed in all her borders. It became necessary for him to mortgage the crown and the queen's jewels in order to secure money, but his energy was

equal to the occasion. As soon as England was somewhat pacified, he began to lay anew his plans for the conquest of France. In 1346 he led over a formidable army into Normandy. His son, the celebrated Black Prince, was next to the king chief in command, and now began to display that military genius for which he was soon to become so conspicuous in the history of his times.

Meanwhile Philip V. prepared to repel the invaders with an army more than three times the number of the English. He marched into Normandy and came to the plain of Crecy. After maneuvering for some days, the two forces came together on that ever memorable field. At the first onset the brunt of the battle fell on the division commanded by the Black Prince, and that valorous warrior was hard-pressed by the French. The king, however, would not go to his relief, confident, perhaps, of the valor of his son, and remarking that he did not wish to deprive him of the honor of victory. It is related that these words of the king were carried to the prince and his soldiers, who thereupon renewed the fight with such audacity that the French were routed from all parts of the field. If the chronicles of the times may be trusted, the French left forty thousand dead and dying men on the bloody plain of Crecy.

For a while Philip was paralyzed by the shock of defeat. Before he could reorganize his forces the English king proceeded to Calais with a view of wresting that stronghold from his adversary. It appeared, however, that the place was impregnable, and Edward was constrained to undertake to accomplish by famine what he had purposed to do by storm. He accordingly invested the city round about and stationed his fleet in the harbor. The citizens of Calais, under the lead of their governor, John de Vienne, prepared for an obstinate resistance. As starvation was the thing to be dreaded, they expelled seventeen hundred of their own people—the aged, the infirm, women, and children—from the city; and these must have perished but for the clemency of Edward, who opened his lines and permitted the houseless exiles to scatter into the country. For eleven months the city was closely invested, and no succor came to the besieged. The defenders of Calais ate

their horses, and then subsisted for a season on dogs and cats; but at last all supplies were exhausted, and De Vienne was obliged to capitulate.

King Edward was now exasperated to the last degree, and would hear to nothing in the way of terms except on condition that six of the leading citizens should be led forth barefoot, with ropes about their necks, and be delivered into his hands for execution. The news of this savage condition at first paralyzed the burghers, but when the inhabitants were gathered in a concourse Eustace de Pierre, one of the wealthiest merchants, volunteered to be the first of the victims. He was immediately followed by five other heroes like minded with himself, and the six were led forth to Edward's tent. The relentless king immediately gave orders for their execution; but at the very crisis of their fate Queen Philippa threw herself upon her knees before her irate lord and besought him to spare those who were about to become martyrs to his wrath. In the presence of her sincere and tearful expostulations the heart of the king gave way, and he ordered the prisoners to be released. The heroic burghers who had laid their lives on the altar of the city's safety were taken to the queen's tent, fed and consoled, and sent back to Calais. The city was immediately given up to the English, and on the 4th of August, 1347, Edward took possession of the coveted prize. To make assurance doubly sure that he should be able to retain what had cost him so much toil and vexation, he compelled the inhabitants of Calais to seek other homes, and then re-peopled the city with the English.

Meanwhile the Younger Bruce had continued the war for the Scottish crown. An army was raised during Edward's absence in France, and an invasion of England begun. The English king sent Philippa back to his capital to defend the realm against the aggressive Scots. An English army was sent to the northern border, and the defeated Bruce was taken prisoner near Durham, and afterwards shut up for safe keeping in the Tower of London. The queen herself, as soon as the insurgents were certainly overthrown, hastened across the Channel to carry the good news to her husband, at that time engaged in the siege of Calais.

Now it was that the great plague known as the Black Death, caught perhaps from some polluted precinct of the East, spread its terrible ravages over Western Europe. France suffered in full measure from the horrors of this pestilence. The operations of war were



QUEEN PHILIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE BURGHERS OF CALAIS.

Drawn by A. de Neville

suspended to make way for a still more dreadful scourge. For six years after the capture of Calais by the English, Edward was obliged to desist from his attempt to snatch the French crown from the House of Valois. Before he was able to resume his projects of conquest, Philip VI. died, and the throne of France was taken by his son John, surnamed the Good. Two years afterwards, namely in 1352, the war broke out afresh. An account of the struggle which ensued during the next four years has already been given in a preceding chapter of the present Book.¹ Suffice it to say that the victorious Black Prince made his name a terror through all the borders of France. In midsummer of 1356 he marched from Bordeaux with an army of twelve thousand men, and in a campaign of two months' duration devastated the country to within a few miles of the ancient battlefield of Poitiers. Meanwhile King John had equipped an army numbering sixty thousand, and come forth to overwhelm his enemies. But the disparity of five to one daunted not the spirit of the fierce Plantagenet, who had inherited that strange mixture of courage and audacity for which his great ancestors were famous in the times of the Holy Wars.

On the 17th of September the two armies pitched their camps but a mile apart. In vain did the Pope's legate, Perigorde, ride back and forth between the king and the prince, endeavoring to prevent a battle. As for the English commander, he was very willing to accept such honorable terms as one generous foe was wont to grant to another. But King John, believing that the lion's whelp was now ginned in a trap from which he could not escape, would hear to nothing other than the dispersion of the English forces and the giving up to himself of the prince and a hundred of his knights to be detained as prisoners in France. Such a condition was indignantly rejected by the English leader; the legate gave over his endeavors, and the two armies made ready for battle.

With the morning of the 19th the conflict began. The French forces were arranged in three divisions. The attack of the first two was irregularly made; the assailants became first confused, then alarmed, and then terri-

fied. A panic ensued, for which, although the English had already dealt a serious loss upon the enemy, there was no adequate occasion. Breaking from the field in disorderly masses, the first and second divisions rolled away in a rout, and the whole brunt of the battle fell upon the third division, commanded by the king and his son Philip. The French now fought desperately to retrieve the day; but the oriflamme of France tottered and fell before the invincible valor of the sturdy English, who had made up their minds to conquer or die. The French king displayed great valor, and not until his three best generals were killed did he give over the conflict. He was surrounded, overwhelmed, captured, and for the moment his life was endangered by the turbulent soldiers, who clamored for possession of the royal prisoner. The Black Prince, learning that the king was taken, sent the Earl of Warwick to bring him safely to his tent, where Plantagenet received him with all the courtesies which a true knight was expected to show to a fallen enemy.¹

In April of the following year the Black Prince conveyed his prisoners to London. Great was the spectacle. The citizens of the metropolis poured out by thousands to see the captive king of France, clad in royal robes, riding beside the grim Prince of Wales, who had brought him home as a trophy. At Westminster the train was met by King Edward, who embraced his fellow monarch as though in sympathy with his misfortunes. England was thus possessed of three kings—her own, David Bruce of Scotland, and John the Good. As to the Bruce, he was soon afterwards set at liberty and permitted to return to Scotland.

An indescribable confusion followed the captivity of the French king. A regency was established in France under the Dauphin; but he was little able to stay the tide of calamity, and was presently obliged to make a treaty with Edward, ceding to that monarch several provinces, including the city of Bordeaux, where the Black Prince established his

¹ It is narrated that when the Black Prince had ordered for his royal prisoner the finest supper which the English camp could afford, he himself would not sit in King John's presence, but persisted in standing behind his chair, serving and soothing the crestfallen monarch as best he might.

¹ See *ante*, p. 461.

capital. One of the first things to be attended to was to determine the ransom of King John. This was presently fixed at the enormous sum of three millions of crowns. It was also agreed that forty French noblemen should be put in pawn for the payment of the stipulated amount. After many delays and prevarications, and tortuous endeavors to obtain other and more favorable terms, the treaty was at last ratified, and in the autumn of 1360 Edward accompanied his brother king to Calais, where John was set at liberty. The government of the provinces acquired by treaty from France was assigned to the Prince of Wales, who repaired to Bordeaux accompanied by his wife, the Princess Joan, daughter of the Duke of Kent.

It has already been recounted how the Duke of Anjou, one of the French hostages, made his escape from Calais and refused to return. It soon appeared, moreover, that the Dauphin was little disposed to fulfill in good measure the terms of the settlement. In vain did the chivalrous King John insist that his subjects should observe the stipulations by which he had obtained his liberty. Finding that they would not, and that his honor was about to be smirched, he returned to England and gave himself up to Edward. Nor have after times failed to bestow a just measure of applause upon the representative of the House of Valois who prized his faith above his freedom. It was not long, however, until the treaty-keeping king fell sick at the palace of Savoy, where his constrained residence was established, and there died in the year 1364.

The story of the imbroglio in which the Black Prince became involved with Henry of Trastamare need not be repeated.¹ It is sufficient, in this connection, to note the fact that after the defeat and death of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, his two daughters, the Princesses Constantia and Isabella, fled for refuge to the court of the Black Prince at Bordeaux, and there became his sisters-in-law by the marriage of the first to John of Gaunt and of the other to the Duke of York, both sons of Edward III. Thus began the affinities between the royal families of England and Spain.

The Black Prince returned from his Span-

ish campaigns in broken health. He grew constantly worse, and the English nation was obliged to witness the shattered form of its favorite warrior tottering helplessly to the grave. He died in 1376; nor could it well be said whether the people or the king was more deeply grieved at the calamity. Such was the shock to the already aged and infirm Edward that he survived his son's death less than a year. After a reign of a little more than fifty years he died at the palace of Shene on the 1st of June, 1377. The crown descended to Richard, son of the Black Prince, who took the title of Richard II.

Several events of the reign of Edward III., less conspicuous but perhaps more important than his wars, may well be noticed in the history of his times. The establishment of the Order of the Knights of the Garter is ascribed to him as the founder. The division of the English Parliament into the two houses of Lords and Commons was effected under his auspices. Still more important was the substitution of the new English language for Norman French, which for three hundred years had been the official language of the kingdom. The change had been begun as early as the reign of Henry III., one of whose proclamations is generally regarded as the earliest specimen of what may be properly called English. During the reigns of the two Edwards I. and II. the transformation had made slow progress; but about the middle of the reign of the Third Edward the new tongue appeared in the laws and public documents of the kingdom, and Norman French rapidly fell into disuse. In 1356 Sir John Mandeville, returning from his travels in the East, composed an account of his journeys first in Latin and then in Norman French; but finding that neither tongue any longer appealed to the unresponsive ear of England, he rewrote his treatise in her own new language, and this work is generally regarded as the first book in English.

King Edward contributed to the buildings of his times the castle of Windsor and the new chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. The latter became the meeting-place of the House of Commons, and continued to be so until the present century, when it was destroyed in a conflagration. Another important fact attributed to the reign of Edward was the

¹ See *ante*, p. 455.

introduction of fire-arms in battle. It is believed that the first occasion of the use of gunpowder by the English was in the battle of Crecy in 1356.

RICHARD II., the new sovereign of England, who on the death of his grandfather in 1377 came to the throne of England, was a prince unfitted by nature for the duties of so great a trust. It was his misfortune, moreover, to come into power under the protection and guardianship of three uncles, of whom John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was the most ambitious and unscrupulous. From the first his influence in the affairs of the kingdom became predominant, and he would fain make war, conduct campaigns, and conclude treaties after the manner of his father. But he had not his father's abilities, and it was not long until the kingdom began to feel the disastrous effects arising from the rule of a nominal king controlled by an ambitious nobleman.

In the year 1381 the lower classes of the English people were excited to disloyalty and rebellion by a poll tax levied on all persons above the age of fifteen years. Though the tax was but a shilling a head, it was an excessive burden, for the purchasing power of money was at that time perhaps ten times as great as at the present. It happened that, while this odious tax was being collected at the town of Deptford, one of the collectors was killed in a riot. A crowd of people gathered in the excitement and put themselves under the leadership of a certain Walter, who was gate-keeper or *tyler* of the town. He soon discovered great capacity in raising and commanding the rabble. Under the name of Wat Tyler he drew to his banner in Blackheath a vast mob numbering three hundred thousand men. With a fellow leader known by the name of Jack Straw he organized his angry host as well as might be and set out for London. At this time John of Gaunt and the Duke of Gloucester were absent from the kingdom, and the weak Richard II. stood trembling like a reed before the gathering tempest.

No adequate preparations were made to keep the forces of the insurgents out of the city. At the first noise of their approach the king, with the royal family and a few nobles, sought refuge in the Tower, and the rebels gained undisputed possession of the city.

Then followed a reign of lawless violence, the like of which had not been seen since the days of the Danes. After King Riot had for some days kept carnival in London, Richard II., with commendable courage, went forth unarmed from the Tower and sought an interview with the insurgents. He demanded of them that they should state their request, in order that he might know their grievance and supply their wants. The mob replied that they would have freedom for themselves and their children. To this the king assented, and thirty secretaries were appointed to write out charters for the various municipalities represented by the insurgents. With this concession the larger part of the rebels dispersed to their homes; but Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, having had a taste of excess and license, could not be pacified. With extreme audacity, they broke into the Tower and killed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the High Chancellor of the kingdom; but the career of the desperate guerrilla was now destined to a speedy end. On the day after the assault on the Tower the king and the Lord Mayor of the city, with their attendants, were passing through Smithfield and were met by the insurgents, twenty thousand strong. Wat Tyler rode up to Richard and began to offer him insults. Whereupon the Lord Mayor dashed upon him with drawn sword and thrust him through the body. The mob was like any other huge animal whose head has been cut off with a blow. Its power of action and volition was gone.

The king, with a presence of mind and courage not to have been expected in one who had displayed so many weaknesses, rode boldly among the rebels and exclaimed in a calm voice, "My friends, be not concerned for the loss of your unworthy leader; I will be your leader;" and turning his horse he suited the action to the word by putting himself in Wat Tyler's place. This presence of mind on the part of Richard succeeded to admiration. The multitude, with its usual fickleness, turned and followed the king. At this juncture, however, a vast throng of loyal citizens, hearing a false report that Richard had been slain by the rebels, rushed forth from the city to fall upon the insurgents, who, seeing themselves about to be cut down, fell

humbly before the king and besought his pardon. The mild temper of the monarch sought not to take advantage of the defeated mob or to destroy what was no longer dangerous. Pardon was freely granted, and the revolt was at an end.



DEATH OF WAT TYLER.
Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

The immediate effect was to heighten greatly the esteem in which Richard was held by his subjects. It soon appeared, however, that his recent display of courageous virtue had been pressed out by the emergency, and that his moral nature was exhausted by the sudden drain. His unkingly qualities again became conspicuous, and his disqualification for the work of governing was more and more manifest. A short time after the suppression of Wat Tyler's rebellion the king revoked the charters which he had granted, and that state of half-serfdom called *villanage*, under which the English had groaned since the days of the Conquest, was restored. Meanwhile the king's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, continued to prosecute his schemes of ambition. His marriage with Constantia, daughter of Pedro the Cruel of Castile, and the usurpation of the Castilian crown by Henry of Trastamare, furnished old John of Gaunt with an admirable pretext for claiming the throne made vacant by the death of his father-in-law.

But in order to prosecute this claim it was necessary that Lancaster should be supported by the soldiers and money of England. Such was his ascendancy in the kingdom that a large army was raised without much difficulty, and in 1386 the ambitious duke left England to lay claim to the throne of Castile. That royal seat was at this time occupied by the son of Henry of Trastamare, who, refusing to join battle with the English who had invaded his realm, awaited their extermination by the same agencies which had proved fatal to the Black Prince and his army—pestilence and famine. Without being able to bring his antagonist to a decisive battle, Lancaster wasted his resources in petty conflicts and unimportant campaigns. At last he chose to adopt a new policy, and made overtures to the Prince of Trastamare for a settlement of their respective claims. It was agreed that one of the daughters of Lancaster should be given in marriage to the Castilian prince and another to the king of Portugal. Having thus prepared the way for the assumption of royalty by his posterity, John of Gaunt gave over his conquest in the South, and in 1389 returned to England.

On arriving in that realm he found the affairs of state in the last degree of confusion.

The king had abused his prerogatives. Parliament in its extreme displeasure had seized and imprisoned the king's favorite, Michael de la Pole. Richard himself had been obliged to agree to an act establishing a regency; but in this instance the regent was not one but many.

Fourteen nobles were appointed to manage the kingdom, and Richard, though not formally deposed, was virtually deprived of his right to rule. At the head of this opposition stood Thomas, duke of Gloucester. It became his policy to take away the last prop of the tottering Plantagenet by destroying the few friends who still adhered to his fortunes. Even the venerable Sir Simon Burleigh, who had taught Richard in his youth, was cut down without mercy. All of the king's favorites were destroyed, with the exception of De la Pole and a few others, who fled into foreign lands.

Before the return of Lancaster from Spain the battle of Otterburn had been fought between the English and Scots. The engagement was indecisive, but Lord Douglas was slain and Henry Percy, known as Hotspur in Shakespeare's drama, fell into the hands of the enemy. At length the English king, finding himself in a condition as intolerable as death itself, suddenly aroused himself in a fit of desperation and renounced the authority of his arrogant uncles. For the moment the Duke of Gloucester was paralyzed by this sudden display of reviving spirit on the part of the king; but he retired to the castle of Pleshy, and that place soon became the head-quarters for the malcontents of the kingdom.

A plot was now formed for the seizure of Richard and his deposition from the throne. The king, however, had the good fortune to fathom the schemes of his enemies, and instead of being arrested himself he caused his uncle Gloucester to be seized and carried a prisoner to Calais. The Earls of Warwick and Arundel were also taken and imprisoned in the Tower. A Parliament was called, articles of accusation were prepared against Gloucester and his associates, and a day was fixed for the duke's trial. But when the appointed time arrived the intelligence was given to the august court that Gloucester had *died* in his prison at Calais. The news was founded

in fact, but lacked to perfect truthfulness the additional clause that Richard Plantagenet had been privy to his uncle's death.

The year 1398 was marked by an event illustrative of the character of royalty in the closing years of the fourteenth century. Young Henry Bolingbroke, son of the Duke of Lancaster, quarreled with the Duke of Norfolk. The matter between them was a charge made by the latter that the king had procured the murder of Gloucester. This insinuation Henry resented, and the king decided that the question should be determined after the mediæval fashion by single combat between the parties. A day was accordingly appointed, and a great concourse, including Parliament and many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, was gathered to witness the decision. When the crisis came, however, the uneasy king, on whose cause Henry Bolingbroke had staked his life, interfered, forbade the combat, and gave sentence of banishment against Norfolk for life and his own champion for ten years. Such was the administration of justice when the sun of chivalry was setting in the West.

In the following year the Duke of Lancaster died. Henry, his son, was in exile, and Richard thus found opportunity to seize his uncle's estates. Such an outrage aroused all the animosity of Henry's character. Being then in France, he appealed to the Duke of Brittany to aid him in recovering his patrimony. The duke was not slow to render the desired assistance, and ships and men were soon equipped for the expedition. Early in July of 1399 Henry and his confederates landed at Ravensburgh in Yorkshire. The defense of the kingdom had been intrusted to the indolent Duke of York, for the king himself had been obliged to go to Ireland to suppress a revolt in that already turbulent island. Such was the discontent in the kingdom that many of the leading nobles, including the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, abandoned the cause of Richard and went over to Bolingbroke. The Duke of York himself was so thoroughly disaffected that, after some brief persuasions judiciously insinuated by Henry, he too joined his fortunes to the aspiring banner of Lancaster. So widespread was the defection that when Richard

returned from Ireland he found himself virtually abandoned, and was constrained to lead off his few adherents in the direction of Conway.

In a short time the king agreed to an interview with Bolingbroke, who coolly led him away to London and imprisoned him in the Tower. The fallen monarch was obliged to sign an agreement to relinquish at once and forever the crown of England. This compact between the loving cousins was laid before Parliament, and that body formally deposed Richard from the throne and conferred the crown on Bolingbroke, who took the title of HENRY IV. As for the captive Richard, he, like his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, died in Pontifract Castle, to which he was transferred for sake keeping. But the circumstances of his taking-off were never divulged.

In this connection it is proper to refer to what may be called the antecedents of the Reformation in England. Among the personal agents by whom the movement was begun the first place must be assigned to JOHN DE WICKLIFFE, a scholarly and virtuous priest of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. He was born in Yorkshire in 1324, and lived to the age of sixty, being a contemporary of Edward III. At this period in the religious history of England the various monastic orders had so encroached upon the parish priests that the latter were well-nigh crushed under the weight. Wickliffe did not hesitate to denounce the abuses and corruptions which had arisen in the Church, and to reject as false many of her doctrines. He also openly advocated the rendition of the Scriptures into



JOHN WICKLIFFE.

From the Luther statue in Worms.

the language of the people, though in this advocacy he was bitterly opposed by the whole ecclesiastical power of the kingdom. It was his good fortune, however, to have the support of John of Gaunt and many other nobles of the laity, who were themselves tired of the domination of the monastic orders. In 1380 Wickliffe set about the translation of the Bible into English, and in the course of a few years the work was completed. The bishops now undertook to suppress what they had not been able to prevent. A bill for that purpose was brought forward in Parliament, but John of Gaunt and Lord Percy secured its rejection. The Church party had the mortification of retiring from the contest defeated, and the Lollards, as Wickliffe's followers were called, kept their English Bible.

The reign of Edward III. was also noted as the birth-time of English literature. In the red dawn of that far morning appeared the immortal Chaucer, whose song from among the trees of Woodstock has lost none of its sweetness after the lapse of six hundred years. John Gower, also, and Robert Langland added their treasures to the literary and poetic wealth of their own and after times.

It was in the last year of the fourteenth century that Henry of Lancaster, by the deposition and death of his cousin, seated himself on the throne of England. In this accession was laid the foundation of one of the most complicated and bloody dynastic struggles known in history. The family of Edward III. stood thus: Edward, the Black Prince, the eldest son, and his only son were both dead. The second son of Edward died without heirs. The third son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, left a daughter, Philippa, through whom the rights of her father were transmitted through her son Roger to Edmund Mortimer, now earl of March. The fourth son was John of Gaunt, whose son Henry had now taken the throne of England as against his second cousin, Edmund Mortimer. That is to say, the son of an elder son, descended through the female line, was displaced by the son of a younger son through an all-male line of descent. Here was already a sufficiently obvious ground for a conflict. But the case was destined soon to become still more complicated; for the Earl of Cambridge, the

male heir of Edmund, duke of York, fifth son of Edward III., took in marriage his cousin Anne, heiress of Roger Mortimer, grandson, as above said, of Lionel, third son of Edward. That is to say, the claims of the third son through the female line were united by this marriage with the claims of the fifth son through an all-male line, as against the claims of the male heirs of the fourth son, the Duke of Lancaster. To the Earl of Cambridge and the Princess Anne was born a son, who was made Duke of York, and who represented in himself the combined rights of the third and fifth heirs of Edward III., as above defined. Such was the foundation of the celebrated family quarrel between the Houses of York and Lancaster—a feud which was destined to rend England in twain, and pour out her best blood in support of dynastic theories, about which the New Era of Liberty would not concern itself so much as the toss of a penny.¹

From the very first Henry IV. was beset with enemies. In the second year of his reign an attempt was made on his life by some unknown foe who concealed in the king's bed a three-pointed instrument of steel. Soon afterwards a formidable revolt broke out headed by Owen Glendower of Wales. This nobleman had been unjustly suspected of disloyalty to the Lancastrian revolution, and his estates had been seized and given to Lord Grey de Ruthyn. Hereupon Glendower took up arms, proclaimed himself Prince of Wales, rallied his countrymen, and for seven years bade defiance to the king. In 1402 the Scots under Earl Douglas also rose and invaded England with ten thousand men. The Earl of Northumberland and his fiery son Hotspur, were sent forth against the enemy, and the Scots were disastrously defeated in the battle of Homildon Hill. Douglas and most of the Scottish leaders were taken prisoners.

When King Henry heard of the success of his arms with a sudden impulse of impolicy he sent messengers to Northumberland forbidding him to accept a ransom for his prisoners. This strange and illiberal proceeding angered the earl and his son to such a degree that they resolved to make an alliance with the very enemy whom they had defeated and

¹For the rival claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster, see Diagram, p. 1208.

drive the ungrateful Henry from the throne of England. A league was accordingly concluded between the Northumberlands and Douglas on one side and Glendower on the other; so that in a short time the English king saw the red flame of war shooting high on all the northern and western frontier of his realm.

But Henry lacked not for courage. Anticipating the movements of his enemies he pressed forward rapidly to SHREWSBURY, and there in July of 1403 the two armies of nearly equal strength met in deadly conflict. For several hours the battle raged with the greatest fury. Nor was it easy to predict on whose banner would rest the victory. The English forces were commanded by the king and Prince Henry, his oldest son. The former had commanded several of his body-guard to put on armor like his own so that he might not be easily distinguished by the enemy. The precaution was well taken, for Earl Douglas, who had staked all on the issue, eagerly sought to reach the king in person. It is narrated that he actually slew several of Henry's attendants, thinking each to be the king. At last Douglas himself was taken, Hotspur was killed, and the Scots defeated.

The report of the battle showed that of the twenty-eight thousand men engaged six thousand lay dead on the field. The Earl of Northumberland little recked of his own life since his favorite son was slain. In profound dejection and grief he gave up the conflict, dismissed his soldiers, and retired to Warkworth castle. Henry, with what was for him unusual magnanimity, proclaimed a pardon to all who would submit. Northumberland yielded and was presently restored to his estates.

After the battle of Shrewsbury the star of Glendower also declined. His forces were gradually wasted. Only the mountainous character of the country in which he planted himself stood between him and extermination. By 1408 the rebellion had dwindled to a shadow. Glendower retreated from one fastness to another and finally became a fugitive. Abandoned by his friends and supporters he wandered from place to place until 1415, when he died at the house of his daughter in Herefordshire.

In the mean time Henry had become involved in another war with his English subjects. Scroop, archbishop of York, and Earl Mowbray, justly offended at the tyrannous exactions of the king, headed an insurrection, and encamped with fifteen thousand men on Skipton Moor. The proud old Earl of Northumberland was expected to join the insurgents, against whom the king sent out Ralph Neville with an army. Sir Ralph soon showed himself to be an instrument well fitted for any piece of royal treachery. Fearing to make an attack upon the rebels at Skipton, he resorted to a scheme worthy of one of the Caliphs of Cairo. He invited Archbishop Scroop and Mowbray to his tent to state the grievances of which they and their fellows complained. These were frankly stated, and Neville agreed that every wrong should be righted and every cause of offense removed. He also suggested that since a friendly settlement had thus been happily reached between the king and his loving subjects, both he—Neville—and Scroop should disband their respective armies. To this the unsuspecting archbishop consented, and issued orders accordingly. Sir Ralph also pretended to make a like order to his men, but he took care that the same should not be delivered. On the contrary, he sent word to his generals, as soon as the Scottish camp should be broken up, to swoop down on Scroop and the other leaders still in conference at Neville's tent, and make them prisoners. The scheme was carried out with diabolical accuracy; and just when Scroop, Mowbray, and the rest were expecting to see the English tents struck, as their own had been, they were themselves seized by a company of cavalry and borne away captive to Pontefract Castle. Here they were subjected to the mockery of trial, condemned as traitors, and beheaded. Even the Archbishop of York was executed like a common malefactor. Neville had *succeeded!*

The murder of his friends gave warning to the Earl of Northumberland, and he sought to save himself by a flight into Scotland. Afterwards he went to Wales, but there was no place where he might lay his head in safety. Finally, returning into his own earldom, he cast all on the hazard of another revolt; but he was too weak to cope with the

powerful arm of Lancaster. After a brief resistance he was overthrown and slain in the battle of Bramham Moor.

Meanwhile the House of Bruce had given place to the House of Stuart on the throne of Scotland. The founder of the latter was Robert Stuart, whose mother was a sister of David Bruce. The latter left no children, and when in 1390, Robert Stuart died, his eldest son came to the Scottish throne with the title of ROBERT III. His brother became Duke of Albany, and showed a temper most dangerous to the interests of Scotland. He procured the death of his brother's elder son, and would have sent the younger by the same way had not the father committed the care of the youth to the Earl of Orkney, with instructions to convey him to France. A ship was fitted out for the voyage, but was captured by an English cruiser and brought in as a prize. Henry was greatly elated. Prince James was committed to the Tower for safe-keeping, and Scotland was left to the distractions and broils incident to a regency under the Duke of Albany; for Robert died when he heard of the capture of his son.

The heir to the Scottish throne was ten years of age at the time of his imprisonment. It seems not to have been Henry's purpose to destroy him, but merely to detain him in captivity, awaiting what turn soever in Scottish affairs might give himself an advantage over that country. This, indeed, was a favorite policy with the kings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To take each other prisoner, and to leave the kingdom of the captive to fall to pieces in the absence of the sovereign, seemed the very height of statecraft. In the present instance King Henry appointed competent tutors for Prince James, and ordered that his education should be in all respects such as befitted a scion of royalty. It appears that James responded aptly to his instruction. His mind was bright, even creative. He became a poet, a scholar, a musician. For eighteen years he remained in England, and only returned to his own country when the Duke of Albany died. With that event the people paid the ransom which was demanded for their prince, and he was set at liberty. On coming to the throne of his father he at once displayed the excellence

of his character. The fifteen years of his reign were among the best ever enjoyed by the kingdom prior to the union with England in 1603.

The courage, persistency, and unscrupulous policy of Henry had now cleared the field of his enemies. Douglas was dead; Glendower was dead; Scroop was dead. The Mortimers stirred not. Rebellion lay quiet in his cave. But it was the fate of Henry to suffer what his foes could not inflict. His countenance became disfigured with a vile eruption, and the people said it was the brand of heaven's wrath on the murderer of an archbishop. Epilepsy came on, and ever and anon the royal Lancaster fell down after the manner of a common beggar, and rolled in the unconscious horrors of a spasm. They of his own house added to his sorrow. Prince Henry, his eldest son, who had been his pride in battle, became a thorn in his side. Never was such a scapegrace born to the inheritance of a crown. Never was there a more valiant youth when he buckled on his sword. Audacious, reckless, the boon companion of thieves and pads, he nevertheless was capable of rousing himself in the day of danger and alarm, and of more than redeeming his forfeited fame by the splendor of his courage. But in the sluggish days of peace he who was destined to be Harry V. of England was the very bane and scandal of his father's court. At one time he was caught in company with his *friend*, one of the outlaws of London, whom, when about to be condemned in court, the prince drew his sword and attempted to rescue. Hereupon Chief Justice Gascoigne sent the valiant Hal to the prison of the King's Bench until his ardor should cool. On another occasion, believing the king to be dead in a fit, the dutiful prince took the crown of England from his father's bed-side and carried it out of the room. The king, recovering from his swoon, missed the royal gewgaw, and the ambitious youth was obliged to bear it back and make an apology for his haste.

Under these various griefs Henry of Lancaster gradually sank to the grave. His last days were passed in pilgrimages back and forth between the palace and Edward the Confessor's chapel in Westminster, where he did his devotions. Here, in the spring of

1413, while engaged in religious services after the manner of decrepitude grown pious, he was struck with the death-spasm and borne away to die. The scene closed, and HENRY V., the second of the Lancastrians, came to the throne.

It was during the reign of Henry IV. that English martyrdom for opinion's sake began. It is impossible to enter upon this horrid theme without a shudder. In our age men are affected in various degrees—according to their temperament and love of life—by the recollection of the awful mutilation of human nature which has been done in the name of religion. In the breast of the historian such things are likely to awaken a peculiar repugnance. If any thing could embitter his temper and infect his mind with pessimism and despair, it would be the inhuman story with which he is, alas, too familiar, and for which so many would fain apologize. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, Smithfield was first lighted with the glare of living torches.

For the Wickliffites would not recant. Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury undertook to stamp out the Lollard heresy, and adopted the fagot as his argument. The heretics had denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. They had renounced their faith in indulgences. They had said that the Church was a sepulcher full of dead men's bones. What, therefore, should be done unto these miserable wretches who had arrayed themselves against the fundamental principles of good government and holy doctrine? Burn them. A certain Lollard named Badby was caught and condemned to be burned alive. He was taken by his executioners to Smithfield. A stake was driven in the ground. To this the victim was tied and the wood was piled around him. When the torch was about to be applied, the scapegrace Prince of Wales, with a better heart than his age, dashed up on horseback and besought the condemned man to recant his doctrines. No; he would not. He would rather be burned to death. The prince offered him his life and liberty if he would yield. No. He would give him a comfortable living for the rest of his days if he would say the word. No. He would be his friend and benefactor if he would give the Holy

Church a chance to save his life. No. The torch was applied and the flames soon choked the dying supplications of the heroic Wickliffite. It was only one of many such scenes soon to be witnessed on the horrid sod of Smithfield.

The English people have always admired courage, audacity; a certain reckless immorality of patriotism in their kings. These qualities were present in the highest measure in the prince who now inherited the crown of England. He had will, persistency, the spirit of power under a brusque demeanor. He possessed, also, the rare ability of self-reform. He quickly perceived that an emergency had come with his father's death, and that he must shake himself from the dust. This he did on the first assumption of the crown. He dismissed the ignoble companions with whom he had spent a large part of his life, and gave his whole energy to the duties of his kingly station.

A sound policy was adopted. Henry, well remembering that his title was defective, chose to be generous. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was now the representative of the line of the Duke of Clarence, was at once released from prison and restored to honor. The son of Harry Hotspur was called home from banishment and reëstablished in all the rights of the Percys. The bones of Richard II., which had thus far lain in the Langley burying-ground, were brought to Westminster and reinterred with royal honors. In short, the king omitted no reasonable effort to quiet the kingdom by acts of moderation and justice.

He soon had his reward. In the second year of his reign some plotters set on foot a scheme to dethrone him and raise Mortimer to the throne; but the loyal earl, though his right to be king was fully as good as Henry's, went to his liege and divulged the conspiracy. The tiger's claws were now thrust forth, and the leaders of the plot were put to death.

The one blot upon the first years of Henry's reign was his appearance in the rôle of persecutor. One of the most distinguished of the Lollards of this time was Lord Cobham, who to great virtues added great learning. Henry, thinking to convert so eminent a personage from error, sought a conference with him, and earnestly argued against the

heresy which Cobham had adopted. But to the king's astonishment he found the noble lord so fortified at every point as to be invulnerable. It was under his *own* feet that the sand of doctrine seemed slipping away. In vain he expostulated; then threatened. Cobham would yield in nothing. Hereupon the angry Henry turned him over to an assembly of bishops to be tried for his errors. There was no uncertainty as to what *they* would do with him. He was condemned and imprisoned in the Tower. Shortly afterwards, however, he made his escape, and in 1417 sought refuge in Wales. A rebellion presently broke out in that country and Cobham's enemies pointed to him as the cause. He was hunted down, tried, condemned, and burnt alive.

The deplorable condition of France in the times of the insane Charles VI. has already been noted in a preceding chapter. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy at the head of their respective parties devastated the country. The circumstances were precisely such as to favor foreign intervention by a king ambitious for the aggrandizement of his own realm at the expense of his neighbors. Henry V. was not slow to perceive the advantages which might be gained by an aggressive policy toward France. In the first place, it was necessary for him to revive the old but not groundless claim of Edward III. to the French crown. Then followed the raising and equipment of an army of thirty thousand men, at the head of which in the year 1415 the king crossed the Channel and entered the dominion of Charles. So profoundly were the French factions engaged in their internecine strife that they perceived not the danger until the foreign foe was upon them. Before it could be decided who should command the armies of France, Henry had besieged and captured the city of Harfleur. At length, however, the French forces were organized, and set out, a hundred thousand strong, under command of the Duke of Orleans.

Meanwhile the English army was almost destroyed by the excessive heat of the summer in France and by diseases induced by various kinds of intemperance in food and drink. Perhaps not more than one-third of Henry's forces were able for active duty in the field. Nevertheless, the English king, with a valor

which would have done credit to the elder Plantagenet, set out to meet the enemy.

The march of the army to Agincourt, where it arrived in October, was in every respect salutary. The health of the soldiers was improved by the removal from Harfleur. Thorough discipline was observed, and the personal conduct of the king towards his men was such as to inspire them with a belief in his and their own invincibility. Once encamped at Agincourt, Henry sent out a spy to discover the number of the French. "There are enough to fight, enough to be killed, and enough to run away," said the witty messenger on his return.

When the two armies had pitched their camps over against each other, Henry spent a good part of the night in choosing his ground, arranging his forces, and reconnoitering the position of the enemy. But he took care that the soldiers should be thoroughly rested before morning. On the other side the French passed the night in rioting and uproar. It was evident that they believed themselves masters of the situation, able and ready to extinguish the English army at a blow.

Very different from the conduct of his father at Shrewsbury was that of King Henry, who was now in his element. As if to make his tall form still more conspicuous, he clad himself in a suit of shining armor and put on a crown of gold. Thus equipped he rode along his thin but dauntless lines, speaking familiarly with the soldiers and encouraging them to victory. In the beginning of the battle the French charged in a kind of confused rout, and were received with such a shower of arrows as to be instantly checked, and a moment afterwards turned to flight. The English soldiers sprang forward with swords and battle-axes, and completed the demoralization of the enemy's first line. The second was brought forward by the Duke of Alençon. This attack was resisted by the king in person at the head of his division. The battle now waxed furious. Henry, in full sight of friend and foe, distinguished himself by his deeds. When the Duke of Gloucester was wounded, thrown from his horse, and about to be slain, the king interposed his powerful arm and beat back the assailants. The Duke of Alençon had, before the begin-

ning of the battle, taken an oath that that day he would himself either kill or capture the king of England. Now was his time. He rushed forward to the attack, aimed a tremendous blow at Henry, cleft his helmet, and was about to repeat the stroke when he himself was unhorsed and killed. Eighteen others of the French knights, under similar vows, met the same fate. But the death of Alençon was the crisis of the battle. Learning of the death of their leader, they broke into flight. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were both slain. Many other brave knights and thousands of common soldiers strewed the field. Never was victory more improbable before the fact or more complete and overwhelming after it. Henry gathered together his spoils and prisoners, and returned in triumph to Dover.

It would have been supposed that such a disaster as that at Agincourt would have thoroughly cured the French nobles of their factious bitterness. But the insane Charles was helpless. The actual force of the monarchy lay paralyzed in his diseased brain. This condition gave free scope to the devilish machinations of Orleans and Burgundy. It thus happened that when, after a two years' rest, Henry, in the summer of 1417, returned to Normandy, the authorities of the kingdom were as little prepared as before to resist his progress. At Rouen, however, Henry was detained by a six months' siege. Even after this was brought to a successful conclusion, and the whole kingdom seemed to lie open to English conquest, the Burgundians of Paris indulged in the pleasing pastime of a massacre, in which fourteen thousand of the opposing party were murdered.

Not until the victorious Henry had quitted Normandy and begun his march on the French capital did the queen and Duke of Burgundy awake to the perils of the situation. The Dauphin, also, who was of the Armagnac faction, became alarmed, and when the Duke of Burgundy entered into negotiations with Henry, looking to the settlement of the affairs of France on such terms as might be pleasing to the ambitious king, the French prince made overtures to Burgundy, and a flimsy peace was patched up between the factions. The hollowness of the whole movement became at once apparent when the Dauphin, having

invited the duke to a conference, caused him to be assassinated on the bridge of Montereau.

Hereupon Philip, son of the murdered duke, in the extremity of rage at the treacherous taking-off of his father, entered into correspondence with Henry, and proffered him the regency of the kingdom during the lifetime of the insane Charles and the crown of France after his death. In order to make all things secure it was stipulated that the Princess Catherine, daughter of Charles the Crazy, should be married to the English king. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Henry and Charles made a joint entry into Paris. The states-general were convened, and the treaty was duly ratified.

The next stage in the programme of the Burgundians thus triumphant was to procure the excommunication and banishment of the Dauphin on the charge of having murdered the duke's father. The heir of France, however, was not disposed to abandon the contest. On the contrary, he assumed the title of regent, and prepared to defend it with the sword. Henry paid little attention to the movements of the disinherited prince; but believing the kingdom safe under the protection of the Duke of Clarence, he took his young queen and returned to England. For a few months matters went quietly; but in the beginning of 1421, the news came that Duke Clarence had been killed by a detachment of the Dauphin's troops. Henry found it necessary to return to France, and expedient to take with him the queen and her infant son, afterwards Henry VI. The Parisians pretended to be, and perhaps were, jubilant at the sight of the baby possibility that had in him the mingled blood of Capet and Plantagenet.

It was not long, however, until the returning tide of patriotism swept away all evidence of this factitious joy figured in the sand of hypocrisy. The Parisians could but perceive that this jubilation over the son of Henry V. was a kind of dance performed around the dead body of French nationality. Of course, the Dauphin gained whatever was lost to the English interest by this reaction. He won some successes over the Burgundians and planted himself securely in several towns. It became necessary for Henry again to take the field. His presence with the army rekin-

dled the old enthusiasm, and he was proceeding to repossess himself of the towns held by the Dauphin when he was taken sick and obliged to retire from the command. He was conveyed to the Wood of Vincennes, and was only spared by the common enemy sufficiently long to give his dying injunctions to the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, the former of whom he appointed regent of France and the latter of England, until what time his son should become of age. The king died in August of 1422, at the early age of thirty-four.

It had been the peculiarity of the policy of Henry V. that the great men of the kingdom were brought into the foreground during his reign. Instead of trying to destroy the ambitious, he sought to direct their activities and save their swords for the defense of the state. Besides the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who became regents after his death, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel were highly honored by the king and retained in office during the regency. It thus happened that the shock occasioned by Henry's early death was less seriously felt on account of the stalwart pillars wherewith the state was now supported.

The nominal king of France did not long survive the death of his son-in-law. The former also expired in the latter part of 1422, and the Dauphin, assuming the title of CHARLES VII., immediately proclaimed himself king of France. The duty was thus devolved on the Duke of Bedford of supporting by force of arms the claims of his royal nephew, the baby king of England. A war now broke out between the English and Burgundian party on the one side, and the Orleansists, headed by Charles VII., on the other. The conflict continued for several years without decisive results. But in 1428 affairs assumed a more serious aspect when the city of Orleans was besieged by the Earl of Salisbury, who had succeeded Bedford in the command of the English army on the continent. When a part of the city had already yielded to the assailants, Salisbury was killed, and the command fell to the Earl of Suffolk and Lord Talbot. While Orleans was thus hard pressed by the English, Charles made unwearied efforts to relieve his city and drive away the besiegers;

but the latter met him in battle before Orleans and inflicted on him a disastrous defeat. For the moment it seemed that the fate of the city, and perhaps of Charles himself, was sealed; but a different scheme had been arranged in the counsels of destiny.

For now it was that the slight but beautiful figure of Joan of Arc, *la Pucelle*, the inspired Girl of Domremy, appeared on the troubled horizon of France. Why should not a peasant of Lorraine give his daughter to deliver the kingdom from the oppression of foreigners? For she had seen the virgin Mother of Christ in a vision.

The story of the heroic exploits of Joan, not a princess, but a maiden—of her coming to Orleans, of the inspiration of her presence to the French and terror to the English, of the breaking up of the siege, and of her triumphant leading of Charles VII., as if by the hand, to his coronation in the ancient city of Rheims—need not be here repeated, for the same has already been given with sufficient details in the preceding chapter on the history of France.¹

At last, in 1435, the Burgundians renounced the English alliance, and a peace was concluded between their duke and King Charles. It is narrated that this event, so full of promise to the nationality of France, and so disastrous to the interests of England on the continent, struck the Duke of Bedford with such dismay that he sickened and died. Nor could his loss be well supplied by any other of the English nobles. Before a new regent could be appointed, Charles VII. entered Paris and established himself in the royal seat of the Capets. At last, when the Duke of York was named for the regency, he found the assertion of his authority impeded by almost every obstacle which united France could throw before him. The English cause abroad now leaned for support upon the still unbowed form of Lord Talbot, who commanded the army. Before any serious efforts could be made to reestablish the English cause in France, a pestilence broke out—a kind of centennial *finale* to the great plague which raged in the times of Philip VI.—and prevented any important military movements. In the lull some futile efforts were made for

¹ See *ante*, pp. 464–467.

the establishment of peace; but the attempt failed, and in 1440 the war broke out anew. Nothing decisive was accomplished by either side, and, after a desultory struggle of four years' duration, a truce was finally concluded through the agency of the Duchess of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans.

Meanwhile Henry VI. had grown to manhood—such a feeble and indifferent manhood as could have been inferred from the loins of Henry V. only by the law of contradiction. A certain gentleness of temper was almost the only virtue of a character lacking force and conspicuous for its vacillation. To his natural weakness was added the misfortune of a most disastrous marriage—such a union, indeed, as dropped a spark in the magazine of animosity which several generations had heaped up between the descendants of Lancaster and York.

At this epoch two of the most powerful personages in England were Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester. The former contrived and the latter attempted to prevent the marriage of the king with the Princess Margaret of Anjou. After the success of the cardinal's scheme, a bitterness such as only a proud woman when slighted can feel and an equally proud nobleman resent sprang up between the queen and Gloucester. Beaufort became the leader of one party and Gloucester of another. The former was supported by the Duke of Suffolk and Queen Margaret, and representing the king, or what would be in modern times called the administration of England, gained the mastery for the time over his adversaries. The wife of Gloucester was accused of witchery and banished from the kingdom. The duke himself was next charged with high treason, and though the accusation could not be sustained, he was thrown into prison and soon afterwards murdered in his bed. This perfidious and bloody deed at once aroused all the long slumbering hatred of the House of Lancaster, which though now represented by a weak and peaceable king, quite incapable of such a deed

as the murder of Gloucester, was held responsible for the infamous spite-work of the queen and her confederates. For a season, however, Margaret and the Duke of Suffolk—for Cardinal Beaufort died in 1447—managed affairs as they would; but a storm was all the time preparing which was destined ere long to shake the kingdom to its foundation.

Never was there a measure of more unwisdom in the parties most concerned than the murder of Gloucester. Those who were responsible for that crime soon permitted a state secret to be divulged; namely, that an agree-



STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC.

ment had been made on the marriage of Margaret to King Henry that her father should receive the provinces of Maine and Anjou as a kind of bonus in exchange for his daughter. The patriotic Duke of York, now regent of France, was an obstacle in the way of the fulfillment of this bargain. It was known that his consent to such a measure could never be obtained. It became necessary, therefore, for Margaret and Suffolk to get the Duke of York out of the way of their scheme, which they did by depriving him of the regency and appointing the Duke of Somerset in his stead.

By this measure the duke, who had hitherto remained loyal to the House of Lancaster, became deeply and justly offended. The recollection of his own claim to the English crown, as a descendant through the male line of the fifth and the female line of the third son of Edward III., suddenly rekindled in his breast the fires that had burned in secret for several generations. He resolved upon the audacious measure of claiming the throne for himself, and in this scheme, which was scarcely more treasonable than just, he was seconded by the general sentiment of the kingdom; for the queen and Suffolk had made themselves extremely odious to the better conscience of England.

When, in 1450, Parliament assembled, Suffolk was charged with treason and imprisoned in the Tower. When he was brought to trial the queen's influence was still sufficient to reduce the penalty to banishment for five years. But the wrath of his enemies was not to be appeased. He was pursued, overtaken at Dover, and slain. His headless trunk was left a ghastly spectacle on the sands of the beach.

The kingdom now became the scene of tumult and confusion. Insurrections broke out in various quarters. In Kent a great body of insurgents put themselves under the lead of the celebrated Jack Cade, who defeated an English army numbering fifteen thousand men, and then, like his prototype, Wat Tyler, advanced on London at the head of his victorious mob. Making his way into the city, he seized the sheriff and several other dignitaries, and put them to death. He proclaimed himself master of London, and, for the day, seemed indeed to have become the arbiter not only of the metropolis, but of the whole kingdom. In a short time, however, the authorities rallied, and Lord Scyles drove him headlong out of the city. The rabblement scattered; a pardon was offered to all who would submit, and Cade's forces melted away. He himself was hunted down and killed in a garden at Rothfield.

By this time the English power on the continent flickered in the socket. The thought of possessing France had given place to the thought of preserving Calais from capture. Nevertheless, in 1452 an effort was

made by Lord Talbot to recover the province of Guienne. A campaign was conducted as far as Chatillon, where a battle was fought, in which both Talbot and his son, Lord Lisle, were slain. Somerset returned to England and entered into the king's, or rather the queen's, council; for Henry VI. was now an invalid as infirm of purpose as he was weak in body. Such was the situation as to turn the eyes of the people to the Duke of York as the only one who could save the country from anarchy. By the common voice he became protector of the kingdom. Somerset was imprisoned, and for the moment it seemed that the Yorkist revolution was about to be accomplished without bloodshed.

But the House of Lancaster was not destined to so easy an extinction. The queen's party, by a sudden turn, recovered their position. Somerset was released from prison, and the Duke of York deprived of the protectorship. But the latter withdrew with his followers to St. Albans. Somerset came forth with a large force of Lancastrians, and a battle was fought, in which he was killed and his forces scattered. The old king was captured by the victorious York, who, still claiming to be a loyal subject, led him back in peace to London. For the time it was said that the civil war which the Yorkists waged was not against the House of Lancaster, but against the evil advisers into whose hands the king had fallen.

Both parties rallied, armed, took the field. Battle followed battle. The factions consolidated around the standards of the two Houses. By degrees the position of the Duke of York changed from that of a supporter to that of an enemy of Lancaster. He openly—and, as it appeared, prematurely—declared his purpose of taking the English crown. In this movement the loyal sentiment of England at first refused to support him. His followers abandoned his cause, and his forces were so reduced that he found it expedient to go into retirement in Ireland. Earl Neville of Warwick, however, remained as his lieutenant, and, after a second re-acton against the Lancastrians, succeeded in raising an army of twenty-five thousand men. With this formidable force he met the royal army at NORTHAMPTON, and here in 1456 was fought the first

great battle between the rival Houses. The Yorkists were completely victorious. Queen Margaret and her son fled for refuge to Scotland, and were there received under protection by James III. The king was taken in his tent and conducted by Neville back to London.

The victory of his friends at Northampton opened the way for the return of the Duke of York from Ireland. He came as one already triumphant, and openly laid his claim to the crown before the Parliament. It is the peculiarity of such bodies, under such circumstances, to temporize, concede, patch up some makeshift of policy that shall suffice for the present. It was agreed that Henry of Lancaster should continue to reign during his life, but that the succession should go to the Duke of York, to the exclusion of Margaret's son, the Prince Edward of Wales.

The news of this proceeding aroused the queen to the utmost pitch of fury. It was not to be expected that the proud mother of the heir to the throne of England would patiently sit by at the court of a neighboring prince and see her son forever displaced by an act of Parliament. She quickly raised an army of twenty thousand men, mostly gathered from the Border Country, and marched directly for London. The Duke of York went forth to meet her; but greatly underestimating the forces with which he had to contend, and urged to rashness by the Earl of Salisbury, he gave battle at Wakefield with an army only one-fourth as strong as that of the queen. The result was a disastrous defeat. The Duke of York was killed, and Salisbury, with several other distinguished leaders, was taken only to be beheaded. In her rage the queen ordered the head of York to be cut off, crowned with a paper crown, and stuck up on the gate of his own capital. His son, the young Earl of Rutland, was brought to Lord Clifford, who in bloody revenge for his own father's death, and without compassion, murdered the prince with his own hand. The Lancastrians then marched in triumph towards London, and the men of the Border were turned loose upon the country.

In the metropolis, however, the Yorkist party was still strongly in the ascendant. Earl Neville marched forth with a second

army, and confronted the queen at St. Alban's. Here another battle was fought, and another victory gained by the Lancastrians. Henry VI., who had been led out by Neville, was left behind after the battle, and was thus enabled to join the queen. Still London refused to open her gates to Lancaster. The victories won by the vindictive queen gave her but little actual advantage, and after a season of uncertainty she was compelled to retire from before the metropolis and seek safety in the North.

The WAR OF THE ROSES was now fully on. The white rose was the symbol of York, and the red of Lancaster. The struggle that ensued was one of the most bloody and merciless known to Modern History. After the death of Richard, duke of York, in the battle of Wakefield, his rights and titles descended to his son Edward, who became at once the leader of the Yorkist party. He discovered great abilities as a military leader, and was strongly supported in upholding the fortunes of his House by his two brothers—George, duke of Clarence, and Richard, duke of Gloucester. In a battle fought in 1461, at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford, the young duke won his first victory over the Lancastrians. After the battle he entered London in triumph, and was proclaimed king with every manifestation of popular approval. For the time the decrepit Henry VI. seemed to have dropped out of sight and memory.

Such was the virtual termination of the Lancastrian ascendancy in England. It had begun in usurpation, culminated in the brief glory of Henry V., and gone down the inclined plane of his son's prolonged imbecility. In one respect the epoch was fruitful: the *People* grew. The general weakness of the Lancastrian claim to the crown, combining with the personal feebleness of Henry VI., made it necessary, or at least desirable, that the House of Lancaster should pay a respect, hitherto unthought of, to the popular will. In like manner the Yorkists sought to supply the defect in *their* title by deference to the people.

It thus happened that the dissensions of the widely divided family of Edward III. conduced greatly to the growth of parliamentary liberty; inasmuch that before the Wars

of the Roses had come to an end the remark of the French historian, Comines, that in his judgment, of all the countries he had seen,

England was best governed, the people least oppressed, was justified by the facts. It must be remembered, however, that such a state-



MURDER OF YOUNG RUTLAND BY LORD CLIFFORD.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

ment was warranted only by the standard of the Middle Ages, and would be ridiculous if viewed by the liberal standard of modern times.

On his accession to the throne, in the year 1461, EDWARD IV. was but nineteen years of age. He possessed in a high degree the qualities which were reckoned essential in an English king. His voluptuousness in peace and cruelty in war were likely to be overlooked in the brilliancy of his faculties, the valor of his conduct, and the beauty of his person. He was destined to find full opportunity for the display of all the force and vigor with which nature had endowed him. Scarcely was he seated on the throne until he was obliged to lead forth an army and confront the infuriated Lancastrians, who had gathered a desperate host at Towton. Here was fought a bloody and hotly contested battle. For hours together, in the midst of a storm of snow which blew with blinding force into the faces of the Lancastrians, the conflict raged, until at last it was decided by a complete victory for York. After the battle of St. Alban's, Henry VI. and his queen had made their head-quarters in the city of York, but hearing of the disaster at Towton, they were constrained to save themselves by flight. They escaped from the kingdom and sought refuge at the court of Scotland.

After his success in battle Edward's popularity increased. Another parliament confirmed his title to the crown. Wanting in the wisdom and liberality of Henry V., he sought to make his throne secure by the extermination of his enemies. Every prominent wearer of the red rose who fell into his power was executed without mercy. The great gaps which were thus created in the peerage of England were filled as rapidly as possible by the creation of new noblemen of the king's own party.

Meanwhile, the busy and ambitious mind of Queen Margaret devised new schemes for the restoration of her power. Finding that Scotland was not strong enough to give her the requisite aid, she repaired to Paris, and tried the effect of her blandishments on the cold temper and plotting spirit of Louis XI. That monarch, for policy's sake, was willing to hear the complaints of all the exiled kings

and queens of the world. As to Margaret, he was willing to aid her if she would pay the price. The price was Calais. In return for the promised surrender of that last stronghold of England beyond the Channel, he agreed to furnish the suppliant queen with troops.

With the small contingent thus secured she returned to Scotland and soon made a descent on Northumberland. Here she achieved some brief successes by the capture of Alnwick and Bamborough castles. Already, however, Lord Montacute was coming forth against her at the head of an English army. In April of 1464 he encountered her forces at Hedgeley Moor and gained a victory. In the following month another battle was fought at Hexham, in which the Lancastrians were utterly routed. The old king Henry made his escape in one direction and the queen and her son in another. The former, after fleeing into Lancashire, where he suffered the sorrows of concealment and ignominy for the space of a year, was finally captured at Waddington Hall, conveyed to London, and delivered over to the tender mercies of the Earl of Warwick. Margaret and the Prince of Wales fled into the forest, where they were attacked by a robber: but by her queenly presence she not only subdued the ruffian, but put her son in his care until they made their way to the seacoast and took ship for France.

By this time the temper of the combatants was inflamed to the last degree. King Edward and the supporters of his throne appeared incapable alike of mercy and generosity. When the captive Henry VI. was brought into the city the Earl of Warwick gave command that his feet should be tied in his stirrups, after the manner shown to common criminals, and that he should be paraded around the pillory in the presence of a hooting multitude. The tottering relic of the glory of Lancaster was then taken to the Tower to await his doom.

Soon after the disappearance of the royal specter in the shadows of prison, King Edward contracted a private marriage with the widow of Sir John Grey. For a season the union was kept from the public, but in the course of time the new queen was instated at court. Her friends and relatives came with her, and

were duly ennobled by the king. The impolicy of these measures was soon apparent. Warwick, who had desired the king to wed some European princess of high repute, was mortally offended. Edward's brother, Clarence, was so angered at the installation of this tribe of parvenus that he retired into France. Nor was it long until the politics of the fifteenth century, after the modern manner, had made strange bedfellows. Warwick and Clarence and Queen Margaret entered into a conspiracy to dethrone Edward! Warwick was to be regent during the life of Henry VI. Clarence was to have the succession in case of the death without heirs of the queen's son, the Prince of Wales. The aged

prison and seated him on the throne. For a season the red rose bloomed as though the winter would never come. In a short time, however, the Yorkist party recovered from the shock of defeat, and again took the field in arms. Edward, hearing of the rally of his friends, returned in haste and resumed his place at the head of his House. Again the English people, by a sudden convulsion, went over to his banner. Edward reëntered London, seized and reimprisoned the shaking Henry, and mounted the throne as before.

It was now the turn of Warwick to stake his all on the event of battle. Gathering the Lancastrian forces together, he advanced to Barnet, where he was met by Edward on the



MARGARET INTRUSTS PRINCE EDWARD TO THE ROBBER.

but still beautiful Margaret was to be the splendor behind the throne.

The plot was born full-grown. In 1470 the foreign forces of Lancastrians, now headed by Warwick, bore down on England and landed at Dartmouth. Edward refused to take the alarm until it was too late. There was an anti-York uprising of such proportions as to become at once revolutionary. The throne of Edward toppled over. He and his brother Gloucester fled to port, took ship in a trading vessel, and escaped to Friesland. Queen Elizabeth retired to the sanctuary of Westminster, and here her son, afterwards Edward V., was presently born.

The Lancastrians reveled in their victory. Warwick brought forth old Henry VI. from

12th of April, 1471. When the conflict was beginning, Duke George of Clarence, terrified, perhaps, at the possibility of falling into his brother's hands, deserted Warwick with twelve thousand men and went over to the king. The dauntless earl, however, heeding not the treacherous defection of his son-in-law, courageously entered the fight. But presently two divisions of the Lancastrians became by mistake engaged with each other, and the whole army was thrown into irremediable confusion. Warwick fought to the last, and died, covered with wounds. Many other heroic defenders of the now waning cause of Lancaster went down with him into the dust. The disaster of the one party was as complete as the triumph of the other.

The news of the overthrow shot the arrow of despair into the proud heart of Margaret. She had but that day returned from abroad, in full expectancy of a victorious reception. For the time she abandoned all hope and hastened with her son to the sanctuary of Beau-lieu. In less than a month, however, the fragments of the Lancastrians were gathered together, and the front which they were able to present revived a fitful gleam of ambition in the breast of the queen. She entered the camp with her friends, took her station on the fatal field of Tewkesbury, and was there overwhelmingly defeated on the 3d of May. The noblest of her followers were left dead upon the field, and the rest were scattered in all directions. Soon afterwards, Margaret and Prince Edward were captured, and the fortunes of Lancaster went out in darkness.

The captive prince was brought into the presence of Edward IV., and when asked what business he had in England, replied that he had come to recover his father's kingdom. Hereupon the king struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and Gloucester and Clarence, who were standing by, taking the hint from their sovereign, drew their swords and stabbed the youth to death on the spot. The queen was thrust into the Tower, where her husband had already been confined at intervals for many years. On the morrow after the battle, the Duke of Gloucester, in whom the reader will have already discovered the curriish lineaments of Richard III., stole into the apartment of the aged Henry VI. in the Tower and killed him in cold blood—at least such was the current tradition of a deed which has never been historically determined.¹

Such was the end of the fierce civil struggle which had desolated England for nearly twenty years. More than sixty princes of the blood-

¹ Doubtless the Shakespearean rendition of the last scene in the great tragedy of the House of Lancaster is the true one:

Gloucester.—I'll hear no more;—Die, prophet, in thy speech; [stabs him.]

For this, amongst the rest, was I ordained.

King Henry.—Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.

O God! forgive my sins, and pardon thee! [*Dies.*]

Glo.—What! will the aspiring blood of Lancaster Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted.

royal of the kingdom had perished in the conflict. Fully one-half of the peers and nobles had been exterminated, and it was estimated that a hundred thousand of the English yeomanry had fallen in the battles of this merciless war, whose only significance was to decide whether the son of a fifth son by male descent and of a third son by the female line or the son of a fourth son had a better claim to the crown of England. Such was the glorious and bloody nonsense which filled the ambition of our ancestral island only twenty years before the discovery of America!

No sooner had Richard of Gloucester murdered the Prince of Wales than he became the lover of his victim's widow, the Princess Anne. And if we may believe the story of the times, she, forgetting the bloody corpse of her husband, lent a too willing ear to the seductive flatteries of his destroyer. At this stage of the villainous game, however, Clarence, who had married the elder sister of Anne, appeared on the scene and offered his objection to a union which might result in establishing a line of royalty in rivalry with his own. He accordingly secreted Anne from her lover for a season; but Richard soon outwitted his brother and married his victim's widow.

When EDWARD IV. found himself once firmly seated on the throne, he revived the old project of a war of conquest in France. In 1475 he raised and equipped an army of thirty thousand men and proceeded to Calais. Public expectation in England rose with the occasion, and it was believed that the royal York would presently return in full possession of the provinces formerly belonging to the English crown. But Edward had now to deal with an enemy who was the impersonation of all the arts known to the cajoler and kingly craftsman. Louis XI. soon found the weak place in Edward's harness, and by offering

See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!

O, may such purple tears be always shed From those that wish the downfall of our house!—

If any spark of life be yet remaining, Down, down to hell;—and say—I sent thee thither. [*stabs him again.*]

I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.

Third Part of King Henry VI.; Act V., Scene 6

him a magnificent bribe procured his return to England. Great was the chagrin in the home kingdom when the sovereign came home with nothing but money.

Nor was the reputation of Edward improved by the life which he now led. The ambitions which he had displayed as Duke of York appeared to have expired under the crown. In the midst of such excesses as a licentious disposition suggested and the luxuries of the court gave opportunity to indulge he passed his time in gross pleasures, and in planning measures by which to clear the sky of York of two clouds which still lingered in the horizon. The first of these took the shape of that brother Clarence who had engaged with Warwick in the late treasonable rebellion, and come over to the king only in time to save himself at the battle of Barnet. Such was the untrustworthiness of his character that Edward might well believe him capable of another defection when passion might suggest. Clarence was accordingly seized, charged with treason, condemned to death by parliament, and choosing his own method of execution—such was the *mercy* of the king—was drowned in a butt of malmsey.

There still remained one specter. For the Lancastrians, after the murder of Henry VI. and his son Edward, prince of Wales, had found a representative of their House in the person of young Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, now a refugee in Brittany. This Prince Henry was the son of the Duke of Richmond and grandson of Owen Tudor, a nobleman of distinction. Henry's father had married Margaret, grand-daughter of John Beaufort, a natural son of the Duke of Lancaster. That is, Earl Henry was, through his mother, a great-great-grandson of John of Gaunt. The two flaws in his descent were the spurious great-grandfather and the female link in the case of his mother. None the less the House of Lancaster was glad to find and quick to adopt so strong a stay to the fortunes of the family. And just in proportion as Henry was important to the Lancastrians was he dangerous and odious to the Yorks.

At first King Edward undertook to brush away the shadow by a project, real or pretended, of marrying his daughter to Earl Richmond, thereby merging the claims of the

Lancastrian party with his own. He accordingly sent for Henry to come to England, to be reconciled, and to receive the hand of the princess. To this, Richmond was disposed to accede. But the Duke of Brittany, under whose protection the prince was, suspicious of Edward's designs, recalled Henry even after his departure for England, and warned him not to put himself into the power of the treacherous Yorks. Then the cloud on the horizon waxed greater.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1483, when Edward IV. died. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince EDWARD, now but thirteen years of age. At the time of his father's death he was at Ludlow Castle, under charge of Lord Rivers and Lord Grey. Those noblemen at once set out with their royal ward for London. On their way thither they were met by the boy king's uncle Gloucester, the duke of Buckingham, and Lord Hastings. There never was a more sinister and dangerous committee. Gloucester had already matured his scheme for seizing the crown, and all the lives that stood between him and the light were doomed. After spending a jubilant evening with the royal party the work began. On the following morning Grey and Rivers were seized and hurried off to Pontefract Castle. The young king suddenly found himself in the power of the obsequious Gloucester, who, with every art known to the murderous courtier, sought to soothe and console the poor boy for the loss of those whom he represented to be traitors to the unprotected prince. He then conducted young Edward into London, riding bareheaded before him through the streets, and calling upon the populace to salute him as king.

Presently afterwards the royal council assembled, and Gloucester was appointed protector of the kingdom. He at once began to prepare for the coronation of his royal ward, but it was such preparation as the wolf makes for the crowning of the lamb. In the interim another scene was enacted which was a necessary part of the passing tragedy. While the council was in session at Westminster a body of armed men, whom Gloucester's agents had carefully schooled for their work, burst into the assembly, and, with the cry of "Treason, treason!" seized upon those members of the

body who were supposed to be inimical to the duke. Among the number who were carried off and thrust into the Tower were the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, three of the most prominent personages in the kingdom. Lord Hastings, another of the suspected, was immediately condemned to death and beheaded. At the same time another part of the bloody scheme was enacted at Pontefract, where Sir Thomas Ratcliffe entered with a large body of followers, and put Rivers and Grey to death. The next violence was done to the Duke of York, the younger brother of Edward V., now awaiting his coronation. Gloucester induced the Archbishop of Canterbury to bring this young prince from the sanctuary, where he was in refuge with his mother, under pretense of having him present at the crowning of his brother. Both the tender Yorks thus fell into the power of the merciless Gloucester, who, with his misshapen form—for one leg was shorter than the other, and his back heaped up in a lump between his shoulders—was now going forward with rapid strides to the accomplishment of his purpose.

As soon as the two York princes were safe within his clutches he caused it to be given out that they *were both illegitimate!* His tools soon set the city in a roar of calumny with the story that King Edward IV., before his marriage with Elizabeth Wydville, had been secretly married to another. Therefore the marriage with Elizabeth was bigamous, and her sons, the two princes, were bastards! The tender conscience and high loyal spirit of Gloucester could not endure that the English throne should be filled by the spurious brat of his brother Edward. Still he kept on the mask, and when the Duke of Buckingham and other confidants came according to the programme and offered him the crown, they found him profoundly absorbed in his devotions, reading a prayer-book, utterly disinclined to the troublesome cares of state, given up, like a pious monk, to religious meditations, and the holy culture of his spiritual nature! Nevertheless, his satellites insisted that he should take the crown, and at last the reluctant Richard was induced to yield. Perhaps there was never a piece of more profound sham acting done by any royal assassin in the

world. The hunchback Duke of Gloucester thus substituted his own coronation for that of his nephew Edward, and took to himself the title of RICHARD III.

It only remained to extinguish the two imprisoned princes. How Edward V. and his younger brother died in the Tower has never been historically determined, but the tradition of the times was, and still is, that the two innocent Yorks were suffocated in their bed by hired murderers, and were buried at the foot of the staircase. Thus one after another the nobles and princes who stood between Richard of Gloucester and the throne of England were cut down in order that the hyena might sit upright in the seat of William the Conqueror! Prince Edward at Tewkesbury, Henry VI. in the Tower, George duke of Clarence, Hastings, Stanley, Grey, Rivers, Edward V., and the little Duke of York, all went down in the pathway of him who knew "neither pity, love, nor fear."

It was now incumbent on Richard to keep what he had taken. His first measure was to make himself popular with the multitude. To this end he planned a tour through the kingdom. Setting out from London, he proceeded with his queen and son as far as York, where he had himself a second time crowned in the cathedral of that city. But mere pageant could not save him from the inevitable reaction against his crimes. It appears that Richard, in the distribution of rewards after his elevation to the throne, had failed to remember Buckingham in that degree demanded by the duke's ambition. The latter, for this reason, soon fell into a bitter and treasonable frame of mind; and in this he was encouraged by Morton, bishop of Ely, who had been intrusted to his care as a sort of state's prisoner. The bishop urged Buckingham to take up arms against Richard the murderer, and drive him from the throne. A conspiracy was accordingly formed, and a correspondence opened with Henry of Richmond, with a view to making that prince king of England—a measure to which he was in nowise averse.

But Richard III. was a dangerous beast to handle. He was on the alert, and had his agents everywhere to spy out the movements of his enemies. He discovered what was going on respecting the Duke of Richmond, and

secured the capture of Buckingham, whom he ordered to be immediately beheaded. The others who were privy to the plot were also seized and put to death. For the time it appeared that conspiracy was a perilous business for those who esteemed their heads worth saving.

It sometimes happens that nature finds the penetrable part of the most hardened. In the spring of 1484 the king's son Edward, then nine years of age, sickened and died. It were hard to say whether the grief of the great criminal was the outcry of broken fatherhood or the wailing of a king who had lost his only heir. Queen Anne, too, continuing as those who have no hope, survived the death of her son only a short time; but the allegation of Richard's enemies that he procured her death because she could not bear him another child, and because he had already determined to dispose of her in order to strengthen his House by a marriage with his niece, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.—though this idea is woven into the Shakespearean drama—was perhaps untrue.¹ Nevertheless, after the queen's death, Richard at once adopted the plan of a marriage with Elizabeth. His determination on this point was quickened by the knowledge that Henry of Richmond had also fixed his eyes on the princess as his prospective queen. The king and Henry thus became rivals in a double sense. The prize was the crown of England and the hand of Elizabeth.

When information reached Richmond of Richard's purpose regarding the princess, he hastened his movements for a descent on England. In midsummer of 1485 he landed at Mil-Haven with a small army numbering about three thousand men. At first the enterprise seemed forlorn in the last degree. But Richmond had good information respecting the actual state of the kingdom. The Welsh were ready to rise in his favor, and the duke received many messages of secret sympathy

and support among the English, who were groaning under the despotism of Richard. It seems that the latter misapprehended the sentiment of the country, and did not at first seriously mistrust the army. In proportion as he was confident of his own strength, he despised the weakness of his enemy. But when he undertook the work of organizing his forces to crush Henry to the earth, he began to discover the symptoms of disloyalty on every hand. A body of Welsh troops that were sent forward against Richmond deserted and went over to his standard. The king suspected that Lord Stanley, who commanded the army, was also in secret sympathy with the revolution. In order to make sure that no scheme of treachery against himself should succeed, Richard seized the son of Stanley and put him in ward for his father's loyalty.

Entering the field in person, the king collected his troops and proceeded to Leicester. From that place he set out on the 22d of August, 1485, and reached the abbey of Merivalle, near BOSWORTH FIELD, to which place Richmond had already advanced, and there pitched his tent. On the next morning both armies were drawn out for battle. When the conflict began, it became evident that a large part of Richard's army was disloyal. Presently Lord Stanley went over to Richmond, and turning about at the head of his division, attacked the army of the king. The latter now grew desperate. With a kind of savage heroism worthy of a better cause he rushed headlong into the ranks of the enemy and sought to find out Richmond. For a while the opposing soldiers gave way before the terrible apparition, and it is likely that had the earl exposed himself single handed to the wrath of the demon, he would have lost his life in the encounter. But the body-guard of Henry closed around the infuriated assailant, and though many of them fell in the terrific circle of his sword, he was himself soon beaten down and killed. Like Catiline, he died with a scowl of defiance on his desperate face, covered with dust and blood and slowly stiffening into the apathy and rigor of death. Richmond was proclaimed king on the field of his victory; nor was there any longer—so fatal had been the exterminating work of Richard—a prince who could seri-

¹The poet makes Richard say on the occasion of his successful wooing of Anne in the presence of the bier of her dead lord:

Was ever woman in this humor wooed?

Was ever woman in this humor won?

I'll have her,—but *I will not keep her long.*

Richard the Third; Act I., Scene 2.

ously contest the peaceable accession of the HOUSE OF TUDOR to the throne of England. It only remained for Henry to complete his work by marrying the Princess Elizabeth of York, thus at last blending in a single line the long estranged families of the sons of Edward III.

With the assumption of the crown of England by HENRY VII., we come to a new epoch in English history. It is the emergence from the shadows of mediæval times into the far dawn of the modern era. The Plantagenets had occupied the throne for two hundred and ninety-six years, and had contributed to history some of the most noted monarchs of the Middle Ages. The age of chivalry expired with the reign of Edward III. Then followed those foreign wars in which England, sometimes valorously and sometimes feebly, attempted to gain and maintain an ascendancy on the western rim of the continent. But she was destined to become a great insular rather than a great continental state.

The Wars of the Roses had this important effect on the history of the kingdom: They virtually destroyed the feudal nobility of England in an internecine strife, thus giving an opportunity for the development and growth of the institution of monarchy. The Tudor kings at once assumed and long maintained a pomp and state hitherto unknown among the rulers of the Island. Here, as on the continent, where Louis XI. triumphed over the spirit and remaining energies of feudalism as impersonated in Charles of Burgundy, the KING began to tower on high, to appear conspicuous as the leading factor in the history of the age; while, on the other side, the remaining factor of Modern History, the PEOPLE, likewise appeared and stood over against the king till the twain were as two mountains

that have parted. Here, then, for the time, we take another leave of English history to look for a moment at the progress of events in Spain, Italy, and the North of Europe. It is only necessary to remind the reader that the accession of Henry VII. took place but seven years before the discovery of America,



DEATH OF RICHARD III. AND CORONATION OF RICHMOND.

and that when the two Cabots, John and Sebastian, shall presently depart from the harbor of Bristol to trace out the bleak coast of Labrador, and to establish the claim of England to the eastern shore of central North America, they will carry the English pennon and the royal banner of Tudor.

CHAPTER XXVI.—SPAIN, ITALY, AND THE NORTH OF EUROPE.



THE history of Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will include sketches of the Christian kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, Castile and Leon, and of the Mohammedan kingdom of Granada. The outline will also embrace the movement by which a consolidation of these states was effected, and the modern Kingdom of Spain established under Ferdinand and Isabella—a movement entirely analogous to that which took place in Germany under Maximilian I., in France under Louis XI., and in England under Henry VII.

Navarre, the ancient *Navarra*, lay next to France and the Pyrenees, and was one of the first Christian states established after the conquest of the country by the Moors. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Moslems ever succeeded in subduing the old Christian population of this somewhat mountainous region. During the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Debonair the province of Navarre belonged to France, but near the close of the ninth century the country again became independent. A hundred and twenty years later, under Sancho III., surnamed the Great, Navarre became a strong, even a formidable, power, admired by the states of Christendom and feared by the Mohammedans.

It will be remembered that in 1223 Navarre was obtained by Count Thibaut of Champagne. The province remained in possession of his family for fifty years, when his granddaughter Jeanne was married to Philip the Fair of France, and thus Navarre was united to the French crown. Forty-three years afterwards, when Philip of Valois came to the throne, the Navarrese again became independent, and so remained under their own sovereigns until Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., becoming heiress of the province, carried it over to the House of Evreux. The next

transfer of the principality was to Aragon, which event happened in 1425. The crowns of Navarre and Aragon then remained united for fifty-four years, when the House of Foix gained a brief ascendancy, only to be replaced by that of Albret in 1484. It will thus be seen that the Navarrese were still independent at the time when the discovery of a New World diverted the attention of all Western Europe to the possibilities beyond the waters. It was twenty years after the success of Columbus before Ferdinand the Catholic succeeded in incorporating Navarre with the consolidated kingdom of Spain.

The kingdom of Aragon dates back to the days of Rome. From the Visigoths it was wrested by the Moors in the beginning of the eighth century. The country was next conquered by Sancho III. of Navarre, by whom it was annexed as a county of his own kingdom. In 1035 his son, Romiro I., received it as his part of the paternal inheritance. Under his successors Aragon flourished. Barcelona was incorporated with the kingdom, and the princes of that province gained the crown of the united countries. This House of Barcelona gave eleven kings to Aragon, the last of whom was Martin, whose brief but successful reign ended in 1412. In that year Ferdinand I., king of Castile, supplanted the Barcelona dynasty, and paved the way for the union of the two kingdoms. This work was accomplished by the marriage of his grandson, Ferdinand II., in 1469, to Isabella, heiress of Castile. The united principalities were henceforth known as the kingdom of Castile and Aragon.

The previous history of Castile is of but little importance. Like Navarre, this part of the country was never, perhaps, entirely subjugated by the Mohammedans. Native counts ruled the country from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century. In 1033 Ferdinand, son of Sancho III. of Navarre, received Castile by the partition of

his father's kingdom; and four years afterwards, when Bernudo III., king of Leon, died, Ferdinand succeeded in uniting that province with his own. Thus Leon was merged into Castile, as Castile was afterwards merged into Aragon.

While these movements were taking place in the north and west of Spain the southern part of the peninsula still remained under the domination of the Moors. As the Christians gradually regained what they had lost in Navarre, Aragon, and Old and New Castile, the Mohammedans receded southward, and concentrated their energies in the kingdom of Granada. Here, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, they flourished. Here, while all the rest of Europe was sunk in darkness, they kept the lamps of learning perpetually aflame. Here the sciences of the East were replanted by the Arabian philosophers, and when they had grown somewhat in this congenial soil, sprays and bulbs and cuttings of the life-everlasting of knowledge were carried beyond the Pyrenees, beyond the Rhine, beyond the English Channel.

Looking, then, at Spain as a whole, her importance in Modern History begins to appear with the accession of the House of Trastámara, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Henry II., founder of that dynasty, reigned until 1379, and was succeeded by his son, John I. of Castile. This prince, after a reign of eleven years, left the kingdom to Henry III. of Castile and Ferdinand I. of Aragon. The former was the grandfather of Isabella, and the latter of Ferdinand the Catholic, who by their marriage, in 1469, united Aragon and Castile in one kingdom. The joint reign of these sovereigns constitutes the beginning of the greatness of Spain.

FERDINAND, surnamed the Catholic, was the fifth sovereign of that name of Castile; the second, of Aragon; the third, of Naples; and the second, of Sicily. At the age of sixteen he was proclaimed by his father, John II., as king of Sicily, and his own associate in the government of Navarre and Aragon. When, in 1474, King Henry IV. of Castile, brother of Isabella, whom Ferdinand had already married, died, the two were proclaimed joint sovereigns of the Castilian Kingdom. Hereupon, the Marquis of Villena, the Archbishop

of Toledo, and the Grand Master of Calatrava, headed an insurrection, the purpose of which was to dethrone Ferdinand and Isabella, and confer the crown on the Princess Juana, an alleged daughter of Henry IV., so recognized by himself, but whom the Spanish Cortes had set aside as illegitimate. But the revolution failed. Ferdinand gained a victory over the rebels at Toro, and in 1479 they were obliged to make peace on such terms as the conqueror was pleased to grant. As for Juana, she sought to escape from the stigma of her birth—being the supposed child of Beltrán de la Cueva—by entering a nunnery.

By the death of his father, Ferdinand now inherited the crown of Aragon; but Navarre was assigned to the late king's daughter, Eleanor. With the exception of this province and the kingdoms of Portugal and Granada, Ferdinand thus became the ruler of the whole Spanish peninsula. He displayed great abilities in the management of affairs and the government of men. He set himself against the spirit of localism which, until now, had impeded the progress of Spain towards national unity. He suppressed disorder, exterminated the brigands and robbers, and mastered the arrogant knights. Had his mind been as liberal as his energies were great the rapid emergence of the country into a condition of peace and development might have been expected.

But Ferdinand was a bigot. He undertook to weed out heresy from the kingdom. To his intolerant mind the Inquisition seemed to be the best means whereby to accomplish his purpose. This powerful institution became also an agent in his hands for subordinating the nobles and even the clergy to his will.

Not less bitter was the persecution of the Jews than was the animosity against the heretics. It became the fixed policy of Ferdinand and Isabella to drive the Israelites out of Spain. To this end, in the spring of 1492, an edict was issued by the joint sovereigns for the expulsion of the Jews. Perhaps no greater hardship was ever visited upon a people since the dawn of modern times than that which now fell upon the unoffending children of Israel. They were driven from their homes without mercy. They were turned naked into

what kingdoms soever they were able to make their way. It was a virtual confiscation of the entire Jewish property of Spain. The number expelled from the country has never been authentically ascertained. Some authors have placed it as high as eight hundred thousand, while others, notably the historian Prescott, has reduced the aggregate to a hundred and sixty thousand. The Spanish Jews, thus driven from the country of their birth, sought refuge, some in Portugal, others in France and Italy, and still others in Africa and the East. Like all other barbarous enterprises of the kind, this act of Ferdinand and Isabella did more harm, if possible, to their own kingdom than even to the persecuted people whom they drove into exile. For the Jews then, as ever, were among the most thrifty and enterprising of the Spanish population; and by their expulsion the industries and merchandising interests of the kingdom received a staggering blow.

While the Spanish sovereigns were thus engaged in driving Israel out of the land, they carried forward with equal zeal another work fully as impolitic and cruel. This was the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula. For more than seven hundred and fifty years the Crescent had retained its place north of the Strait of Gibraltar. The Moorish kingdom of Granada still stood, bearing witness to a civilization far more splendid than any Christian state of Spain had been able to present. In the year of 1491 a powerful army was directed against the Moslem kingdom. The Moors, unable to hold their own against overwhelming numbers, receded before the enemy, and finally withdrew into the city of Granada. Here they defended themselves until January of the following year, when the place was taken by the Christians. The Moorish sovereign, Boabdil, was obliged to retire with his people into Africa. At the first Ferdinand and Isabella did not attempt, as in the case of the Jews, to expel a whole population from the country, but only to overthrow the civil power of the Mohammedans and drive so many of the leaders as might seem to be dangerous beyond the strait.

In a few years, however, the same bigoted policy which had availed to destroy the last vestiges of Israelitish influence in the penin-

sula was directed against the Moorish inhabitants of Granada. In 1501 Ferdinand made an edict that all the Moslems within his dominions should either be converted to Christianity or be expelled from Spain. The royal armies were immediately put to work to carry the mandate into execution. The tide of Moorish population poured into Africa and the East until, by the middle of the sixteenth century, Spain had been drained of fully three millions of her best inhabitants. No wonder that the mind which could conceive and execute these diabolical measures was little inclined to listen approvingly to the plea of the Genoese adventurer then begging at his court for ships and men to find a new world beyond the western ocean.

The annals of ITALY in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are confused to the last degree. Political unity had, in the convulsions of the Dark Ages, been entirely destroyed. Not even Feudalism, with its chaotic institutions and cross-purposes, was more wanting in centralization and regularity of form, than were the Italian states of the centuries under consideration.

As a general fact, the feudal system never flourished south of the Alps. The narrow territorial limits of Italy, the multiplicity of her cities, and the fact that in these cities the old urban activities of the Romans continued to prevail, proved to be insurmountable obstacles to the planting and spread of Feudalism. As a consequence, municipal governments prevailed in the Italian states, after the general break up of society. The isolation of the petty powers which occupied the peninsula was as complete as that between the baronial counties and dukedoms north of the mountains; and the jealousy of small democracies, struggling for independence, and generally at war with rivals, retarded the growth of common political interests and prevented the planting of a great kingdom in Italy.

If we take a general survey of the country in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we shall be struck with the common aspect of affairs in the Italian towns and cities. It was the epoch in which the municipal liberties of these petty powers was supplanted by small aristocratic dynasties. This event was a sort of sequel to the long struggle between the

Guelphs and Ghibellines. The former party was popular or democratic in its principles, while the latter favored the aristocracy. In three of the leading cities, however—Venice, Genoa, Florence—the democracy retained its ascendancy for a considerable period after the *podestas*, or petty tyrants, had obtained control of most of the Italian towns.

The period which we are now considering was, in its social aspect, one of the most forbidding in all history. Never was the moral-

The soul of the age seemed devoid of conscience, and the tyrant and the priest scrupled not to use the poisoned cup. Many of the nobles kept in their employ a score of assassins, who put on visors and secreted themselves in the shadow of a wall until what time some victim of their master's treachery should pass within the wind of their cowardly daggers.

In 1312 the Emperor, Henry VII., attempted to restore the Imperial authority in



ASSASSINATION OF A NOBLEMAN BY BANDITS.

ity of a people at a more hopeless ebb than was that of the Italians in the Middle Ages. It was an epoch of rapine and lawlessness. Neither property nor life had any adequate protection from society. The country was infested with robbers and brigands, who preyed with reckless audacity on whatever industry had stored in hamlet, town, or castle. The condition was desperate. Murder was the common law; security, the exception. The stiletto was the favorite argument. Hired ruffians prowled in every place where the wayfarer or tradesman was expected to pass.

Italy. Though the effort was unsuccessful, the *podestas* gained by the conflict, and the aristocracy triumphed everywhere. Pisa fell under the rule of the family of Faggiola in 1314. Two years afterwards the authority in Lucca was seized by the Castracani. In Padua, the Carrara dynasty was established in 1318. The great family of the Visconti gained the ascendancy in Alessandria, Tortona, and Cremona; while Mantua was seized by the Gonzagas, and Ferrara by the Estes. Ravenna was dominated by the family of the Polenta; Verona by the Scala, and Bologna

by the Pepoli. Genoa did not accept the government of a doge until 1339. In Rome the struggle between the aristocratic and democratic factions—the latter led by that Cola di Rienzi, who has, with some propriety, been called the “last of the Roman tribunes”—continued until 1347, and was finally decided against the democracy.

and flourished. It was amid the ravages of the plague that Boccaccio's fantastic spirit sketched the passionate and half-hearted stories of the *Decamerone*.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century that power which in Italy most nearly resembled a kingdom was Naples. Queen Joanna, who held the Neapolitan scepter, was dethroned and assassinated in 1382. Charles Durazzo, who usurped her throne, met a similar fate four years afterwards, and the crown of Naples fell to the grandson of Joanna.

Passing on to the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find five principal states claiming our attention within the limits of Italy. These were Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the States of the Church. The smaller powers had been either reduced to dependence or wholly extinguished. In Milan the dynasty of the Visconti was still in the ascendant. Until 1447 the members of this strong House continued in authority, and were then succeeded by the almost equally distinguished family of the Sforzas. In Florence the great House of the Medici appeared, and partly by wealth and



CESARE BORGIA.

In the year last mentioned Italy was visited with a terrible famine, and this was followed hard after by a plague which has, perhaps, had no counterpart in history. It is recorded that *two-thirds* of the Italian people were swept away by the awful visitation. Strange it is that in the midst of these intestine feuds, and from the very horrors of starvation and pestilence, literature, science, and art sprang up

partly by genius gained control of the state. Padua and Verona had in the mean time fallen under the ambition of Venice, whose superb spirit, reaching out from her island-founded city, stretched the hand of power as far as the Archipelago and the shores of the Euxine.

The latter half of the fifteenth century was noted for the extinction of whatever remained

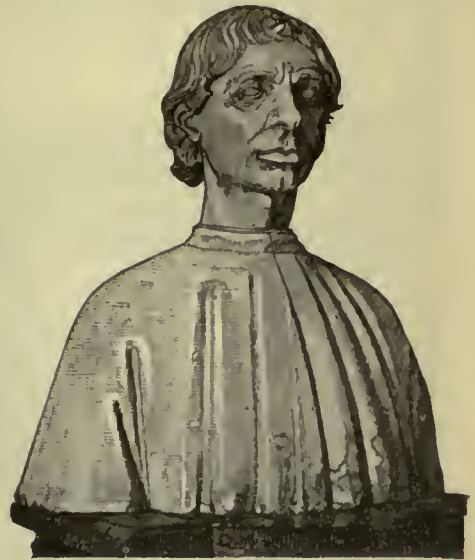
in Italy of Feudalism. This work was mostly accomplished by the agency of the noted prelate and soldier, Cesare Borgia, of Valencia. After being made a cardinal in 1493, he began a war of extermination against the feudal barons and petty princes of the Papal States. Their castles and strongholds were taken, and their estates confiscated. The character which Borgia developed might well be described as infamous. When Zizim, brother of Sultan Bajazet II., came as a fugitive to Rome, Borgia, for a bribe, procured his taking-off by poison. The papal secretary Ferrata, richest of the court of Rome, was the next to fall under Cesare's treachery. Soon afterwards the body of Giovanni Borgia, duke of Gandia and brother to Cesare, was found in the Tiber, pierced with nine stabs of the stiletto; nor was the suspicion wanting that Cesare's dagger had done the work. The murdered man's estates went to augment the brother's greatness.

At this time the papal throne was held by Alexander VI., who released Cesare Borgia from his vows in order that he might marry the daughter of the king of Naples; but the scheme did not succeed. Afterwards Cesare was sent as legate of the Pope to France. In 1502 he besieged and stormed the fortress of Sinigaglia, the garrison of which, consisting of Swiss mercenaries, was slaughtered without mercy. In the next year he attempted to poison four of the wealthiest cardinals, but by mistake the draught was administered to the Pope and to *himself*. The former died, but Cesare recovered from the effects of the potion.

In the latter part of his life Borgia had many vicissitudes. For a while all Central Italy was under his dominion. Afterwards he was expelled from the Papal States by Pope Julius II. For a season he sought refuge with Gonsalvo de Cordova, the commander of Naples, by whom he was sent to Spain. On arriving in that country he was imprisoned by Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1506 he made his escape and found an asylum with his father-in-law, Jean d'Albret. In 1507 he was killed in a broil before the castle of Viana, where he was serving as a soldier under the king of Navarre.

Contemporary with this distinguished personage was the celebrated Italian statesman,

Niccolo Machiavelli, of Florence. In that republic the family of this remarkable man had long held an important position. Niccolo was born in 1469. At the age of twenty-nine he entered the public service as chancellor of the government. Afterwards, he was secretary of the Florentine republic for fourteen years. While holding that important office he was charged with the public correspondence of the state. He became a diplomatist, and indeed may be considered the father of the diplomacy of Modern Europe. In the course of his life he was employed on twenty-three foreign embassies, four of which were to the court of France. From his state papers, which were



MACHIAVELLI.

models of elegance in their diction, he proceeded to the discussion of peace and war and other topics of international importance.

After the Florentine revolution of 1512, Machiavelli fell into disfavor and was persecuted. By one decree he was deprived of his offices, and by another banished from the city. In the following year he was accused of participation in a conspiracy against the Cardinal de Medici—afterwards Leo X.—and was tortured with a view to obtaining a confession. At a later period he regained in some measure the favor of the reigning House, and was again employed in important public services. Of his literary works the most important is *The Prince*, which was pub-

lished in 1532. This book has generally been regarded as a summary of all that is unscrupulous, subtle, and vile in the management of states. The "Prince" who was held up as a model appears to be an epitome of tyranny, hypocrisy, and treason. Modern criticism, however, has removed a part of the stigma from Machiavelli's name, and his work is now regarded as a kind of scientific statement of the arts by which despotic power may be ac-

1489 returned to Florence. He became a sort of prophet, who cried aloud against the pagan vices of Medieval Italy. Great was the influence which he soon acquired over the minds of those who still had virtue enough to perceive the vices of the age. When Charles VIII. crossed the Alps, Savonarola was one of the deputation appointed to welcome the king to Florence.

In that city, for a season, none was more



DEATH OF SAVONAROLA.

After a painting in the cell of Savonarola.

quired and preserved. Machiavelli died in 1527, and was buried in the cemetery of Santa Croce.

To this same period in Italian history belongs the story of the life and work of the reformer, Girolamo Savonarola. This noted personage began his life in Florence. At the age of twenty-three he became a Dominican friar, and in 1482 entered the convent of San Marco, in his native city. For a while he preached in the convent of Brescia, and in

powerful than the Reformer. He would fain establish a theocratic republic, with Christ for its sovereign. Presently he fell under the disfavor of the Pope, by whom he was excommunicated. But Savonarola treated the ban with contempt, and continued to preach reform. In the course of time the Medici and other powerful families combined against him, and the court of Rome issued a decree of banishment. Hereupon the revolutionist who denounced all luxury and hated all art

shut himself up in the convent of San Marco. A violent contest ensued. The papal party triumphed, and Savonarola and two of his followers were taken and condemned to death. The prisoners were strangled, and their bodies burned in the public square of Florence.

The close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century were noted in the history of Italy for the invasion of the country by the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. of France. The former of these kings, as already narrated, was the son and successor of the politic and ambitious Louis XI., who played so important a part in the affairs of Western Europe. Charles VIII., being still in his boyhood when he received the crown, was of a romantic turn, and would fain imitate the exploits of Cæsar and Charlemagne. One of his earliest dreams was the conquest of Italy. From his father he had inherited an old claim to Naples, deduced from Charles of Maine. In 1494 the French king raised and equipped a powerful army, and made his rendezvous at the foot of the Alps. The immediate occasion of the expedition was an invitation which Charles had received from Ludovico Sforza of Milan, who had made a plot for the usurpation of that duchy. To this end he had poisoned his nephew, the reigning duke.

At this juncture a sedition occurred in Florence, by which Piero de Medici was about to be overthrown. But in order to save himself, he too invited Charles to cross the Alps, and tempted him with a promise of the Tuscan fortresses and a loan of two hundred thousand florins. For this debasing proposition the Medici were expelled. None the less, Charles came over the mountains and took possession of Florence.

From that city he proceeded to Rome with an army of fifty thousand men. Alexander VI. was obliged to yield to the conqueror. Charles then made his way to the South. Alfonso II. of Naples abdicated at his approach, and the Neapolitan capital was taken by the French, whom the people received as deliverers. Soon afterwards, however, a reaction occurred, and Charles was obliged to retire from his recent conquest. The Pope refused him a coveted coronation, and on making his way northward into Lombardy he

was met at Tornovo by an army of Italian allies four times as numerous as his own. The French, however, prevailed by superior courage and discipline, and the allies were routed from the field.

No sooner had Charles departed from Naples than revolt broke out behind him. His power disappeared more rapidly than it had been established. Ferdinand II., to whom Alfonso had resigned the crown, came back in triumph, and the affairs of Italy returned to their old complexion.

Not dissimilar in character to the expedition of Charles VIII. were the Italian invasions of Louis XII., who in 1498 succeeded him on the French throne. Louis was in high favor with the papacy, and from the day of his coronation determined to make good his claim to the duchy of Milan. In 1499 he crossed the Alps with a large army and in a few weeks succeeded in his purpose. Ludovico Sforza was captured and sent a prisoner to France. He then proceeded, in collusion with Ferdinand of Aragon, to divide the kingdom of Naples between himself and his ally. Soon, however, they quarreled over the spoils and the French were defeated in the battle of Seminara by the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, general of Ferdinand of Aragon. Louis was expelled from southern Italy.

For several years the French king was in ill health in his own dominions. During this time the Princess Claude, daughter of Louis and Anne of Brittany, was given in marriage to Francis of Angoulême, by which event the way was paved for a change in the dynasty. In 1507 Louis made successful war on Genoa, and in the following year formed with Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Pope Julius II. the celebrated League of Cambrai with a view to the extinction of the Republic of Venice. Nor is it likely that the league would have failed in its object but for the defection of the Pope. In 1509 Louis made a campaign against the Venetians and overthrew them in the great battle of AGNADELLO. The state of Venice was for a season brought to the verge of extinction, but was saved by the action of the Pope, who went over to the Venetian side and took with him the Emperor and Henry VIII. of England. The war, conducted on the part of the French

by the great general, Gaston de Foix, continued until the death of that commander at Ravenna, and his army was finally defeated in

the battle of Novara in 1513.—Such were the beginnings of the long struggle of the French for the mastery of Italy.



LOUIS XII. AT THE BATTLE OF AGNADELLO.

Drawn by A. de Neuville

Sweeping around to the north of Europe, we enter again the kingdom of SWEDEN. At the close of the thirteenth century the throne was occupied by MAGNUS LADULAS, surnamed the Barlock—a title which he had earned by protecting the granaries of the Swedish peasants against the rapacity of the lords. After his death Sweden was plunged into contentions and strifes; for, like Edward III. of England and Philip IV. of France, Magnus had three sons to contend for the succession.

These turmoils were not settled until the year 1319, when MAGNUS SNEK became king, to the exclusion of other claimants. In the following year, by the death of his mother, he inherited the crown of Norway, and thus united the two kingdoms in one. But he chose to constitute Norway a kind of viceroyalty under the government of his son, King Haco, already several times mentioned in the preceding pages. Magnus was one of the most politic sovereigns of the century. His ambition brooded over the plan of uniting all the Northern kingdoms in one. To this end he contrived a marriage between Haco and Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, king of Denmark. His next project was to secure the aid of the allied Scandinavian kings in an effort to overthrow the senate and establish a purer monarchy in the North.

But this movement proved a failure. An insurrection broke out and Magnus was dethroned. In 1363 Prince Albert of Mecklenburg was elected to the Swedish throne; but the kings of Norway and Denmark refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. A war hereupon ensued, and Albert was defeated. Another period of civil discord followed, and the country was rent with factions until near the close of the century. At last a reaction ensued in favor of the work and policy of Magnus Snek—a certain tendency to consolidate all the Norse states into a common government. This resulted, in 1397, in that great treaty known as the Union of Calmar, by which Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were bound together in a confederated monarchy. The union was effected under the auspices of Queen MARGARET, known as the Semiramis of the North. With great firmness she assumed the duties of monarch of all Scan-

dinavia, and continued on the throne until her death in 1412.

The crown of the united kingdoms then fell to the grand-nephew, ERIC of Pomerania. Without the strength of will and character which Margaret possessed, he undertook the difficult task of controlling the politics of the Baltic states, scarcely less stormy than the sea itself. The union was with difficulty maintained until 1434, when the Swedes, led by a certain patriot called Engelbert, who had been a miner in Dalecarlia, revolted, and the insurrection gathered such head as to portend imminent overthrow to the monarchy. But just as success seemed within his grasp, Engelbert was assassinated. The revolt fell to pieces, and the Union of Calmar was saved from disruption.

After a reign of twenty-seven years Eric was dethroned to make room for his nephew, CHRISTOPHER of Bavaria, who ruled Sweden with moderate success until his death in 1448. Hereupon a certain CARL KNUDSSON, who had held the office of regent under Eric of Pomerania, was chosen for the succession. But his election had the sanction of neither heredity nor common sense. Under his auspices and those of his successors the Union of Calmar was upheld with more or less firmness until the close of the century. But civil strifes were frequent, and the progress of civilization was greatly retarded. Not until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when GUSTAVUS VASA appeared on the scene, did the native vigor of the Swedes begin to flourish under a comparatively liberal government.

Turning to NORWAY, we find that country conquering Iceland in the year 1261. This work was effected by HACO V., who, in the following year, was defeated in a battle near the mouth of the Clyde. After this there was a period of retrogression in Norway. The constant wars of Denmark exhausted the energies of the kingdom. The industries of the Norwegians were retarded by a monopoly which was obtained by the Hanseatic League. During the first half of the fourteenth century Norway declined under these adverse influences until her power was little felt, even in the affairs of the North. In 1348 the great plague known as the Black Death broke out in the kingdom; and, if the horrid traditions of

the times may be trusted, two-thirds of the people were swept into the grave. It is probable that no other European state suf-

fered to an equal degree in proportion to population.

Meanwhile, in 1319, after the death of



THE SEMIRAMIS OF THE NORTH.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Haco VII., the Swedes obtained the Norwegian throne, and held it through two successive reigns. The country was merged first with Sweden and afterwards with Denmark, and so complete was the national abasement under foreign rule that the people lost their language, and spoke thenceforth a broken form of Swedish and Danish. The marriage of Haco VIII. with the daughter of Walde-
mar of Denmark has already been mentioned. This Haco reigned until 1380, when he was succeeded by his son, OLAF III., as ruler

to do for Norway what the Normans did for Saxon England after the Conquest. The native nobility was reduced to beggary and destroyed. It appears that of the three states which were amalgamated under the Union of Calmar, Norway suffered most in her local interests, and it was not until the sixteenth century that she began to revive from her long and enforced lethargy.

The history of DENMARK during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presents few points of interest. She was important to Me-



DEFEAT OF THE KHAN OF KAZAN.

of the maternal kingdom as well as Sweden. Henceforth the two kingdoms were ruled as one. Olaf gave place to his daughter MARGARET the Great, under whom, as already narrated, the Union of Calmar was effected. It was in the terms of this great compact that the three kingdoms of the North should retain their respective laws and usages under a common government. It happened, however, that the Norwegians were unable to do so. Already weakened by previous disasters, the local institutions of that country gave way under pressure of foreign influence. The Danish nobles came over in such numbers as

diæval Europe rather for what she sent out than for what she retained. For it was from her borders that most of the sea-kings, rovers, pirates, buccancers of the Middle Ages went forth to devastate the shores of other kingdoms, and to spread terror wherever the name of Dane was known. After the Union of Calmar in 1397 Denmark remained an integral part of the united kingdom. Indeed, it was under Danish rather than Swedish auspices that that famous compact was formed and upheld. Margaret herself was half Dane in blood and wholly a Dane in sympathy and purpose. It will be remembered that her suc-

cessor Eric was deposed in 1439, and that the Danish states chose as his successor Christopher of Bavaria, who reigned for nine years. At his death, in 1448, another election was held, and the crown fell to Count CHRISTIAN of Oldenburg, who in his turn transmitted it to his grandson, CHRISTIAN II.¹ It was in the reign of Christian of Oldenburg that America was revealed to Europe.

Turning to RUSSIA, we find the throne occupied in the middle of the thirteenth century



IVAN THE GREAT.

by ALEXANDER NEVSKI. From being Prince of Novgorod he extended his dominion over the Livonians and Lithuanians, and by his successes in war made himself almost independent of the Monguls. It was, however, nearly three-quarters of a century before IVAN I., surnamed Kalita, Prince of Moscow, beat back the Tartar invaders and became, in some sense, the founder of the nationality of

¹ It is a notable circumstance in the history of the Danish kings that since the reign of Christian II. all the monarchs have been named Christian or Frederick by alternation.

Modern Russia. He joined the province of Tver with that of Moscow, beautified his capital, and began the reconstruction of the Kremlin. Strange that he should have voluntarily given up the greatness of Imperial state for the seclusion of a monastery.

In 1380, one of the successors of Ivan, named DEMETRIUS DONSKI, fought a great battle with the Mongols on the Don, in which a hundred thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen. Two years later, however, the Mongols returned to the conflict, captured and burned Vladimir and Moscow, and slaughtered in the latter city twenty-four thousand of the inhabitants. A peace was secured only by enormous sacrifices on the part of Russia.

For a while the coming Empire of the great North lay dormant. Not until the reign of BASIL II., who held the throne from 1389 to 1425, did Russia revive from the effects of her defeat by the Mongols and the civil dissensions that ensued between the king and the nobles. In the time of Basil, Nizhni Novgorod and Suzdal were added to the principality of Moscow. Between the years 1425 and 1462 the countries of Malicz, Mozhaïsk, and Borovsk were incorporated with the growing Empire. At the later date just mentioned IVAN III., surnamed the Great, ascended the throne and undertook the expulsion of the Mongols. In 1469 he won a victory over the Khan of Kazan, and soon afterwards notified the ambassadors of the Mongol Emperor that Russia would now send him no more tribute. Nor could the Grand Khan any more enforce the payment. Ivan continued his conquests and annexations of territory down to the close of the century, and was so engaged when the prows of the ships of Columbus were set to the west from the harbor of Palos.

Such is the outline of the progress of Europe towards the light during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of our era. It is possible to discover in the slow, tortuous, and confused movements of the epoch a certain



ALEXANDER NEVSKI.



DEMETRIUS DONSKI.



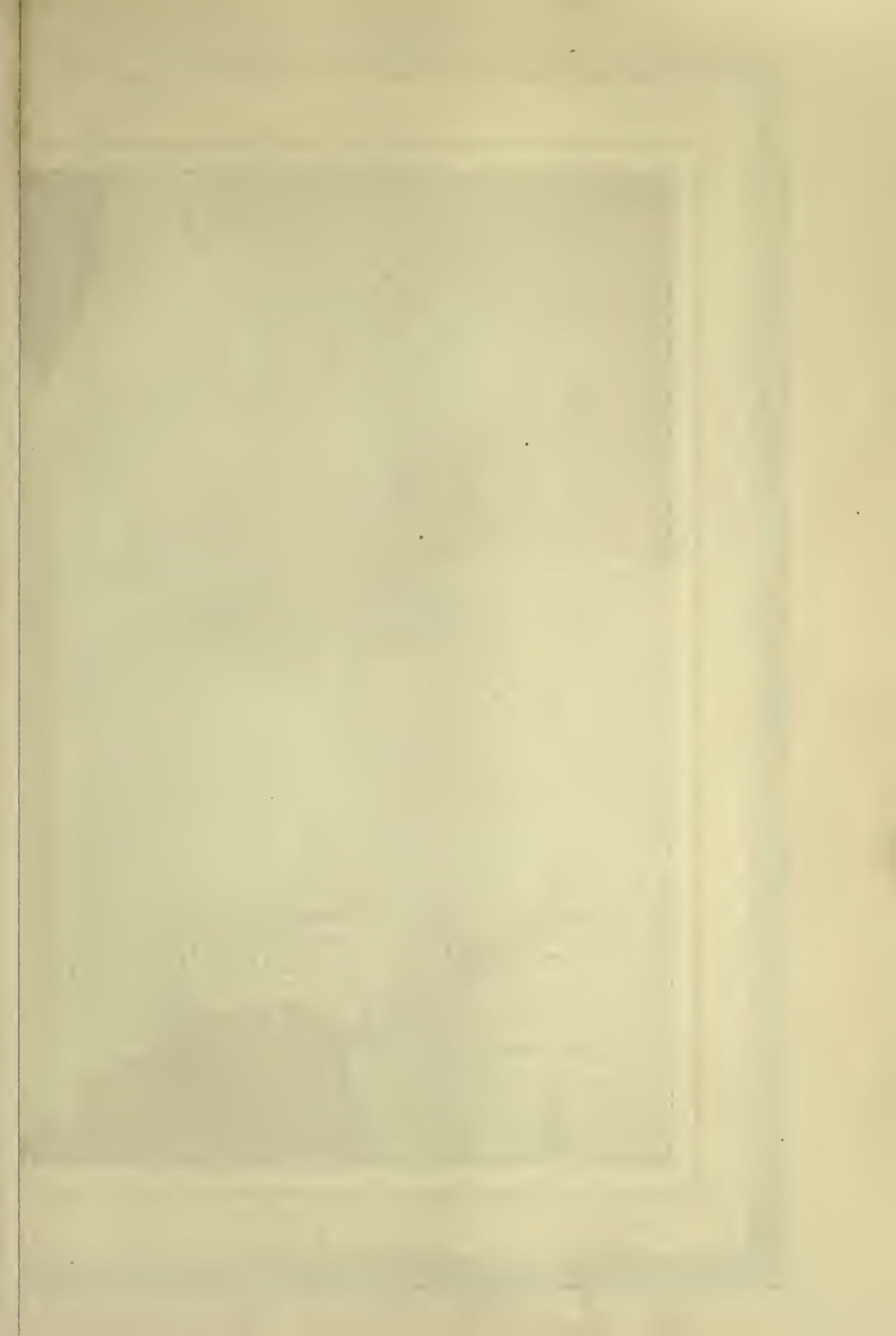
THE MONGOLS CROSSING THE DON.

tendency which might almost be called a law, a kind of process of resolution by which the mediæval forms of society were dissolved and poured into a new and grander mould. In general this movement tended to the destruction of whatever Feudal Europe had transmitted to the times of which we speak, and to building upon the ruins the institution of MONARCHY as the governing fact and of the PEOPLE as the governed fact in the history of the Modern World. This is the true philosophy of the historic period the annals of which are sketched in the present Book. The same can not be better concluded than in the language of the illustrious Guizot, who, in summing up the results of the general progress of human society and institutions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, gives the following *résumé*:

“Indeed, to whatever country of Europe we cast our eyes, whatever portion of its history we consider, whether it relates to the nations themselves or their governments, to their territories or their institutions, we everywhere see the old elements, the old forms of society, disappearing. Those liberties which were

founded on tradition were lost; new powers arose, more regular and concentrated than those which previously existed. There is something deeply melancholy in this view of the fall of the ancient liberties of Europe. Even in its own time it inspired feelings of the utmost bitterness. In France, in Germany, and above all, in Italy, the patriots of the fifteenth century resisted with ardor, and lamented with despair, that revolution which everywhere produced the rise of what they were entitled to call despotism. We must admire their courage and feel for their sorrow; but at the same time we must be aware that this revolution was not only inevitable, but useful. The primitive system of Europe—the old feudal and municipal liberties—had failed in the organization of a general society. Security and progress are essential to social existence. Every system which does not provide for present order, and progressive advancement for the future, is vicious, and speedily abandoned. And this was the fate of the old political forms of society, of the ancient liberties of Europe in the fifteenth century.”







MAP XIII.
VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY,
SHOWING
THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES
OF
THE EARLY NAVIGATORS.





Book Sequently.

NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION.

CHAPTER XXVII.—LAND, HO!



AS the World flat or round? Had the Ocean another shore? What kind of a verge or precipice was drawn around the cloudy rim of Nature? What vision of wonder and peril

might arise upon the mariner's sight—

“Beyond the extreme sea-wall and between the remote sea-gates?”

If a man go, could he return again?

Such were the queries with which the adventurous brain of New Europe began to busy itself as the shadows of the Epoch of Darkness rolled away to the horizon. The vigorous sailors of the maritime Republics and the daring travelers who had gone *up* to Jerusalem and thence *down* to India thought they perceived the sphericity of the earth, that the Holy City was on the crest or ridge of the world! More particularly did those who journeyed northward and southward behold the stars rising overhead or sinking to the horizon in a way unaccountable except on the notion that the earth is round.

From the shores of Portugal and Spain, from Brest and Land's End, from the Skager

Rack, the Orkneys and Iceland, the man of the fourteenth century looked wistfully, thoughtfully, to the Ocean of Atlas. He would fain try his power in that world of waters where

“Descends on the Atlantic
The gigantic
Storm-wind of the Equinox.”

Rumor, tradition, said that others had gone and come again in safety. The old Knight of St. Albans, Sir John de Mandeville, coming home from the far East in the thirtieth year of Edward III., thus discourses on the problem which after a hundred and forty years was to receive a final solution at the hands of Columbus and Cabot:

“Wherefore men may easily perceive that *the land and the sea are of round shape and figure*. For that part of the firmament which is seen in one country is not seen in another. And men may prove both by experience and sound reasoning that if a man, having passage by ship, should go to search the world, *he might with his vessel sail around the world, both above and under it*. This proposition I prove as follows: I have myself in Prussia seen the North Star by the astrolabe fifty-three degrees above the horizon. Further on in Bohemia it rises

to the height of fifty-eight degrees. And still farther northward it is sixty-two degrees and some minutes high. I myself have so measured it. Now the South Pole Star is, as I have said, opposite the North Pole Star. And about these poles the whole celestial sphere revolves like a wheel about the axle; and the firmament is thus divided into two equal parts. From the North I have turned southward, passed the equator, and found that in Libya the Antarctic Star first appears above the horizon. Farther on in those lands that star rises higher, until in southern Libya it reaches the height of eighteen degrees and certain minutes, sixty minutes making a degree. After going by sea and by land towards that country [Australia, perhaps] of which I have spoken, I have found the Antarctic Star more than thirty-three degrees above the horizon. *And if I had had company and shipping to go still farther, I know of a certainty that I should have seen the whole circumference of the heavens. . . . And I repeat that men may environ the whole world, as well under as above, and return to their own country, if they had company, and ships, and conduct.* And always, as well as in their own land, shall they find inhabited continents and islands. For know you well that they who dwell in the southern hemisphere are feet against feet of them who dwell in the northern hemisphere, *just as we and they that dwell under us are feet to feet.* For every part of the sea and the land hath its antipode. . . . Moreover, when men go on a journey toward India and the foreign islands, they do, on the whole route, circle the circumference of the earth, even to those countries which are under us. And therefore hath that same thing, which I heard recited when I was young, happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time, a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth, he was astonished; for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actu-

ally gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached and thereby lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterwards acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm; and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue; and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did *they would fall off!* But that absurd thing never could happen unless we ourselves, from where we are, should fall toward heaven! For upon what part soever of the earth men dwell, whether above or under, it always seemeth to them that they walk more perpendicularly than other folks! And just as it seemeth to us that our antipodes are under us head downwards, just so it seemeth to them that we are under them head downwards. If a man might fall from the earth towards heaven, by much more reason the earth itself, being so heavy, should fall to heaven—an impossible thing."

It were perhaps useless to conjecture at what time and in what way this belief in the sphericity of the earth and in the existence of a New World beyond the waters became diffused in the minds of men. The spread of such an idea, as of all others tending to the betterment of mankind, was first among the radicals and disturbers of that torpid society which, in conjunction with a still more torpid Church, held possession of Europe in the fourteenth century.

History deals with facts rather than with theories. She looks to that which may be weighed, seen, handled—the tangible results of antecedent mental concepts and forces. A comprehensive and philosophical history would trace all things back along the lines of causation to their ultimate origin. A work like the present must be content to sketch an outline of the facts of civilization, pausing only at intervals to note the forces which have produced them.

It appears, then, that while it remained for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to make an

actual revelation of the New World to the Old, the former had been touched and traversed, at least in some of its north-eastern coasts, as much as five hundred years previously. Since 1838, when through the efforts of Rafn and the Royal Society of Copenhagen the Scandinavian Sagas have been submitted to the critical judgment of Europe, all ground of doubt has been removed relative to the Norse discoveries in the West at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. It is now conceded that Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the north-eastern parts of the United States were visited, and, to a limited extent, colonized, before the Norman conquest of England. While old Sweyn was flaunting the Danish raven in the face of Ethelred the Unready; while Robert I., son of Hugh Capet, was on the throne of France; while the Saxon Otho III. swayed the destinies of Germany; and while the Caliphate of Baghdad was still flourishing under the Abbassides, men of the Aryan race were establishing a feeble communication between the New World and Iceland. It is appropriate to give a brief account of the voyages and explorations made by the Norse adventurers along the coast of America.

From the Sagas above referred to we learn that the Western continent was first seen by White men in the year 986. A Norse navigator by the name of HERJULFSON, sailing from Iceland to Greenland, was caught in a storm and driven westward to Newfoundland or Labrador. Two or three times the shores were seen, but no landing was made or attempted. The coast was low, abounding in forests, and so different from the well-known cliffs of Greenland as to make it certain that another shore hitherto unknown was in sight. On reaching Greenland, Herjulfson and his companions told wonderful stories of the new lands seen in the West.¹

¹ It is proper to say, once for all, that in the subsequent chapters of the present work the Author will, in those parts relating to American History, employ freely the matter already prepared and published in his *Popular History of the United States*. He will make, in the paragraphs thus re-presented from the stand-point of General History, such changes and additions and abridgments only as have been suggested by further study or the criticism of candid friends.

Fourteen years later, the actual discovery of America was made by LEIF ERICKSON. This noted Icelandic captain, resolving to know the truth about the country which Herjulfson had seen, sailed westward from Greenland, and in the spring of the year 1001 reached Labrador. Impelled by a spirit of adventure, he landed with his companions, and made explorations for a considerable distance along the coast. The country was milder and more attractive than his own, and he was in no haste to return. Southward he went as far as Massachusetts, where the daring company of Norsemen remained for more than a year. Rhode



Island was also visited; and it is alleged that the hardy adventurers found their way into New York harbor.

What has once been done, whether by accident or design, may easily be done again. In the years that followed Leif Erickson's discovery, other companies of Norsemen came to the shores of America. THORWALD, Leif's brother, made a voyage to Maine and Massachusetts in 1002, and is said to have died at Fall River, in the latter state. Then another brother, THORSTEIN by name, arrived with a band of followers in 1005; and in the year 1007, THORFINN KARLSEFNE, the most distinguished mariner of his day, came with a crew of a hundred and fifty men, and made explo-

rations along the coast of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and perhaps as far south as the capes of Virginia. Other companies of Icelanders



NORSE SEA-KING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

and Norwegians visited the countries farther north, and planted colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Little, however, was known or imagined by these rude sailors of the extent of the country which they had discovered. They supposed that it was only a portion of Western Greenland, which, bending to the north around an arm of the ocean, had reappeared in the west. The settlements which were made, were feeble and soon broken up. Commerce was an impossibility in a country where there were only a few wretched savages with no disposition to buy and nothing at all to sell. The spirit of adventure was soon appeased, and the restless Northmen returned to their own country. To this undefined line of coast, now vaguely known to them, the Norse sailors gave the name of VINLAND; and the old Icelandic chroniclers insist that it was a pleasant and beautiful country. As compared with their own mountainous and frozen island of the North, the coasts of New England may well have seemed delightful.

The men who thus first visited the shores of the New World were a race of hardy adventurers, as lawless and restless as any that ever sailed the deep. Their mariners and sol-

diers penetrated every clime. As already narrated, the better parts of France and England fell under their dominion. All the monarchs of the latter country after William the Conqueror—himself the grandson of a sea-king—are descendants of the Norsemen. They were rovers of the sea; freebooters and pirates; warriors audacious and headstrong, wearing hoods surmounted with eagles' wings and walrus' tusks, mailed armor, and for robes the skins of polar bears. Woe to the people on whose defenseless coasts the sea-kings landed with sword and torch! Their wayward life and ferocious disposition are well portrayed in one of their own old ballads:

He scorns to rest 'neath the smoky rafter,
He plows with his boat the roaring deep;
The billows boil and the storm howls after—
But the tempest is only a thing of laughter—
The sea-king loves it better than sleep!

During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries occasional voyages continued to be made by the men of the North, and it is said that as late as the year 1347 a Norwegian ship visited Labrador and the north-eastern parts of the United States. The Norse remains which have been found at Newport, at Garnet Point, and several other places, seem



OLD STONE TOWER AT NEWPORT.

to point clearly to some such events as are here described; and the Icelandic historians give a uniform and tolerably consistent ac-

count of these early exploits of their countrymen. When the word *America* is mentioned in the hearing of the Icelandic schoolboys, they will at once answer with enthusiasm, "O, yes; Leif Erickson discovered that country in the year 1001."

An event is to be weighed by its consequences. From the discovery of America by the Norsemen, nothing whatever resulted. The world was neither wiser nor better. Among the Icelanders themselves, the place and the very name of Vinland were forgotten. Europe never heard of such a country or such a discovery. Historians have, until the last half century, been incredulous on the subject, and the fact is as though it had never been. The curtain which had been lifted for a moment was stretched again from sky to sea, and the New World still lay hidden in the shadows.

It is not impossible that before the final relinquishment of America by the Norse adventurers, a sea-wanderer from rugged Wales had touched our Eastern shores. It is claimed that the Welsh Prince MADOC was not less fortunate than Leif Erickson in finding the Western shore of the Atlantic. But the evidence of such an exploit is far less satisfactory than that by which the Icelandic discoveries have been authenticated. According to the legend which the Cambrian chroniclers with patriotic pride have preserved, and the poet Southey has transmitted, Madoc was the son of the Welsh King Owen Gwynnedd, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. At this time a civil disturbance occurred in Wales, and Prince Madoc was obliged to save himself by flight. With a small fleet, he left the country in the year 1170, and, after sailing westward for several weeks, came to an unknown country, beautiful and wild, inhabited by a strange race of men, unlike people of Europe. For some time, the prince and his sailors tarried in the new land, delighted with its exuberance, and with the salubrious climate. Then, all but twenty of the daring company set sail, and returned to Wales. It was the intention of Madoc to make preparations and return again. Ten ships were accordingly fitted out, and the leader and his adventurous crew a second time set their prows to the West. The vessels dropped out of sight one by one, and

were never heard of more.—The thing may have happened.

While the sun of chivalry set and the expiring energies of Feudalism ebbed away in Europe; while the Elder Capets gave place to the Houses of Valois and Orleans in France; and while the bloody wars of York and Lancaster made England desolate and barren, the mystery of the Atlantic still lay unsolved under the shadows of the West. At last Louis XI. rose above the ruins of Feudal France, and Henry VII. over the fragments of broken England. In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella,



COPERNICUS.

expelling both the Jew and the Mohammedan, consolidated the kingdom, and prepared the way for the Spanish ascendancy in the times of their grandson. It now remained for this kingdom to become the patron and to receive the credit of that great enterprise by which a New World was to be given first to Castile and Leon, and afterwards to mankind. As to him who was destined to make the glorious discovery, his birth had been reserved for Italy—land of olden valor and home of so much greatness. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was the name of him whom after ages have justly rewarded with imperishable fame.

As already indicated, the idea of the sphericity of the earth was not original with Columbus. Others before him had held a similar belief; but the opinion had been so feebly and uncertainly entertained as to lead to no practical results. Copernicus, the Prussian astronomer, had not yet taught, nor had Galileo, the great Italian, yet demonstrated, the true system of the universe. But though others had accepted the idea that the world is round, and had dreamed of the possibility of circumnavigation, none had been bold enough to undertake so hazardous an enterprise. Columbus was, no doubt, the first *practical* believer in the theory of circumnavigation; and although he never sailed around the world himself, he demonstrated the possibility of doing so. The great mistake made by him and others who shared his opinions was not concerning the *figure* of the earth, but in regard to its *size*. He believed the world to be no more than ten thousand or twelve thousand miles in circumference. He, therefore, confidently expected that after sailing about three thousand miles to the westward he should arrive at the East Indies. To do that was the great purpose of his life.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born at Genoa, in the year 1435. He was carefully educated, and then devoted himself to the sea. His ancestors had been seamen before him. His own inclination as well as his early training made him a sailor. For twenty years he traversed the Mediterranean and the parts of the Atlantic adjacent to Europe; he visited Iceland, and then turned to the south. The idea of reaching the Indies by crossing the Ocean had already possessed him.

Few things in human history are more touching than the story of the struggles of

Columbus. His first formal application was made to John II., of Portugal. By that sovereign the matter presented was referred to a body of learned men who declared the project to be absurd. In the next place the adventurer left Lisbon, and in 1484 went to Spain. At the same time he made application to the courts of Genoa and Venice, but both refused to aid him. He next appealed to the dukes of Southern Spain, and by them was turned away. He then repaired to Cordova, and from that place followed the Spanish court to Salamanca. At last he was introduced to the king, who heard him with indifference, and then turned him over to a Council of Ecclesiastics. This body, instead of considering the scientific possibility of the thing, brought out the Scriptures to show the impiety of the project, and declared that it was not becoming in great princes to engage in such a work.

Thus for years together was the lofty spirit of Columbus buffeted by the ignorance of the age. In 1491 he set out for the court of France to submit his plans to Charles VIII. On his



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

way he was stopped at the monastery of La Rabida, and chanced to state his great enterprise to the Prior, De Marchena. The latter had been the queen's confessor, and so much was he now interested that he mounted his mule at midnight and rode to Sante Fé, where Isabella was, to persuade her to lend her aid. Columbus explained in person to Ferdinand and Isabella the nature of his plans. The king in answer declared that the Spanish treasury was empty, but the queen gave this ever-memorable answer: "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." Be it never forgotten that to the faith

and insight and decision of a woman the final success of Columbus must be attributed.

On the morning of the third day of Au-

12th, Rodrigo Triana, who chanced to be on the lookout from the Pinta, set up a shout of "Land!" A gun was fired as the signal. The



THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 11th, 1492.

gust, 1492, Columbus, with his three ships, left the harbor of Palos. After seventy-one days of sailing, in the early dawn of October

ships lay to. There was music and jubilee; and just at sunrise Columbus himself first stepped ashore, shook out the royal banner of

Castile in the presence of the wondering natives, and named the island San Salvador.¹ During the three remaining months of this first voyage, the islands of Concepcion, Cuba, and Hayti were added to the list of discoveries; and on the bay of Caracola, in the last named island, was erected out of the timbers of the *Santa Maria* a fort, the first structure built by Europeans in the New World. In the early part of January, 1493, Columbus sailed for Spain, where he arrived in March,

nearly three years, Columbus returned to Spain in the summer of 1496—returned to find himself the victim of a thousand bitter jealousies and suspicions. All the rest of his life was clouded with persecutions and misfortunes. He made a third voyage, discovered the island of Trinidad and the main-land of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco. Thence he sailed back to Hayti, where he found his colony disorganized; and here, while attempting to restore order, he was seized by Boba-



COLUMBUS APPEALING TO THE SUPERSTITION OF THE NATIVES.

and was everywhere greeted with rejoicings and applause.

In September of the following autumn Columbus sailed on his second voyage. He still believed that by this route westward he should reach, if indeed he had not already reached, the Indies. The result of the second voyage was the discovery of the Windward group and the islands of Jamaica and Porto Rico. It was at this time that the first colony was established in Hayti, and Columbus's brother appointed governor. After an absence of

¹The aboriginal name of the island was *Guanahani*.

dilla, an agent of the Spanish government, put in chains, and carried to Spain. After a disgraceful imprisonment he was liberated and sent on a fourth and last voyage in search of the Indies; but besides making some explorations along the south side of the Gulf of Mexico, the expedition accomplished nothing, and Columbus, overwhelmed with discouragements returned once more to his ungrateful country. The good Isabella was dead, and the great discoverer found himself at last a friendless and despised old man tottering into the grave. Death came, and fame afterward.

Of all the wrongs done to the memory of

Columbus, perhaps the greatest was that which robbed him of the name of the new continent. This was bestowed upon one of the least worthy of the many adventurers whom the genius and success of Columbus had drawn to the west. In the year 1499, AMERIGO VESPUCCI, a Florentine navigator of some daring but no great celebrity, reached the Eastern coast of South America. It does not appear that his explorations there were of any great importance. Two years later he made a second voyage, and then hastened home to give to Europe the first published account of the Western World. Vespucci's only merit consisted in his recognition of the fact that the recent discoveries were not a portion of that India already known, but were in reality another continent. In his published narrative, all reference to Columbus was carefully omitted; and thus, through his own craft, assisted by the unappreciative dullness of the times, the name of this Vespucci, rather than that of the true discoverer, was given to the New World.

The discovery of America produced great excitement throughout the states of Western Europe. In Spain, especially, there was wonderful zeal and enthusiasm.

1510, the Spaniards planted on the Isthmus of Darien their first continental colony. Three years later, VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA,



VESPUCCI.

the governor of the colony, learning from the natives that another ocean lay only a short distance to the westward, crossed the isthmus, and from an eminence looked down upon the PACIFIC. Not satisfied with merely seeing the great water, he waded in a short distance, and, drawing his sword after the pompous Spanish fashion, took possession of the ocean in the name of the king of Spain.

Meanwhile, JUAN PONCE DE LEON, who



SEPULCHER OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GRENADEA.

Within ten years after the death of Columbus, the principal islands of the West Indies were explored and colonized. In the year

had been a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, fitted out a private expedition of discovery and adventure. De Leon had

grown rich as governor of Porto Rico, and while growing rich had also grown old. But there was a fountain of perpetual youth somewhere in the Bahamas—so said all the learning and intelligence of Spain—and in that fountain the wrinkled old cavalier would bathe and be young again. So in the year 1512 he

day, called in the ritual of the Church *Paseña Florida*, and partly to describe the delightful landscape that opened on his sight, he named the new shore FLORIDA—the Land of Flowers.

After a few days a landing was effected a short distance north of where, a half century later, were laid the foundations of St. Au-



BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

set sail from Porto Rico; and stopping first at San Salvador and the neighboring islands, he came, on Easter Sunday, the 27th of March, in sight of an unknown shore. He supposed that another island more beautiful than the rest was discovered. There were waving forests, green leaves, birds of song, and the fragrance of blossoms. Partly in honor of the

gustine. The country was claimed for the king of Spain, and the search for the youth-restoring fountain was eagerly prosecuted. The romantic adventurer turned southward, explored the coast for many leagues, discovered and named the Tortugas, doubled Cape Florida, and then sailed back to Porto Rico, not perceptibly younger than when he started.

Central Period of the Middle Ages.
 21. Conrad II.
 The CRUSADES.
 62. Frederick Barbarossa.
 80. The Kingdom of Jerusalem established.

90. The Kingdom of Jerusalem and Leon.
 8. Louis VI.
 36. Louis IX.
 85. Philipp IV.
 10. Philipp V.
 23. HOUSE OF VALOIS.
 77. Richard II.
 Wars of the Roses.
 The LANCASTERS.
 71. Ferdinand and Isabella.
 The TUDORS.
 The PURITANS.
 3. James I.
 25. Charles I.
 The STUARTS.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
 17. Canute.
 40. Hardicanute.
 42. Edward the Confessor.
 66. Harold d. Godwinson.
 66. William I.
 87. William Rufus.
 Henry I.
 54. Henry II.
 89. Richard I.
 99. John.
 The PLANTAGENETS.
 The WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
 92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 80. Second voyage.
 98. Third voyage.
 Discoverers America.
 12. De Leon explores Florida.
 20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
 25. De Allyn in Carolina.
 28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
 89. De Soto in America.
 65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
 97. John Cabot explores the American coast.
 78. Martin Froisher's voyage.
 79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
 83. Gilbert's voyage.
 Raleigh's attempt at colonization.
 2. Gosnell's direct voyage.
 3. Phipps's voyage.
 7. Settlement at Jamestown.
 8. Weymouth in Maine.
 24. The Puritans at Plymouth.



AMERICA UNDER THE ABOORIGINAL TRIBES.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

NO. VI.

VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA,

From 986 to 1607 A. D.

Prepared by JOHN CLARK KIRBY, LL. D.

COPYRIGHTED, 1866.

ICELANDIC discovered in green.	1. Voyages of the Conquerors.
SPANISH " " yellow.	19. Magellan circumnavigates the globe.
ENGLISH " " red.	
FRENCH " " blue.	
DUTCH " " brown.	
PORTUGUESE " " purple.	

The king of Spain rewarded Ponce with the governorship of his Land of Flowers, and sent him thither again to establish a colony. The aged veteran did not, however, reach his province until the year 1521, and then it was only to find the Indians in a state of bitter hostility. Scarcely had he landed when they fell upon him in a furious battle; many of the Spaniards were killed outright, and the rest had to betake themselves to the ships for safety. Ponce de Leon himself received a mortal wound from an arrow, and was carried back to Cuba to die.

The year 1517 was marked by the discovery of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy by FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA. While exploring the northern coast of the country, his company was attacked by the natives, and he himself mortally wounded. During the next year the coast of Mexico was explored for a great distance by GRIJALVA, assisted by Cordova's pilot; and in the year 1519, FERNANDO CORTEZ landed with his fleet at Tabasco and began his famous conquest of Mexico.

As soon as the news of the invasion spread abroad, the subjects of the Mexican Empire were thrown into consternation. Armies of native warriors gathered to resist the progress of the Spaniards, but were dispersed by the invaders. After freeing the coast of his opponents, Cortez proceeded westward to Vera Cruz, a seaport one hundred and eighty miles south-east of the Mexican capital. Here he was met by ambassadors from the celebrated MONTEZUMA, Emperor of the country. From him they delivered messages and exhibited great anxiety lest Cortez should march into the interior. He assured them that such was indeed his purpose; that his business in the country was urgent, and that he must confer with Montezuma in person.

The ambassadors tried in vain to dissuade the terrible Spaniard. They made him costly presents, and then hastened back to their alarmed sovereign. Montezuma immediately dispatched them a second time with presents still more valuable, and with urgent appeals to Cortez to proceed no farther. But the cupidity of the Spaniards was now inflamed to the highest pitch, and burning their ships be-

hind them they began their march towards the capital. The Mexican Emperor by his messengers, forbade their approach to his city. Still they pressed on. The nations tributary to Montezuma threw off their allegiance, made peace with the conqueror, and even joined his standard. The irresolute and vacillating Indian monarch knew not what to do. The Spaniards came in sight of the city—a glittering and splendid vision of spires and temples, and the poor Montezuma came forth to receive his remorseless enemies. On the morning of the 8th of November, 1519, the Spanish army



CORTEZ.

marched over the causeway leading into the Mexican capital and was quartered in the great central square near the temple of the Aztec god of war.

It was now winter time. For a month Cortez remained quietly in the city. He was permitted to go about freely with his soldiers, and was even allowed to examine the sacred altars and shrines where human sacrifices were daily offered up to the deities of Mexico. He made himself familiar with the defenses of the capital and the Mexican mode of warfare. On every side he found inexhaustible stores of provisions, treasures of gold and silver, and what greatly excited his solicitude, arsenals filled with bows and javelins. But although

surrounded with splendor and abundance, his own situation became extremely critical. The millions of natives who swarmed around him were becoming familiar with his troops and no longer believed them immortal. There were mutterings of an outbreak which threatened to overwhelm him in an hour. In this emergency the Spanish general adopted the bold

Emperor was in his power, Cortez compelled him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Spain, and to agree to the payment of a sum amounting to six million three hundred thousand dollars, with an annual tribute afterwards.

In the mean time, Velasquez, the Spanish governor of Cuba, jealous of the fame of Cortez, had dispatched a force to Mexico to arrest his progress, and to supersede him in the command. The expedition was led by PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, the same who was afterwards governor of Florida. His forces consisted of more than twelve hundred well armed and well disciplined soldiers, besides a thousand Indian servants and guides. But the vigilant Cortez had meanwhile been informed by messengers from Vera Cruz of the movement which his enemies at home had set on foot against him, and he determined to sell his command only at the price of his own life and the lives of all his followers. He therefore instructed Alvarado, one of his subordinate officers, to remain in the capital with a small force of a hundred and forty men; and, with the remainder, numbering less than two hundred, he himself hastily withdrew from the city, and proceeded by a forced march to encounter De Narvaez on the sea-coast. On the night of the 26th of May, 1520, while the soldiers of the latter were quietly asleep in their camp near Vera Cruz, Cortez burst upon them with the fury of despair, and before they could rally or well understand the terrible onset, compelled the whole force to surrender. Then, adding the general's skill to the warrior's prowess, he succeeded in in-

ducing the conquered army to join his own standard; and with his forces thus augmented to six times their original numbers, he began a second time his march towards the capital.

While Cortez was absent on this expedition, the Mexicans of the capital rose in arms, and the possession of the country was staked on the issue of war. ALVARADO, either fearing a revolt, or from a spirit of atrocious cruelty, had



MONTEZUMA II.
After an old copperplate.

and unscrupulous expedient of seizing Montezuma and holding him as a hostage. A plausible pretext for this outrage was found in the fact that the Mexican governor of the province adjacent to Vera Cruz had attacked the Spanish garrison at that place, and that Montezuma himself had acted with hostility and treachery towards the Spaniards while they were marching on the city. As soon as the

attacked the Mexicans while they were celebrating one of their festivals, and slain five hundred of the leaders and priests. The people, in a frenzy of astonishment and rage, flew to their arms, and laid siege to the place where Alvarado and his men were fortified. The Spaniards were already hard pressed when Cortez at the head of his new army reached the city. He entered without opposition, and joined Alvarado's command; but the passions of the Mexicans were now thoroughly aroused, and not all the diplomacy of the Spanish gen-

front of the great square where the besiegers were gathered, and to counsel them to make peace with the Spaniards. For a moment there was universal silence, then a murmur of vexation and rage, and then Montezuma was struck down by the javelins of his own subjects. In a few days he died of wretchedness and despair, and for a while the warriors, overwhelmed with remorse, abandoned the conflict. But with the renewal of the strife Cortez was obliged to leave the city. Finally a great battle was fought, and the Spanish arms



BATTLE OF CORTEZ WITH THE MEXICANS.

eral could again bring them into subjection. In a few days the conflict began in earnest. The streets were deluged with the blood of tens of thousands; and not a few of the Spaniards fell before the vengeance of the native warriors. For months there was almost incessant fighting in and around the city; and it became evident that the Spaniards must ultimately be overwhelmed and destroyed.

To save himself from his peril, Cortez adopted a second shameless expedient, more wicked than the first. Montezuma was compelled to go upon the top of the palace, in

and valor triumphed. In the crisis of the struggle, the sacred Mexican banner was struck down and captured. Dismay seized the hosts of puny warriors, and they fled in all directions. In December of 1520, Cortez again marched on the capital. A siege, lasting until August of the following year, ensued; and then the famous city yielded. The empire of the Montezumas was overthrown, and Mexico became a Spanish province.

Among the many daring enterprises which marked the beginning of the sixteenth century, that of FERDINAND MAGELLAN is worthy

of special mention. A Portuguese by birth, a navigator by profession, this man, so noted for extraordinary boldness and ability, determined to discover a south-west rather than a north-west passage to Asia. With this object in view, he appealed to the king of Portugal for ships and men. The monarch listened coldly, and did nothing to give encouragement. Incensed at this treatment, Magellan threw off his allegiance, went to Spain—the usual resort of disappointed seamen—and laid his plans before Charles V. The Emperor caught ea-

coast of Brazil. Renewing his voyage southward, he came at last to the eastern mouth of that strait which still bears the name of its discoverer, and passing through it found himself in the open and boundless ocean. The weather was beautiful, and the peaceful deep was called *the Pacific*.¹

Setting his prows to the north of west, Magellan now held steadily on his course for nearly four months, suffering much meanwhile from want of water and scarcity of provisions. In March of 1520 he came to the group of



SLAUGHTER OF MEXICANS BY SPANIARDS AT CHOLULA.

gerly at the opportunity, and ordered a fleet of five ships to be immediately fitted at the public expense and properly manned with crews.

The voyage was begun from Seville in August of 1519. Sailing southward across the equinoctial line, Magellan soon reached the coast of South America, and spent the autumn in explorations, hoping to find some strait that should lead him westward into that ocean which Balboa had discovered six years previously. Not at first successful in this effort, he passed the winter—which was summer on that side of the equator—somewhere on the

islands called the *Ladrones*, situated about midway between Australia and Japan. Sailing still westward, he reached the Philippine group, where he was killed in a battle with the natives. But the fleet was now less than four hundred miles from China, and the rest of the route was easy. A new captain was chosen, and the voyage continued by way of the *Moluccas*, where a cargo of spices was taken on board for the market of Western Europe. Only a single ship was deemed in a fit condition to venture on the homeward voy-

¹ Hitherto known as the South Sea.

age; but in this vessel the crews embarked, and returning by way of the Cape of Good Hope arrived in Spain on the 17th day of September, 1522. The circumnavigation of the globe, long believed in as a possibility, had now become a thing of reality. The theory of Strabo, of the old astronomers, of Mandeville and of Columbus had been proved by actual demonstration, and the work which the great Mercator was soon to perform in mapping the seas and continents was made an easy task.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese were thus engaged in exploring the West Indies, in traversing the south-eastern parts of the United States and Mexico, in tracing the coast lines of Central and South America, in tracking the vast Pacific, and in establishing the claims of their respective countries to the new lands and waters thus discovered, the English and the French had not been idle spectators of the drama. As soon as it was known in Europe that another hemisphere was rising out of the western seas the sailors of England and France turned their prows in the direction of the new found coasts. Not less hardy and resolute than the mariners of Spain and Italy, they set their sails to favoring winds and tempted the chartless Atlantic in the hope of bringing home from imaginary islands rich cargoes of spices and gold. Before the fifteenth century had closed the almost lusterless crown of Henry VII., but recently victorious over Richard III., at Bosworth, had received a new brightness from the deeds of his courageous seamen.

It was on the 5th of May, 1496, that king Henry, emulous of the fame of Ferdinand and Isabella, and as eager as one of his heavy temperament might be to share in the dazzling profits of discovery, signed and issued a commission to JOHN CABOT, or GIOVANNI CABOTO, a mariner of Venice, to make discoveries and explorations in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, to carry the English flag, and to take posses-

sion of all islands and continents which he might discover. Cabot was a brave, adventurous man who had been a sailor from his boyhood, and was now a wealthy merchant of Bristol. The autumn and winter were spent in preparations for the voyage; five substantial ships were fitted, crews were enlisted, and every thing made ready for the opening of the spring. In April the fleet left Bristol; and on the morning of the 24th of June, at a point about the middle of the eastern coast of Labra-



MAGELLAN.

dor, the gloomy shore was seen. This was the real discovery of the American continent. Fourteen months elapsed before Columbus reached the coast of Guiana, and more than two years before Ojeda and Vespucci came in sight of the main-land of South America.

Cabot explored the shore-line of the country which he had discovered, for several hundred miles. He supposed that the land was a part of the dominions of the Cham of Tartary; but finding no inhabitants, he went on shore, according to the terms of his commission, planted the flag of England, and took

possession in the name of the English king. No man forgets his native land; by the side of the flag of his adopted country Cabot set up the banner of the *republic* of Venice—auspicious emblem of another flag which should one day float from sea to sea.

As soon as he had satisfied himself of the extent and character of the country which he had discovered, Cabot sailed for England. On the homeward voyage he twice saw on the right hand the coast of Newfoundland, but did not stop for further discovery. After an absence of but little more than three months he reached Bristol and was greeted with great

inherited his father's plans and reputation, and to his father's genius added a greater genius of his own. He had already been to the New World on that first famous voyage, and now, when the opportunity offered to conduct a voyage of his own, he threw himself into the enterprise with all the fervor of youth. It is probable that the very fleet which had been equipped for his father was intrusted to Sebastian. At any rate, the latter found himself, in the spring of 1498, in command of a squadron of well-manned vessels and on his way to the new continent. The particular object had in view was that common folly of the times, the discovery of a north-west passage to the Indies.

The voyage continued prosperously until, in the ocean west of Greenland, the icebergs compelled Sebastian to change his course. It was July, and the sun scarcely set at midnight. Seals were seen, and the ships plowed through such shoals of codfish as had never before been heard of. The shore was reached not far from the scene of the elder Cabot's discoveries, and then the fleet turned southward, but whether across the Gulf of St. Lawrence or to the east of Newfoundland is uncertain. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine were next explored. The whole coast-line of New England and of the Middle States was now for the first time since the days of the Norsemen traced by Europeans. Nor did Cabot desist from this work, which was bestowing the title of discovery on the

crown of England, until he had passed beyond the Chesapeake. After all the disputes about the matter, it is most probable that Cape Hatteras is the point from which Sebastian began his homeward voyage.

The future career of Cabot was as strange as the voyages of his boyhood had been wonderful. The scheming, illiberal Henry VII., although quick to appreciate the value of Sebastian's discoveries, was slow to reward the discoverer. The Tudors were all dark-minded and selfish princes. When King Henry died, Ferdinand the Catholic enticed Cabot away from England, and made him pilot-major of Spain. While holding this high office, he had



MERCATOR.

enthusiasm. The town had holiday, the people were wild about the discoveries of their favorite admiral, and the whole kingdom took up the note of rejoicing. The Crown gave him money and encouragement, new crews were enlisted, new ships fitted out, and a new commission more liberal in its provisions than the first was signed in February of 1498. Strange as it may seem, after the date of this second patent the very name of John Cabot disappears from the annals of the times. Where the remainder of his life was passed and the circumstances of his death are involved in complete mystery.

But Sebastian, second son of John Cabot,



ABOUT A.D. 1300

VII



ABOUT A.D. 1500

VIII



IX

ABOUT A.D. 1600



MAP XIV.
SHOWING THE PROGRESS
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE
FROM
14th to 19th CENTURY.

ABOUT A.D. 1700



ABOUT A.D. 1800



almost entire control of the maritime affairs of the kingdom, and sent out many successful voyages. He lived to be very old, but the circumstances of his death have not been ascertained, and his place of burial is unknown.

The year 1498 is the most marked in the whole history of discovery. In the month of May, VASCO DE GAMA, of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and succeeded in reaching Hindustan. During the summer the younger Cabot traced the eastern coast of North America through more than twenty degrees of latitude, thus establishing forever the claim of England to the most valuable portion of the New World. In August, Columbus himself, now sailing on his third voyage, reached the mouth of the Orinoco. Of the three great discoveries, that of Cabot has proved to be by far the most important.

But several causes impeded the career of English discovery during the greater part of the sixteenth century. The next year after the New World was found, the Pope, Alexander the Sixth, drew an imaginary line north and south, three hundred miles west of the Azores, and issued a papal bull giving all islands and countries *west of that line* to Spain! Henry VII. of England was himself a Catholic, and he did not care to begin a conflict with his Church by pressing his own claims to the newly found regions of the West. His son and successor, Henry VIII., at first adopted the same policy, and it was not until after the Reformation had been accomplished in England that the decision of the Pope came to be disregarded, and finally despised and laughed at.

Less important in results, but hardly less interesting in plan and purpose, were the voyages and discoveries of the French. As early as 1504, the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany began to ply their vocation on the banks of Newfoundland. A map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn by a French-

man in the year 1506. Two years later some Indians were taken to France; and in 1518 the attention of Francis I. was turned to the colonization of the New World. Five years afterward a voyage of discovery and exploration was planned, and JOHN VERRAZZANI, a native of Florence, was commissioned to conduct the expedition. The special object had in view was to discover a north-west passage to Asia.



CABOT ON THE SHORE OF LABRADOR.
Drawn by E. Bayard.

In the month of January, 1524, Verrazani left the shores of Europe. His fleet consisted at first of four vessels; but three of them were damaged in a storm, and the voyage was undertaken with a single ship, called the *Dolphin*. For fifty days, through the buffetings of tempestuous weather, the courageous mariner held on his course, and, on the seventh day of March discovered the main-land

in the latitude of Wilmington. He first sailed southward a hundred and fifty miles in the hope of finding a harbor, but found none. Returning northward, he finally anchored somewhere along the low sandy beach which stretches between the mouth of Cape Fear River and Pamlico Sound. Here he began a traffic with the natives. The Indians of this neighborhood were found to be a gentle and timid sort of creatures, unsuspecting and confiding. A half-drowned sailor, who was washed ashore by the surf, was treated with great kindness, and, as soon as opportunity offered, permitted to return to the ship.

After a few days the voyage was continued toward the north. The whole coast of New Jersey was explored, and the hills marked as containing minerals. The harbor of New York was entered, and its safe and spacious waters were noted with admiration. At Newport, Rhode Island, Verrazzani anchored for fifteen days, and a trade was again opened with the Indians. Before leaving the place the French sailors repaid the confidence of the natives by kidnaping a child and attempting to steal a defenseless Indian girl.

Sailing from Newport, Verrazzani continued his explorations northward. The long and broken line of the New England coast was traced with considerable care. The Indians of the north were wary and suspicious. They would buy neither ornaments nor toys, but were eager to purchase knives and weapons of iron. Passing to the east of Nova Scotia, the bold navigator reached Newfoundland in the latter part of May. In July he returned to France and published an account, still extant, of his great discoveries. The name of NEW FRANCE was now given to the whole country whose sea-coast had been traced by the adventurous crew of the *Dolphin*.

Such was the distracted condition of France at this time that another expedition was not planned for a period of ten years. In 1534, however, Chabot, admiral of the kingdom, selected JAMES CARTIER, a seaman of St. Malo, in Brittany, to make a new voyage to America. Two ships were fitted out for the enterprise, and after no more than twenty days of sailing¹

¹ All of the authorities state the time of Cartier's voyage at twenty days. Such a statement does not accord with reason. That a clumsy caravel of the

under cloudless skies, anchored on the tenth day of May off the coast of Newfoundland.

Before the middle of July, Cartier had circumnavigated the island to the northward, crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the south of Anticosta and entered the Bay of Chaleurs. Not finding, as he had hoped, a passage out of this bay westward, he changed his course to the north again and ascended the coast as far as Gaspé Bay. Here, upon a point of land, he set up a cross bearing a shield with the lily of France, and proclaimed the French king monarch of the country. Pressing his way still farther northward, and then westward, he entered the St. Lawrence, and ascended the broad estuary until the narrowing banks made him aware that he was in the mouth of a river. Cartier thinking it impracticable to pass the winter in the New World, now turned his prow toward France, and in thirty days anchored his ships in the harbor of St. Malo.

Besides the great work done by De Gama and Magellan in extending the limits of geographical knowledge, one other enterprise of some importance was undertaken under the Portuguese flag. At the time of the first discovery by Columbus, the king of Portugal was the unambitious John II. After the manner of most of the other monarchs of his time, he paid but little attention to the New World, preferring the security and dullness of his own capital to the splendid allurements of the Atlantic. In 1495 he was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Manuel, a man of very different character. This monarch could hardly forgive his predecessor for having allowed Spain to snatch from the flag of Portugal the glory of Columbus's achievements. In order to secure some of the benefits which yet remained, King Manuel fitted out two vessels, and in the summer of 1501 commissioned GASPAR CORTE-REAL to sail on a voyage of discovery.

The Portuguese vessels reached America in July, and beginning at some point on the shores of Maine, sailed northward, exploring the coast for nearly seven hundred miles. Just below the fiftieth parallel of latitude Cortereal met the icebergs, and could go no

sixteenth century should sail from St. Malo to Newfoundland in twenty days seems incredible, and the Author repeats the statement against his judgment.

farther. Little attention was paid by him to the great forests of pine and hemlock which stood tall and silent along the shore, promising ship-yards and cities in after times. He satisfied his rapacity by kidnaping fifty Indians, whom, on his return to Portugal, he sold as slaves. A new voyage was then undertaken, with the avowed purpose of capturing another

cargo of natives for the slave-mart of Europe; but when a year went by and no tidings arrived from the fleet, the brother of the Portuguese captain sailed in hope of finding the missing vessels. He also was lost, but in what manner has never been ascertained. The fate of the Cortereals and their slave-ships has remained one of the unsolved mysteries of the sea.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE REFORMATION PROPER.



WHILE the veil which for immemorial ages had shrouded the Western continent was thus lifted and the outline of a New World of unknown extent revealed to Europe,

another continent was made known to the mind of man in the seas of progress and humanity. The curtain which for centuries had been drawn around the human conscience and understanding was rent in a convulsion which shook the civilized world, and a few gleams of light shot into the hitherto benighted regions of thought. It is incumbent upon the historian, even though he consider events from a purely secular point of view, to give a fair and unbiased account of that great religious insurrection which, beginning in Germany, spread into most of the countries of Europe, agitated the society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to its profoundest depths, convulsed the nations with warfare, and as one of its leading incidents, contributed to the colonization of America. By the common consent of writers, this revolt of the long-subject masses of the European states against the authority of the Church of Rome is known as the REFORMATION.

It has been a common mistake in the consideration of this great event to suppose that it originated in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, the antecedents of the struggle are to be discovered far back in the Middle Ages. No sooner had the solidarity of the Roman Church been effected; no sooner had she begun to advance her claims to an absolute dominion over the human mind; no sooner

had she undertaken to enforce her pretensions by the sword of authority and the ban of terror,—than the mind of man asserted its personality and right and freedom by resenting and denying the claims and encroachments of that ecclesiastical power which would fain subdue and destroy it.

Indeed there never was a time in the long and dolorous night of the Dark Ages when the cry of the human spirit against religious thralldom might not be heard—when a certain schismatic tendency was not felt in the very heart and core of the papal power. There was always a kind of palpitation indicative of remaining life under the hard crust of tyranny and abuse—a kind of vital upheaval here and there, threatening to burst forth and split the Romish See into fragments. Especially after the age of Hildebrand, who reached the papal seat in 1073, did the protest of reason and will more than ever assert itself. Insurrectionists and rebels were busy. Reforms were openly preached. Protestantism in some form was proclaimed and practiced. St. Ambrose cried out boldly for the freedom of reason and conscience. St. Hilary and St. Martin openly denied the right of the Church to enforce belief by compulsion. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, declared his purpose to make the Church of France independent of papal authority; and when the Pope threatened the vengeance of excommunication, the archbishop indifferently replied that if the Holy Father should come into France to excommunicate, *he would go away excommunicated*. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries heresies were rife in many parts, and the whole compressive power of the papacy could hardly pre-

vail to hold in one the hostile organic elements. The reader need only re-peruse the tragic story of the Hussite insurrection in Bohemia to be satisfied of the depth and the persistency of the movement for religious freedom a hundred years before the age of Luther. The appearance of the Wickliffites in England, and at a still earlier date of the Albigenes in Southern France, equally attests the wide-spread discontent of the masses with the government of Rome.

He who studies the Reformation attentively will not fail to perceive that the success of the movement in Germany under the leadership of Luther followed two other efforts *not* successful to reach the same result. The first of these—first in time and first in natural sequence—was the effort of the Church to work a reform inside of her own organization. Vain chimera! Fond and childish credulity to suppose that the thing to be reformed could mend itself, that the abusers would abolish the abuse! The history of the world has not yet presented an example of an organization, grown sleek and fat and conscienceless by the destruction of human freedom and the spoliation of mankind, that has had the virtue and honesty to make restitution and return to an exemplary life; nor will such a phenomenon ever be seen under the sun. Whether the organization be religious, political, or social, that law is equally irreversible, by which Ephraim is joined to his idols. He and they are bound by an indissoluble tie and will perish together.

But the Church of the Middle Ages made many *efforts* to reform her abuses. She was at times greatly scandalized at the condition of affairs within her pale. The Crusades made the people acquainted with the actual state of the ecclesiastical power. Rome had hitherto enjoyed a great reputation. Europe, not yet recovered from barbarism, looked to her afar as to something holy. Great was the chagrin, the astonishment of the Crusaders to find her even as the rest—greedy, ambitious, selfish, and defiled. With the subsidence of the Holy Wars, new ideas poured into the West. Europe had gone to Palestine to kill a Turk, and had come back with a notion. Nothing is so dangerous to a stupid conservatism as an idea. It dashes down and breaks in pieces. It becomes courageous and persists

in saying that light is light, and darkness darkness.

At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century occurred the great Schism of the West. The papacy was rent in twain. One pontificate was established at Avignon, while the other remained at Rome. The two Popes shook the Alps with anathemas launched at each other. After twenty-one years of this business the council of Pisa was called in 1409. That body succeeded in getting another Pope into the field, so that there were *three* pontiffs instead of two. Such was the extent of the "reform" affected by the first council called for that purpose.

Then after five years came the Council of Constance. The course of the proceedings and of the events that followed can not be better given than in the language of Guizot. The assembly was "convoked by desire of the Emperor Sigismund. This council set about a matter of far more importance than the nomination of a new Pope; it undertook the reformation of the Church. It began by proclaiming the indissolubility of the universal council, and its superiority over the papal power. It endeavored to establish these principles in the Church, and to reform the abuses which had crept into it, particularly the exactions by which the court of Rome obtained money. To accomplish this object the council appointed what we should call a commission of inquiry; in other words, a *Reform College*, composed of deputies to the council, chosen in the different Christian nations. This college was directed to inquire into the abuses which polluted the Church, and into the means of remedying them, and to make a report to the council, in order that it might deliberate on the proceedings to be adopted. But while the council was thus engaged, the question was started, whether it could proceed to the reform of abuses without the visible concurrence of the head of the Church, without the sanction of the Pope. It was carried in the negative through the influence of the Roman party, supported by some well-meaning but timid individuals. The council elected a new Pope, Martin V., in 1417. The Pope was instructed to present, on his part, a plan for the reform of the Church. This plan was rejected, and the council separated. In 1431, a new coun-

cil assembled at Bâle with the same design. It resumed and continued the reforming labors of the Council of Constance, but with no better success. Schism broke out in this assembly as it had done in Christendom. The Pope removed the council to Ferrara, and afterwards to Florence. A portion of the prelates refused to obey the Pope and remained at Bâle; and, as there had been formerly two popes, so now there were two councils. That of Bâle continued its projects of reform; named as its Pope Felix V.; some time afterward removed to Lausanne; and dissolved itself in 1449 without having effected any thing."

Thus abortive were all the efforts of the Church to institute reform within her own organization. It was worth the life of him who did it to propose and champion a measure of *real* reform in one of the councils. On one point the prelates were always agreed, and that was the propriety of burning heretics. To this complexion the matter always came, that some one must be found who had challenged or denied the *doctrines* of the Church. Upon him the councilors could scowl with entire accord, and the most corrupt of the whole assembly became the greatest saint, the most zealous defender of the purity of the Church, by fixing upon the offender the most horrid scowl. It is as melancholy as it is instructive to see the Council of Constance, after years and years of wrangling and vain debates, adjourning without the decision of a single question except that Huss and Jerome, of Prague, should be burned as heretics! The attempt at reform within the Church proved a signal failure.

While these futile efforts were making to better the moral condition of christendom by using the machinery already in existence, another endeavor was made with the same end in view by the scholars and philosophers. At the head of this movement stood the great ERASMUS. To him must be assigned the credit of being the first exemplar of the doctrine that reason is the one true guide of life—the one unfailing arbiter in all questions, religious, political, and social. He believed and taught that the moral reform of Europe would follow

its intellectual renovation; that, as ignorance is the real ground of all depravity, so enlightenment is the true origin of moral purity, the beginning of the true spiritual consciousness in man. It was his hope, therefore, to cleanse the Augean stable by turning through it the river of learning. To this work almost his whole life was devoted. With him were associated many of the principal scholars of his times. He traveled and lectured in the chief seats of learning in Europe, being at one time professor of Greek in Cambridge, but for a longer period resident at Basel, where the greater part of his prodigious literary activity was expended. Here he systematically sought to draw up the crude mass of European society to a higher level of culture. In this work he was earnestly engaged when the premonitory



PAPAL COAT OF ARMS.

shocks of the real Reformation began to be felt in Germany.

It does not appear that the sympathies of Erasmus were with the Hussites and other revolutionists that had preceded him. Certain it is that he was never in accord with Luther and his work; and it is equally certain that his own effort to bring about the intellectual and moral purification of his times by means of culture proved a failure. He had in him none of the qualities of the warrior, and war was the necessity of the age. He was, therefore, doomed to disappointment, not for his own, but for the sins of his century. The epoch was coarse, brutal, bigoted, partisan, bloody-minded. Erasmus was none of these. Nisard has said of him, that he was one of those whose glory it is to know much and

affirm little. He not only failed of success, but was loaded with contumely. His impartiality and dispassion in an age of spiteful polemics gained for him the reputation of a trimmer devoid of serious convictions. The Catholics accused him of being in collusion with the heretical destroyers of the Church. The Lutheran party upbraided him as a time-server, who remained a Catholic in order to enjoy emoluments. Those theological authors who are unable to write any thing except the pro and con of their dogma have condemned



ERASMUS.

him as a coward. A fair estimate of him and his work may be given in the words of Drummond: "Erasmus was, in his own age, the apostle of common sense and of rational religion. He did not care for dogma, and accordingly the dogmas of Rome, which had the consent of the Christian world, were in his eyes preferable to the dogmas of Protestantism. From the beginning to the end of his career he remained true to the purpose of his life, which was to fight the battle of sound learning and plain common sense against the powers of ignorance and superstition; and

amid all the convulsions of that period he never once lost his mental balance."

But he failed to work a reform. Then came a ground-swell. The *People* burst up through the bottom of the social structure, and the spiked flail of Rome was not sufficient to beat them into the earth again. Germany was the scene of the revolt; Luther, the leader of the revolution. It is now the purpose to give an account of the outbreak, and of the earlier stages of the insurrection.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chair of St. Peter was occupied by Alexander VI., who, after a pontificate of eleven years, was succeeded by Pius III. in 1503, and he by Julius II. in 1505. Eight years afterwards, the papal crown descended to Giovanni de Medici, who took the title of LEO X. Intellectually, if not morally, he was one of the greatest of the Popes, worthy to be ranked with Gregory the Great. At the age of eight he had been appointed abbot of Font-Douce, and at thirteen created a cardinal by Innocent VIII. Before his majority he was already one of the most distinguished men of the Church, ambitious, warlike, and unscrupulous. On the death of Pope Julius in 1513, he was elected to the papal chair, and began his reign on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown even in the splendor-loving papacy. He interfered freely in the political affairs of the European states. When, in 1515, Francis I. came to the throne of France, Leo contrived a meeting with him in Bologna, and agreed to a *concordat*, which was afterwards promul-

gated at the Lateran council. By this act the right of the Pope to collect annats and tithes from christendom, as well as the right to make nominations to all the episcopal sees and benefices, was conceded.

Still another arrangement was made by which the duchy of Urbino was conferred on the Pope's nephew, with a reversion to the Church. Siena was also added to the papal dominions; and the Cardinal Petrucci, whose family had been rulers of the province, and who now headed a conspiracy against Leo, was strangled in prison. This policy of aggran-

dizement on the part of the Pope, and the measures which the reigning pontiff adopted to carry his plans into execution, became the *occasion*, if not the *cause*, of the religious insurrection which was now about to break out in Germany.

The sitting of the Lateran council consumed the greater part of the year 1517. Among the other proceedings, a bull was issued urging the princes of christendom to unite in a league against the Turks, and offering *indulgences* to all who would enlist in the war or contribute to its expenses. The measure was similar to that adopted by Urban II. in 1095. It will be remembered that that pontiff had granted plenary indulgences to those who should take the Cross against the defilers of the holy places. The Council of Lyons, held in 1274, had attempted, in like manner, to excite the Christian states to rise against the Infidels by offering to remit in advance the penalties of sin.

From this time forth it became a favorite measure with the Church to replenish her coffers by the sale of indulgences. The custom grew into a habit, and the habit into a vast source of corruption. The two principal abuses which arose out of the business were, first, the diversion of the means raised for some holy cause to another object of personal or venal ambition; and, second, the farming out of the sale of the indulgences to conscienceless agents, whose salaries were made up of percentages, and who scrupled not to play upon the credulity of the people to increase the profit of the business. A class of indulgence-vendors sprang up in different parts of Europe as mercenary and corrupt as the old Roman agents who farmed out the corn-fields of Sicily. In the first years of the sixteenth century, the sale of indulgences became so enormous as to constitute the chief religious industry of the age. The Church discovered that her great enterprises could be carried forward more successfully by this mercenary traffic than by any legitimate appeal to the conscience of an epoch that had none. During the pontificate of Julius II., the completion and decoration of the new basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, the immortal masterpiece of Michael Angelo, had

been undertaken, and the sale of indulgences was relied upon to produce the necessary means for that great work. This enterprise was transmitted to Leo X., who, when by lavish expenditure the coffers of the Holy See were exhausted, sought eagerly to replenish his treasury by extending the indulgences to new kinds of sin, and by carrying the sale into foreign lands.

Of all the European states, Germany was the most promising field for this nefarious speculation. Her people were noted for their piety. They were easily touched with a sense of their own sinfulness. They were ignorant and credulous enough to believe whatever the



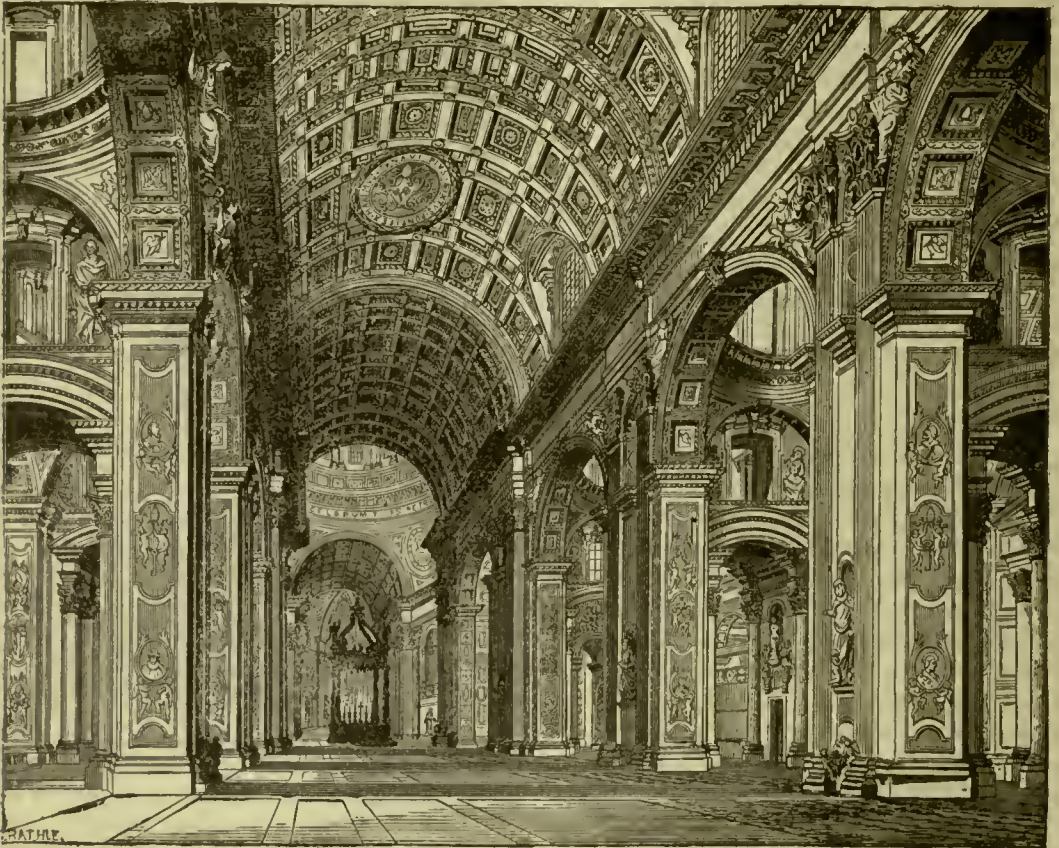
MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.

monks told them with respect to the means to be employed to gain eternal life. The German peasant sincerely accepted the bit of parchment which the priest gave him as a veritable guaranty against the consequences of sin, whether committed by himself or the members of his family. The adroit ecclesiastics gradually enlarged the doctrine of indulgences to all of the tenses and moods of human wickedness. The mercenary penitent might purchase immunity for what he had done, what he was doing, and what he was about to do. And the souls of the departed, now undergoing the purification of purgatorial fires, might be liberated from that border-land of hell by the

payment of the stipulated fee. The Church for a pious deposit made in her coffer would open the prison-doors of the nether world and let fly the imprisoned spirits of those who had died under the penalty of sin. Thus, when, in order to raise the money for the completion and decoration of St. Peter's, agents were sent into credulous Germany to dispense the privilege of sinning, or at least to remove for money what penalties soever the Church had affixed to transgression and wickedness, and when the

Such was the condition of affairs in Germany, and in general throughout Europe, at the close of that epoch in which the great Church councils had wrangled themselves into silence, and Erasmus, with his humanitarian schemes, had failed to impress the age.

At this juncture a new personal force appeared in Teutonic Europe in the man MARTIN LUTHER. In him was summarized a large part of the history of his times. Doubtless had he not appeared some other would have



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S OF ROME.

unscrupulous Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk of Leipsic, was given charge of the lucrative business, he openly proclaimed that any who had friends still suffering in the outlying provinces of the Inferno might procure their liberation by the purchase of his indulgences. His proposition was put into the German couplet:

“So wie das Geld im Kasten klingt
Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt.”

“As in the box the money rings
The soul from Purgatory springs.”

arisen to do the destined work of the century. That work was to break the solidarity of the Romish Church, to give at least the *name* of freedom to religious inquiry, and to contribute not a little—albeit unintentionally—to the great cause of human progress—the only cause of which History is called to take much cognizance. It is appropriate to sketch in a few brief paragraphs the life of Luther previous to that time when he began to exercise a marked influence on the destinies of the age.

The family of Luther came from Möhrn, near Altenstein, in Thuringia. His father, in the old home, had been a slate-cutter, but emigrated to the rich mining district of Eisleben, and became a miner. Here Martin Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483. "I am a peasant's son," says he, in his *Table-Talk*; "my father, grandfather, and ancestors were all peasants." The home was humble; the parents, severe. Hans Luther, the father, was energetic, hard-working, sturdy, a strict adherent to the ancient faith. In this faith Luther was bred, in much hardship and unhappiness. The father and mother both held to the base theory and practice of punishment for children. Every trifle was treated as a crime. The eccentricities of childhood were checked with merciless rigor, and its natural joyousness suppressed. Whipping was the rule in the Luther household. On one occasion Martin's mother beat him *about a nut* until his back was bloody. At school in Mansfeld he was not treated with greater lenity. Here, between the years 1494 and 1497, he remained in the hands of teachers who, according to his own testimony, behaved towards the pupils as if they were thieves. Luther relates that on a certain occasion he was himself beaten fifteen times in a single afternoon.

In 1497 the youth who was destined to raise so great a tempest in the world was transferred to Magdeburg and put into a Franciscan school. The institution was a sort of religio-gymnasium, where the tyro was to be fed on a mixture of faith and the humanities. Here he had the first actual view of the Church as it was. Magdeburg was the seat of a bishopric, and was regarded as the church center of North Germany. Here, on a certain occasion, Luther saw the monk, Wilhelm von Anhalt, whom his father, a German prince, had driven into a monastery, and who now, clad in a cowl and barefooted, went about the

streets carrying a beggar's wallet and begging for bread. The miserable wretch had fasted and watched and prayed and been scourged until he was a living skeleton, gaunt and fiery-eyed; a specter of the age. To the young Luther, however, this bony apparition appeared the embodiment of piety and devotion. His education had been such as to lead him to accept the monk as the highest possible exponent of religion, and to believe in religion as the principal business of life. He accord-



MARTIN LUTHER.

ingly resolved to become a monk himself and to make a pilgrimage to Rome in order that his sins might be expiated and the peace of his soul secured.

But this resolution of Luther was in the highest measure repugnant to the wishes of his father. By him the young man had been destined to the profession of law. A break thus came about between father and son, which was all the more serious on account of a deep-seated antipathy which Hans Luther cherished

towards the monastic orders. It was in this matter that Martin did his first serious act of disobedience.

From Magdeburg young Luther presently went to Eisenach, where, as a student, he supported himself after the manner of the times by singing and asking alms from door to door. Here he was kindly received in the home of Conrad Cotta, by whom and his wife he was cared for during most of his stay at Eisenach. After some time spent in the study of languages and history his preparation was regarded as sufficient; and in 1501, being then at the age of eighteen, he went to the university of Erfurt. Here the horizon of his studies widened, but his scholastic pursuits seemed to have brought little satisfaction to him before whose vision the spectral barefooted monk of Magdeburg still walked about and begged his daily bread.

It appears that as the student Martin passed from boyhood into the manly age he was seized with melancholy—that peculiar feeling of gloom and foreboding to which the minds of young men are frequently subject without apparent cause. In the mean time he had yielded to his father's wish that the law should be his chosen work. But his compliance in this respect was without any touch of heartiness. He simply yielded, and was borne on by the current of events. Ever and anon, however, his own feelings and wishes carried him back to the monastic life as the ideal of his dreams.

Finally, if a tradition to that effect may be trusted, the untimely death of a friend who was struck with lightning by his side, is said to have so impressed Martin with a sense of the folly of life and the terrors of death as to bring him back suddenly to his old resolution of becoming a monk. He accordingly told his father that his conscience would not permit him any longer to follow a worldly pursuit, and leaving the gray-headed old man in despair, he joined the Augustinian friars. From his entrance into the convent, in 1505, he gave himself up with intense devotion to all the hardship and rigor which mediæval superstition had prescribed as the means of salvation. He scourged himself, and mortified the flesh, and fasted, and spent whole nights in prayer, in the vain hope that his sturdy Ger-

man nature might find in the gloom of monasticism the peace which it so much craved.

In the monastery Luther sedulously pursued his studies. He became conspicuous among the brothers for his zeal. He was noted by his superiors for his serious air, his determined look, and the austerity of his manners. In the fourth year of his stay in the monastery at Erfurt it was remarked of him by the learned Rollich, of Wittenberg: "That monk with the deep-set eyes and the strange fancies will yet lead all the doctors astray, set up a new doctrine, and reform the whole Romish Church." Of similar sort was the remark of Cardinal Cajetan: "I could hardly look the man in the face, such a diabolical fire darted out of his eyes."

After a three years' stay in the convent, Luther, in 1507, took holy orders, and in the following year was, at the instance of Staupnitz, nominated to the professorship of scholastic philosophy in the University of Wittenberg. Entering upon the duties of his new profession, he rose at once to distinction. In 1512 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Two years before this he had fulfilled his old vow of making a pilgrimage to Rome. Nor does it appear that any ever approached the seat of St. Peter with a more humble and contrite spirit. It is related that he ascended on his knees the Holy Stair opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, praying devoutly from step to step. Here it is said his mind was suddenly impressed with the famous aphorism which became the motto of his life, namely, "The just shall live by faith." Doubtless, however, his studies, tending constantly to the enlightenment of his mind, his observation ever widening of the corrupt practices of the Church, and his growing indignation at what he saw and heard, were the true antecedents of the rebellion in his nature, rather than sudden and miraculous impressions.¹

¹ It is related that when Luther knelt to receive the sacrament in Rome, he was horrified to hear the ministrants perpetrating jokes about the sacred elements. *Panis es tu*, said the bishop when consecrating the wafer; "bread thou art;" but then instead of adding, "but bread thou shalt be no longer," he finished thus: "*and bread thou shalt be forever!*" Thereupon the sincere Luther stopped his ears, sprang up and ran from the altar, shivering at the horrid profanation.

Returning to Wittenberg, Luther resumed the duties of his professorship. The university of which he now became the ornament, had been recently established by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. The institution grew in a short time to be the seat and center of those liberalizing tendencies which men of thought and research, even when but half emancipated, have ever been wont to sow in their footsteps. It was in some sense the story of Huss in the University of Prague repeated. In this case, however, the authorities of Frederick's great school rallied around their favorite doctor and applauded his teachings.

These teachings were at first no more than a sort of purified Catholicism. Luther had no conscious intent of a rupture with the Church. He merely aimed within his sphere to combat and counteract the abuses which every one recognized as abounding within the sacred pale. To this end he began to oppose his own and the influence of the university to the doctrine of indulgences. No doubt the promulgation of a remission of penalties by Julius and Leo to all who would contribute means for the building of St. Peter's was but the *occasion* of the outbreak which was now impending, and not the *cause* of the revolt of Germanic christendom against papal authority. As already said, the person to whom the sale of this particular invoice of indulgences was intrusted was Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk, whose reputation had more body than his character. Coming into Saxony, he proceeded to carry the matter of indulgence far beyond the received doctrine of the Church—though that doctrine was without any very strict definition. By the gross abuses which he thus patronized and openly flaunted in the face of the Germans, he furnished the irate and conscientious Luther with a bludgeon wherewith to beat the whole business into the ground.

Perhaps the world will never know—perhaps it does not greatly care to know—to what extent the indignant antagonism of Luther to Tetzel and the sale of his wares was based upon the fact that the sale had been given to the Dominican instead of the Augustinian monks. Luther was a Black Friar, that is, an Augustinian; Tetzel, a Gray, that is, a Dominican. Doubtless the Augustinians had more "conscience" in the matter than they would have

had if the profits of the indulgence-auction had gone to them instead of to the rival order. Doubtless the Dominicans acquired new zeal for Holy Church, because the good Mother had been partial to her children of the gray. But the times were ripe for the great insurrection, and the monkish quarrel about the sale of the indulgences was only the spark that lighted a magazine already charged to the point of explosion.

At all events, Doctor Martin Luther denied the efficacy of the indulgences,¹ and undertook to prevent their sale. Tetzel continued his business. Then came the conflict, at first a war of words. Luther urged the bishops in the vicinity of Wittenberg to forbid the sale of indulgences to their people. He preached against the system at the university, and denounced it everywhere in unmeasured terms. He planted himself inside of the pale of the Church, and proved that the doctrine of indulgence was against the usage and belief of the fathers. Nor was it long until he had produced such an agitation that Wittenberg was like the place where seven winds are blown together. Finally, on the 31st of October, 1517, Luther posted up, on the doors of the Schloss-Kirche at Wittenberg, ninety-five theses which he had prepared, and which he proposed to defend by argument, by an appeal to Church authority, and by the Holy Scriptures. In these celebrated propositions he unfolded his views of repentance, and of the general scheme of the remission

¹Specimens of the indulgences are still preserved. One, bearing date of 1517, has on one side the figure of a Dominican monk, also a cross, a crown of thorns, and a burning heart. In the upper corners are the nailed hands of Christ, and in the lower corners his feet. The legend on the front side reads thus: "Pope Leo X. Pray. This is the length and breadth of the wounds in the holy side of Christ. As often as any one kisses it he has a seven years' indulgence." On the reverse side is this inscription: "This cross measured forty times makes the height of Christ in his humanity. He who kisses it is preserved for seven days from sudden death, falling sickness, and apoplexy." At this time one might see posted up such notices as these: "The red indulgence cross, with the Pope's arms suspended on it, has the same virtue as the Cross of Christ." "The pardon makes those who accept it cleaner than baptism, purer even than Adam in Paradise." "The dealer in pardons saves more people than St. Peter," etc.

of sin. The theses embraced, indeed, what may be called the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. They produced a profound impression throughout Germany. For the printing-press had now become a vehicle of public information, and the propositions of Doctor Luther were carried from town to town, from church to church.

The immediate result was to awaken controversy. A host of writers and preachers appeared to oppose or champion the new doctrines. Foremost among those who took up the cause of the Church against the bold monk

unfavorable impression on the politic mind of Leo X., and, pleased with the spirit, abilities, and scholarship of the learned monk, he sent for him to come to Rome. But, before this invitation could be answered, a shiver of alarm passed through the papal court, and the Cardinal Legate Cajetan was commissioned to settle the question, which had broken out between Tetzel and Luther, with as little disturbance as possible. At first the cardinal was to endeavor to quiet the dispute by a personal interview with Luther, and such gentle persuasion and remonstrances as might seem most



PREACHING THE REFORMATION.

of Wittenberg were Wimpina of Frankfort, Hogstraten of Cologne, and Johann Eck of Ingolstadt. This trio, and many others less distinguished, raised the cry of heresy, and, but for the stalwart defenders who rose about him whose brain, voice, and pen had created the uproar, he would doubtless have been overwhelmed. Meanwhile, an accusation was preferred against him at Rome. The Pope took cognizance of the matter, and, in May of 1518, Luther sent to the Eternal City a document containing his justification and defense against the charges of his enemies. It appears that the document produced a not

likely to prevail with his turbulent and excited spirit.

A diet had in the mean time been convened at Augsburg. Cajetan soon showed himself incapable of following the mild and prudent policy suggested by Pope Leo. On the contrary, he proceeded on a line of harshness and compulsion. A debate followed between the two champions, in which the Legate proceeded from the ground of authority, with citations from the decrees of the Church and the tenets of the Dominicans; and Luther, from the ground of reason, with citations from Paul and Augustine. The disputation ended

to the satisfaction of both parties, the result being nothing.

This meeting at Augsburg occurred about six months after the publication of Luther's theses. To that place the Reformer had gone in some trepidation; for it was already apparent that his personal safety was in jeopardy on account of his conduct. He accordingly left Augsburg hastily by night, and, riding at speed through unfrequented ways, returned to Wittenberg.

Perceiving the failure of his first pass with the German monk, and the folly of Cajetan in permitting a debate to degenerate into a quarrel, Leo next appointed Carl von Miltitz, a shrewd Saxon, to undertake the settlement of the religious feud in Germany. Miltitz was made the nuncio of His Holiness, and was commissioned to bear to Frederick the Wise the consecrated golden rose, with which as a present the Pope was wont to honor some favorite prince on New Year's Day. The real object of the business was that Miltitz might obtain an interview with Luther, and if possible wean him away from his rebellious purposes.

Arriving at Wittenberg in January of 1519, the nuncio proceeded with great caution. He disavowed the course of Tetzl and his pardon venders. He told Luther that he was his friend, and that he held the same doctrines as the Reformer himself. Having thus ingratiated himself, he told Luther that it was unbecoming in him to continue his contest with the Pope, and that the questions at issue ought to be settled before a competent tribunal. To this end an agreement was made between the two that for the present both parties should cease to preach or write on the controverted questions, that Miltitz should communicate a knowledge of the exact condition of affairs to the Pope, and that the latter should appoint a learned commission to hear and decide the matters concerning which the parties were at variance.

Luther in informing the Elector Frederick of the conditions which had been agreed to by the nuncio and himself, showed the spirit in which he was at the beginning of 1519, by adding: "And then if I am convinced of error, I shall willingly retract it and not weaken the power and glory of the holy Ro-

man Church." This was the period at which there seemed to be the greatest probability that the break in the Church could be healed. Luther was pressed to the verge of retracting—but always on conditions. He would keep silent—if others would. He would retract—when refuted. It should be borne in mind, however, that this attitude was just as abhorrent to the mediæval Church as downright heretical defiance.

During the greater part of the year 1518 there was an armistice. But in the spring of the following year, the quarrel broke out anew. The offender was Doctor Johann Eck who, by proclaiming a great discussion at Leipsic, and inviting Carlstadt, a Lutheran, to appear as an opponent, succeeded in kindling the fires as fiercely as ever. For some of the theses which Eck proposed covered the very ground of dispute which was to be no more disturbed. Thus the whole matter arose again like a ghost that would not down.

At Leipsic, on the 27th of June, the debate began. The first week was consumed by Eck and Carlstadt on the subject of free will. Then the contest began with Luther himself on faith and good works as means of justification. Luther planted himself on the Augustinian and Eck on the Pelagian doctrine, but no conclusion was or could be reached. Eck then adroitly brought in the question of the papal authority. Luther affirmed that the same was not more than four centuries old, and his adversary that it was old as christianity. Neither of these propositions being tenable, each of the debaters beat the other. By and by Eck challenged his opponent with the incidental proposition that Huss had been properly condemned at Constance. To this Luther replied that some of the propositions of Huss were Christian and evangelical. This was the trap which caught the fox. Eck replied in the midst of great excitement: "Then, worthy father, you are to me a heathen man and a publican."

It appears that this was the first time in which Luther had openly questioned the authority of the Church. Huss had been condemned by a general council. Luther had himself previously appealed from the Pope to a council as the final tribunal of the Church. That he now stood ready to challenge the decision even

of the court of last appeal, showed that he was willing, if necessary, to overstep the boundaries of the Church. From this time forth there remained for him nothing but to retract or to go to war with Rome.

It was the peculiarity of the situation now present in Germany that whereas Luther had appeared weak when in the conciliatory mood with Miltitz, he now appeared strong in his defiant mood with Eck. The German people in general looked to him as to a champion whose coming had been long deferred. They gloried in his courage, and as far as the fearful spirit of the age would permit, rallied to his support.

Soon after the Leipsic disputation the able and courageous Ulrich von Hutten joined the cause of Luther. The learned and mild-spirited Philip Melancthon had already become the right hand of the Reformer. Thus strengthened the latter went on from point to point in his renunciation of the Romish doctrines. From declaring against the infallibility of the Pope and the councils he proceeded to the denial of the Holy Father's right to declare laws for the Church, to canonize saints, to withhold the sacramental wine from the laity. He next declared against the doctrine of purgatory and of the seven sacraments. In short, he came around rapidly to almost the identical ground which Huss had occupied before the Council of Constance. He appears to have been surprised, perhaps alarmed, at the complete transformation through which his beliefs were passing. In 1520 he wrote to Spalatin, saying: "We are all Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine are Hussites. I am so amazed I know not what to think." In this same year he issued his pamphlet: *To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation*, in which he vehemently urges the princes to resist the Romish Church and to cast off the despotism which she was attempting to establish over the people. Such were the tone and subject-matter of the address as to dissipate all idea of a reconciliation.

The Ancient Empire tottered. Pope Leo without, as it appears, desiring to go to such an extreme, issued a bull of excommunication against Luther, and commissioned Eck to carry it to Germany. So great a change had passed over the minds of men that the terrible document and its bearer were received with repug-

nance and contempt. Some of the rulers proclaimed the bull with reluctance; others not at all. Frederick the Wise spewed it out of his mouth. As to the University of Wittenberg, the institution took fire at the attempt of the Church to destroy their favorite doctor.

Under the stimulus of this support Luther became defiant. His audacity rose with the occasion. Instead of bowing to the mandate of the Pope, he treated it with the utmost disdain. He posted a public notice on the church-door at Wittenberg, inviting the university and the people to assemble on the 10th of December, when he would by formal act destroy the dreadful document which had been hurled against him. At the appointed time a solemn procession was formed, and filing through the Elstergate the throng assembled in an open space, and there, in the presence of the multitude, some horrified and others applauding, the little Black Friar of Erfurt made a bonfire of Pope Leo's bull. The act was the sensation of the age. Never before had mortal man dared to trifle with and insult in such manner a document of the Roman pontiff. That Luther was able to do so with impunity was *prima facie* proof that a great change had swept over the beliefs and purposes of men, and that a new age had dawned upon the world.

The Church had now exhausted all save one of her resources. She had persuaded; she had warned; she had sent her most learned champions to debate; she had tried diplomacy; she had thundered her ban of excommunication—and all to no purpose. She still had one arrow in her tremendous quiver, and that was the appeal to the temporal power. She now resolved to lay hold of the secular arm, and draw the sword of vengeance against him whom she could not otherwise reduce to obedience.

In the mean time the throne of the German Empire, which since 1493 had been occupied by Maximilian I., passed by descent in the year 1519 to the celebrated CHARLES V., at that time but nineteen years of age. The young Emperor, by his birth and antecedents, occupied the most conspicuous place which had been held by any European sovereign since the days of Charlemagne. It appeared that nature had conspired to confer upon him by hereditary descent the crowns of the greater

part of the states of Europe. By his father, Philip, he was the grandson and heir of Maximilian I. and Mary of Burgundy, and by his mother, Joan, the grandson and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Well might a prince born to such an inheritance cherish the dream of universal dominion; and well might the Church of Rome look to him as the one who should avenge her on her enemies.

Foreseeing that the Pope would "appeal to Cæsar," Luther, on the election of the new Emperor, wrote him a letter, begging him not to condemn unheard a monk whose crime consisted in standing for conscience and reason against the abuses of the Church. It happened that Frederick the Wise had been one of the electors to whom Charles was indebted for his elevation to the Imperial throne. It was notorious that Luther was in the friendship and under the protection of Frederick. The situation thus suggested fair treatment and justice at the hands of the Emperor as it respected the Reformer. So when an Imperial edict was issued convening a Diet at Worms to arrange the judicial districts of the Empire and to raise an army to fight the French in Lombardy, an invitation was sent to Luther to appear before the body and defend himself against the charges preferred by the papal court. This invitation was gladly accepted; for it was precisely the opportunity to be heard which he had so greatly desired. None the less, the enterprise was hazardous to the last degree, and many would dissuade him from going to Worms. For they remembered the journey of Huss to Constance.

Luther, however, was resolute in his purpose to attend the Diet. Accordingly, in April of 1521, he set out from the university to the assembly. As he came near the city friends gathered around him and remonstrated the more against his going. But his courage rose to heroism, and he replied that he would go to Worms though there were as many devils in the city as there were tiles on the roofs of the houses. So, seated in an open wagon and clad in his monk's dress, he entered the gates, and found himself not friendless. Several of the princes called to see him, and were favorably impressed by his demeanor. On the 17th of April he was led before the Diet assembled in the City Hall. It is related that as he entered the august presence, George von Frunds-

berg, a celebrated German general, tapped him on the shoulder and said: "Little monk! thou art in a strait the like of which myself and many leaders in the most desperate battles have never known. But if thy thoughts are just, and thou art sure of thy cause, go on in the name of God, and be of good cheer; for He will not forsake thee." "That monk will never make a heretic of me," said Charles V., as Luther came into the hall.

At the first, the Reformer was overawed and embarrassed. His writings were enumerated, and he acknowledged them. A retraction was demanded, and he asked for time. One day was granted, and then he returned calm and self-possessed. He spoke clearly and firmly, in both Latin and German, so that all might understand. He would not retract; for he believed his doctrines to be true. He would hear to reason, but would not be overawed by the authority of the papal Church. At the close, he said, with great power and pathos: "Unless, therefore, I should be confuted by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and by clear and convincing reasons, I can not and will not retract; because there is neither wisdom nor safety in acting against conscience. Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. God help me! Amen."

Such was the effect of the presence and speech of the great monk, that Charles deemed it prudent to forbid a discussion—at least for the present—of the subject of his alleged heresy. He gave orders, however, that as soon as the twenty-one days of Luther's safe-conduct should expire, he should be prosecuted as a heretic. Hereupon, the zealots of the papal party besought the Emperor to break the pledge of safety which had been given to the disturber of christendom, and proceed at once against him. To this base appeal, Charles returned the ever-memorable answer: "I will not blush like Sigismund at Constance." So the Reformer was permitted to go at will. As he left the hall of the Diet, Frederick the Wise and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse walked by his side out of the den of lions. It was evident that the princes of the Empire had determined to save him from destruction.

This fact became still more apparent in the drama which was now enacted. Luther left

Worms to return to Wittenberg. On entering the Thuringian Forest, he was seized by four Knights in armor, with vizors down, placed upon a horse, and carried away in friendly captivity. For a plot had been made among the princes to do this thing in order to make sure of his safety. It was given out, however, that Luther was murdered, and the news of the supposed tragedy was carried on the wings of the wind to all parts of Germany. But instead of extinguishing his doctrine and restoring the ancient *régime*, the intelligence of the destruction of their champion only confirmed the German people in their antagonism to Rome. They read Luther's books more than ever, and openly set at nought the papal bull and Imperial edicts requiring the writings of the Reformer to be destroyed.

On a mountain near Eisenach stood the castle of Wartburg. In this stronghold Luther was safely inmured by his captors. He became himself a Knight—that is, in his habit. He wore a helmet, breast-plate, and sword. His beard grew long, and he was known as Squire George. In the privacy of his chamber, however, he was still Luther the Reformer. Here he set himself, with great zeal, to the work of translating the New Testament into German. Hardly had this work been completed, when the news was borne to his retreat that a serious state of affairs had supervened at Wittenberg. Carlstadt had become a fanatic. He had preached the abolition of the mass, the destruction of pictures and statues, and the immediate coming of God's kingdom. Around him had gathered a seet of religionists called Anabaptists, who were making the city howl with their millennial uproar.

Luther was greatly disturbed at this intelligence. Against the protest of the few friends who were in the secret of his being alive, he left the Wartburg castle and rode to Wittenberg. His appearance was so changed that he was not at first recognized, even by Melancthon. He began preaching against the excesses of Carlstadt and his followers, and in a short time the tide turned, and they were expelled from the city. In September of 1522 the German New Testament was published, and then Luther and Melancthon

devoted themselves to the task of preparing a new and more simple ritual suitable to the wants of the Protestantism that was about to be.

The work of the Reformers went on grandly. During the year 1522, the movement made great headway in Saxony, Hesse, and Brunswick. In these countries, a great majority of the people went over to the reformed doctrines. In Frankfort, also, and in Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and Magdeburg the defection from Rome was as astonishing as it was alarming to the papal party. The Augustinian monks in these cities were almost a unit in their support of Luther. Many of the Franciscans, also, joined his followers, and the common priests did likewise. The agitation became revolutionary; and ever-increasing numbers made the cause respectable.

The year 1524 was an unfortunate one for the Reformers. German human nature began to exhibit itself as Bohemian human nature had done a hundred years before. It was the story of the Taborites and Calixtines repeated. A prophet arose named Thomas Münzer, and delivered his rhapsodies to the peasants of Würtemberg and Baden. His foolish harangues soon bore their legitimate fruit. The deluded multitude took up arms, and published a declaration. The people should henceforth choose their own priests. No tithes should be levied except on harvests. Feudal serfdom should be abolished. The poor should have the free use of the forest. The special privileges of the lords to hunt and fish should be restricted. The arbitrary authority of the landed proprietors should cease. It will be seen at a glance that these poor peasants knew what they wanted, but did not know the impossibility at that time of obtaining a redress of political and social grievances by means of the religious agitation which had been started by the Reformers.

But the calm-minded Luther was wiser than the fanatic multitudes. With a heavy heart, he took sides against them. He saw clearly enough that all hope of success in an effort for religious reform would be jeopardized if the cause should be yoked with the schemes of Münzer. He accordingly issued a pamphlet condemning the insurgents, and exhort-

ing his friends and followers to wash their hands of fanaticism. The real greatness of the Reformer appeared in the transaction; for he used his influence with the nobles of the revolted districts to save the peasants from punishment.

Notwithstanding the good offices of Luther, the insurrectionary spirit could not be quelled. In the following year an army of thirty thousand deluded creatures, just such as the Taborite host had been in the time of the Bohemian revolt, gathered in Southern Germany, and rushed from place to place, doing an infinity of mischief and crime. Convents were pillaged, castles burned, and people massacred by thousands. At last Count Waldburg appeared on the scene, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Another band, numbering eight thousand, headed by Münzer, met a similar fate at Mühlhausen in Saxony, and, by the close of 1525, the revolt was at an end.

The moderate course pursued by Luther established his reputation with the German princes. He now found time to complete the translation of the Bible—a work not less important to rising Protestantism in Northern Europe than to the nationality of Germany. For it gave her a language almost as rich and strong as that which Wickliffe and Chaucer had given to England—and much more flexible. In this great work, Luther's own industry and scholarship were assisted by the equal zeal and higher learning of Philip Melancthon, who, without the amazing physical energy and warlike spirit of his chief, contributed the resources of a great and earnest mind to the work of evangelizing his country.

In the meantime, namely, in the year 1521, Leo X. had died. He was succeeded on the papal throne by Adrian VI., the last of the German popes. Nor is it unlikely that had this kindly spirited pontiff lived a more compromising tone and manner might have been assumed by the papal party, and a possible settlement reached of the difficulties which had rent the Church in twain. But after a brief reign of two years' duration, Adrian died and was succeeded by another of the Medici, who took the title of Clement VII. No sooner had the latter come to the papal seat than he began to organize his forces for the suppression of the great German heresy. He induced

Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V., together with the dukes of Bavaria and many of the bishops, to make a league against the Lutherans. Frederick the Wise, who, to the end of his life, had been the staunchest supporter of the Reformer, was now dead. His successor, who was John of Saxony, together with Philip of Hesse, Albert of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, Counts Mansfeld and Anhalt, and the city of Magdeburg, made a counter alliance, known as the League of Torgau, and in the year 1526 bound themselves by a solemn compact to defend the cause of the Reformers.

By this time the beliefs of the protestant party began to be sufficiently dogmatic to constitute the basis of a new church constitution. The fundamental doctrines of the Lutherans were, first, the abolition of monasticism; second, the denial of celibacy as a prerequisite of the priestly office; third, the use of the vernacular language in public worship; fourth, the reading of the Bible in the tongue of the people; fifth, the administration to the laity of both bread and wine in the sacrament; and sixth, the education of the common people in the doctrines of Christianity. Luther himself put into practice the creed which he defended in theory. As early as 1525 he set at naught the tradition of the Church by renouncing celibacy and entering into marriage; and as if this course were not sufficiently radical he added horror to his offense by selecting the noble nun, Catharine Von Bora, as his wife. The measure produced its natural result in the way of angry denunciation, and such were the deep-seated prejudices of the age that many of Luther's friends abandoned his cause on account of his marriage.

During the years of the growth and spread of the new doctrines in Germany, the political affairs of Europe had become in the highest degree critical. Charles V. from his Spanish capital had begun a successful war with Francis I. of France, who, in 1525, had been defeated and captured in the great battle of Pavia. Afterwards the prisoner king had purchased his freedom, and then renewed the war. For four years the struggle continued with varying successes until 1529, when it was concluded by the treaty of Cambray. In the following year Charles V. was crowned as

“Roman” Emperor in the city of Bologna, and in return for the favor of the Pope agreed to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. In this work he received the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, who as king of Bohemia and Hungary began a series of bloody persecutions, which were only suspended by the necessity under which Ferdinand found himself of devising some adequate measures of defense against the Turks. To this end he convened the Diet at Speyer. This body passed an edict reaffirming the one which had been adopted at Worms against the Reformers. The vote, how-

imperial cities, drew up and signed a solemn protest against the action of the majority. In the document a demand was made for the con-

vening of a universal council to settle the questions in dispute, but since this point could not or would not be conceded by the Catholics, the signers of the paper, and those whom they represented, were obliged to content themselves with assuming the title of *Protestants*—a name which has ever since been employed to designate the various Christian sects at variance with Rome.

The Diet of Speyer marked the completion of the first stage in the progress of the



LEO X.

ever, by which the edict was passed was not very decisive, and the minority, consisting of seven princes, including those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse, together with fifteen of the

New Church. Up to this time the movement had been for the most part moral and religious. It became henceforth in a large measure political. The European states soon began to

range themselves in a Catholic and a Protestant league. Both parties drew the sword, and, as we shall see in the subsequent narrative, converted all Europe into a battle-field for more than a hundred years. Before proceeding, however, to give an account of this sad and bloody work, it will be appropriate in the conclusion of the present chapter to present an outline of the Reformation which, under the leadership of Ulric Zwingli of Zurich had, in the mean time, been accomplished in Switzerland.

This distinguished patriot and religious leader was born in the canton of St. Gall, in 1484. In character and purpose his life had the same general outline as that of Luther. Like that powerful and courageous leader, Zwingli derived his principles directly from the Bible, and like him he sought to bring back the Christian religion to what he conceived to be its original purity of doctrine and practice. Perceiving the essential identity of the movement in Germany and in Switzerland, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, wiser than his generation, undertook to secure the religious and political union of the Reformers in both countries. In this great work, however, he was seriously impeded by Luther, who, dreading the political aspect which the Reformation was assuming, was disposed to keep the German Church entirely dissociated from any and all other religious organizations. So tenacious was he in his views that he had opposed the League of Torgau. He was at the present juncture deeply absorbed in his work of translating the Bible, and in preparing a collection of hymns to be used by the German Protestants. Nevertheless he finally assented to hold a conference with Zwingli, and in 1529 the two great leaders had a meeting at Marburg.

At this conference Melancthon, Justus Jonas, a Reformer of Nordhausen, and several others who had espoused the cause of Luther in

different parts of German Europe, were present. A full and comparatively unembarrassed interview and free exchange of views were had, and it was found that Luther and Zwingli were at one in all matters regarded as essential except in the doctrine of the Eucharist. As it respected that sacrament, the German reformer held tenaciously to the administration of both bread and wine to the laity, and from this Zwingli as strenuously dissented. At another point as it related to Church polity there was a serious divergence of opinion. Zwingli believed in the combination of the religious and secular arms of power; whereas Luther held strenuously to the complete divorcement of Church and State. Great was the anxiety of Philip of Hesse to bring about a complete reconciliation among the counsellors. But the obstinate Luther would yield in nothing. Nor was the temper which he manifested at all calculated to conciliate his opponents. The conference ended without the desired result. Zwingli appears to have been profoundly affected. He burst into tears. "Let us," said he, "confess our union in all things in which we agree; and, as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers." "Yes, yes," said the Landgrave Philip, "you agree. Give, then, a testimony of unity and recognize one another as brothers." Zwingli replied as he approached Luther and the Wittenberg doctors: "There are none upon earth with whom I more desire to be united than with you." With this sentiment *Œcolampadius* and *Bucer* heartily agreed. "Acknowledge each other as brothers," continued the Landgrave. But the stern and solemn Luther withheld his hand from those which were proffered, and replied almost in the tone of a bigot: "You have a different spirit from ours." At the end, however, the meeting adjourned in a kind of amity which served to appease, if it did not satisfy, the eager desires of Philip.

CHAPTER XXIX.—CHARLES, HENRY, AND FRANCIS.



It will be remembered that on his accession to the throne of the German Empire, Charles V. retired into Spain. Some years previously, namely, in 1515, Francis I. had inherited the crown of France. The two princes had been rival candidates for the imperial honor at the Diet by which Charles was elected Emperor. The success of his adversary kindled in Francis all the passions incident to jealous monarchs, and a hostility arose between the two rulers which continued with almost unabated bitterness to the end of their lives.

It was not, however, more a clash of political interests and variance in religious policy than deep-seated personal antagonism which led to the outbreak and continuance of war between France and the Empire. As usual in such cases, the parties had little difficulty in finding a cause of strife. The same was discovered in Italy and Navarre. To these provinces both sovereigns laid claim, Charles on the ground that the countries in question were a part of the Imperial dominions, and Francis, on the ground that he was a lineal descendant of Louis VIII., to whom the crowns in question had belonged. Before going to war, however, it became necessary, or at least in the highest measure desirable, for the rival monarchs to obtain the favor and support of a *third* ruler, whose influence seemed essential to the success of either.

For in the mean time young HENRY VIII., of England, son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, had on the death of his gloomy and illiberal father, in 1509, inherited the undisputed crown of the Normans and Plantagenets. He came to the throne with genius and ambition, ready for any enterprise which the promotion of English grandeur or the gratification of his own caprice might suggest. The beginning of his reign was an epoch of prosperity in England. The youthful king exhibited

great wisdom in the choice of his counselors and in weeding out some criminal favorites who had disgraced the kingdom during the last years of his father. His principal vice was a certain extravagance, or at least magnificence, in the government as well as in his personal tastes and amusements. Nor was it long until the effects of his excessive expenditure began to be felt in the treasury. In order to counteract what he could not prevent the king's counselor, Fox, introduced at court the famous Cardinal Wolsey, a man of low birth, but shrewd, far-sighted, and ambitious. It soon appeared that this new factor in English politics was disposed to use both king and kingdom for his own benefit.

As early as 1513, before either Francis or Charles had come into power on the continent, King Henry was induced by his father-in-law Ferdinand the Catholic (for the English monarch had chosen Catharine of Aragon for his queen), to undertake a war with France. An English army was taken over to Calais, and the French, under Duke de Longueville, were met and defeated in the Battle of the Spurs—so-called from the hasty flight of the French cavalry. Henry then captured Tournay, and having satisfied his whim for war, he turned his attention to tournaments and sumptuous feasting. After the manner of the times it was agreed that the French and English kings should come to peace, and that the bond should be sealed with the marriage of Henry's sister Mary to the then spouseless Louis XII. In order to carry out this arrangement, Henry returned to England, and the Princess Mary was sent to Paris. Scarcely, however, had the marriage been consummated, when King Louis died. Mary returned to England and the French crown descended to the youthful Francis I.

It was in the disposition of the two princes, equally gallant and whimsical, to whom the crowns of France and England had now fallen to outdo each other in kingly splendor. Albeit the reputation and glory of their respec-

tive realms depended upon the glitter of pageantry, the waving of white plumes, and the drinking of wine! It was agreed that the two kings should have a personal interview, at which their relative splendor might be tested by comparison. Charles V., who had now come to the throne of the Empire, was stung with jealousy when he heard that Francis and Henry were going to encamp together and regale themselves with royal banquets, at which, doubtless, measures would be devised for the curtailment of his own ambitions. With a view to preventing the proposed meeting he went into England and paid a visit to the magnificent Henry, whom he cajoled not a little with flatteries. Nor did the German Spaniard who had inherited from his ancestors the steady purposes of the northern and the craftiness of the southern blood, fail to employ such means as were most likely to attach the great Cardinal Wolsey to his cause. The argument best suited to convince that prelate was money.

None the less, in June of 1520, the two monarchs carried out their purpose and pledge of a personal interview. The meeting took place near Calais, in a plain henceforth known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." The French king and his court made their head-quarters at Ardres, while Henry and his brilliant retinue took lodging in the palace of Guines. Two thousand eight hundred tents, most of them covered with silk and cloth-of-gold, were pitched in the plain. But even the accommodations thus afforded were insufficient for the multitudes of lords and ladies who flocked to the royal spectacle. So many came that not a few of the gay creatures who waved their plumes and flashed their gold lace in the sunlight by day were glad to find shelter by night in the hay-lofts and barns of the surrounding country. For two weeks the pageant continued. One banquet followed another. Splendid Frenchmen, who had forgotten their descent from the Franks and Northmen, and ridiculous English lords, oblivious of the sturdy fame of the Lion Heart

and the bloody glory of York and Lancaster, vied with each other in the spectacular follies and princely drunkenness of the occasion. The ceremonial was under the general direction of Cardinal Wolsey, who omitted no circumstance which appeared likely to add to the excitement of each day, the glamour of each pageant, and incidentally to conduce to his own reputation as a manager of royal affairs.

It could but be known, however, to the principal actors in this great show, that their renewed and solemnly attested pledges of friendship and princely affection were more hollow than the hollow wind. After the adjournment of the conference, the Emperor



DRINKING HEALTH ON THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Charles made haste to efface as much as possible the effects of the meeting and spectacle from Henry's mind. He sought an interview with that elated prince at Gravelines and afterwards at Calais, where the tournaments and festival, lately witnessed on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, were renewed under Anglo-Spanish auspices, and it is probable that, so far at least as Wolsey was concerned, he was converted to the Emperor's interest. The ascendancy of the Cardinal from this time forth became more and more pronounced. On the return of the king to England, the Duke of Buckingham, fretting under the mastery of the royal mind by Wolsey, offered an insult

to that dignitary, for which he was arrested, charged with treason, condemned, and executed. Such was the condition of affairs in the West, when German Europe was shaken

to its center by the news that the resolute monk of Wittenberg had publicly burned the Pope's bull of excommunication in the presence of the professors and students of the university.



LANDING OF THE ENGLISH FLEET WITH HENRY VIII. AT CALAIS.

Drawn by Th. Weber.

When the intelligence of this daring business was carried to England, the good and orthodox Henry VIII. took up the cause of the Church against the Reformers. He aspired to authorship, and entered the controversial arena. He wrote a Latin book against the heresies of Luther, and a copy of the work was carried to Rome and presented to Leo X. That potentate gladly welcomed the royal champion, and praised his work with interested flattery as being an embodiment of "wisdom, learning, zeal, charity, gravity, gentleness, and meekness." The pontiff also conferred on King Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," which has ever since been retained with ridiculous inconsistency as a part of the royal description of the English kings.

In the year 1522, Emperor Charles again visited England. The occasion was one of banqueting and pageants; but the Emperor had a profounder purpose than could be discovered in gold lace and wine cups. Again using Wolsey as his agent, he so corrupted, or at least won over, the English nobles as effectually to break off the friendly relations with France. Great was the chagrin, the anger, of the French king on learning of the defection of his English allies. For a season, he was in a mood to curse the Field of the Cloth of Gold and all its recollections. He declared of Henry VIII., into whose bed-chamber at Guines, only two years before, he had gone one morning unannounced for the jocular purpose of waking his royal friend from his slumber, that he held him from that day forth as his mortal enemy.

By his success, the Emperor now found himself free to undertake a war with his rival. Both Francis and Charles were eager to begin the contest. Henry, however, held aloof, and assumed the character of umpire between his two friends. As already said, the bone of contention between France and the Empire was Italy; and that country was now destined to become the scene of the war. It was the misfortune of Francis at this juncture to be plagued with a corrupt ministry and unskillful generals. The principal military command was intrusted to Lautrec and Bonivet, in preference to the cautious and prudent Constable de Bourbon. In the court

the French king's mother, Louise of Savoy, gained a hurtful ascendancy, and the offices of the state were flung right and left to her favorites. The only promising circumstance in the expedition of Francis into Italy was the bravery of the French soldiers, who, had they been well commanded, could hardly have failed of success. The result of the first campaign was a mutiny of Lautrec's army, which he had allowed to come to the verge of starvation by failure of supplies and pay, and the consequent loss of Milan to France. It transpired that Semblançai, the treasurer of France, had permitted the moneys necessary for the support of the army to pass into the hands of the queen mother, by whom it had been squandered upon her favorites. In order to shield her from public contumely, Semblançai was arrested and put to death. Another episode of the opening year of the war was the defection of the Constable Bourbon. This brave and able general, stung to madness by neglect and the disgraces heaped upon him by Louise and her court, abandoned the king's cause and went over to the Emperor.

Francis, however, continued his preparations to renew the contest in Italy, and sent thither, as soon as practicable, a second army commanded by Bonivet. He was confronted by the Imperial forces under Lannoy and Pescara, and was soon defeated. Being wounded himself, the command of the French was devolved upon the famous Pierre du Terrail Bayard, the *Chevalier sans Peur et sans Reproche*—the knight without fear and without reproach. But he, too, who had led the advance in the battle, and was now obliged to conduct the retreat, had reached the end of his chivalrous career. While fighting with the rearguard in a ravine near the banks of the Sesia, he was struck from his horse by a stone discharged from an arquebuse and carried aside to die. At his own request he was set by his soldiers with his face to the on-coming enemy, and thus expired, confessing his sins to his squire.

Meanwhile a secret agreement had been made by Charles and the Constable Bourbon with Henry VIII., who, being unable to keep his friends from going to war, had himself become eager to share in the spoils. It was agreed that France should be divided into

three parts, of which Bourbon was to have Provence with all which had formerly belonged to the kings of Arles. Henry was to receive the ancient duchy of Guienne; and the

An invasion of France was begun, but the army, which was expected to go over to Bourbon, remained loyal to the king. The Constable was driven back into Italy and pursued



CHEVALIER BAYARD.

Emperor was to take the remainder of the kingdom. In order to enforce the contract, Bourbon, who was thought to have great influence with the French soldiers, was sent with Pescara to conduct the war from the side of Italy.

across the Alps by Francis, greatly elated with his success. Instead, however, of pressing his advantage by the continued pursuit of the flying enemy, the king was induced by the pernicious advice of Bonivet to turn aside and lay siege to Pavia. This course proved fatal to his ambitions. Pavia was well provisioned, better garrisoned, and best defended. After a siege of some months' duration, the king found himself in the beginning of 1525 almost destitute of provisions, and in every circumstance of discouragement. Bourbon and Lannoy were advancing with a powerful army. The French were weakened and their ammunition almost exhausted. Francis was advised to raise the

siege and retire before an enemy whom he was not strong enough to face. But

the king, after the manner of absurd lovers, had written a letter to his mistress in which he had promised her to take Pavia or lose his crown in the attempt. Like a loyal fool he now put his life and kingdom in jeopardy in order to make good his word to his sweetheart.

When the Imperial army reached Pavia, the French were encamped in the park of the city. The belligerent forces pitched their tents in plain view the one of the other. The first

attack made by the Imperialists was repelled. Thereupon Francis, imagining himself already victorious, and losing his senses in the excitement, sallied forth from his camp and attacked



DEATH OF CHEVALIER BAYARD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

the Spaniards, driving them before him; but the main body under Bourbon and Lannoy checked his course, and the French in their turn gave way. At this juncture the garrison sallied forth and made an attack on the king's rear. The division commanded by the Duke of Alençon gave way in confusion, he himself flying from the field. Francis, conspicuous by his brilliant armor, fought like a Crusader. He was several times wounded. His horse was killed under him. Covered with dust and blood, he was attacked by two soldiers, and their swords were already at his breast when he was recognized and saved by one of Bourbon's French attendants. But his heart quailed not even in the dire emergency, and he obstinately refused to surrender to the Constable. He demanded to see Lannoy in order that he might surrender to him, but before the latter could arrive, the Spanish soldiers had torn off the king's belt and stripped him of his coat of mail. As soon, however, as he had surrendered he was treated with the utmost courtesy. He was taken to a private tent, where his wounds were dressed, and the Constable de Bourbon appointed to attend his fallen majesty at supper. The battle had been in all respects disastrous to the French cause, for Bonivet, the veteran La Trimouille, and ten thousand of the best soldiers of France were slain.

The dissembling Charles affected to receive the news of the capture of his *friend*, the French king, with great regret. He overestimated the advantage which the possession of his rival's person gave. He believed that the battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis virtually laid the kingdom of the Capets at his feet. Accordingly, when his council advised him to act with magnanimity and to signalize his great victory by the restoration of the royal prisoner to his crown and kingdom, he refused except on condition that the whole of Burgundy should be surrendered as the price of his freedom. The Emperor also demanded that Bourbon should be unconditionally restored to his place as Constable of France, and that Provence and Dauphiny should be given to him in independent sovereignty. As a matter of course, Francis rejected with scorn these conditions and vehemently asserted his purpose to remain in perpetual captivity rather than assent to such a humiliation and disrup-

tion of his kingdom. Charles determined to give him his choice of alternatives, and Francis was accordingly confined in the castle of Cremona, under custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon. After a season he was conveyed to Spain, where he was re-immured in prison and treated with much severity. Only at intervals was he permitted, under a strong guard, to ride forth into the open air, his beast, a contemptible mule.

In France the effect of the capture of the king was other than might have been expected. Even the queen mother was shocked from her folly, and she with the ministers began to make strenuous exertions to retrieve the disaster. King Henry of England, also affecting sorrow for the misfortunes of his old-time friend, interceded with the Emperor for his liberation; but to all these prayers Charles turned a deaf ear until what time the captive king fell sick of a fever and seemed about to die. The Emperor easily perceived the valueless quality of a king dead on his hands, and he immediately relaxed the rigor of the captivity. He permitted the Princess Margaret, sister of Francis, to come to him in prison, and he himself at last paid a visit to the emaciated majesty of France. The feeble king lifted himself from the couch to reproach his captor with bad faith and cruelty, and Charles replied with well-affected words of sympathy.

After a confinement of more than a year Francis at last began to take counsel of his forlorn condition, and presently desired to reöpen negotiations for his freedom. Charles, however, would make no concessions other than those already tendered as the price of the king's liberation. To this the heartsick Francis finally assented, and in March of 1526 a treaty was signed at Madrid in which it was agreed that the French Monarch should marry Eleanor, sister of the Emperor; that he should surrender Burgundy, Milan, and Naples; that the Constable should be restored, and that his two sons should be sent to the Spanish capital as hostages for the fulfillment of all conditions. Francis was then conducted by Lannoy to the Bidassoa, a small stream dividing France from Spain. There, on the opposite bank with Lautrec, were his two children who were to take his place in prison. The parties met in the middle of the stream. Hastily embracing

his children the king bade them adieu and was rowed to the other side. Here his horse was in waiting for him. Quickly mounting he rode off at full speed, crying out, "I am

still a king!" At Bayonne he was joined by his mother and sister, and the company moved on to Paris.

In a short time the Emperor demanded the



fulfillment of the treaty. Francis at first temporized with the question, and then refused to comply on the ground that the conditions were extorted from him while in prison. He accepted of Eleanor in marriage, but would take no further step towards keeping his pledge. Even the knowledge that his two sons, the princes, were subjected to harsh treatment and almost starved in the prison of Madrid moved him not to sacrifice his interest to his faith.¹

Finding that the treaty was fated to be and had already become a dead letter, Charles at once renewed the war. Meanwhile the jealousy and anger of Europe were thoroughly aroused—jealousy on account of the overgrown power and ill-concealed ambition of the Emperor, and anger at his personal cruelty and the rapacity of his armies. The Pope espoused the cause of Francis. Henry VIII. also decided in his favor. The action of the Holy Father gave good excuse to Bourbon, whose troops had become mutinous for the want of pay, to march on Rome and deliver up the city to plunder. On the 5th of May, 1527, the Imperial army, led by the Constable, made an assault on the walls of Rome. While the charge was at its height, Bourbon, while placing a ladder for the scaling of the rampart, was struck by a shot and fell mortally wounded. The command devolved upon Philibert, of Orange, under whom the assault was successfully completed. Rome was taken and given up to pillage. The Pope himself was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of St. Angelo.

When the Emperor Charles heard that the Holy Father was immured he ordered his court to go into mourning for the calamity which had befallen the Head of the Church! But he took good care in his well dissembled grief not to censure the dead Constable or to make any effort for the liberation of His Holiness from prison. For several months, during which the Imperial army retained possession, the city was subjected to almost every species of insult, violence, and ruin. At length, how-

ever, a pestilence broke out among the gluttonous and licentious soldiery and almost the whole army was destroyed. It is narrated that no more than five hundred survived to escape from the scene of their riot and carnival.

In the mean time a new French army had been thrown into the field under command of Lautrec. Advancing into Italy he found little trouble in driving the plague-stricken remnant of Philibert's forces from the Eternal City. Milan was retaken, and Pope Clement delivered from his captivity in the castle of St. Angelo. Lautrec then planned a campaign against Naples, but before he could achieve any success the expedition was ended with his life. Shortly afterwards the French army in Italy was obliged to capitulate to the imperialists, and in 1529 a treaty of peace was concluded at Cambray. The settlement was brought about chiefly through the agency of Louise of Savoy and Margaret, the Emperor's aunt. It was agreed that the French princes still in captivity at Madrid should be set at liberty; that a ransom of twelve thousand crowns should be paid as a price of their freedom; and that Francis should retain his crown and kingdom. Though the terms of the treaty were exceptionally favorable to France, so desperate was the condition of the country that several months elapsed before the money necessary for the ransom of the king's sons could be raised. When at last the sum was secured it was packed in forty-eight chests and conveyed to the Bidassoa, where it was given up to the Spanish authorities in exchange for the captive princes. The long broken household of the French king was thus again united and events in France began to flow in the same channel as before the outbreak of the war.

Francis I. now found time to devote himself to the pleasures of the court and to the cultivation of his taste for the fine arts, in which he excelled any other ruler of the period. He patronized the learned men of his time, invited artists to Paris, constructed royal buildings, and beautified the ancient palaces of the city. As for Emperor Charles he had reserved for himself a very different line of activities. After the treaty of Cambray, having then been absent for nine years from his Germanic dominions, he returned in the beginning of 1530

¹One can but draw a comparison between the chivalrous conduct of King John returning to captivity because his hostages would not go back to Calais, and the mental reservations, duplicity, and faith-breaking of Francis on this occasion.

and established his court at Innsbruck. The peace to which he had agreed with Francis had been in a large measure the result of the mediation of the Pope. The Holy Father was, perhaps, averse to seeing the princes of the leading states of christendom engaged in war; but he was far more distressed at the fact that while the Christian kings were so engaged, the dreadful Lutheran heresy was taking root almost beyond the possibility of extirpation in all parts of Teutonic Europe.

therans. To this great meeting the Reformers, with the exception of Luther, who was still under the ban of the Empire, were called to give an account of their principles and deeds.

The Diet of Augsburg was an assembly only second in importance to the Council of Constance. Charles V., who had come in person and taken his lodgings at the house of Anton Fugger, the great banker from whom the Emperor was wont for many years to procure loans of money, presided over the body



CHARLES V. IN THE HOUSE OF ANTON FUGGER.
After the painting by Charles Becker.

He therefore exacted from Charles a solemn promise that as soon as he was disengaged from the conflict with France he would undertake the suppression of the heretics in Germany.

To this arrangement the Emperor was by no means averse. His own character and disposition were in hearty accord with such a work. Accordingly, as soon as he had fixed his royal residence at Innsbruck he summoned a diet to convene at Augsburg for the consideration of such measures as might be deemed necessary for the extermination of the Lu-

which was now to hear and decide the questions at issue between the Mother Church and the Protestants.

On coming to the diet the Protestant princes and cities signed that celebrated document known as the Augsburg Confession of Faith, the same being drawn up with great care by Philip Melancthon as an embodiment and expression of the beliefs and doctrines which the Reformers accepted and taught. It is highly illustrative of the spirit and manner of the age that the Emperor, when the great doc-

ument was to be read before the diet, took care, with his usual subtlety, that the same should be delivered, not in the great hall, but in the bishop's chapel at an early hour in the morning, before the people could assemble to hear the doctrines of their faith promulgated. And it is equally illustrative of the temper of the times that the people gained information of what was intended and gathered by thousands outside of the chapel, and that Dr. Bayer, who was appointed to read the Confession delivered the same from an open window in such a loud and ringing tone that the multitudes heard every word with distinctness. The Germans had already made up their minds to take a personal interest in the religion which they were expected to profess and practice.

The principal doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, which became henceforth the basis of belief in nearly all the Protestant countries, were these: That men are justified by faith alone; that the Church is simply an assembly of true believers; that religious ceremonies are not necessarily fixed in form, but may vary according to the wish and preference of the worshipers; that preaching the Gospel and the two sacraments, the one of baptism and the other of the eucharist, are necessary parts of the Christian religion; that the baptism of infants is biblical and sanctioned by the usages of the Church; that both bread and wine should be delivered to lay communicants in the sacrament; that Christ is really present in the elements of the communion; that monasticism is anti-Christian; that fasting, pilgrimages, and the invocation of saints are not a necessary part of true worship, and that the celibacy of the clergy is against the best practice and spirit of Christianity. The general effect of the proclamation of the great Confession was highly favorable to the cause of the Reformers, and the document was gladly signed by the best princes and soundest scholars of the Empire.

The means adopted by the Emperor to counteract the effect of the new articles of faith were in keeping with his character. He ordered the Catholic theologians present at the diet to prepare a refutation of the Confession, but at the same time he refused to permit the Protestants to have a copy of the papal reply, lest the refutation might be doubly refuted by Melancthon

and his compeers. He then commanded the Reformers instantly to return to the papal fold, not deigning to give to them and their demands any assurance of satisfaction beyond the vague intimation that he himself and the Pope would correct whatever abuses might be found to exist in the Church. This action, so consistent with the bigotry which for centuries had controlled the principles and policy of Rome, made irreparable the breach which had opened between the Catholic and Protestant parties, into which christendom was destined henceforth to be divided.

Before adjourning, the Diet of Augsburg proceeded to elect the Emperor's brother Ferdinand to the crown of Germany. This action was well understood by the Protestant princes to mean that the extirpation of themselves and their beliefs was to be undertaken by force. The Imperial courts were next ordered to suppress the reformed worship in the ten judicial districts of the Empire. Seeing that they were to be pressed to the wall, the Lutheran leaders assembled at Smalcald in Thuringia, and there entered into a solemn compact to resist to the last the measures which had been adopted against them. To this union Luther himself, who as long as possible had withheld his assent to all acts which contemplated the joining of secular with religious power as a means of promoting or maintaining the Reformation, now gave his sanction. The League of Smalcald gathered so much strength that Ferdinand, first surprised and then alarmed, began to quail and to advise some milder policy with respect to the heretics.

It was the peculiarity of the epoch which we are now considering, that the movement begun by Luther, to which a majority of the German people were now committed, was almost constantly favored by the political condition. This fact is fully illustrated in the course of the events which followed hard after the Diet of Augsburg. At the very time when Ferdinand, acting under the triple inspiration of the Pope, the Emperor, and his own bigotry, was ready to begin the work which had been assigned him by the Diet, the ominous cloud of a Turkish invasion blew up from the horizon of Hungary. That country was suddenly overrun by the armies of Sultan Solyman, whose appetite, whetted by conquest,

demanding, as its next gratification, the spoils of Austria. Already the Crescent might be seen waving in the direction of Vienna. It became necessary that Ferdinand should make preparations to resist the invasion, and, as antecedent to this, he must have peace in his dominions. The help of the Protestant princes was as essential to the success of the Imperial arms as was the support of the Catholics. The circumstances made it impossible to carry into effect the edict of the Augsburg Diet against the Reformers. So critical became the condition of affairs, that the Emperor was constrained to call a new Diet at Nuremberg. Quite changed was the temper of this body from that of the assembly convened at Augsburg only two years before. The apparition of Sultan Solyman had served to extract the fangs from the bloody jaws of persecution. In August of 1532, the new Diet concluded a *Religious Peace*, by the terms of which it was agreed that both Catholics and Protestants should refrain from hostilities pending the convocation of a general council of the Church to consider once more the questions which were at issue between the parties. This done, the Protestants cheerfully contributed their part to the means necessary for repelling the Turks. Even the command of the Imperial army of eighty thousand men was given to Sebastian Schertlin, a pronounced Protestant.

In the mean time, the Turks came on and laid siege to Vienna. Here, however, their long-continued successes were destined to come to an end. As soon as the Religious Peace was concluded, the combined army of Catholics and Protestants pressed forward to the rescue, and it was not long until the forces of Solyman were driven from before the city. Europe was delivered from the threatened avalanche, and the New Faith gained by the diversion of the energies of its enemies another respite and breathing-time.

In every place where this immunity from persecution was obtained, the cause of Protestantism flourished more and more. When the first six years of the Smalcaldic League had expired, the compact was renewed for a period of ten

years, and with great accessions of strength. Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, became essentially Protestant. The "heresy" spread rapidly into Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. In England, also, in consequence of circumstances to be presently narrated, the reformed doctrine gained a foothold even in the court of the Tudors, and before the middle of the century had become the religion of the state.

In these days of the Reformation, the Protestants were already hard pressed by their adversaries in the logical application of their



SOLYMAN II.

doctrines. In the first place, it could not be denied that the movement which had become organic in the hands of Luther and the Wittenberg doctors was in the nature of a schism. The Protestants must, therefore, defend the fact of schism, or else condemn themselves. What should be said, therefore, when out of the side of the new Protestantism just ushered into the world other sects burst forth, by a process identical with that by which the Reformers had disrupted Rome? Would the Protestants themselves take the attitude towards the schismatics which the Catholics had taken towards Luther and his co-workers? Would Protestantism condemn Protestantism?

If the Reformers had spurned the time-honored tradition and authority of the Church, and denied the right of the Pope and even of the council to dispense against the human conscience and the individual interpretation of the Scriptures, would these same disturbers of the religious peace of the world now turn about and assume the rôle of Rome? As a matter of fact, new Protestant sects began to arise on every hand. They protested against Protestantism. They were as recalcitrant under the restraint which the now conservative Luther would impose upon them, as he himself had been respecting the authority of Rome. It thus came to pass that, when Protestantism was asked whether *its* authority in the matters of faith and practice might be enforced upon the rebellious, it was obliged to answer: "Yes; no; sometimes." The illogical nature of such a reply was never more painfully apparent, and Rome stood by and mocked at the dilemma of the discomfited Lutherans.

In 1534 the Anabaptists, one of the most radical of the sects, obtained possession of the city of Münster and elected as Governor a certain Dutch tailor called John of Leyden. This dignitary proceeded to have himself crowned as king of Zion! Münster was the City of David Redevisa. Polygamy was introduced from ancient Israel, and whoever refused to participate in the millennium had his head cut off. For more than a year King John governed the new Holy City; but in 1535 the bishop of Münster retook Zion, together with her sovereign and his council of judges. He and two of his principal leaders were put to death with torture, and their marred bodies were suspended in iron cages above the principal door of the cathedral.

About the same time of the tragic ending of this religious farce, a certain Simon Menno of Friesland, founded a sect less pronounced in its tenets, less audacious in its practices. The community which he established was worthy of praise, for its unpretending piety and peaceful character. The sect of Mennonites thus founded before the middle of the sixteenth century held on its quiet way through the great drama of the age, and still exists, both in the land of its origin and in different parts of America.

In the mean time Charles V. had been ap-

peasing his passion for universal dominion by carrying on a war in Africa. After the Peace of Cambray, he led an army into Tunis, and in 1535 laid siege to the piratical capital of that state. At length the city was taken and twenty-two thousand Christian captives were liberated from slavery. After a lull of some years' duration he returned and made an inglorious campaign against Algiers. So great was the ill-success of the expedition that Francis I., seeing the discomfiture of his now traditional enemy, grew bold and entered into an alliance with Sultan Solymán to humiliate their common foe. Denmark and Sweden also became members of this unholy union of the Cross and the Crescent against the greatest prince of secular christendom. So formidable became the array that the Emperor found it expedient to solicit a second time the aid of the Lutheran heretics against the combined forces of France and Islam. Returning to Germany Charles issued a call for a diet to convene in Speyer, and there the Religious Peace of Nuremberg was confirmed and extended. The Protestants were assured that henceforth they should have the use and protection of the Imperial courts in common with the Catholics, and that the long-standing disputes between the two parties should be submitted to a *Free Council* of the whole Church.

Having thus regained the confidence of the Protestant princes, the Emperor raised in their provinces an army of forty thousand men and proceeded to invade France. The French king soon found that he had reckoned without his host. Charles gained one success after another until he reached Soissons *en route* to Paris. Hereupon Francis returned to his senses and sought to make peace with his "good brother." A treaty was accordingly concluded at Crepsy in 1544. But the Emperor was in nowise disposed to forego the advantages which he now possessed, and Francis was obliged to give up Lombardy, Naples, Flanders, and Artois. As a kind of balm for the wounds of the king, Charles conceded to him a part of Burgundy. The peace being thus concluded, the two monarchs agreed to join their forces against the Turks *and the Protestants!* As a measure of prudence, however, the Emperor now insisted that the Œcumenical Council, so long promised and as long postponed, should be convened by the

Pope. Paul III., the reigning pontiff, finally assented to the measure, and the call was issued. But instead of convoking the body in Germany, the seat of the religious troubles of the century, the Holy Father named the town of Trent on the Italian side of Tyrol as the place of meeting. It was quite evident from this action, if from none other, that all hope of a settlement had passed away. When it was known that Trent had been selected as a place of meeting, and that Pope Paul had reserved for himself the entire control of the council, the Protestants, though invited to attend, refused to participate in the proceedings, and Luther, who until now had entertained the hope of a final adjustment of the difficulties of the Church, lost all patience and issued a pamphlet entitled "The Roman Papacy Founded by the Devil."

The great Reformer had in the mean time, in 1534, completed his translation of the Bible. This was of course the great work of his life, but his literary activity continued unabated, and his influence in his latter years was increased rather than diminished. He was regarded as the exemplar and epitome of the Reformation. To him the other leaders of Protestantism looked as to a general whose right it was to command. His labors were

incessant, and from this circumstance rather than from any defect of constitution, his health gradually gave way. His spirits also at times became a prey to bodily infirmity. In the beginning of 1546, being then in the sixty-third year of his age, he was called to Eisleben, the place of his birth, to act as arbiter in some questions at issue between the counts of Mansfeld. Though ill able to undertake such a journey in the dead of winter he complied with the request. On reaching Eisleben, though greatly exhausted from fatigue, he performed the duties which were expected of him and preached on four occasions. In a few days, however, his strength gave away and it became evident to his friends that his last day was at hand. After a rapid decline he expired on the morning of the 17th of February, 1546. In his last hours he was surrounded by his friends, with whom he conversed cheerfully, praying devoutly at intervals until what time the shadows of death gathered about his couch and his eyes were closed forever to the scenes and struggles of mortality. On the 22d of February his body was solemnly buried in the city of Wittenberg, within a stone's throw of the memorable spot where he had so fearlessly burned the papal bull of excommunication.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.



It is now appropriate to glance briefly at the progress of events in England. It will be remembered that in the kingly drama in which the Emperor and Francis I. each eagerly sought as against the other to gain the favor and support of Henry VIII. in the end the Spaniard prevailed, and it was agreed that Charles should receive in marriage the Princess Mary, daughter of his friend, the English king. But the Imperial faith was pledged only to be broken as interest or policy might suggest. It was not long until Henry perceived that he had been cheated by the magnificent overtures of the Emperor.

For as soon as the latter, by the victory at Pavia and the capture of Francis had made himself master of the continental situation he forbore not to exhibit his ill-concealed contempt for Henry. Kingly ceremony was henceforth put aside. The Emperor neglected to pay back a sum of money which he had borrowed from Henry's treasury and refused to marry the princess. Meanwhile Cardinal Wolsey continued to play his magnificent part in the Tudor court. It was an open secret that he had twice aspired to the vacant seat of St. Peter, but twice the Italian and French cardinals had used their influence and votes to blast his hopes. Keen were the pangs of his disappointment, but he sought solace by increasing the splendors of his insular reign in

England. Every thing was made to bend to his will. Even his caprices were humored, his whims gratified, his unspoken wishes executed by the great who sought his favor.

Without his voice it was impossible to reach the will, or even the ear, of the king. Against the Emperor, Wolsey, for good reason, cherished a deep-seated resentment; for Charles,



CARDINAL WOLSEY SERVED BY THE NOBLES.

ever since the days of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, had fed the fires of the Cardinal's ambition by promising him his support when next the pontifical chair should be vacant, and as often the promise had been broken. Wolsey, perceiving that he had nothing further to expect from the Imperial favor, now laid his plans to bring down the potentate at whose door he laid his own disappointed ambitions. He persuaded his master, Henry, to make peace with France to the end that the hopes of the Emperor to gain a universal dominion might be blasted.

It is the fate, however, of all such characters as the great English Cardinal, sooner or later, to be caught and whirled to destruction in the wheels of their own machinery. Wolsey was doomed to furnish a conspicuous example of the workings of this law. The marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, has already been mentioned, but the fact that Catharine had been previously married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, elder brother of Henry VIII., has not been stated. Henry himself had been destined by his father to the service of the Church, but when in 1502 Prince Arthur died, Henry became heir apparent to the English throne.

The king now desired that Catharine should become the wife of his other son, but to this the Church was loth to consent; for it was not lawful according to the ecclesiastical canon for one to marry his brother's wife. None the less the marriage was finally consummated, and when in 1509 Henry received the crown from his father, Catharine became queen of England. She was five years the senior of her lord, and her lord was capricious. Finally, when the maiden, Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of the ladies appointed to accompany the Princess Mary on the journey to her espousals with Louis XII. of France, arrived at court, the conscience of the king became suddenly aroused into activity, and he perceived with horror how heinous a crime he had committed in living for years with the wife of his dead brother. It was not the first time or the last in the history of royal passion in which a pretext has been sought and found behind the thick folds of alleged religious scruples for the doing of some forbidden deed predetermined by the pur-

pose of the doer. Albeit, Cardinal Wolsey quickly perceived the drift of his master's affections and the inevitable catastrophe that lay just beyond, and proceeded to pour oil into the fire of the king's passion. In fact, Wolsey had one unvarying principle of policy which he followed with consistent persistency to the end, and that was—himself. He still cherished the vision of the papal crown, and was willing to use his master in what manner soever seemed conducive to his purpose. So when he saw the king becoming more and more enslaved by the charms of Anne Boleyn, and as a consequence more and more *conscientious* on account of his marriage with Catharine, Wolsey conceived the design of humoring Henry and of—betraying him if necessary.

The king soon determined to obey his conscience by the divorcement of the queen. To this project the Cardinal gave his consent, agreeing to use his influence with Pope Clement VII. to secure that potentate's assent to the annulling of the marriage. Perhaps the Pope—for the popes were supple in such matters—would have granted the divorce but for the apparition of the offended Emperor; for Charles was the nephew of Catherine, and was little disposed to see her displaced from the English throne. Accordingly, when Henry wrote to Clement stating his conscientious scruples and desiring a divorce, the pontiff temporized with the question and Henry was kept in suspense for more than a year. At last the Cardinal, Campeggio, was sent into England to hear the king's cause, and jointly, with Wolsey, to determine the legality or illegality of the king's marriage. At the first the legate sought to dissuade Henry from his purpose, but all to no avail. He then endeavored to induce Queen Catharine to solve the difficulty by retiring into a nunnery. But the queen was as little disposed to renounce her glory as was the king to deny his passion. So after another year spent in fruitless negotiations the question at issue came to a formal trial before the two cardinals, but those dignitaries seemed unable to reach any decision. In the mean time the king's impatience became intolerable, and matters approached a crisis.

Henry suspected Wolsey of not being duly zealous in his cause. The royal lover began to turn about to find a solution favorable to

his wishes. It chanced about this time that some of his ministers made the acquaintance of a brilliant young Cambridge priest named Thomas Cranmer, who said to them that his Majesty was foolish to waste further efforts in the endeavor to gain a satisfactory answer from perverse and double-dealing Rome. The king should at once submit the question to the learned men of the universities of Europe. "The whole matter," said Cranmer, "is summed up in this: "Can a man marry his brother's widow?" When this suggestion was carried to Henry he was delighted with it and at once sent for Cranmer to become one of his advisers.

From this time forth, the new minister waxed and Wolsey waned. Anne Boleyn became his enemy, for with good reason she suspected him of being secretly opposed to her elevation to the throne of England. It was clear that for many years he had been double in his dealings with his king and the Pope. Suspicion began to mutter in the chamber, the court, the street. At length the displeasure of Henry, who was wont to hold his ministers responsible for the success of what business soever was committed to their charge, grew hot against his favorite, and he sent to him a message demanding the surrender of the great seal of the kingdom. The same was taken away and conferred on Sir Thomas More, while Wolsey was ordered to leave the court and retire to Asher. To the proud spirit of the Cardinal, his fall was like that of Lucifer. He was obliged to see his magnificent palace of York Place seized by the king, who had so long been his indulgent and partial master. Finding himself suddenly stripped of most of his worldly possessions, the fallen minister dismissed his suite; but many of his servants, notably Thomas Cromwell,¹ chose to adhere to the fortunes of

¹ It is to the faithful Cromwell that the great Cardinal, in the midst of his sore distress and heart-break, pours out his anguish in the oft-quoted paragraph from *Henry the Eighth*:

"Hear me, Cromwell;
And—when I am forgotten, as I shall be;
And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
Of me more must be heard of—say, I taught thee,
Say, Wolsey—that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honor—
Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in;
A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.

him who had always treated them with kindness and liberality.

After Wolsey was thus driven into retirement, he showed himself more worthy of honor than at any previous period of his life. He lived among the subordinate clergy, and demeaned himself in no wise haughtily. But at times, his old love of splendor revived, and flashed out like the fire of a passion. The anger of the king was rekindled against him, and he was arrested under a charge of high treason. It soon became clear that he could not survive the ruin of his fortunes and fame. When the officers came to convey him to the Tower, they found him already sick of anguish and despair. On the third day's journey they reached the abbey of Leicester, where they were obliged to pause with their dying prisoner. To the abbot the broken Wolsey, when entering the gate of the monastery, said: "My father, I am come to lay my bones amongst you." He was borne, with a certain tenderness which Death always demands of those who serve him, to a bed within, and there, on the 29th of November, 1530, he expired.

The consummation of the king's wishes as it respected the divorcement of Catharine and the marriage of Anne Boleyn was still postponed. In 1532 Henry, ever in the prosecution of his purpose, made a second visit to Francis, whose sympathy and aid he now desired to gain. The two monarchs met near Boulogne and entertainments were given by each to the other. At one of these fêtes it was contrived that Anne Boleyn should dance with the French king. The latter was so captivated by her manner that he gave her a splendid jewel as a token of his appreciation, and at the close of the banquet promised Henry to

Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me.
Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;
By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
Love thyself last; cherish those hearts that hate
thee;

Corruption wins not more than honesty.
Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's; then, if thou fall'st O
Cromwell,
Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."

—*King Henry the Eighth, Act III; Scene 2.*

spare no effort to promote his interest in procuring so elegant a lady for his queen. When the English monarch returned to London he resolved to carry out his purpose, the dilatory Church to the contrary notwithstanding. He accordingly had a secret marriage performed with Anne, and then pressed the matter of his divorce from Catharine. In the following year Cranmer was made archbishop of Canterbury, and was ordered to proceed to try the validity of the king's first marriage. An ecclesiastical court was formed at Dunstable, and the cause, after a trial of two weeks' duration, was submitted to the judges. A decision was rendered that the marriage with Catharine had been null and void from the beginning. One of the most serious consequences of the verdict was that the Princess Mary, born to the king and Catharine in 1516, was thus rendered illegitimate. So shocking a consequence might have had some weight in deterring most men from the consummation of a plot against the reputation of their own offspring. But such a motive weighed not a feather with Henry VIII., who, on the whole, may be set down as the most obstinate and willful king that ever sought a hollow excuse for the gratification of his passions.

Within three days after the adjournment of the court at Dunstable, the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn was publicly ratified by the coronation of the latter as queen of England. Albeit the discarded Catharine sought by every means in her power to prevent the carrying out of the scheme by which she was dethroned. In vain she pleaded with the king that she had ever been a faithful and dutiful wife. Thus much Henry freely and publicly acknowledged. But his *conscience* would not let him live longer in marital relations with his brother's widow! For the peace of his soul he must put her away. In vain she strove to defend herself before the court. Her cause was predetermined. Finding herself displaced from her royal seat, she retired to the seclusion of Amptill, near Woburn, and there resided until her death in the year 1536.

Thus, in a passion whim of the English king, was laid the train for another ecclesiastical explosion. It was not to be supposed that Rome would sit by quietly and see her

mandates set at naught by the contumacious sovereign of a petty island. Pope Clement was angry and perplexed. For fifteen years the Holy Fathers had already been compelled by the political condition of Europe to suspend their vengeance against the Lutheran heretics. Recently, however, through the mediation of Clement, peace had been concluded between France and Germany. The Emperor had solemnly promised in return for the good offices of the Pope to undertake the extirpation of heresy in the Imperial dominions. Here now was another complication come to vex the spirit and distract the purposes of Rome. And all for the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn! Would that Sir Thomas before her birth had been at the bottom of the English Channel! Every circumstance conspired to make the Emperor a firm supporter of his aunt, the discarded queen of England. Therefore Rome must stand by the Emperor and stand by Catharine and maintain the validity of her marriage, with its corollary, the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. Hence, also, the Church must set her seal of condemnation upon the king's union with Anne Boleyn.

This royal lady within three months after her coronation presented her liege with a daughter, to whom the king, in honor of his mother, gave the name of Elizabeth. An issue was thus squarely made up in the court of destiny. Either, first, Catharine of Aragon was legally married to Henry Tudor, and is now rightfully queen of England, and her daughter Mary legitimate heiress to the crown of that realm; and as a consequence the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn was illegal, and that lady now wears the crown of another and has given to her lord a daughter under the ban of the Church and society: or, secondly, the marriage of Henry with his dead brother's wife was unhallowed and accursed by the canon of holy Church, her wearing of the English crown an affront to sanctity, her daughter born out of wedlock; and inferentially, the marriage of her rival a legitimate transaction, and that rival's daughter the rightful heiress of the crown.

Never was a cause more sharply defined. Rome *must* take one side of the question, and Henry *must* take the other. There was no alternative. It looked from the first like



TRIAL OF CATHARINE.

another disruption of the Church. Here was the English king defying the Pope's authority. Here was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, constituting an ecclesiastical court and presuming to decide a cause from which even the Pope's great legate, Campeggio, had shrunk with indecision. Meanwhile the triumphant Henry, who had so recently been honored with the title of Defender of the Faith, awaited grimly the action of Rome, and Anne Boleyn, with the little Elizabeth on her knee, sat by his side.

After some hesitation Pope Clement issued a decree declaring the validity of the marriage of Catharine of Aragon with Henry of England. This was like thrusting a pike into the side of a bear. The bear rose in anger and lifted his paw for battle. The English parliament was summoned and a counter decree was passed by that body, declaring the king's supremacy over the Church of England, and annulling the papal authority in the island. It was enacted that all the revenues hitherto paid into the coffers of Rome should be diverted to the royal treasury. By these radical measures the English Church from political considerations having their origin in the personal character and conduct of the king was brought into a conflict as direct, and pronounced as that by which the Church of Germany had been arrayed against Rome. Two years after the issuance of the Pope's decree another parliament passed an act for the disestablishment of the monasteries and nunneries of England; and these institutions to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, together with the enormous properties which had been heaped therein by ages of superstition came under the control of the king. Another act was added by which the English people were required to subscribe a document binding themselves to recognize and observe the former parliamentary edict establishing the king's authority as the head of the Church. A commission was appointed to carry this act to the people and obtain their signatures thereto.

Meanwhile, in 1533, while the question of the king's divorce was still pending, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor of the kingdom, had refused his assent to that measure; in consequence of this he resigned his office and retired to private life in Chelsea. Here in the fol-

lowing year he was found by the commissioners of parliament and required to take an oath to recognize Henry as the head of the Church, and the offspring of Anne Boleyn as heiress apparent to the English throne. This Sir Thomas refused to do. In July of 1535 he was arrested and brought to trial. Being condemned to death he was sent to the Tower to await the day of his execution. No one under such circumstances ever behaved with more heroic dignity. He passed the last night of his life with his family, from whom he parted tenderly, and then prepared himself for the block. When the ax was about to fall he made a sign to the executioner to pause for a moment, while he carefully moved his fine beard to one side, saying, as he did so, "Pity that should be cut; that has not committed treason." Fisher, bishop of Rochester, also refused to sign the parliamentary edict, and like Sir Thomas was sent to the block for his refusal.

Although the king had his will, and the Pope, absorbed with his project of crushing the Lutheran Reformation, seemed unable to prevent the disruption of England, it was not long until the rosy bed of the successful Henry was planted with thorns. For his young queen soon lost his affections and confidence by the same means whereby she had gained them. Her French manners, her accomplishments and wit, were very charming to her royal lover at the first; but when he saw her vivacity freely expended for the enjoyment of others, he was struck with a mortal jealousy. The spirits of Anne, even while the infant Elizabeth was in her arms, ran over with profusion, and it is not unlikely that she found, in the society of the English courtiers, an unwarranted degree of pleasure. It was said that she became unduly intimate with the Lords Breton and Norris, as well as with Smeaton, the king's musician. Henry first lost all interest in the queen, and then had her arrested on a charge of disloyalty to himself and to womanhood, and confined in the Tower, from which, in May of 1536, she was brought forth to her trial. A commission, headed by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was appointed to hear the cause. The fallen queen protested her innocence to the last; but her protestations, supported as

they were by most but not all of the testimony, were of no avail. She was condemned and beheaded, and, as if this were not

enough, the infant Elizabeth was declared illegitimate!

Before the axe had fallen on the beauti-



PARTING OF SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

ful neck of Anne Boleyn, Henry had already found a solace for his marital misfortunes in a new warmth which had been kindled in the royal breast by the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir Thomas Seymour, a nobleman of Wiltshire. To her the king was married on the very next day after the beheading of Anne. The new queen's temper, hanging midway between the austerity of Catharine and the lightness of Anne, was well adapted to the difficulties and perils of her situation. It is not the business of History to complicate the annals of the world by the obtrusion into the same of conjectures. History deals not with *if*. Her verbs are in the indicative and mostly in the preterite. Perhaps, *if* Queen Jane had lived, the future conduct of her erratic and willful lord might have been more conformable to the authorized standard of morals and propriety. As it was, she gave birth to a son, and died within a year of her marriage.

Henry had now had sufficient experience not to indulge in unseemly grief for such a trifle as the loss of a wife. He had also come to observe that there are marriages good and marriages bad—some politic and others imprudent. Wherefore, in making his *fourth* selection, he was guided rather by policy than by passion. He was now aided in the choice of a spouse by the great Chancellor Cromwell—that same Thomas Cromwell into whose ears had been poured the dying lamentations of the fallen Wolsey, but now risen, somewhat on the ruins of that dignity, to a position of the greatest influence.

It was at this juncture that the English Reformation, which had thus far been a *political* movement, began to feel the force of those *moral* causes which had been operative for twenty years in Germany. Cromwell was a veritable Protestant. King Henry had broken with the Pope, and renounced the authority of that potentate, and declared the independence of the English Church, but he still claimed to be a good and loyal Catholic—a better Catholic forsooth than the Pope himself. In order to bring his master over from this way of thinking, and to utilize the rupture between him and Rome, and to turn the same to the general advantage of Protestantism, Cromwell now conceived the design

of uniting the king with a *German* princess. He accordingly procured the artist Holbein to paint a portrait of the Duchess Anne of Cleves, and presented the picture to the king. It is not unlikely that the minister and the artist conspired to interpret the princess to the royal eye and imagination in such manner as was most likely to stir his alleged affections. At any rate, the ruse succeeded.

Without waiting for a personal interview the king sent a message to Germany demanding the lady's hand in marriage. She came and was seen. Sight dispelled the illusion. The duchess was so little like the picture that Henry could with difficulty be persuaded to fulfill his contract. Then the further discovery came that the now royal lady was disgracefully ignorant and devoid of manners. What should Henry VIII., who knew not German, who from childhood had sunned himself in the splendor of a rather magnificent court, who had enjoyed the society of the accomplished and vivacious Anne Boleyn, do with this somber and stupid creature whom Cromwell had imposed upon him? The Chancellor soon found that to perpetrate a fraud on Henry Tudor was a business more perilous than profitable. Upon him the anger of the disgusted king first fell with terrible weight. Cromwell was arrested, charged with disloyalty to his master, tried, condemned, and beheaded. Parliament was then summoned and the proposition for another divorce laid before the body. Nor was there any difficulty in procuring a decree by which the recent marriage was annulled. The edict contained a clause giving to both the king and queen the right to marry again—a privilege of which he rather than she was likely to take an early advantage.

The great space of two weeks, however, was permitted to elapse before the king was sufficiently in love to take another wife. But after a fortnight he saw and was enamored of the lady Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. The new favorite was immediately brought to court and wedded to the king. Almost immediately, however, he discovered that his choice had been made with more haste than discretion. The conduct and character of the new queen were found to be so disgraceful as really in this instance to justify the course

of the king in thrusting her from him. His anger stopped not with the project of divorce, but was kindled against the life of the sinful Catharine. She was arrested and condemned, and on the 12th of February, 1542, was sent to the same fate which the more virtuous Anne Boleyn had met six years before.

In the next year, Henry for the *sixth* time sought happiness by wedlock. His ardor was now somewhat cooled, and appears to have waited on his judgment. After some deliberation he chose for his queen the lady Catharine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. Like Jane Seymour, the new spouse was a woman of discretion and character. She obtained and held an ascendancy over the king's mind, and an influence in his counsels during the remaining four years of his life.

More important than the marital infelicities of this royal personage were the movements which meanwhile had taken place in the kingdom.

The abolition of the monasteries and the consequent dispersion of the monks created a serious disturbance in different parts of the realm. In 1534 a certain Elizabeth Barton, known as the Maid of Kent, pretending to receive revelations from heaven, stirred up a revolt in her native country. Hardly had the insurrection been quelled when two others in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire broke out, and were only suppressed after considerable loss of life. Of course these revolts were in the interest of the papacy, and in their suppression the king was obliged to play the part of a Protestant. His open rupture with Rome led at length to an alliance between himself and the Protestant princes of Germany; but their purposes being to reform the religion of Europe and his merely to humiliate the Pope and weaken the influence of the Emperor, the Anglo-German alliance soon came to naught.

Meanwhile the Pope put forth his utmost endeavors to bring Henry and his kingdom to shame. A legate, the Cardinal de la Pole, was sent into England for the express purpose of stirring up discord and inciting rebellions. The baseness of this proceeding was increased by the fact that the Cardinal was second cousin to the king, and had been educated at his expense. A kind of treasonable correspondence was established between the papal malcontents

in England and their allies on the continent. But the danger of such business proved to be greater than its profit. Henry VIII. was as able in all respects as he was unscrupulous in many, and woe to the conspirator who had the misfortune to fall into his power. Pole kept himself carefully in a safe retreat in Flanders, but his two brothers were taken in England, condemned and executed. Even the Cardinal's mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury, and last representative of the great family of Plantagenet, was put to death; for she had received a letter from her son!

The revolts which had been stirred up by the monks, expelled from their old rookeries in the monasteries, had so embittered the king that he now determined to exterminate monasticism by suppressing the remaining religious houses in the kingdom, and turning their revenues into the royal treasury. The decree of 1536, by which three hundred and seventy-six of the monasteries had been disestablished, was leveled against the smaller institutions only. The king now decided to attack the larger as well. In 1539 the parliament, in conformity with Henry's wishes, passed an edict against all the monasteries and nunneries of England. In vain did the friars and their supporters of the papal party endeavor to retain their hold upon their vast accumulations. Whenever the king felt the need of additional authority, a pliant parliament would pass the required decree. The royal prerogatives rose from stage to stage, from one arbitrary measure to another, until at last, in 1545, an edict was passed by which Henry was empowered to seize the revenues of the university. This act, however, was never carried into effect; but its non-execution is attributed rather to the good sense and moderation of Queen Catharine Parr than to any forbearance on the part of the king.

Before the unfulfilled measure last referred to, namely, in 1541, Henry had gratified his passion for royal meetings by the project of an interview with his nephew, James V., of Scotland. Elaborate preparations were made for the repetition at York of such scenes as the king and Francis had witnessed at Calais in the heyday of their youth. When the appointed time arrived, Henry and his court repaired to the place of meeting. But the king

of the Scots came not. It soon transpired that the Scottish clergy, already betraying that disposition to meddle in the affairs of state for which they were ever afterward proverbial, had persuaded their king to have nothing to do with such a heretic and social monster as Henry of England. Learning of the cause of the facts in the premises, the English king became so enraged that he declared war against his nephew. Scotland was invaded by a royal army, and the forces of James V. were met and overwhelmingly defeated in the battle of Solway Moss. The disaster was so great and the nature of James so sensitive to the shock that he sank down under his grief at the calamity which had befallen the kingdom, and died in December of 1542. His death reduced the House of Stuart almost to extinction; for the hopes of the dynasty now fluttered on the rapid breath of the baby princess, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots, who was but seven days old when her father expired,

As soon as Henry learned that his nephew was dead, he laid a plan for the union of the two kingdoms by the betrothal of his son Edward and the little princess, Mary. This measure, however, was resisted by the Scots, who were desirous of maintaining their independence. Neither by force nor artifice could he succeed in bringing them to his way of thinking.

In the course of time peace was concluded between England and the Empire; but the reconciliation between Henry and Charles, merely glossed over their long-standing enmity. The settlement which they effected embraced the project of an invasion of France. Armies were raised in both countries, and the king and the Emperor joined each other with their forces near Calais. The invasion had not proceeded far, however, until Francis made overtures of peace. In the business that ensued, the blunt, and half-honest Henry was completely overreached. The Dominican friar who was sent by Francis to negotiate with the allied monarchs, managed to conclude a separate peace with the Emperor, who withdrew his army and left his *friend*, the king, to make what terms he could with the crafty Francis. Henry was obliged to content himself with the possession of Boulogne, which he had taken from the French. Two years afterwards, namely, in 1546, peace was made between

France and England. It was agreed that Boulogne should remain in the hands of the English for the space of eight years, and should then revert on the payment of a ransom.

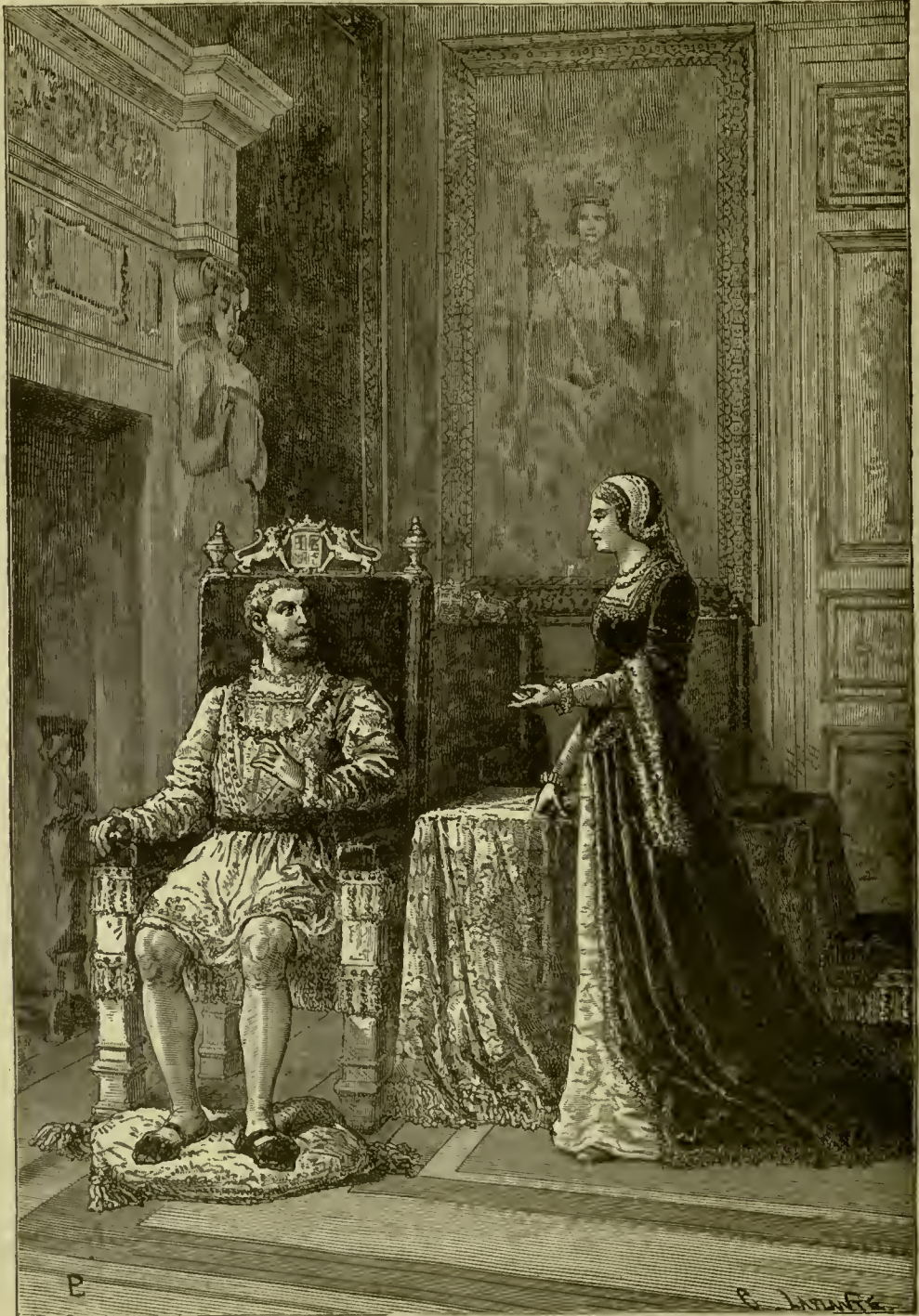
Henry VIII. had now grown old and corpulent and ill-tempered. Nothing pleased him any more. In his dotage he returned to the study of those theological questions to which some of his earlier years had been devoted. His disposition became more and more distempered, and his tyranny over the people more capricious and intolerable. He spent his time in devising some cruel exaction and discussing with the queen some of the insoluble dogmas of the Church. The suspicion might well be entertained that he sought to entangle her in the meshes of some net in which she might be dragged to condemnation. But she proved equal to the perversity of her cross old lord, and opposed to him only her patience. Only on a single occasion—such is the tradition of these disputes—did she forget herself and speak with undue warmth, and for this she narrowly escaped being brought to trial.

As for others less discreet, they suffered the full penalty of their opposition. The Duke of Norfolk and his son, Lord Surrey, fell under the tyrant's displeasure and were imprisoned in the Tower. Both by their accomplishments, talents, and loyalty had won the favor of the English people, and the father had been regarded as one of the king's favorites, even since the first years of his reign. Their offense now consisted in the fact that they were Catholics and might for that reason be suspected of opposition to young Edward, Prince of Wales, whom the king had named as his successor. Already the Princess Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, was looked to as the representative of the Catholic interest in England. There was, however, no evidence that the noblemen in prison had been guilty of any disloyal act. The worst charges which could be brought against Lord Surrey were that he spoke Italian, and that *for that reason* he was *probably* a correspondent of Cardinal de la Pole! This was deemed sufficient. He was condemned and executed in January of 1547. Before the close of the month his father was also condemned; but He who knocks with impartial summons at the peasant's hut and the palace of the king was come. Before the day

for the execution of Norfolk arrived the wheezing, dropsical, and relentless old despot who for nearly thirty-eight years had occupied the throne of England, expired with his crimes

unfinished. The Duke of Norfolk thus escaped the block.

So far as his abilities extended Henry provided for the succession. He established the



CATHARINE DISCUSSING THEOLOGY WITH THE KING.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

same to his son Edward. His two daughters had both been declared illegitimate, himself a party to the declaration. Nevertheless he provided in his will that in case of the death without heirs of Edward the crown should descend first to Mary and then to Elizabeth. He further provided that in case of the death without heirs of all three of his children (which very thing was destined to occur) then the succession should be to the heirs of his younger sister, the Duchess of Brandon, to the exclusion of the heirs of his elder sister Margaret, the queen of Scotland. The latter, after the death of her husband, James IV., had been married to the Earl of Angus. The daughter born of this union became the mother of that Lord Henry Darnley who played such a conspicuous part in the after history of Scotland.

So far as the religious history of England is concerned, the great fact belonging to the reign of Henry VIII. was the rupture with Rome and the consequent establishment of the English Church. It will readily be perceived that the so-called Reformation in England consisted chiefly in the organic separation from the mother Church. True it is that the real Reformers, the followers of Wickliffe, were all the time at work; but it is also true that these progressive spirits were opposed and persecuted by the king and his government. The Lollards were the special objects of his displeasure. Against them in the early part of his reign some of his most tyrannical measures were adopted. In later years, however, when his antagonism to Rome became more pronounced and bitter, and the political necessities of his situation drew him into a natural union with all Rome's enemies, his rigor towards the real Protestants relaxed. Still Henry was by nature a persecutor and bigot. He caused many persons to be burned for heresy; and in general it may be said as summing up the results of his policy that the evils of his reign were intended and the good accidental. If he commanded the Church service to be given in English it was because the monks preferred Latin. If he permitted the translation of the Bible it was because the Pope forbade the work. If the actual Reformation gained ground during his reign it was against his wishes and brought about through the agency of Cranmer, who was sincere in

favoring a cause which Henry espoused only through spite and through hatred of the cause opposed.

After the ten years' truce, established in 1538, France enjoyed a brief interval of peace. The first subsequent disturbance occurred when the Emperor Charles, desiring to make his way from Spain to the Netherlands, sought and obtained the privilege of going thither through the kingdom of Francis. In return for this favor, the Emperor agreed to reward the French king by restoring to him the province of Milan. But, after having passed safely through France to the Low Countries, Charles neglected and refused to fulfill his bargain. War was accordingly renewed in 1542. It was in the progress of this struggle that Henry VIII. espoused the Imperial cause, and joined his armies with those of the Empire in the invasion of France. How the wily Francis managed to break up the league of his enemies, and to conclude a separate peace with the Emperor, leaving the blatant Henry without support at Boulogne, has already been narrated. For several years a desultory and indecisive conflict was kept up between the armies of France and England; but in the summer of 1546 a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which Henry, after the space of eight years, was to surrender Boulogne, and to receive therefor, during the *interim*, an annual stipend of a hundred thousand crowns.

Neither of the high contracting parties was destined to see the fulfillment of the contract. In January of the following year, Henry paid the debt of nature, and, in the following March, Francis, who had long suffered in the consuming fires of a fever which had rendered his temper and conduct intolerable, ended his checkered career. Of the great trio, who for more than a quarter of a century in one of the most stirring epochs in the history of the world had divided the principal European kingdoms among themselves, only the Emperor Charles remained to complete the drama in monologue. That monarch had still eleven years of vitality in which to carry out his project for the religious pacification of Europe, and the establishment of a universal empire.

None ever was doomed to greater disap-

pointment than he. After the death of Luther, the Council of Trent fell under the control of the Italian and Spanish prelates, and they in their turn being directed by the Pope passed a declaration that the traditions of the Holy Catholic Church were of equal authority with the Bible. Such an edict made reconciliation with the Protestants impossible. It was against this very doctrine that Luther had thundered his denunciations; but the declaration of the council was to the Pope and Emperor most palatable. The latter now prepared to suppress the great German



CHARLES V.

heresy by force. Before he could do so, however, it was necessary that he should break the power and disrupt the organization of the Smalcaldic League. The army of this union now numbered about forty thousand men. At the juncture of which we speak, Charles was at Ratisbon with a small force of Spanish soldiers. He had ordered two other armies, one from Flanders and the other from Italy, to join him, but neither had arrived. Nor is it improbable that, if the chiefs of the Smalcaldic League had been in harmony, and had acted in proper concert, the haughty monarch might have been hum-

bled and driven from the country. But Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, less able in the field than in the council, withheld their consent that Schertlin, the general of the league, should fall upon the Emperor.

The opportunity was lost. The Imperial reinforcements joined the forces of Charles, and he made ready for battle. Just as hostilities were about to begin, Duke Maurice of Saxony renounced the Protestant faith, seized the Saxon electorate, and went over to the Emperor. Presently afterwards, his cousin, John Frederick, to whom the territory rightfully belonged, raised an army, drove Maurice out of the disputed country, but was unable to hold it against the forces of Charles. So serious was the shock occasioned by this defection, that Duke Ulric of Würtemberg followed the example and submitted to Charles. The Free cities of Ulm, Augsburg, Strasburg, and several others, were drawn in the wake, and Schertlin's forces were so reduced in numbers as to be unable to offer any serious resistance to the progress of the Imperial troops. All of Southern Germany was presently overrun, and Catholic authority was restored without a serious conflict.

While Henry VIII. lay dying at Whitehall, and Francis I. was tossing with his fever in Versailles, Charles V., victorious in the South, was preparing for an invasion of Northern Germany. Marching thither, in the spring of 1547, he met and defeated the army of John Frederick of Saxony at Mühlberg on the Elbe. The elector himself, who was so enormously corpulent that he had to mount his horse by means of a ladder, was easily run down and captured by the Imperial cavalry. The full-grown bigot, who for many years had sat silent in the breast of Charles V., now uttered his voice. A court was constituted to try John Frederick for his heresy and other crimes. At the head of this court was set the famous, or rather infamous, Fernando Alvarez, DUKE OF ALVA, one of the most cruel and bloody-minded of the many criminals of that description bred and turned loose upon Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century. A soldier from his boyhood, a hater of Infidels, descended from Palæologus—one of the Emperors of Constantinople—trained in the worst

school of a bigoted Church, exemplar of the worst vices of his times, he now, in the thirtieth year of his age, came upon the stage in his true character, and began to dabble his sleek white hands in the blood of the innocent.

John Frederick was condemned to death, and but for the solemn protest of the other German princes the sentence would have been carried into speedy execution. As it was, his Saxon territories were stripped away, and given to the religious turn-coat, Maurice of Saxony. Frederick remained true to his convictions, went to prison, and there passed the remaining five years of his life. Like many another hero of his type, he had a wife of the same mettle with himself. When the Imperial army approached Wittenberg, she assumed the defense of her husband's capital, and only surrendered when compelled to yield by overwhelming numbers. On gaining possession of the city, the Duke of Alva urged the Emperor to burn the remains of Luther and scatter the ashes to the winds. The answer of Charles was of a sort in some measure to redeem his forfeited fame: "I wage no war against the dead."

It was now apparent that no prince of the League would be able to stay the progress of the Imperial arms. The next to fall before the storm was Philip of Hesse. This personage, sincere in his Protestantism, was thrifty in his politics. He earnestly sought a reconciliation with the Emperor, and expressed by word and conduct his willingness to gain that monarch's favor by heavy sacrifices and great concessions. Charles stated the conditions to be the destruction of all the Hessian fortresses excepting Cassel, the payment of a fine of a hundred and fifty thousand florins of gold, and a petition for pardon, sought by Philip on his knees. To all of this the Landgrave consented. But, when it came to begging the Emperor's pardon, the suppliant, a shrewd man of the world, had the misfortune to smile while performing the ridiculous ceremony. Hereupon, the Emperor fell into a passion. "I'll teach you to laugh," said he. True to his broken word, he ordered Philip to be seized and sent to prison. And years elapsed before the unfortunate duke escaped from confinement.

In this conquest of Germany Charles V. acted after the manner of a foreign invader.

True, he was the son of Philip and the grandson of Maximilian, a German Emperor almost by birth, and altogether by the voice of the Imperial electors; but his education and disposition alike were essentially Spanish, and he appears to have regarded his own paternal dominions as an ignoble and heretical land, very fit for conquest and spoliation. There now remained between him and the complete mastery of Northern as well as Southern Germany only the Protestant city of Magdeburg. The reduction of this stronghold was intrusted to Maurice of Saxony, and the Emperor retired into Bavaria. On his way through the country his Spanish soldiers were loosed to have their will on the suffering people, whom they insulted and robbed till their appetite was satiated. It became a bitter reflection with the German princess, Catholic as many of them were, that they themselves by their votes had elevated to power the monstrous tyrant who now gloried in despoiling his own land and wasting her cities with fire and sword.

Having at length satisfied himself with the reduction of Germany, the Emperor, in 1548, published a decree known as the *Augsburg Interim* in which the Protestants were granted the lay communion in both bread and wine. Their priests were permitted to marry, but the remaining doctrines and forms of the Catholic Church were to be observed by all until what time the tedious council of Trent, now removed to Bologna, should render its decisions. After three years that body of prelates again assembled at the place of first convention, and it was clear that many of the members under the inspiration of the Emperor himself were sincerely anxious to effect an accommodation with the Protestants. But Pope Julius III., who, in the preceding year, namely, in 1550, had succeeded Paul III. in the papacy, rallied the Spanish and Italian cardinals and bishops, and thus maintained the ascendancy of the will and purpose of Rome.

While the Emperor was thus baffled by the council, he had the mortification to see his *Augsburg Interim* rejected by both Catholics and Protestants. By the former it was declared infamous to make any concession to the German race of heretics, and by the latter the concessions made in the Emperor's proclamation were regarded as few, feeble and insuffi-

cient. In the midst of his perplexities, Charles appears to have begun to despair of the virtue of human affairs and the merit of Imperial rank. His desires were now turned to the question of the succession. He became anxious that the crown of the Empire should descend to his son Philip. More than twenty years previously, namely, in 1530, his brother Ferdinand had been elected king of Germany, and this election was regarded as foreshadowing a succession to the Imperial crown in the event of Charles's death. True it was that the electoral princes, several of whom had been Protestants, were now reduced to so degraded



PRINCE MAURICE.

a position as to be ill able to resist the Emperor's purpose, but it was clear that in so doing they would receive the support of Ferdinand.

What the event might have been it were vain to conjecture. Before the issue could be made up and decided by a Diet, such startling news was carried to the Emperor's ears as drove out his current purpose and demanded all his energies. The news was from Magdeburg. Against that city the Prince Maurice had led the Imperial army. But the Protestant authorities within the walls had made all proper measures for defense. The place was provisioned and garrisoned as if for an endless siege. When Maurice arrived and summoned the city

to surrender, he was answered with contempt. To every demand the same answer was returned. Nor did the prince's threats avail more than his persuasions. The citizens hurled at him the epithet of "Traitor!" And traitor he was; for he had betrayed the Protestantism of Germany into the hands of Rome and her servants.

These upbraodings and the consciousness of his base attitude toward his country, soon told on the nature of Maurice. He already had a deep-seated cause of offense at the hands of the Emperor, for that monarch had sent Philip of Hesse, father-in-law of Maurice, to prison *for smiling!* and in prison he still lay in ignominy and shame. Here were the materials for a *second* revolution in the politics and religion of Maurice. First a Protestant, then a Catholic, he now conceived the design of going back to the cause and profession of Protestantism, and of carrying with him so much of the Imperial resources as should make the cold heart of Charles shudder with alarm, and the very foundations of the Empire tremble.

The event was equal to the plan. With complete reticence Maurice executed his purposes. He entered into a treaty with Henry II., son and successor of Francis I., of France, to whom he promised the province of Lorraine with the cities of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, in return for his assistance against the Empire. Having completed his plan, he suddenly, in the spring of 1552, raised the siege of Metz, wheeled about and marched with all speed against Charles, who, apprehending no danger, had established his court at Innsbruck. Strange was the spectacle which was now presented. The Emperor instantly divined that his only hope of safety lay in flight. Not a moment was to be lost in extricating himself from the German snare. Maurice had seized the mountain passes, and nothing remained for Charles but the perils of the Alps. With only a few followers he fled from Innsbruck, and through the desolations of a storm by night made his way into the mountains. The silent Nemesis had suddenly risen in specter-like majesty and marshaled him out of sight. The genius of terror was loosed in Catholic Germany. The Council of Trent broke up and fled, and John Frederick and Philip of Hesse came forth from prison. Never was a

revolution more complete, sudden, and overwhelming. The Protestant cause suddenly rose like a prostrate giant from the dust, and the papal faction shrank into the shadows.

It will be remembered that the Emperor, by his scheme to set up his son Philip as his successor, had aroused the antagonism of King Ferdinand. The latter now gladly coöperated with Maurice in finishing the work which the Saxon prince by his great defection had so well begun. The two leaders, acting in conjunction, now convoked a German Diet at Passau. So tremendous had been the revolution in public opinion, and so complete the change in the aspect of affairs that the bishops as well as the secular princes who attended the Diet were constrained to admit that the suppression of Protestantism by force was an impossibility. Thus much being admitted the conclusion of a peace was easy. Neither the Pope nor the council was any longer deferred to by the electors, who were set in their purpose to make an end of the religious conflicts of Germany. The *Treaty of Passau* was accordingly concluded. The basis of the settlement was the Augsburg Confession of Faith. Whoever accepted the articles of that creed should no more be disturbed in his theory and practice of worship. All minor questions were referred for decision to a subsequent Diet.

Before this action of the German electors the great schemes of Charles V. melted into vapor. At first he refused to sign the treaty, but he was no longer master of the situation. The Protestant leaders increased their armies and prepared to renew the war. The Crescent of Islam again rose above the Hungarian horizon. With a determination worthy of a better cause the Emperor, now safe in his Spanish dominions, organized his forces and sought to recover his lost ascendancy. Before the close of the year 1552 he advanced into Lorraine and laid siege to Metz. But a paralysis fell upon all his movements. Pestilence broke out in the camp, and the rigors of winter increased the hardships of the Imperialists. At length the siege was abandoned, and the war was transferred to other quarters. It was clear that the power of the Empire in Germany was broken forever. The struggle was continued in a desultory way by certain of the Catholic princes, but with no prospect of ultimate suc-

cess. Thus did Albert of Brandenburg, who in a spirit of wantonness and destruction made an expedition into Saxony and Franconia, marking his way with burning and slaughter. In July of 1553 his career was suddenly checked by Maurice of Saxony, who met and defeated him in the decisive battle of Sivershausen. In the moment of victory, however, Maurice, who had performed so masterly a part in the drama of his times, received a mortal wound, from which he died two days after the battle.

The overthrow of his ablest supporter at Sivershausen brought new discouragement to the Emperor. He saw his Imperial star sinking to the horizon. It appeared, no doubt, to his despotic imagination that the fabric of the world was going to wreck around him. He gave up Germany to her fate. He agreed that his brother Ferdinand should convene the Diet provided for by the treaty of Passau. Accordingly, in September of 1555, that body assembled in Augsburg.

In the mean time Popes Julius and Marcellinus had been looking on from the Eternal City with feelings of mortal dread and sentiments of unquenchable anger. When the Diet convened at Augsburg the papal legate was present trying in vain to reverse the logic of events and to send the half-liberated world back to its old slavery. But the effort could not succeed. The morning of the New Era had really dawned. A *Religious Peace* was concluded which was now more than a name. Freedom of worship and equality of rights before the law were freely and fully granted. And the Church property which had followed the Protestant revolt was retained by the adherents of the new religion. It was provided, however, that if any Catholic abbot or bishop should henceforth renounce the ancient faith in favor of the reformed doctrine the estates which he controlled should remain to the Mother Church.

It is to modern times and will ever remain a matter of surprise, that even in this rather liberal settlement of the religious troubles in Germany the principles of a *true reform*, of a genuine emancipation of the human mind and conscience, were still unrecognized. A clause was put into the treaty, that the people should not change their faith until *the prince had first*

changed his! Thus, in substance, was reasserted by the Reformers themselves that very doctrine which they had renounced at the outset as unbiblical and opposed to reason. As a matter of fact, under the rule adopted, the people of the Palatinate of the Rhine were, in the age

Reformation. The trouble with the Reform party of the sixteenth century was that it proceeded unconsciously under *one* principle of action, and openly avowed *another*. One motive was, so to speak, hidden in the breast of the movement, and another was given forth as the



EXECUTION OF HERETICS—SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

reason of the insurrection. *In fact*, the Reformation tended to one result; in its avowed *principles*, to another. The Reformers said that they set themselves against the authority of the Church only because that authority had become abusive. They admitted the *principle* of authority almost as absolutely as the Mother Church herself. They claimed to fight against the *abuses* of authority only. But in *fact* the movement was against the *principle* of authority. Thus the Reformers were soon obliged to disown the logical results of their own work. The actual tendency was to emancipate men from ecclesiastical and dogmatic thralldom; but this the Reformers durst

following the Diet of 1555, obliged to change their faith *four times* from Catholic to Protestant, and back again, in a vain endeavor to conform to the beliefs of their successive rulers!

Such facts as these may well lead us to inquire for a moment into the true nature of the

not allow. They were afraid to admit the doctrine of religious freedom. They denied that their labors were to that end. They affirmed that their work was to substitute a legitimate for an illegitimate authority in the Church. But what was a legitimate authority? Should

the Church decide that question for herself? If so, that was what Rome had said from the beginning, and Protestantism was already on the high road to run the same career as Catholicism had run, and to arrive at the same miserable end. For, suppose that the Church had declared her authority, and the individual judgment and conscience rejected the decision, what then? Would Protestantism punish and persecute the heretical? Her avowed principles declared that she must, and her practice soon showed that she would. And for more than three centuries the fatal results of this false assumption of authority, which in the very nature of a genuine Protestantism can not exist, has distilled its deadly dews in the world.

As a result of this misapprehension or cowardice on the part of the Reformers, the new churches which they established in those countries, that fell under their religious sway, became as abusive as the Mother Church had been before them. True it is that, in a certain moral purity—a certain inner cleanness of the organization—the New Church was better than the Old, but her practices were equally abusive, and her logic worse; worse, because she could adduce in justification of her conduct no major premise which had not belonged to Rome for centuries. So when Protestantism, coming into the ascendancy in Germany, Switzerland, and England, began to commit, in the name of religion, the very crimes of which Catholicism had been guilty, and to justify them by the same arguments, it was not wonderful that sarcastic Rome turned upon her rival a withering glance. No better summary has ever been presented of the whole situation than that given by the candid and sober-minded Guizot:

“What,” says he, “are the reproaches constantly applied to the Reformation by its enemies? Which of its results are thrown in its face, as it were, as unanswerable?”

“The two principal reproaches are, first, the multiplicity of sects, the excessive license of thought, the destruction of all spiritual authority, and the entire dissolution of religious society; secondly, tyranny and persecution. ‘You provoke licentiousness,’ it has been said to the Reformers—‘you produced it; and, after having been the cause of it, you wish to restrain and repress it. And how do

you repress it? By the most harsh and violent means. You take upon yourselves, too, to punish heresy, and that by virtue of an illegitimate authority.’

“If we take a review of all the principal charges which have been made against the Reformation, we shall find, if we set aside all questions purely doctrinal, that the above are the two fundamental reproaches to which they may all be reduced.

“These charges gave great embarrassment to the Reform party. When they were taxed with the multiplicity of their sects, instead of advocating the freedom of religious opinion, and maintaining the right of every sect to entire toleration, they denounced Sectarianism, lamented it, and endeavored to find excuses for its existence. Were they accused of persecution? They were troubled to defend themselves; they used the plea of necessity; they had, they said, the right to repress and punish error, because they were in possession of the truth. Their articles of belief, they contended, and their institutions, were the only legitimate ones; and, if the Church of Rome had not the right to punish the Reformed party, it was because she was in the wrong and they in the right.

“And when the charge of persecution was applied to the ruling party in the Reformation, not by its enemies, but by its own offspring; when the sects denounced by that party said: ‘We are doing just what you did; we separate ourselves from you, just as you separated yourselves from the Church of Rome’—this ruling party were still more at a loss to find an answer, and frequently the only answer they had to give was an increase of severity.

“The truth is, that while laboring for the destruction of absolute power in the spiritual order, the religious revolution of the sixteenth century was not aware of the true principles of intellectual liberty. It emancipated the human mind, and yet pretended still to govern it by laws. In point of *fact* it produced the prevalence of free inquiry; in point of *principle* it believed that it was substituting a legitimate for an illegitimate power. It had not looked up to the primary motive, nor down to the ultimate consequences of its own work. It thus fell into a double error. On the one

side it did not know or respect all the rights of human thought; at the very moment that it was demanding these rights for itself, it was violating them towards others. On the other side, it was unable to estimate the rights of

lectual society, and to the regular action of old and regular opinions. What is due to and required by traditional belief has not been reconciled with what is due to and required by freedom of thinking; and the cause of

this undoubtedly is that the Reformation did not fully comprehend and accept its own principles and results."

The Treaty of Augsburg ended for a while the religious war. The two prodigious schemes of Emperor Charles to restore the union of christendom under the Pope, and to make himself the secular head of Europe, had dropped into dust and ashes. A correct picture of the workings of the mind of this cold and calculating genius, as it turned in despair from the wreck of its dreams, would be one of the most instructive outlines of human ambition, folly, and disappointment ever drawn for the contemplation of men. Seeing the Treaty of Augsburg an accomplished fact, the Emperor determined to *abdicate!* Precisely a month after the conclusion of the peace



THE PENITENT OF SAN YUSTE.
Drawn by Vierge.

authority in matters of reason. I do not speak of that coercive authority which ought to have no rights at all in such matters, but of that kind of authority which is purely moral and acts solely by its influence upon the mind. In most reformed countries something is wanting to complete the proper organization of intel-

he published an edict conferring on his son Philip II. the kingdom of the Netherlands. On the 15th of the following January he resigned to him also the crowns of Spain, Naples, and the Indies. Then taking ship for the Spanish dominions, he left the world behind him and as soon as possible sought refuge from the recol-

lection of his own glory and vanished hopes in the monastery of San Yuste. Here he passed the remaining two years of his life as a sort of Imperial monk, taking part with the brothers in their daily service, working in the gardens, submitting to flagellation, watching the growth of his trees, and occasionally corresponding with the dignitaries of the outside world.

Sometimes he amused himself with trifles. He was something of a mechanician, and spent hours, days, and weeks in the attempt to reg-

afterwards, namely, on the 21st of September, 1558, the rehearsal became an actual drama, and the principal personage did *not* join in the requiem. For he had gone to that land where the voice of ambition could no more provoke to action,

“Or flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death.”

The present chapter may well be concluded with a few paragraphs on the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland, and the founding and development of the Order of the Jesuits.



ZWINGLI'S DEATH AT KAPPEL.

Drawn by Weickener.

ulate two clocks so that they should keep precisely the same time. “What a fool I have been!” was his comment. “I have spent all my life in trying to make men go together, and here I can not succeed even with two pieces of dumb machinery!” As he felt his end approaching, he became possessed of the grotesque notion of witnessing *his own funeral!* He accordingly had all the preparations made for that event, and the ceremony carefully rehearsed, himself taking part, joining in the chant of the requiem, and having himself properly adjusted in the coffin. A short time

The first of these events is intimately associated with the life and teachings of JOHN CALVIN, who has perhaps contributed more than any other one man to the Protestant theology of the world. After the death of Zwingli on the field of Kappel, in 1531, the direction of Swiss Protestantism had been assumed by William Farel, a French reformer from Dauphiney. In 1535 the reformed service was adopted at Geneva. After this the city became for a season a kind of Gog and Magog of religions. At no other place in Europe did the license of religious opinion run into such excesses.

From the first, the leading Genevese reformers adopted a code and creed of the greatest severity. For a while the fanatics who were going to bring in the millennium by the suppression of all worldly pleasure were in the minority. Such was the condition of affairs when, in August of 1536, John Calvin arrived at the city which was to be his home for the remainder of his life. Farel at once sought his aid; but at first the austere theo-

logical views, the same being intermediate between the doctrines of Luther and those of Zwingli. In the next year a quarrel broke out between the Genevese preachers and the secular authorities of the city. The feud became so bitter that Calvin and Farel were banished. The former made his way to Strasburg, where he was welcomed by Bucer and made the pastor of a Church of fifteen hundred French refugees.

It was at this epoch that he matured his theological views, the same being intermediate between the doctrines of Luther and those of Zwingli. In 1540 he married Idelette de Bures, widow of an Anabaptist. After several years he was permitted to return to Geneva, where he was received with the applause of the people. What may be called the Presbyterian system of church government, was now formulated. Geneva fell under the general government of a council, and so rigorous were the methods adopted that the city is said to have been reduced to a standard of severe morality, unparalleled in the whole history of civil communities. A consistory was appointed to hear and decide all causes of complaint respecting the character and conduct of the citizens. In one instance a man was called before the body and severely punished for laughing while Calvin was preaching a sermon.

The natural austerity, gloom, and dolor of Calvin's character were reflected in his theological system. The leading tenets of his theology may be briefly sum-



JOHN CALVIN.

gian withheld his sympathy. Thereupon the irate Farel proceeded to call down the malediction of heaven upon the recusant. Calvin at length yielded to the appeal, took up his residence at Geneva and began to preach and to teach. He had already published his *Institutes of Theology*, in which the doctrines and beliefs of Protestantism were formulated into a system. In the year following his arrival at the city of his adoption, he brought out his *Catechism*, presenting a summary of the prin-

marized: Man is by nature guilty and corrupt. The first man was made upright and holy. From this estate of purity and bliss he fell and was damned, with all the race that was to spring from his loins. Depravity and corruption were thus universally diffused in man. All men are obnoxious to the anger of God. The works of man are all sinful and corrupt. Hence the human race is justly condemned under the judgment and wrath of God. Even infants come into the

world under this condemnation. They have the seed of sin within them. Their whole nature is a seed of sin. The natural condition of the human race is in every respect hateful and abominable to the Almighty. The remedy for this state is in Christ. He, the Son of God, became incarnate, took man's nature in union with his own, thus combining two natures in one person. By his humiliation, obedience, suffering, death, resurrection, he redeemed the world and merited salvation for men. The believer is saved by a union with Christ through faith. Faith brings repentance. Then comes the mortification of the flesh and the inner revival of a spiritual life. The decrees of God are from everlasting to everlasting. They are immutable and eternal. Whatever has been, is, or will be, was predestined to be from the foundation of the world. By these decrees a part of the race is foreordained to eternal life, and another part to eternal damnation. Nor is the will of man free in the sense that by its own action it may exercise a directing influence on his destiny. That has been already determined and decreed in the eternal counsels of the Most High.

Such were the leading doctrines of that system of which Calvin became the founder. The system took hold of the minds and hearts and lives of those who accepted it with the grip of fate. No other code of religious doctrine ever professed by any branch of the human family laid upon mankind such a rod of chastisement. The natural desires, instincts, and pleasures of the human heart fell bleeding and died under the wheels of this iron car. Human nature in its entirety was crushed and beaten as if in a mortar. The early Calvinists in Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland grew as relentless and severe as the system which they accepted. No such religious rigors had ever been witnessed in the world as those which prevailed where the Calvinistic doctrines flourished. Many of the practices of the Church which became organic around these doctrines were as cruel and bloody as those of Rome. Persecutions were instituted which would have done credit to the Council of Constance and the days of John Huss. Michael Servetus, a Spanish author and scholar, who had opposed the theory and progress of Calvinism,

fell under the displeasure of the Genevese theologians, and was charged with heresy. He was dragged before the municipal council of Geneva in 1546, and by that body was condemned to death. The prosecution was conducted by Calvin himself in the spirit of an inquisitor. Servetus was condemned, taken to a hill a short distance from the city, and there burned alive. His books were cast into the flames with him. Nor was Calvin unsupported by the other Reformers in this infamous business. The mild Melancthon approved the act; so did Bucer. But the approval of Luther, who had died a few months previously, could never have been gained for such a deed.

Not only in his own country, but everywhere where the influence of Calvin extended, the same or similar scenes were witnessed. On one occasion he wrote a letter to Lord Somerset, then Protector of England, urging him to destroy the "fanatic sect of Gospellers by the avenging sword which the Lord had placed in his hands." The English Reformers of the middle of the century accepted the doctrines of Calvin, and followed his lead in the attempted extermination of heresy. Many persons were put to death before the end of the reign of Henry VIII. In 1550, Edward VI. being then on the throne, a woman was burned at the stake for some opinion about the incarnation of Christ. To his credit, the king hesitated to sign the death warrant, but finally yielded on the authority of *Cranmer*!¹

The work then went on bravely until the times of Elizabeth, during whose reign one hundred and sixty persons were burned on account of their religion. Seventeen others met a similar fate under James I., and twenty were sent to the stake by the Presbyterians and Republicans of the Commonwealth. It will thus be seen that the Reformers of the sixteenth century, having once made the fatal mistake of taking up the very same major premises under which Rome had all the time been acting, namely, that the individual judgment,

¹A hundred years afterwards the historian Fuller commenting on this diabolical deed, says that during the reign of Edward VI., only this woman and one or two Arians were all who were justly put to death for their religious opinions!

will, and conscience might be properly governed, controlled, and coërced by church authority, rushed blindly and of necessity into the same abuses and crimes of which Rome had been so monstrously guilty.

Nevertheless, the Reformation on the whole conduced greatly to the emancipation of human thought and to the progress of civil liberty. That ecclesiastical power which had so long held the world in thralldom was broken. Though the monstrous assumption of the right of the Church to govern the human mind was not renounced, but on the contrary was reasserted by the Reformers, the power to exercise that "right" was first weakened and then destroyed.

In this respect, the Reform party builded better than it knew or willed. It set the example of a successful insurrection against Rome, and gave to others the precedent for a successful insurrection against itself. And the world

has been by so much the gainer. When, by and by, Bacon and Descartes, the authors of the greatest intellectual revolution which the modern world has witnessed, came upon the



LOYOLA.

stage, they found the fallow ground already ripped up by the plowshare of the Reformation, and they sowed their seed in a soil which otherwise might have had no power of fecundity. But, as to an actual reform of religion, the great revolt of the sixteenth century did less than it has had credit for. The New Church in Germany was a great improvement on Romanism; but in England it would have required a microscope to discover even the premonitory symptoms of a true reform. Again the words of the temperate Guizot may be adopted and approved: "In England it [the Reformation] consented to the hierarchical constitution of the clergy, and to the existence of a Church as full of abuses as ever the Romish Church had been, and much more servile."

The religious revolt was now an accomplished fact. What should Rome do to regain, to restore, her lost dominion? One of

the principal measures adopted in her extremity to counteract the progress of the Reformation was the propagation under her patronage of the Order of Jesuits. The germinal idea and early development of this famous organization must be ascribed to the founder, IGNATIUS DE LOYOLA. This celebrated personage was born at Azcoytia, Spain, in 1491. His youth was spent in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where he served as a page. He then became a soldier, and was with the Spanish army in the war against Portugal. During the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, he was wounded, and rendered a cripple for life. He spent the days of a tedious recovery in reading the lives of the saints, and was thus turned to the contemplation of religious subjects. For a while, his experiences were similar to those of Luther before entering the convent. In the hope of saving his soul, Loyola adopted for himself the hardest discipline of monasticism. He fasted, prayed, scourged himself, became a fanatic.

In the midst of these "spiritual exercises," he formed the design of founding a new order of religious militia with its head-quarters in Jerusalem. Preparatory to this work, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy City, studied afterwards at Alcala and at the University of Paris, where, at the age of forty-three, he took his master's degree. He then gathered a few followers, founded his order, and became henceforth merged as it were in the Society of Jesus. This name had already been bestowed on an order of chivalry established by Pope Pius II., in 1459, and was now reappropriated by Ignatius and his disciples. These bound themselves by a vow "to the death" to lead forever lives of chastity and poverty. On the morning of the 15th of August, 1543, in the crypt of the Church of Our Lady of the Martyrs, at Montmartre, Loyola and his six companions, of whom only one was a priest, met and took upon themselves the solemn vows of their lifelong work. They renounced all worldly dignities in order that they might give themselves up without reserve to the cause of Christ.

In the course of two years, the society increased from seven to thirteen members. At the first, the Order was rather under the displeasure of the Church; but at length the

brotherhood was received with favor by Paul III., who added to its resources, and gave to the body the papal sanction. He appointed Pierre Lefevre and Diego Laynez, two of the leading members, to chairs of theology in the University of Sapienza, at Rome. It became the practice of the brothers of the Order to spend much of their time in teaching and catechising the children of the Church to the end that heresy might die for want of a soil in which to flourish. At this juncture, Cardinal Caraffa and a few other ecclesiastics, jealous of the fame which Ignatius was acquiring, preferred against him charges of heresy. Hereupon, he went boldly to the Pope, demanded a trial, and was acquitted. The Holy Father now perceived, or thought he perceived, in the new Order a germ which, if properly developed, might grow into a power capable of undoing the Protestant revolution. He accordingly issued an edict for the opening of schools in Italy, the same to be placed under charge of Jesuit teachers. Thus, at the foundation of Catholic society was planted the seed of a new influence, destined to check the process of dissolution, and to restore in some measure the solidarity of shattered Rome.

The Society of Jesus was thenceforth recognized as the chief opposing force of Protestantism. The Order became dominant in determining the plans and policy of the Romish

Church. The brotherhood grew and flourished. It planted its chapters first in France, Italy, and Spain, and then in all civilized lands. The success of the Order was phenomenal. It became a power in the world. It sent out its representatives to every quarter of the globe. Its solitary apostles were seen shadowing the thrones of Europe. They sought, by every means known to human ingenuity, to establish and confirm the tottering fabric of Rome, and to undermine the rising fabric of Protestantism. They penetrated to the Indus and the Ganges. They sought the islands of the sea. They traversed the deserts of Thibet, and said, "*Here am I,*" in the streets of Peking. They looked down into the silver mines of Peru, and knelt in prayer on the shore of Lake Superior. To know all secrets, fathom all designs, penetrate all intrigues, prevail in all counsels, rise above all diplomacy, and master the human race,—such was their purpose and ambition. They wound about human society in every part of the habitable earth the noiseless creepers of their ever-growing plot to retake the world for the Church, and to subdue and conquer and extinguish the last remnant of opposition to her dominion from shore to shore, from the rivers to the ends of the earth.—Hereafter the traces of their work may be seen in every part of the now widening web of history.

CHAPTER XXXI.—LAST HALF OF CENTURY XVI.



IN the present chapter a sketch will be presented of the general progress of events in the leading states of Europe during the last half of the sixteenth century. The epoch will embrace the period from the accession of Henry II. to the reign of Louis XIII. (1547-1610), in French history; the reigns of Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., and Rudolph II. in Germany; the Elizabethan Age in England, and the war of Spain with the Netherlands.

As soon as the fever-tossed Francis I. was

dead the French crown passed to the head of his son, HENRY II. This prince, like his father, was brave, gay, generous, and profuse. Without the great talents and ambitions of Francis, the new sovereign made up in goodness of temper and chivalrous dispositions what he lacked in genius. It was his misfortune to have for his queen the celebrated Catharine de Medici, and his good fortune that this afterwards detestable woman stood as yet in the shadows of the throne and did not reveal her true character until after her husband's death.

It was at this epoch that Claude of Lorraine, better known as the Duke of Guise, became a prominent character in the history of his times.

It appears that Francis I. divined something of the disposition and aspirations of the Guises. A short time before his death he called to his

of Francis to Henry, not to recall from banishment the Constable de Montmorenci, any more avail with the new king by whom the Constable was at once recalled to court. It was soon apparent that of all the monarchs of the period, none was more accessible to the influences of favoritism than the good natured Henry II. Among the group of court moths that now fluttered in the sunlight of Paris and

Versailles, none was so brilliant as Diana of Poitiers. More than others she influenced the mind of the king, and thus indirectly controlled the affairs of the kingdom. Witty, brilliant, and beautiful as she was, notwithstanding her age (for she was a widow and many years older than the king), she retained the freshness and vivacity of her youth, and was supposed by the superstitious to keep her ascendancy by the arts of magic.

In the second year of his reign, on the occasion of his entry into Paris, grand tournaments were celebrated in honor of the king. To make the spectacle still more entertaining and complete, a few heretics were burned alive in the presence of the whole court. The scene was so horrible as almost to unhinge the reason of one not accustomed to such pious exhibitions. It is believed that Henry, greatly to his credit, never quite recovered his equilibrium; for ever afterwards when the scene was brought to mind, he was observed to shudder as if about to fall in a spasm.

It will be remembered that in 1552 a war broke out between France and the Empire.

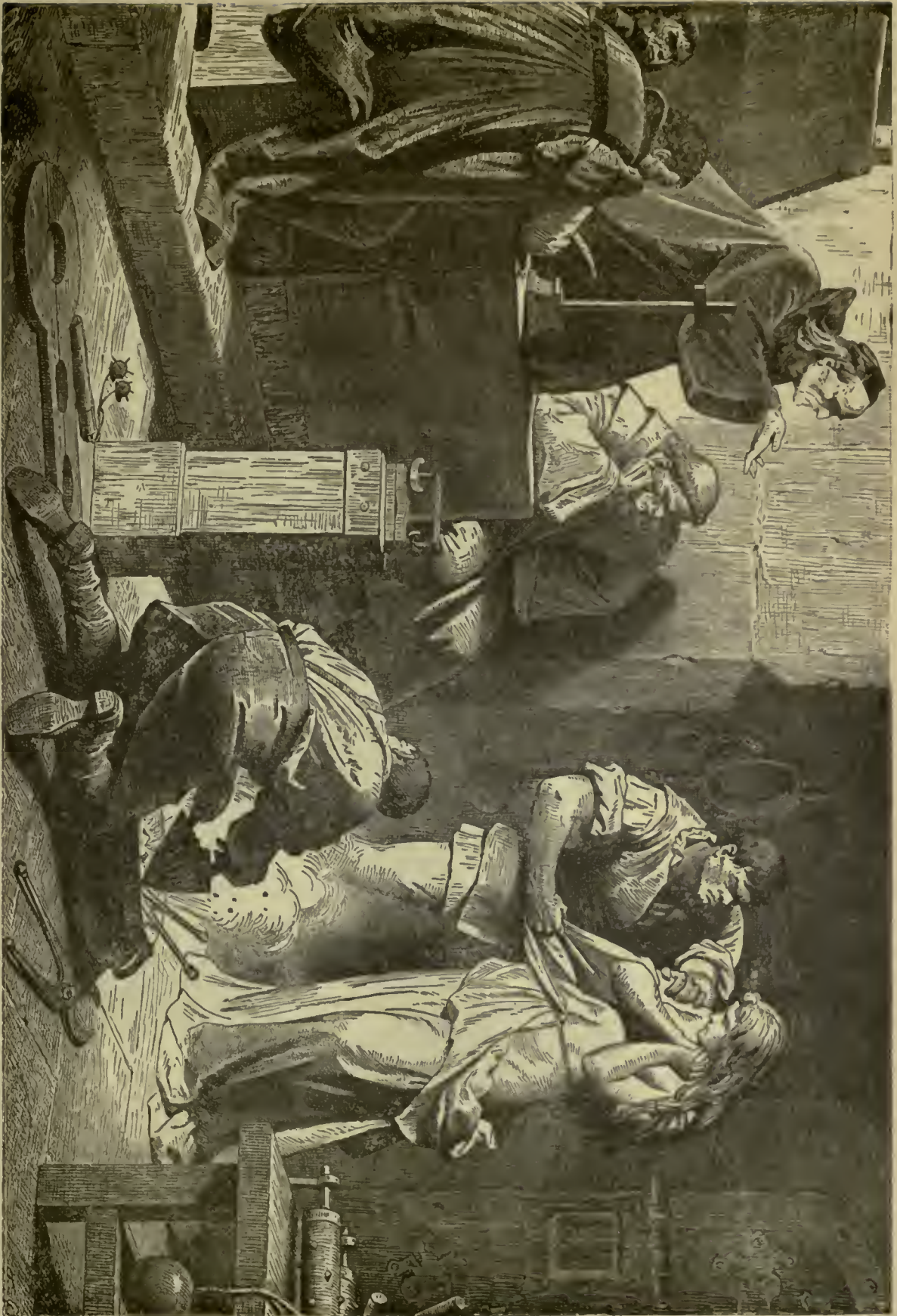
It was in the nature of this

conflict to bring Henry into alliance with the Protestant party in Germany. In this year the king led an army into the eastern provinces of France, seized several important towns belonging to the Empire, and threatened others with



HENRY II.

bedside the Dauphin Henry and bade him beware of the ambition of the house of Lorraine. This warning, however, had no effect on Henry, and the family of Guise was set by him in great favor. Nor did the admonition



THE INQUISITION IN SESSION.

capture, until what time the Treaty of Passau was effected, and the league with the Protestants necessarily dissolved. When Philip II., by the abdication of his father, was made king of Spain and the Netherlands, he became involved in a quarrel with Pope Paul about certain possessions on the Italian side of the Alps. The Pope appealed to Henry for assistance, and hinted that he might obtain as his reward the kingdom of Naples. It appears that whatever may have been the king's wish respecting this royal bait, he was urged by his courtiers, especially by the Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as by Diana of Poitiers, to accept the offer and make war on Philip. The king yielded to these influences, and an army was sent across the Alps under command of Guise.

The expedition, however, resulted in disaster, and in a short time the duke was recalled by the critical condition of affairs at home. For in the mean time Philip II. had obtained for his queen the Princess Mary of England, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, and now heiress presumptive to the English crown, and with her aid had organized an army for the invasion of France. The movement began by the siege of St. Quentin, into which place Coligny, admiral of France and nephew of Montmorenci, had thrown himself with a small body for defense.

It was for the relief of this place and to prevent the imminent invasion of the king-

dom that Guise was now recalled from Italy and the Constable sent forward to rescue his nephew and save the fortress. A reinforcement was brought to the relief of the town. Montmorenci then attempted to withdraw into the interior, but the Spaniards, under command of Emanuel Philibert, fell upon him, and in a severe battle inflicted an overwhelm-



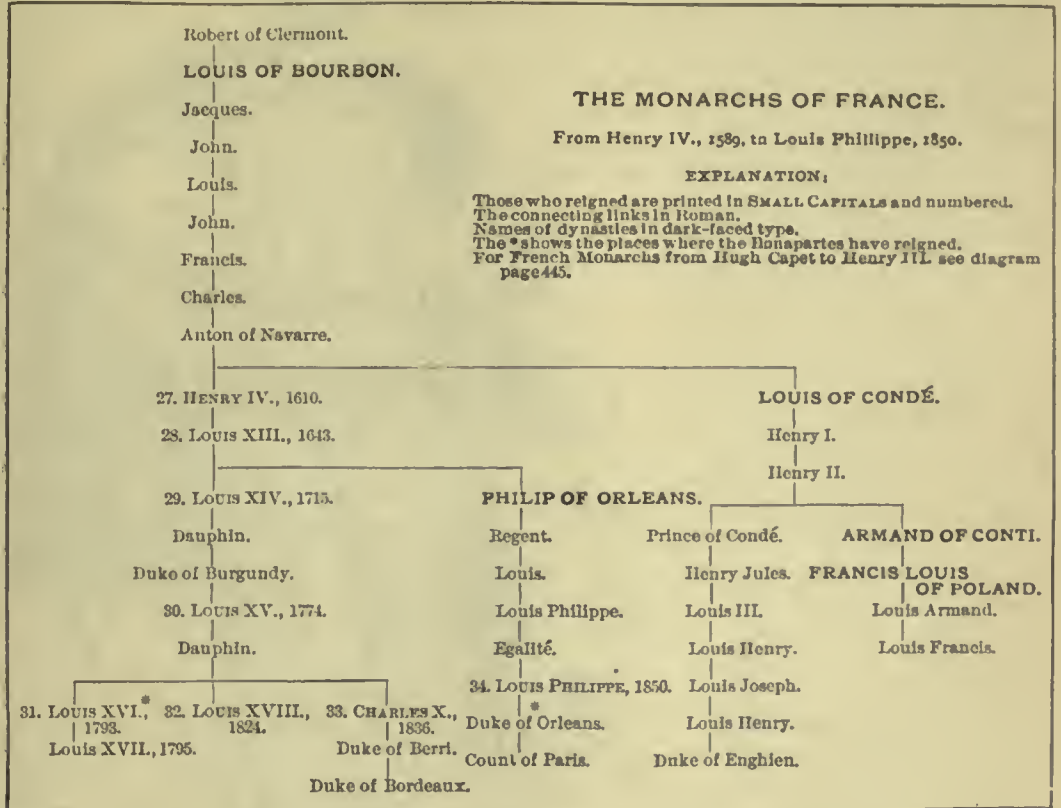
BURNING OF HERETICS IN PARIS.

ing defeat, the most disastrous, indeed, which the French arms had suffered since the battles of Crecy and Poitiers. Montmorenci lost four thousand of his men on the field. For the time it was expected that Philibert would march directly on Paris; but the king of Spain forbade him to crown his campaign with so decisive a stroke, and ordered that the siege

of St. Quentin be continued. Three weeks of precious time were thus consumed. This gave opportunity to the terrified Henry and his ministers to recover from their fright and prepare to resist the further invasion of the kingdom. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise arrived from Italy. Then came the news that the German soldiers in the army of Philip had mutinied for the want of pay. The tables were suddenly turned upon Spain and her allies. The Duke of Guise marched down to

beth, eldest daughter of the French king, and that Margaret, the sister of that ruler, should be wedded to Philibert, duke of Savoie. Queen Mary, the first wife of Philip, had died in the preceding year, by which event the king was freed to contract a new union. The marriage with Elizabeth accordingly took place on the 17th of June, in the same year of the treaty, the Duke of Alva standing proxy for the king in the ceremony at Paris.

A royal wedding in his kingdom was pre-



Calais, and by a brilliant exploit wrested that stronghold from the enemy.

So great now became the fame of this ambitious leader that he was regarded as the first personage in France, if not in Europe. In order to strengthen and perpetuate his power he brought about a marriage between the Dauphin Francis and his own niece Mary, the young queen of Scotland. He became an arbiter of affairs, and in 1559 secured a treaty between Henry and Philip at the Chateau Cambresis. In order to make permanent the settlement thus brought about it was agreed that Philip should marry the Princess Eliza-

cely that kind of event in which Henry II. most delighted. As a fitting accompaniment to the marriage of his daughter he ordered the space between the Tournelle and the Bastille to be cleared for a tournament. He himself being an expert horseman and gallant knight entered the lists and broke several lances in jousting with the noble lords of his court. The fête continued for several days, and on the last day the king again, in the tourney, challenged the Count of Montgomery, captain of the Scottish guard, to run with him a tilt. Montgomery, who was a very powerful and skillful knight, at first declined to put his

liege's life in peril in such dangerous sport; but Henry would hear to nothing but an acceptance. When the two contestants came to the shock Montgomery's lance was broken against the king's helmet, and a splinter of the shaft pierced his right eye. Henry reeled from the saddle, was caught in the arms of the Dauphin and borne in the midst of the greatest confusion from the ring. He lay speechless and senseless for eleven days and then died, being in the thirteenth year of his reign.

By the death of Henry II. the kingdom fell into such a condition as might well lead to anarchy. He left three sons to succeed him in turn, who were destined to reign in succession and die without male heirs. The other members of his family were so united by marriage as to complicate the politics of half of Europe. Not the least serious aspect of affairs was the ascendancy of the Guises, who would naturally claim and did claim the direction of affairs during the minority of the late king's sons. Opposed to the party of Guise, however, was the powerful faction headed by the constable Montmorenci. Nor was the character of the Dauphin FRANCIS, upon whom, at the age of sixteen, the crown of France descended, sufficiently stable or his will sufficiently strong to shore up the reeling kingdom. A third personage who now rose to prominence in the state was Anthony of Bourbon, who traced his descent to Saint Louis through Robert of Clermont, by which line he became a possibility respecting the crown. He now, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret, sister of Francis I., held the title of King of Navarre, though that dignity, after Louis XI., had become merely a name.

It will be remembered that Francis II. had already been betrothed to Mary Queen of Scots, niece of the Duke of Guise. This re-

lationship now gave to the duke an additional influence in the court, and for a while the party of Montmorenci was thrown into the shadows. The latter faction was still further weakened by the fact that two of the nephews of the duke, namely, the Admiral de Coligny



THE DUKE OF GUISE.

and the Count d'Andelôt, joined the Protestant party now and henceforth known as the HUGUENOTS. So great was the offense taken by Montmorenci at this defection of his kinsmen that he left them to go their ways and united himself with the Duke of Guise. A political

peace might have been thus assured but for the course now taken by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Himself a brother of the Duke of Guise, he urged that powerful nobleman to undertake the extermination of the heretics. The duke was not himself a bigot, but he yielded to the authority of his brother, and a series of persecutions were instituted against the Huguenots, which, for heartless cruelty, are hardly to be paralleled. A number of inquisitorial courts, known as the "Burning Chambers," were erected for the trial of heretics, and the poor wretches who for conscience' sake had the temerity to doubt the dogmas of Rome were brought by scores and hundreds to the tribunal from which there was no appeal, and the end of which was the fagot.

At length a conspiracy was made against the Duke of Guise by the people of Amboise. The plot, which embraced the seizure of the duke and a revolution of the government, was on the point of succeeding, when it was discovered and the conspirators arrested. With hardly the form of a trial, they were condemned and executed with every circumstance of cruelty. Their bodies were mutilated and hung up on iron hooks around the walls of the castle of Amboise, where the king and queen at that time had their residence. It is related that Catharine de Medici and the ladies of the court looked on with eager delight from the castle windows while the prisoners were executed outside. It was as an alleged participant in this conspiracy that Louis, prince of Condé, a brother of Anthony of Bourbon, first came prominently forward as an actor. He was accused and tried for his supposed part in the plot against the Guise, but partly through his self-possession and eloquence, and partly from the failure of testimony against him, he escaped condemnation. He and his brother Bourbon, however, retired from the court circle and sought seclusion in Guienne, whence they kept up a correspondence with the Huguenots.

The French Protestants known by this name had their origin in certain anti-Catholic influences antedating the Lutheran Reformation in Germany. The origin of the word *Huguenot* is unknown. It was first used by the Catholic writers as a term of reproach and contempt. The great Arian heresy had had

in no other country a firmer foothold than in Southern France. Through the whole period of the Middle Ages the people of Languedoc were disposed to sympathize with the opposition to Rome. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this old national preference and tendency revived with new power, and hostile elements of religious society became organic around such leaders as Margaret of Valois, Admiral Coligni, Louis of Condé, and Henry of Navarre. At one time it appeared not improbable that the French court itself, where the wits, poets, and philosophers then, as afterwards, were generally tinctured with the doctrines of Rome, would turn Huguenot. The influence of the Guises, however, prevented the development of this tendency in Paris and French Protestantism became provincial; but in the University of Paris the seeds of opposition still germinated, and sometimes came to fruition.

Long before this the city of Meaux had become a sort of center for the heretics. Here they gathered. Here lived the early French Reformers Gerard Roussel, François Vatable, Martial Mazurier, Jossé Clichon, Michael d'Arande, and Guillaume Farel—all heroes in their generation. As to the doctrines of Protestantism in France the same were adopted from the system of Calvin, in the year 1559. By this time the Huguenots had become a powerful party, and were not without hopes of revolutionizing the French Church and gaining the ascendancy in the kingdom. In this hope they were disappointed by the appearance of that able and ambitious family, the Guises.

Francis II. was fated to an early death. Before he had completed the second year of his reign he was prostrated by an abscess in the head. When it became evident that he must die the kingdom was struck with consternation. The queen-mother, Catharine, became for the hour the most conspicuous personage in France. For the marriage of Francis and Mary Stuart had brought no heir to the throne. The crown must therefore descend to Charles IX., second son of Catharine and Henry II. This prince was at the time but ten years of age. A regency became a necessity, and Catharine was made regent. On the

death of Francis, in December of 1560, almost the entire management of the kingdom fell into her hands. The boy king was a mere puppet, ruled by her at her will. Possessed of great abilities and all the ambitions for which the Medici had long been noted, she now began a career in which were centered all the crafty machinations and bigoted projects which might well be expected to flourish in a brilliant woman nurtured by Rome and schooled by Paris.

As soon as it was evident that Francis was dying, the powerful nobles who had held a controlling influence during his brief reign



CATHARINE DE MEDICI (in her youth).

began to pay obsequious court to Catharine. The Duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal, besought her to seize and put to death the king of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. But the Chancellor l'Hôpital took the opposite view of the situation, pleaded for tolerance, and urged the queen-mother to hold the family of Montmorenci as a counterpoise to that of Guise. The arguments of l'Hôpital prevailed, and Anthony of Bourbon was called to court to take part in public affairs. Thus for a brief season the quarrels and feuds of Guise and Montmorenci were filmed over with the thin and transparent dermis of policy. As for Catharine's part in the peace, she was al-

together insincere, being heart and soul with the Guises.

The boy Charles, now nominally king of France, fell at once into the shadow of his mother and the duke. L'Hôpital pleaded in vain for the adoption of a liberal and just policy. Guise, not satisfied with an ascendancy which was less emphatic than that which he had possessed during the reign of Francis II., formed a Triumvirate, consisting of himself, the Constable Mortmorenci, and the Maréchal St. André, and into this league the king of Navarre, who had abandoned the cause of the Huguenots, was induced to enter. The object of the alliance was to increase the power of the parties thereto, and to prevent any other from directing the woman who directed the man who was supposed to direct France.

As soon as Catharine became aware of the compact made by her *friends* with a view to restricting her absolutism in the state, she undertook to counterbalance the plot of the Triumvirate with one of her own. She began to court the favor of the Huguenots, to whom she extended several favors. But this policy won not at all. The Catholics being in the majority, rallied around the Guises as the champions of the ancient Church. The slight encouragement given by the insincere queen to the Huguenots misled them to believe that the power of the kingdom would really be exerted for their protection. But great was the error of such a supposition. The smiling and considerate eyes of Catharine were none the less the eyes of a basilisk.

In a short time the two religious parties of France were brought into such a state as to portend civil war. All the antecedents of such a conflict were present, and only the exciting cause was wanting. Nor was the occasion of an outbreak long delayed. A company of Huguenots, assembling for worship in a barn near Vassy, were insulted by the retainers of the Duke of Guise. The latter appeared and undertook to put an end to the affray, but was himself struck in the face with a stone. Hereupon his servants drew their swords, charged the Huguenots and slew several of their number. The news of the conflict spread everywhere and produced great excitement. The Protestants regarded the event as the beginning of hostilities, and flew to arms.

The Prince of Condé became the leader of the insurgents. He seized the city of Orleans and issued a manifesto, in which he exhorted all the opposers of the Romish Church to rally to the support of a common cause. Many towns fell into the hands of the Huguenots, and the revolt threatened to become revolutionary. Negotiations were opened with Elizabeth of England, and that queen promised to send aid to the Protestants across the Channel. In return for this support the town of Havre was put into her hands by the Huguenots. Both parties prepared for war, and in 1562 the work began with the siege of Rouen by the Catholics.

In the struggle which ensued France became a prey to the bloodiest spirits of the age. At the outbreak of the conflict Rouen was held by the Huguenots. During the siege of the city the king of Navarre received a fatal wound and died before reaching Paris. When at last Rouen was taken the Catholic soldiers were turned loose to glut their vengeance on the citizens. The second conflict of the war was at Dreux where a battle was fought, in which the Catholics were at the first defeated. St. André was killed and Montmorenci captured; but later in the fight Condé was taken prisoner, and Coligni, upon whom the command devolved, was forced from the field. It is narrated that when Condé was taken to the tent of the Duke of Guise he was received and entertained by that nobleman with all the courtesy due from one prince to another. Guise obliged his distinguished prisoner to take lodging in his own bed; and the troubled Condé, nervous from excitement and the novelty of his surroundings, declared afterwards that Guise slept as soundly as if reposing on his couch in his palace at Paris.

The next operation of the war was a campaign against Orleans, undertaken in the spring of 1563. The Duke of Guise was again the leader of the expedition. A siege of the city began and had been pressed almost to a conclusion when the duke, riding from the front to the camp, was waylaid and fatally shot by a fanatic named Poltrot de Mercy. The latter, when arrested and put to the torture for his crime, accused several others, notably Admiral Coligni, of having instigated him to commit the deed. But the admiral protested his innocence with such emphasis as to make it clear that

Poltrot had lied in the hope of saving himself from death. In a few days the Duke of Guise died, and his titles descended to his son Henry. Two brothers of the latter, namely, the Cardinal de Guise and Charles, duke of Mayenne, were destined to act a conspicuous part in the drama of their times.

In accordance with the dying exhortations of the Duke of Guise, the queen regent now consented to a peace with the Huguenots. Nor were the conditions such as to make the exercise of the Protestant faith a serious hardship to him who professed it. A brief interval of four years followed, during which France enjoyed a respite from the horrors which big-



PRINCE OF CONDÉ.

otry had inflicted upon her. In the year 1565, Catharine availed herself of the peaceful condition of the kingdom to make a tour with her son through the different parts of France. When the royal party arrived at Bayonne, they received a visit from the king's sister Isabella, now queen of Spain. She came to the meeting under the conduct of the Duke of Alva, Philip's prime minister, in whom Catharine de Medici found a most congenial spirit; for the one was the brother and the other the sister of cruelty. It is alleged—and there are good grounds for the allegation—that the duke and the French queen here laid a plot for the extermination of the Huguenots at whatever expense of blood and treasure.

The Protestants found in the manner and broken promises of the queen constant cause of apprehension, and when the Duke of Alva was appointed governor of the Netherlands, which had recently revolted against the authority of Philip, the alarm of the Huguenot party was increased. It was these apprehensions, rather than any overt act on the part



ASSASSINATION OF DUKE FRANCIS OF GUISE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of the Catholics, that led to the Protestant uprising of 1567. There was a conspiracy among them to gain possession of the person of the young king, and to this end they attempted to take the town of Meaux, where Charles then had his residence. Failing in their undertaking, they then marched on Paris and laid siege to the city. The defense was conducted by the aged Constable Montmorenci, who was presently induced by the clamors of the citizens to give battle to the insurgents. He accordingly marched out and met the Huguenot army in the plain of St. Denis. Here a severe conflict ensued, in which the besiegers were defeated. Coligni fled from before the city; but the success of the Catholics was fully counterbalanced by the death of Montmorenci, who was mortally wounded in the battle.

It appears, however, that the queen regent was as much pleased as grieved by the loss of the constable; for it was her policy to weed out the powerful nobles about the court, lest they should thwart the schemes which she was now maturing for the destruction of the Huguenots. Nevertheless, with profound subtlety she concluded with them another nominal peace, which was observed for nearly two years. In the mean time she induced the king to intrust the command of the army to his younger brother, Henry, duke of Anjou, who, like Charles himself, was completely under her influence. Since Henry was not fitted either by age or experience to direct the military operations of the kingdom, the Maréchal Tavannes was appointed to that responsibility. Under his direction a powerful army was organized and equipped for the conflict which was certainly impending.

In the spring of 1569 hostilities were renewed. The first battle was fought near the town of Jarnac. The Huguenots were commanded by the Prince of Condé, whose conduct was in every respect heroic. With his wounded arm supported in a sling, he began giving orders for the engagement when he received a kick from a horse whereby his leg was broken. But still undaunted he entered the fight, animating the soldiers by his voice and presence. The Huguenots, however, who in numbers were scarcely more than one-fourth as strong as the Catholics, were soon overwhelmed and driven from the field. Condé,

unable to make his escape, was taken, lifted from his horse, and laid in the shade of a tree. Here he was presently found and shot dead by one of the captains of the Duke of Anjou's body-guard.

The death of their leader was a severe stroke to the Huguenots. In their distress they now chose as head of their party young Henry of Navarre, son of Anthony of Bourbon. Owing to his youth, he was considered incapable for the present of assuming the duties of leadership in the field. The command of the army was accordingly given to Coligni. In October of 1569 was fought the battle of Montcontour, in which the Catholics were again



MONTMORENCI.

victorious. Coligni then carried the war into Burgundy, and the campaign of the following year resulted in his favor. Again dissembling her purpose, the queen a second time consented to peace, and Coligni was called to the court. He was received with great cordiality by the young king, now approaching his majority; in so much that the admiral's suspicions and those of the Huguenots were in a great measure allayed. The event showed that never in the history of the world did a leader and his followers have better grounds to be suspicious than did Coligni and the French Protestants in the lull of 1571. Nor did the fact that Catharine, in the hope of

putting the Huguenots still further off their guard, now proceeded to give her daughter in marriage to Prince Henry of Navarre, lessening the shocking perfidy which was about to bear the bloodiest fruit of the century.

Another step in the diabolical plot, now matured in the mind of Catharine de Medici,

the heretical marriage about to be consummated. It is narrated that the king, after re-assuring the legate of his own sincere devotion to the Holy Church, added in a significant manner: "O, that it were in my power to explain myself more fully!" While the preparations for the marriage were progressing, the

queen of Navarre suddenly sickened and died. Nevertheless the nuptials were celebrated on the 18th of August, 1572, and the unwilling Margaret—for her affections had already been given to the Duke of Guise—was led to the altar to become the bride of the leader of the Huguenots.

Then followed the banquet and the masquerade. While the revels were still on, messengers arrived from the city of Rochelle, at this time the principal seat of the Huguenots, to warn Coligni not to remain longer in Paris, but to make his escape at once from the snare which was set for his destruction. But the admiral refused to do an act which would give countenance to the distrust of his friends. Four days after the marriage, as he was passing from the Louvre to his hotel,



FLIGHT OF COLIGNI FROM PARIS.

was the invitation sent by her to the queen of Navarre to come to Paris and be present at the marriage of her son with *her* daughter. The invitation was accepted and the Protestant queen was as cordially received by Charles as Coligni had been previously.

Meanwhile the Pope's legate appeared on the scene and entered his solemn protest against

the heretical marriage about to be consummated. It is narrated that the king, after re-assuring the legate of his own sincere devotion to the Holy Church, added in a significant manner: "O, that it were in my power to explain myself more fully!" While the preparations for the marriage were progressing, the queen of Navarre suddenly sickened and died. Nevertheless the nuptials were celebrated on the 18th of August, 1572, and the unwilling Margaret—for her affections had already been given to the Duke of Guise—was led to the altar to become the bride of the leader of the Huguenots. Then followed the banquet and the masquerade. While the revels were still on, messengers arrived from the city of Rochelle, at this time the principal seat of the Huguenots, to warn Coligni not to remain longer in Paris, but to make his escape at once from the snare which was set for his destruction. But the admiral refused to do an act which would give countenance to the distrust of his friends. Four days after the marriage, as he was passing from the Louvre to his hotel, he was fired at and twice wounded by an assassin stationed behind a grated window. The murderer proved to be a servant of the Duke of Guise. The wounds of Coligni were slight, but all the suppressed alarm of the Huguenots broke forth as they gathered about their stricken chief. The king and queen mother omitted no effort to allay the excitement. They went in person

to the bed-chamber of Coligni, and expressed their well-dissembled grief and indignation at the outrage done to his person. They told him of their anxiety lest the Catholics of the city should fall upon the Huguenots and do them harm. As a pre-emptory measure they *closed the gates of the city*, and procured a list of the names and places of abode of all Protestants in Paris with a view to their PROTECTION!

The Italian woman who at this time ruled France, and her son who was the nominal king, had now completed the plot which for treachery in conception and horror of execution surpassed any tragedy of modern times. It had been arranged to entice the Huguenots to Paris, and destroy them in a general massacre! After that, the same scenes were to be renewed in different parts of the kingdom infested with Protestantism, until the heresy should be extinguished in blood. It was arranged that the massacre should begin at the sounding of the matin bell, in the Church of St. Germain, on the morning of St. Bartholomew's day. At that signal, the Duke of Guise and the Italian guards of the palace were to rush forth and set the example of butchery, beginning with the murder of Coligni. This done, the work was to be carried on by the Catholics until the last Huguenot was exterminated. Orders were secretly issued to all the principal provincial cities of the kingdom to proceed in the same manner until none should be left further to trouble the peace of Catholic France.

The horrible programme was carried out to the letter. It is said that Charles IX. hesitated to sign the order for the massacre, that he was overborne by his mother and the Duke

of Guise, in neither of whose veins flowed any longer a single drop of pity. Perhaps he hesitated; but he signed the orders. In accordance with this warrant the Duke of Guise, in the early dawn of the 24th of August, sallied



COLIGNI.

forth with his band of murderers, made his way to the hotel of Coligni, and unleashed the assassins for their work. They burst into the old admiral's apartment, stabbed him to death, and threw his body out of the window into the street. Guise was waiting below on horseback.

He dismounted, and wiped the dust from the honored face of Coligni, in order that he might be sure that there was no life remaining. There was none. The honored head of the great Coligni was cut off and sent as an acceptable trophy to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The bells of St. Germain were sounded,

Huguenot had been marked, and now woe to the inhabitant! The city became a horrid uproar. Crowds of fugitives surged along the streets, pursued by other crowds with drawn swords dripping with blood. It

is said that when the pitiful wail of the dying began to rise from all quarters, the king suffered a



CATHARINE DE MEDICI AND CHARLES IX.

After a contemporary painting.

and the general massacre of helpless men, women, and children began. Paris soon reeked like a butcher's stall. The streets were slippery with blood. The residence of every

momentary shudder; but he soon warmed with the work, and shared in his mother's insane delight. He, with Catharine and his brother Henry of Anjou, took his station at one of

the windows of the Louvre, and fired from his fowling-piece shot after shot among the flying Huguenots. Seeing one company about to make their way over a bridge of the Seine, he exclaimed: "My God! they are escaping!" A volume could not record the individual atrocities of that horrid night. One miserable fugitive burst into the bed-chamber of the Queen of Navarre, pursued by his murderers, and she was scarcely able to keep off their bloody swords. For seven days the massacre continued, until at last the Devil of Murder, dead-drunk

mew, the city of Meaux was sprinkled with the blood of the Huguenots. At La Charité the massacre occurred on the 26th, and at Orleans on the 27th. The waves of the crimson sea rolled as far as Saumur and Angers on the 29th, and Lyons on the 30th of the month. Nor did this dreadful drama of murder cease until the 3d of October, when the curtain fell in the surf beyond Bordeaux.

For the hour, the exultation of the French court was unbounded; but the rejoicings of the Catholics were of brief duration. In a



ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

with the blood of thirty thousand victims, slunk into his kennel, muttered *Te Deum laudamus*, and went to sleep!

In Paris, nearly all of the Huguenots were killed. In the provincial cities, some of the governors refused to obey the diabolical edict of the court. The brave ruler of Bayonne answered the mandate thus: "Your majesty has many faithful servants in Bayonne, but not one executioner." But in other towns the scenes were almost as horrible as those in Paris. On the day following St. Bartholo-

me, the principal authors of the great crime, which had been committed against civilization and humanity, were placed on the defensive. They began to invent—and their apologists have ever since continued to invent—excuses for the tragedy. They declared that Coligni had formed a plot to kill the king, and that his own murder was only a measure of retributive justice. But all the more the specter would not down at their bidding. The common instincts of human nature were all arrayed against them, and the finger

of Nemesis was pointed ever in the face of Catharine and her shuddering son.

It was one of the strange features of the massacre that both the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre escaped with their lives. They were both, however, imprisoned in the Louvre, and the queen regent, the king, and

issued a letter lauding the fact and the manner of this signal triumph over heresy, and ordering *Te Deums* to be sung in the churches for the manifest mercy and favor of heaven! In England, however, there was a very different scene. Fénelon, the French ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, was ordered by

Charles to recite to that queen the lie which Rome and Paris had patched up where-with to hide their crime. Perhaps a more striking scene was never witnessed than the audience granted by Elizabeth to the French ambassador. She received him by night. The ladies of the court were ordered to clothe themselves in black and to sit without a word or look of recognition as Fénelon entered the chamber. Elizabeth heard him in silence, and then proceeded to tell him concerning his king and country some of the plainest truth to which a courtier was ever obliged to listen. But for the most part the Catholic countries acted after the manner of Rome and ratified the horrid deed which she had inspired.

For a while the



ASSASSINATION OF COLIGNI.

the Duke of Guise set about reconverting the prisoners to the Catholic faith. At length the captive princes yielded to the solicitations of their persecutors, attended mass, and *pretended* to become good sons of the Church.

In foreign countries the news of the massacre was variously received, according to the religious prejudices of the various courts. In Rome there was a jubilee. Pope Gregory XIII.

Huguenots sat dumb under the dreadful blow. It is, however, in the nature of man to resent to the last extreme a crime committed against his cherished rights. There was a certain despair in the fury with which the French Protestants now rose against their destroyers. They took up arms, fortified themselves in Rochelle, and within less than a year from the tragedy of St. Bartholomew's day compelled the French

court to conclude with them an honorable treaty of peace.

A fortune-teller had made the superstitious Catharine believe that all three of her sons were to be kings. If kings of France the prophecy would mean that the first two must die young. Francis II. had fulfilled the pre-

dubious glories of the Polish crown. Nor is it likely that he would have accepted his hyperborean honor but for the fact that the jealous Charles forced him to do so. Prince Henry was as much a favorite with the people of France as he was an object of dislike to his brother. The latter set out to accompany



THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE RECEIVING THE HEAD OF COLIGNI.

diction. Charles was by no means the queen regent's favorite, and of Henry she was distrustful. In order that the present king might retain his throne and his younger brother become a king, Catharine managed to have the latter elected to the throne of Poland. The Duke of Anjou, however, was little disposed to change the delights of Paris for the somewhat

the king elect of Poland to the borders of France.

But the days of Charles IX. were numbered. After the tragedy of St. Bartholomew he became nervous, excitable, despondent. He was haunted with specters by day, and still more horrible phantoms by night. In his sleep the vision of the massacre perpetually

recurred, and he would awake dripping with perspiration. At intervals he was seized with a mortal shudder which shook his frame and left him prostrate. Nevertheless, he exerted

himself to throw off the spell whereby he was haunted. He plunged into the chase. He sought the excitements of gay companionship. He amused himself blowing the French horn,



THE FUGITIVE HUGUENOT IN THE BED-CHAMBER OF THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and strove in a thousand ways to banish the memory of the past. But all in vain. On the way to the frontier with his brother he was seized with a fatal illness. It was evident that the grave yawned before him. It is declared by credible historians that his sufferings, both bodily and mental, were so great that the blood oozed from the pores of his skin. He died miserably on the 30th of May, 1574, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The third son of Catharine de Medici had already reached Cracow, and assumed the duties of sovereign when the news of his brother's death recalled him to become HENRY III. On his way back to France he tarried for a season in Germany and Italy, where he gave

that her death was occasioned by poison, and that Catharine was privy to the deed. As for Henry III., he sorrowed for three days, and then returned to the society of his monkeys.

Meanwhile Henry, the young king of Navarre, made his escape from Paris, and rejoined the Huguenots. The political leadership of France was now divided between him and the Duke of Guise, who, like his father and his uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was a man of great abilities. In 1576 a civil war broke out, but was fortunately less bloody than the preceding conflicts. It was the peculiarity of this epoch in French history that war did not mean war, or peace peace.

In the mean time the Duke of Alençon,



SCENE DURING THE NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

himself for a while to the unrestraints of princely liberty. On reaching his own capital, it soon became apparent that the hopes which the French people had entertained of him were doomed to disappointment. He shut himself up in the palace, neglected public affairs, and sought the inspiring companionship of lap-dogs and monkeys. To Catharine, however, the flattering incapacity of her son was especially delightful; for his worthlessness gave free scope to her ambitions.

It was the purpose of Henry to take in marriage the daughter of the Prince of Condé. But this project, which was exceedingly distasteful to the queen-mother, came suddenly to nought by the sudden death of the intended bride. The usual suspicion was blown abroad

younger brother of the king, by abandoning the Huguenot cause secured for himself the dukedom of Anjou. Soon after obtaining this dignity he made a treaty with the Flemings, the bottom principle of which was that the government of Philip II. in the Low Lands should be overthrown, and that the "Belgic Liberties," so called, should be intrusted to the protectorship of the Duke of Alençon. The ambition of the latter, however, soon overleaped itself, and the Flemings, discovering his purpose to make himself king of Netherlands, renounced his leadership. His next project was to promote his ambitious schemes by a marriage with Elizabeth, queen of England. But that prudent princess was not to be won by such an adventurer. The next stage in

the career of the duke was his death, which occurred in 1584.

It is one of the instructive lessons of history to note the frequent extinction of royal Houses by the silent and inscrutable process of nature. Without apparent cause the power of perpetuation in the royal household ceases. One prince after another expires childless. The last quarter of the sixteenth century furnishes two notable instances of this law, the one in the decline and extinction of the House of Tudor in England, and the other in the

head of the celebrated Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre.

This fact became a source of profound anxiety to both Catholics and Protestants. To the former it became a fixed principle of policy to adopt some measure by which the king of Navarre should be excluded from the throne of France. The old Cardinal of Bourbon, brother of Anthony of Bourbon, was still living, and him the Catholics now advanced as their candidate in the event of the king's death. To this arrangement, however, Henry refused to



THE MORNING AFTER ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

similar fact in the family of Henry II. of France. That monarch's first son, Francis II., died childless. The second son, Charles IX., left one daughter, who died at the age of five. Now the fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, had died without an heir; while the third son, Henry III., though for some years married, had no child to whom he could look as a successor. It was evident, therefore, that in the event of the king's death the crown must descend through a collateral line from the family of Saint Louis, and ultimately rest on the

give his assent. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise effected an alliance with Philip II. of Spain, by which the latter was made protector of the Catholic League. This measure, so portentous to the Protestants, led in the following year to a renewal of hostilities. A war ensued, called the War of the Three Henrys. For the parties to the conflict were Henry III. of France, Henry of Navarre, and Henry, duke of Guise.

It was at this juncture that the character and ambitions of the Duke of Guise became

plainly discoverable in his conduct. He was now lieutenant-general of the League. As prince of the House of Lorraine he might even aspire to royal honours. Since the murder of his father by Poltrot, he had gained an immense popularity with the Catholic masses. He had beaten the foreign allies and French Protestants in battle. From a ghastly wound in his cheek he had won the honorable title of *Le Balafre*, or "the scarred." His leading purpose was to restore and rebuild the Church of Rome on the ruins of all opposition, and incidentally to prevent the Protestant branch of the Bourbons from obtaining the French crown.

Meanwhile the war continued with varying successes. In October, of 1587, the fortunes of the conflict changed from the side of the king when his army, under command of the Duke of Joyeuse, was confronted by the Protestants under Henry of Navarre. At the town of Coutras, in the Gironde, the issue was decided in a hard fought battle, in which the Duke of Joyeuse was slain and his forces completely routed. The loss of the Leaguers was more than three thousand men, besides their cannon and standards. A month later the Duke of Guise was victorious over the Protestants and their allies in the battle of Anneau, near Chartres. Following up his success, the duke next induced eight thousand Swiss to desert the Protestant army.

The German allies of the Protestants then traversed France, threatening the capital; but the Duke of Guise defeated them and drove them from the kingdom. In the following year the Huguenots sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Condé, greatest of their leaders. And the bitterness of their grief was intensified by the fact that the prince died from poison administered by his servants.

The successes of the Catholics, however, were fully counterbalanced by their own dissensions. For the king and Catharine de Medici had, for good reasons, become incensed at the League, which, from supporting the throne, had now presumed to direct both king and kingdom. Catharine and the Duke of Guise each formed a secret design of securing the succession to their respective families. The general result of these plots was that Henry III. and his government were left naked to all the winds that blew. The powerful Duchess

of Montpensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, turned almost the whole court against the king. The latter undertook to keep Guise out of the city. Paris became the scene of a civil conflict. The mob rose. The palace of the king was threatened with destruction. Henry fled to Chartres, but a reconciliation was presently effected on the basis of a convocation of the States-general of the kingdom. It was the purpose of the Duke of Guise that this body, under his own influence, should promote his interests relative to the succession and curtail the ambitions of Catharine and Henry. The king, however, now adopted the *dernier ressort* of destroying his rival by assassination. A plot was formed to call the duke to a council in the palace, and there have him cut down. On the 22d of December, 1588, the council was held. Guise came. Nine of the king's body-guard had been stationed behind the curtains. As the duke entered the chamber the murderers fell upon him with their poniards and he sank to the floor, pierced with many wounds. The assassins then gathered around their victim. The king himself came forth from his place of concealment, and asked, "Is it done?" Seeing the princely form of the dead duke stretched on the floor, he exclaimed: "My God! how tall he is!" Then seeking the bedchamber of his mother, he continued: "I am better this morning! I have become king of France! The king of Paris is dead!" And the pious matron replied: "We shall see what will come of it."

Henry now found it necessary to fortify himself with other crimes equally heinous. The Cardinal of Guise was next assassinated in a manner similar to that by which the duke had fallen. But the people were thrown into a frenzy by the perpetration of these horrors. The faculty of the Sorbonne passed a decree that Henry of Valois had forfeited the crown of France. The dynasty established by Philip VI. reeled to its downfall. As a last measure to stay his falling fortunes, the king sent for Henry of Navarre to come to his rescue. Though suspecting the monarch's sincerity, that prince answered the summons, and, in April of 1589, a conference was held in the castle of Plessis les Tours. A reconciliation was effected, and the two Henrys, at the head of forty thousand men, returned to Paris.

That city was now held by the Duke of Mayenne, surviving brother of the Guises. A siege was begun by the royal army, and it appeared that the party of Guise was on the verge of extermination. In this crisis of affairs, however, another crime was committed



MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

by which the whole aspect of current history was again changed. A fanatic monk, named Jacques Clement, sought admission to the king's chamber, and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Before Henry expired, he sent for the king of Navarre, embraced him, urged him to renounce Protestantism, and declared him successor to the throne. He then sank into death, and the House of Valois perished with him. For two hundred and sixty-one years that dynasty had ruled the

between the civil and the solar year of as much as twelve days. A reform was demanded and the work was undertaken by Pope Gregory XIII. That pontiff issued an edict by which the 5th of October, 1582, was called the 15th. The civil year was made to begin on the 1st of January. Bissextile was to occur twenty-four times in a century for three consecutive centennials, and twenty-five times in the fourth. Thus 1600, 2000, 2400, etc., were to be leap-years, but all other centenary



ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

kingdom. Thirteen princes in the straight line of descent from Charles of Valois had occupied the throne, which now passed to the House of Bourbon in the person of Henry of Navarre, who on the assumption of the crown took the title of HENRY IV.

Four years before the death of Henry III., namely, in 1585, an event of some importance had occurred in another department of human activity. This was the adoption of the reformed calendar in France. The calendar of Julius Cæsar, in use since the founding of the Roman Empire, had occasioned a discrepancy

years were to omit the intercalary day in February.

By this ingenious but somewhat complicated method of counting time the error previously existing in the calendar was reduced to a minimum. Under the Gregorian Rule the civil year exceeds the solar year so slightly that the difference will amount to only one day in three thousand eight hundred and sixty-six years. The reform, being a papal measure, was at first adopted in Catholic and rejected in Protestant countries. Not until 1752 did Great Britain, by act of Parliament, at last

consent to the introduction of the reformed method.

On his accession to the throne Henry IV. was opposed on account of his religion. The ultra-Catholic party proclaimed the old cardi-

nal of Lorraine under the title of Charles X., but the movement had little vitality. A large part of the royal army, however, refused to support Henry IV., and he was obliged to retire from before Paris and fall back into



HENRY IV. AT IVRY.

Normandy. The Duke of Mayenne came forth from the city, and pursued the Huguenots, overtaking them near Dieppe. Here, at the town of Arques, a battle was fought, without very decisive results, but soon afterwards, in the southern frontier of Normandy, in the great battle of IVRY, the king completely routed the army of the malcontents and established himself on the throne of France.¹

Many difficulties, however, remained to be overcome before the star of Bourbon could be regarded as one of the fixed luminaries of history. The Catholics were against him. The whole influence of Spain was exerted to undo the rising House. The Huguenot leaders of the epoch had little ability, and some of them were factious. Nevertheless the genius and character of Henry shone forth conspicuously, and he emerged from every complication with an increase of fame.

The death of Cardinal de Guise, in 1590, removed one factor from the problem. The capture of Melun by the king took away another prop of the opposition. Then Henry laid siege to Paris. The city was soon reduced to a condition bordering on famine, and might have been taken but for the forbearance of Henry. His clemency cost him dearly; for, while he delayed until starvation should bring the Parisians to their senses, the Duke of Parma, one of the ablest military men of the century, arrived with a Spanish army, and compelled the French king to raise the siege. Nor could Henry succeed in bringing his antagonist to battle. For nearly two years it appeared that the fortunes of Bourbon might still suffer shipwreck. In 1592, however, the Duke of Parma died, and Henry's cause again began to emerge from the clouds.

In the course of time it became apparent to Henry IV. that France was at heart a Catholic country, and that his religion, being Huguenot, was the real bar to his universal recognition. Even the papal party assured him that, on his abjuration of Protestantism, they would accept him as their sovereign.

¹The battle of Ivry has been made forever famous by the genius of Macaulay:

“Now glory to the Lord of Hosts from whom all glories are,
And glory to our sovereign liege, King Henry of Navarre!”

Albeit, the king's religious convictions were not of the style of Luther and Zwingli. What he *might* have done, it were useless to conjecture; but, while he hesitated, an event occurred which made a decision necessary.

The States-general assembled in 1593, and, being under the influence of the Catholics, proceeded, in the very face of the time-honored Salic law, to pass a decree tendering the crown of France to Clara Isabella, the Infanta of Spain. The offer was coupled with the condition that the princess should be married to the young Duke of Guise. To Henry the peril was great. He met it by agreeing to abjure Protestantism, and return to the Mother Church. From this moment the tide turned in his favor. For a while the absolution of the Pope was withheld, but even this was finally granted, and, in March of 1594, Henry entered Paris. He had already been crowned at Chartres. In the following year the papal absolution came. Even the Duke of Mayenne finally yielded, and the domestic peace of the kingdom was assured.

The next few years in the history of France were occupied with the Spanish war. The conflict centered about Amiens, which was taken by the Spaniards in 1597, and retaken by the French after a siege of six months' duration. Soon afterwards Pope Clement VIII. undertook a mediation of the difficulties existing between the two kingdoms, and a peace was concluded at Verbins, on the 2d of May, 1598. The Spaniards gave up their conquests, and retired into the peninsula. In September following, Philip II. died, and was succeeded by his son, who took the title of Philip III. The Infanta who had lately been a promising aspirant to the throne of France was obliged to be content with Franche Comté and the Netherlands.

Great was the mortification of the Huguenots when it was known that their great leader, Henry of Navarre, had abandoned their cause. They gloomily accepted the fate by which they had been disappointed of the control of the kingdom. What followed, however, was of more real service to the Protestant party than would have been the possession of the crown. Henry, perceiving

the effects of the terrible blow which his defection had given to the Huguenot cause, had prepared and issued, in April of 1598, the celebrated EDICT OF NANTES, by which freedom of worship and equality of rights were guaranteed to the Protestants. Only a few slight discriminations remained to tell the story of the bitter religious feud which had

the days of Louis XI., if not since the days of Charlemagne. The new sovereign devoted himself assiduously to the duties of his hard-won station. He sought to raise the peasantry of France from the abject condition in which that body had lain since the times of Feudalism. Not less anxiously did he encourage the arts and industries of the king-

dom. Manufactures sprang up in various parts under his fostering care. He personally guarded the treasury of the kingdom, and made the wise and efficient Duke of Sully his minister of finance. As the kingdom passed into the sunset of the sixteenth century, the western sky was red with promise of a brighter tomorrow.

In the year 1600, a war broke out with the Duke of Savoisy, but the conflict was presently brought to a successful conclusion by the French king. The years that followed were among the happiest in the history of France. The storms which had so long disturbed the kingdom sank behind the horizon. The arts flourished; literature began to bud. The peasants cultivated their vineyards. Even the nobles for a while forbore to



ENTRANCE OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS.

trouble France with their disputes, jealousies, and ambitions. The French king sought to establish friendly relations with the surrounding kingdoms. The world assumed a less bloody aspect, and the human breast began to expand as if with the vigor of spring.

In his marital relations, Henry IV. was not wholly happy. In the tenth year of his

trouble France with their disputes, jealousies, and ambitions. The French king sought to establish friendly relations with the surrounding kingdoms. The world assumed a less bloody aspect, and the human breast began to expand as if with the vigor of spring.

In his marital relations, Henry IV. was not wholly happy. In the tenth year of his

reign, he divorced his wife Margaret of Valois, and took in her stead Maria de Medici, niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The new queen was without abilities, and became the object of the wit and satire of the ladies of the court. Not until 1610, when the king was about to set out on an expedition against the Emperor Rudolph, did he assent to the queen's public coronation. The ceremony was performed with a splendor suitable to the event, and preparations were then made for a royal entry into Paris. On the day following the coronation, the king paid a visit to Sully, who was confined to his hotel by sickness. Returning from the call, the royal equipage was passing along the street, when the way was blocked for a moment by some carts. When the king's carriage stopped, an assassin sprang forth, mounted upon the wheel, and plunged a dagger into Henry's breast. The wounded monarch sank back in his seat, and died without a word. The carriage, dripping with blood, was driven on to the Louvre.

The city of Paris had already taken on some of the character for which she was destined to become so famous. She showed herself capable of agitation, excitement, frenzy, despair. It was the last named passion which she now exhibited. Her favorite king was dead—dead by the hand of an assassin. The white plume of Navarre which had nodded and waved in the thickest of the fight at Ivry, was covered with the dust and blood of common murder. The city was wild with grief and wailing. The murderer was caught and dragged forth. He proved to be a miserable fool, not worth the killing. His name was Ravaillac, but his motive could hardly be discovered. When found, he was still brandishing his bloody knife *à la Brutus and Cassius*. It is in the nature of such fanatics to suppose that they have done the country a service.

Not the least part of the calamity which had befallen France was the fact that Prince

Louis, the Dauphin, son of the dead king and Maria de Medici, was now but nine years of age. Before entering upon the circumstances of his accession, and the annals of his reign—events which will be duly considered in the following Book—it is proper to take up the history of the other European states and trace the same to the close of the century. In GERMANY, as will be remembered, the narrative was suspended at the abdication of Charles V.

While that retired monarch was spending



MARIA DE MEDICI.

his last days in the Monastery of San Yuste, the German Diet convened at Frankfort. In March of 1558, that body proceeded to elect FERDINAND, brother of Charles, to the throne of the Empire. As to religious biases, this prince was less bigoted than his age might seem to warrant. He appears to have regarded the religious quarrels of the century as rather below the dignity of a true king. Though Protestantism found in him a consistent opponent, he was no persecutor, and the Augs-

burg Treaty was faithfully observed during his reign. Even when he fell under the displeasure of the Pope, he continued to carry out the policy of moderation and justice.

Five years after the accession of Ferdinand the council of Trent finally adjourned. For *eighteen years* that body had dragged

But the age, more generous than the Church, refused any longer to cast the apostles of the dawn into the flames. The council proceeded, however, to adopt, elaborate, and define those articles of religious faith which have ever since been regarded as fundamental in the Catholic creed. The celibacy of the clergy was reaf-

firmed. The doctrine of purgatory and of masses for the dead was declared to be biblical in theory and practice. The worship of saints and relics was justified. The dogma of absolution and the practice of fasting were reasserted as cardinal elements of true Catholicism. Finally, the right of the Church to act as censor over the thought of the world, to direct the movements and pass upon the legitimacy of the products of the human mind, was declared as an indubitable prerogative, and a necessary safeguard of the holy faith. The horrid, mediæval theory that freedom of thinking might thus be crushed under the incubus of authority, was affirmed by the council with as much complaisance as though the body had been sitting in the tenth century at Rome. Out of the hall at the close of the seemingly end-



MARRIAGE OF HENRY IV. AND MARIA DE MEDICI.

through its tedious sessions. The prelates composing the council had talked reform until the word had become a mockery. All measures really tending to better the condition of the Church were borne down either by the opposition of the Popes, or by the cry of heresy. Only one thing was lacking to repeat the folly and shame of the council of Constance, and that was a few heretics to burn at the stake.

less deliberations came a shout which had been raised by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the echo which reverberated against the crystal wall of the new era said, "Cursed be all heretics!" The nightmare of the Dark Ages went forth as of old to sit like a goblin on the moaning breast of truth, and the huge specter of mental slavery brandished a phantom sword at the young liberties of reviving Europe.

If we take a casual survey of the religious condition of the German Empire during the reign of Ferdinand I. we shall find that in the national Diet the Catholic element was still predominant. In that body, at the time of the election of Ferdinand, there were more than a hundred members belonging to the priesthood. In the cities of Germany the condition was variable. The towns of the North had nearly all gone over to Protestantism. The archbishops of Bremen and Magdeburg,

the ancient Church preserved her empire. The reigning Bavarian family was the House of Wittelsbach, whose members vied with each other in subserviency to Rome. As to the mass of the German people, a great majority of them had left the fold of the Mother Church, never to return.

The most serious foreign complication during the reign of Ferdinand I. was the continuance of the struggle with the Turks. Their great Emperor, Solymán, not only invaded



ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

as well as the bishops of Lübeck, Verdun, and Walberstadt, had renounced Catholicism in favor of the reformed faith. In the districts of Cologne, Treves, Mayence, Worms, and Strasburg, the influence of the Old Church still held a large per cent of the people to the ancient landmarks. The Rhine towns, Baden and Würtemberg, on the contrary, had swung loose from the Catholic moorings and gone over with great unanimity to the Reformation. Even in Upper Austria and Styria the Catholic party was reduced to a minority. Not so, however, in Bavaria. In this principality

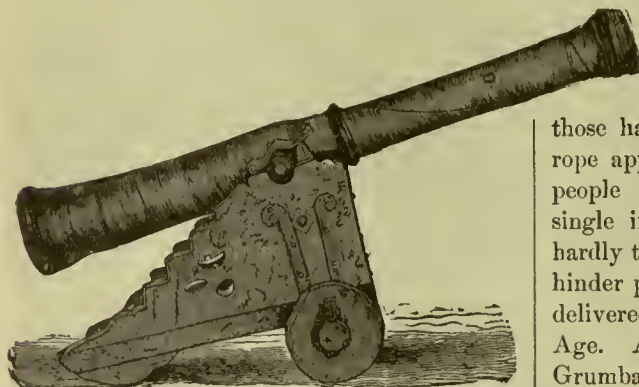
Hungary, but threatened to make his way to the west, and by the seizure of Vienna subvert the political institutions of the German race. Ferdinand perceived that he was unable to cope with his formidable antagonist. He accordingly adopted the policy of temporizing and bribery. In order to secure a cessation of hostilities he gave up half of Hungary to the Turks and agreed to pay an annual tribute of three hundred thousand ducats. Not less serious were the territorial losses which the Empire sustained in the countries east of the Baltic.

Those bleak provinces had once belonged to the Order of Teutonic Knights, and after the downfall of that powerful fraternity had passed under the dominion of a new organization known as the Brothers of the Sword. The Czar Ivan, of Russia, now cast a covetous eye upon these maritime regions, and in 1558 began an invasion. The Knights found themselves unable to stand against him and appealed to the cities of the Hanseatic League for aid. But these selfish corporations, busily engaged in their mercantile pursuits, gave no heed to the appeal. The German Brothers then called upon the national Diet, at that time in session at Frankfort; but that conservative body likewise refused to lend the required aid. In the desperate strait to which they were reduced the Knights next turned to the

hope that he would leave the Mother Church and join his fortunes with their own. But in this expectation they were disappointed. His disposition of his own children, moreover, was well calculated to please the Catholics; for he sent his son Rudolph to the South to receive a Spanish education, and gave his daughter in marriage to Charles IX., of France. But the evil consequences of these arrangements he sought to mitigate or prevent by prudent counsels wasted on his son-in-law and the king of Spain, whom, had they heeded the wise admonitions of the German ruler, the world would not hold responsible for the butchery of St. Bartholomew and the horrors of the Netherlands.

Like the concluding years of the reign of his predecessor, the epoch of Maximilian II. passed by without notable events. Indeed, it may be said that the last quarter of the sixteenth century was characterized by a number of

those happy lulls in which the kings of Europe appeared less gloriously bloody, and the people more prosperous and contented. A single incident may serve to illustrate how hardly the New Europe, still hanging with her hinder parts in the barbarism of the past, was delivered from the brutality of the Middle Age. A certain Knight, named Wilhelm von Grumbach, was dispossessed of his estates by the Bishop of Würzburg. Unable to obtain satisfaction, he waylaid the dignitary and killed him. Grumbach then made his escape into France. Here he persuaded a number of malcontent Franconian exiles to join him in a raid upon the Empire. John Frederick, of Lesser Saxony, was also induced to break the peace in behalf of the adventurers; for he hoped to repossess all Saxony for himself and his family. In 1567 the insurgents, having possession of Gotha, were besieged by an Imperial army. Against such a force it was impossible for the rebels to hold out. John Frederick was taken prisoner and confined during the rest of his life. Grumbach was put to death with torture, and the insurrection ended in the destruction of nearly all who had engaged in it. This outbreak is notable as the last example of private war systematically undertaken in Germany. Henceforth the law against such conflicts, adopted by Max-



OLD SWEDISH LEATHEREN CANNON.

Swedes, Danes, and Poles. These enterprising and warlike peoples readily espoused the cause of the Order, not indeed with a view to restoring its ascendancy, but with the hope of extending their own territories by conquest. The event corresponded to their ambition. Esthonia was taken by the Swedes and Danes and Livonia fell to the Poles. Only the little province of Courland remained to the German Empire of all its possessions on the eastern shores of the Baltic.

The remaining five years of the reign of Ferdinand I. were comparatively unimportant. He died in 1564, and the crown of the Empire passed to his eldest son, who took the title of MAXIMILIAN II. This ruler proved to be one of the most liberal-minded and generous of the German emperors. His religious views were so tolerant that the Protestants entertained a

inilian I. in 1495, was observed, and the old feuds of the German nobles were no longer made the pretext for drawing the sword.

Maximilian held the throne from 1564 to 1576. In the latter year he presided at a national Diet, before which body he declared the religious policy of the Empire to be a simple observance and enforcement of the Treaty of Augsburg. With this the Protestants were satisfied; to this the Catholics were obliged to assent. While still occupied with his duties at the Diet, the Emperor was struck with apoplexy and died without a moment's warning. It was a sad event for the Germans; for the prince who was destined to succeed to the throne had none of the noble traits of his father, and the few elements of liberalism which he may have possessed, had been completely extinguished by his Jesuit teachers in Spain.

RUDOLPH II. came to the throne as the champion of the past. The Protestants of Germany found in him an uncompromising foe. His cold and apathetic disposition was well suited to the work of persecution. If Philip II. had been a German, he might have been Rudolph II., and if Rudolph had been a Spaniard he might have been Philip. One of the first measures adopted by the new Emperor was to annul the statutes of toleration granted by Maximilian. The Protestant Churches were closed, and those of the reformed faith who held public office were displaced to make room for Catholics. Following his lead, the princes of the Empire—or as many of them as held the ancient faith—made a declaration that the Treaty of Augsburg, though the same had been solemnly ratified by a national Diet, had been rendered of no effect by the decisions of the Council of Trent! It was the old theory of setting the Church on top of secular society, the council on top of the Church, and the Pope on top of the council. Hence, the Catholic rulers argued that they might proceed to put down heresy by the sword.

It was not long until the pernicious policy of Rudolph began to bear fruit. In accordance with a plain provision of the Treaty of Augsburg, the Archbishop of Cologne, a Protestant, had married. Incensed at this violation of their dogma of celibacy, the Catholics called on Alexander of Parma, now engaged in the

war with the Netherlands, to aid them in driving the archbishop from his see. Parma came with a Spanish army. The benefice of Cologne was wrested from its rightful possessor and conferred on a Catholic; nor had the Protestants, half-paralyzed by the hostility of the government, the power to resist the outrage.

It was fortunate for Germany that the Protestant party was willing to endure wrong rather than go to war. Their forbearance, rather than any justice on the part of the Emperor, gave the nation peace. For more than a half century no war of importance afflicted the country. As usual in such conditions of society, wealth increased, and art and science came with their beneficent train. It was at this epoch that the great apostles of the New Heavens, Kepler and Tycho Brahe, flourished. The former discovered and demonstrated the true laws of planetary motion; and the latter laid for modern scholars the foundations of practical astronomy. Though the knowledge of the times was still mixed with the dross of superstition, though hooded bigotry still cast its monstrous shadow in the sun and descanted with pride on its own deformity, the German mind continued to expand, continued to cherish its old-time hatred of tyranny, continued to advance toward the light.

Rudolph II. occupied the throne of Germany until his death, in January of 1612. During the latter years of his reign, it became evident that a great eruption was at hand. One might see on every side the silent gathering of the forces of Europe for an impending conflict. The states were becoming on one hand a Catholic and on the other a Protestant League. Especially did this tendency manifest itself in Germany. In 1608, the Protestant provinces, provoked by the intolerance and oppression of Rudolph, entered into an alliance called *THE UNION*; and the Catholic provinces, alarmed at the belligerent attitude of their adversaries, formed themselves into a counter confederacy known as *THE LEAGUE*. While the public peace was thus threatened by the old religious antagonisms of the people, an insurrection broke out in Hungary, and Rudolph, four years before his death, was obliged to cede the revolted state, together with Austria and Mo-

racia, to his brother Matthias, who had become the leader of the insurgents. Following the successful example set by the Hungarians, the Protestants of Bohemia next rose in arms, and the Emperor, now greatly weakened by the defection of his own kinsmen, was compelled to issue an edict reëffirming the liberties conceded by the Treaty of Augsburg. It soon appeared, however, that he was insincere, and a second revolt occurred, which cost Rudolph the Bohemian crown. The sovereignty of the country was transferred to Matthias; and with his diminished territories and waning fame the gloomy Emperor went down to the grave, leaving his throne to his brother.

Let us then resume the narrative of events in ENGLAND. In that country the crown descended, on the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, to his son EDWARD VI. This prince was at the time of his accession less than ten years of age. A protectorate became necessary, and the important office of guardian of the king and kingdom was conferred by the executors of Henry's will on Lord Hertford, duke of Somerset. To the cause of Protestantism the choice of protector was of the greatest moment. Somerset was a consistent and able opponent of Rome. What Henry VIII. had done as a matter of policy and passion, was now undertaken as a matter of principle. It was determined to make the English Church at once and forever independent of the papal hierarchy, and to bring the religious doctrine and practice of the Island to the standard of the Reformation. To this end the education of the young king was intrusted to Protestant teachers of the highest probity and talents. A commission was appointed to draw up a Book of Common Prayer for use in the Churches. At the head of the body were Cranmer and Ridley. It was proposed to make the new liturgy conform as nearly as possible to what was conceived to be the usages of the primitive fathers of the Church, and at the same time to retain so much of the Romish form of worship as the commissioners considered to be authorized by the Scriptures. Without entering into the merits of the English Prayer Book, viewed as an aid to devotion, it may be safely averred that the service rendered thereby to the English Language has been beyond estimate. The grave and ele-

vated forms of our speech, its strength in assertion, its depth in feeling, and its dignity in apostrophe, were crystallized in this formative period of the national religion, and found a full and sonorous utterance in the early handbook of English Protestantism.

All the religio-political quarrels of the times of Henry VIII. availed not half so much to shake the dominion of Rome in England as did the work of the ministers of Edward. The people went over, after the German fashion, to the reformed faith. A majority of the nobles, moved by various motives of resentment, self-interest, or conscience, abjured Rome, and became pillars in the new English ecclesiasticism. The nation was won to the Protestant faith.

It will be remembered that Henry VIII. selected as the prospective wife of his son the princess Mary Stuart of Scotland. He provided in his will that his executors should see to it that his wishes in this regard should be fulfilled. When in pursuance of this object the Duke of Somerset opened negotiations with the Scots, he found that his own religious biases had prejudiced his cause at Edinburgh. His demand for the hand of Mary was met with a refusal. In so far as the Catholic influence predominated in Scotland, it was determined that the heiress to the throne should never become the queen of so heretical an island as England—the spouse of so heretical a king as Edward VI. Hereupon the irate Somerset determined to compel compliance with his wishes. He raised a large army, invaded Scotland, defeated the Scottish forces, and would have soon succeeded in his purpose had not the mutterings of trouble in the home kingdom obliged him to return. The Scots availed themselves of this happy deliverance from peril to send away the cause of dispute, namely, the royal maiden whom Somerset had come to woo by force for his young master, to France, whither she was hastily sent and committed to the care of her uncles, the Guises. Mary was at this time but six years of age. Her education was undertaken at the French court, and there she remained under betrothal to the Dauphin Francis until that prince, in 1558, made her first his wife and then his queen.

Returning from his fiasco in Scotland the

Protector, Somerset, found that his brother, Lord Seymour, high admiral of the kingdom, had made a conspiracy among the discontented with a view to taking the protectorship for himself. Seymour was a man of the greatest abilities, and his talents were not more conspicuous than his skill in politics. He had married the queen dowager, Catharine Parr, but that royal and sensible widow had died, whereupon the admiral sought the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. It is thought that Seymour's suit would have succeeded but for the opposition of the ministers, notably the Protector himself, who was little disposed to witness the gratification of his brother's vaulting ambition. While Somerset and Seymour were thus arrayed against each other, rivals in all things, agreeing in nothing, a new actor appeared on the stage in the person of Dudley, earl of Warwick. Conceiving the design of rising on the ruin of the two brothers he edged on the one against the other, and presently compassed the seizure, condemnation, and execution of Seymour. But the reaction against Somerset was not so violent as to become revolutionary, and Dudley's hopes were for the time disappointed.

Meanwhile the change in the national religion went on steadily and became organic. A law was passed against the enforced celibacy of the clergy, and this was soon followed by another statute forbidding the further practice of the Romish form of worship. To the latter act the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, refused obedience; for, as has already been shown, she was a Catholic by the very necessity of her birth. An issue was thus made up squarely between King Edward and his half-sister. At first the government proceeded against Mary's chaplains and teachers, but their imprisonment did not deter her from holding to the old worship. She was then threatened with punishment unless she should desist; but this only incited her to appeal to her cousin, the Emperor Charles. She and her friends laid a plan to fly from the kingdom, but Edward, deeming it imprudent to press matters so far, gave orders that his sister should be detained, and that she should have the right of worshipping as she would—in *private*.

One of the most important measures of the first years of Edward VI. was the suppression of the remaining monasteries and nunneries of the kingdom. This measure, with the hardships which it entailed, well illustrates the lesson that the evil done by superstition and bigotry falls upon the heads of the innocent, even to the tenth generation. It may well be conceded that the people of the religious houses in England, at the middle of the sixteenth century had done no serious harm to the human race. But the system of which they were the fruitage had arrayed itself for centuries against the dearest liberties and best hopes of men. In 1549 the helpless monks and nuns were turned out of doors to suffer for the sins of the *system* rather than for their own. Nor did the hardship cease with those who were dispossessed. The peasants, who for a long time had rented and tilled the lands of the Church, paying but a trifle for the privilege, were well-nigh ruined in the common catastrophe of confiscation. And the race of vagrants and mendicants who in every age have flourished about the gates of monasteries and similar institutions, were scattered in a half-starved condition to the ends of the earth. It is conceded by all that the Protector Somerset did all in his power to alleviate the distresses occasioned by the disestablishment of the old religion, but it was impossible then, as ever, to destroy without inflicting pain and anguish.

The state of the kingdom incident to this hard but necessary measure gave good opportunity to those disaffected towards the Protector's government to conspire against him. A plot, headed by Dudley of Warwick, was formed which soon gathered such elements around the central core of opposition that Somerset was driven to resign. His enemies pursued him vindictively. He was imprisoned in the Tower, deprived of all his dignities, heavily fined for alleged malfeasance in office, and finally set at liberty a ruined old man. Warwick seized the regency, but fearing that a reaction might deprive him of the power which he had gained by violence, he determined that Somerset must be destroyed. A charge was accordingly trumped up that the ex-Protector was engaged in a treasonable conspiracy to assassinate the regent and the privy

councilors of the kingdom. A condemnation followed as a matter of course, and Somerset was led to the block.

Without the moderation of his predecessor,

the male line of Tudor was about to perish with him, he conceived the project of diverting the crown from the family of Henry VIII. and securing it to his own. For such a proceeding a genealogical excuse was necessary. It will be remembered that Mary, sister of Henry VIII., had become queen dowager of France. Her family was now, through her son Francis, represented by her granddaughter, the Lady Jane Grey. The grandmother had had for her second husband the Duke of Suffolk, and the female line was thus strengthened by a strong English element. Warwick, who had now been raised to the Earldom of Northumberland, procured the marriage of the Lady Jane to his son, Guildford Dudley, and the scheme of the ambitious father was to secure the succession to Lady Jane and her offspring. In this purpose he was assisted by certain acts of the intemperate Henry VIII.; for that willful and passionate monarch had in a fit of anger, first at Catharine of Aragon, and afterwards at Anne Boleyn, declared their respective daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, illegitimate. With the first half of this declaration King Edward was

proceeding a genealogical excuse was necessary. It will be remembered that Mary, sister of Henry VIII., had become queen dowager of France. Her family was now, through her son Francis, represented by her granddaughter, the Lady Jane Grey. The grandmother had had for her second husband the Duke of Suffolk, and the female line was thus strengthened by a strong English element. Warwick, who had now been raised to the Earldom of Northumberland, procured the marriage of the Lady Jane to his son, Guildford Dudley, and the scheme of the ambitious father was to secure the succession to Lady Jane and her offspring. In this purpose he was assisted by certain acts of the intemperate Henry VIII.; for that willful and passionate



LADY JANE GREY.

Warwick now proceeded with intemperate violence to establish his own power over the kingdom. Edward VI. fell under his sway, and when the powerful Dudley perceived that the health of the young king was failing, and that

sionate monarch had in a fit of anger, first at Catharine of Aragon, and afterwards at Anne Boleyn, declared their respective daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, illegitimate. With the first half of this declaration King Edward was

disposed to agree; for his own deep-seated Protestantism had lost all patience with his obstinate Catholic sister; but as it related to the Princess Elizabeth, he had many compunctions. Nevertheless, overborne by the domineering Warwick, the king finally assented to the prospective change of dynasty, and ratified the scheme by which the crown was to descend to Lady Jane.¹

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1553, Edward's health gave way, and he sank rapidly into the grave. He had not yet attained his seventeenth year. His abilities were such that, had he lived to full maturity, he might have enrolled his name among those of the greatest kings of England. As it was, the vigor of his government had depended on that of his ministers. Notwithstanding the jealousies and quarrels of the latter, the public welfare of the kingdom had been cared for with great zeal. In commerce, especially, great progress had been made towards the establishment of that maritime dominion which Great Britain has ever since enjoyed. The ships of young Edward carried the pennants of St. George into all seas. It was the beginning of that adventure wherewith the daring seamen of England tempted every known shore, and sought others not yet discovered. Sir Hugh Willoughby went forth with a fleet in quest of a north-east passage to India. Though he and all on board of his own two ships were frozen to death on the bleak borders of Lapland, Richard Chancellor, commander of the remaining vessel of the squadron, held out during the winter in the harbor of Archangel, and returned in safety to England, carrying with him the first thread of the commercial cable which was to bind his own country with distant Russia.

Nor should the history of Edward's brief reign be closed without reference to the further work accomplished by Cranmer and the Protestants in the development of the English Church. It became necessary for them still more to sever the dogmatic ties by which they were bound to Rome. To this end a new creed was formulated, consisting at first of Forty-two, and afterwards—as amended—of Thirty-nine Articles. This cele-

brated paper, embodying the doctrines of insular Protestantism, became to the faith of England what the Augsburg Confession was to the Lutherans of Germany. Nor was the difference between the two great creeds of Protestantism so marked as to call for serious comment or awaken bitter controversy. Indeed, in the preparation of the English Catechism, Cranmer was guided almost wholly by the similar work of Luther and Melancthon. Humiliating it is to record the fact that even so great, and in some respects so liberal, a mind as that of Cranmer stooped to the miserable work of persecution. But he could not rise above the bigotry engendered of his religious theory. Two Anabaptists arrested for heresy were condemned in his court, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the king, were burned at the stake.

As soon as it was known that Edward was dead, the Duke of Northumberland made all haste in promoting his scheme for a change of dynasty. He sped to Sion House, where the Lady Jane resided, and hailed her as queen. But the princess was unwilling to enter upon so dangerous, not to say treasonable, an enterprise. She declared that Henry's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, had claims superior to her own. None the less she yielded to the will of Northumberland, who had her proclaimed as queen of England. She was given apartments in the Tower, and for ten days held the dubious glory of the crown. But no enthusiasm followed the proclamation, and it became more and more apparent that the movement of Northumberland, unsupported as it was, would end in ignominy. Meanwhile the Princess Mary came from Suffolk to claim the throne of her father and was met with an outburst of applause. The loyalty of the English people to the House of Tudor was greater than their dread of a Catholic queen, especially since the alternative lay between Mary with her Catholicism and Lady Jane, under the control of the Dndleys.

Seeing the whole tide turning, or already turned to Mary, Northumberland now sought to make his peace with those whom he had mortally offended. But his supplications were all in vain. The murder of Somerset rose against him and intensified the anger of his enemies. He was seized by the order of the

¹ For genealogical claims of Jane Grey to the throne of England see Diagram, p. 756.

queen, tried, condemned, and beheaded on Tower Hill. His son Guildford and his wife, the Lady Jane, were also arrested and condemned to imprisonment.

Thus in her thirty-seventh year was MARY, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, called to the throne of England. She possessed perhaps as few of the elements of

was her disposition improved by the fact that she herself had been the victim of gross abuse. Her father had wronged her and cast a stigma on her birth. Her brother and his ministers had tried to compel her to abandon that religion which was the only safeguard of her own and her mother's honor. Besides another daughter of Henry VIII. in all respects unlike

herself, whom, indeed, she could not recognize without acknowledging that her own birth was unhallowed, sat in the distance and abided her time.

At the first, however, the new queen showed a disposition inclined to clemency. The aged Duke of Norfolk, who had lain in prison for six years, was set at liberty. Young Courtenay, also son of the Marquis of Exeter, was liberated and received at court. Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, who for their adherence to the Catholic faith had been imprisoned by the ministers of Edward, were in like manner released and restored to their bishoprics. It thus appeared that the queen was in religious matters disposed to know nor Greek nor Trojan until the prisons of the kingdom had given up their victims.



MARY TUDOR.

popularity as any princess of the century. Her religion was repugnant to a great majority of the people over whom she was called to reign. She was without accomplishments. Her education had been neglected. She was the disowned daughter of a popular king. Her person was ungainly, the expression of her countenance forbidding. She lacked only the French audacity and the Italian intrigue to be the Catharine de Medici of England. Nor

But it soon became apparent that the fundamental principle of the new reign was to secure the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Pope. The Holy Father was equally anxious to gain the desired end. With a view to furthering the design of the queen he dispatched as his legate to England that Cardinal de la Pole who has already been mentioned as a factor in the contemporaneous history of France. Meanwhile the queen her-

self set the example of going to mass, praying before the holy images, and performing the other services required of a devout woman in the Church of Rome. To the Protestants these things boded evil. They foresaw the gathering storm, and many of them, leaving the kingdom, went into foreign parts. Not so, however, did Archbishop Cranmer. Though advised to make his escape from England, he steadfastly refused to do so, looking his fate in the face.

The Catholics now set to work diligently to devise such a marriage alliance for the queen as should make secure the temporary advantage which they had gained by her accession. After some deliberation it was agreed that the most fitting husband to be found in all Europe was Philip II. of Spain. When this project, however, was noised abroad, a great excitement was produced throughout the kingdom. The spirit of Protestantism was thoroughly aroused by the intelligence that the queen whom those of the reformed faith had accepted because she was of the blood royal and in hope that she might in some measure prove worthy of her line was about to be wedded to the most bigoted prince in Christendom. An insurrection broke out in Kent, where Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had recently returned from Spain, spreading abroad the true story of Philip's life and character, had gathered to his standard an army of four thousand men, with whom he proposed to enter London, dethrone the queen, and confer the crown on Lady Jane Gray. The revolt, however, was suppressed. Wyatt and four hundred of his followers were taken, condemned, and executed.

This movement gave good excuse to the now triumphant party of Rome to proceed against the Lady Jane herself. That unfortunate princess was accordingly condemned to die. Her last hours were tormented by a priest sent by the queen to convert the poor victim from her heresy. But Lady Jane remained true to the end. Her last night was spent in prayer and in writing a Greek letter to her sister. She even refused a farewell interview with her husband, lest human anguish might break her resolve to die a martyr. On the scaffold she stood a heroine, brave, composed, and beautiful, and then died without a stain or shudder. Her father was also executed. It became the policy of the queen to

exterminate the opposition, as the best means of building her throne on a firm foundation, and of restoring the ancient Church to her lost dominion in England.

In the mean time, the preparations went forward for the queen's marriage with Archduke Philip. In 1555 a fleet was sent out to bring that royal and incipient tyrant to his English nuptials. So hostile, however, were the officers and crew of the vessel that the admiral, fearing that possible violence and probable insult would be offered to the Spanish prince, declined to receive him on board. But Philip came at length, and the marriage was celebrated at Westminster. It now appeared that Sir Thomas Wyatt had told the truth; for the newly made consort of the queen was so haughty, so reserved, so little like the English princes with whom the people had been familiar, so contemptuous in his bearing towards those whom he met, evidently regarding the English as a race of insular bores,—that the hearts and faces of all were turned from him in disgust. To the papist faction, however, the event was full of good omens. For that party saw in imagination, rising from the union now consummated, a new line of Catholic sovereigns, in whose veins would flow the orthodox blood of the South, and under whom the heretical Island should be restored to its ancient moorings close along side of the old ship of Rome.

The English parliament looked with an ever increasing jealousy upon this scheme for the destruction of the independence of the kingdom. The conduct of the queen and her husband gave abundant cause of alarm. In collusion with Gardiner, they formed a plot for the extirpation of heresy in England. A reign of persecution began under the auspices of this trio as bitter as any which had ever been witnessed in the Island. A willing tool in the bloody business was Bishop Bonner, who, without compunction or mercy, proceeded in person to superintend the execution of the heretics. During the remaining three years of Mary's reign, nearly three hundred victims of his cruelty perished in the flames. Among the most conspicuous of these English martyrs were Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester.

Though among the most pious and venerable men of the kingdom, they were condemned by the relentless Gardiner, and, on the 16th of October, 1555, were burned at the stake in the public square before Baliol College, Oxford. The scene was among the most shocking ever witnessed by the eyes of men. The two martyrs were led to the place of execution with bags of gunpowder tied to their bodies. They encouraged each other on the way. Seeing his companion falter in the presence of the mortal agony which they must now endure, the heroic Latimer called to him from the flames as if in cheerful exhortation: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." The powder bags exploded, and the blackened, lifeless mass of the two victims of infernal bigotry sank into the flames and were consumed to ashes.

Not satisfied with the slow going process of destruction, Philip and the queen next undertook to introduce the Spanish Inquisition. But this horrible project was met with such strenuous opposition that he was obliged to desist. Meanwhile Gardiner died and was succeeded by Archbishop Heath. The latter immediately proceeded to carry out the wishes of the queen respecting Cranmer. That great prelate was now destined to become the central figure in another tragedy of fire. Being condemned to death, the archbishop, in a moment of weakness, affixed his signature to a paper acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope. But even this would not suffice. The queen demanded that he should make a public recantation of the errors he had promulgated. For this purpose he was brought forth to a church where he arose in the presence of the people and proceeded to bewail his own weakness and sin in having quailed before the ordeal of fire. He recanted his recantation, went boldly to the stake, and when the fagots were fired around him, thrust out the hand with which he had signed the papist document and held the offending member in the flames until it was consumed. Like Latimer and Ridley he then gave up the ghost in the fiery furnace of martyrdom.

The next stage in the Romish programme

was the appointment of Cardinal de la Pole to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The queen had now become so insane in her purpose to extirpate heresy from the kingdom, that she was sorely displeased with the *moderation* of her new Archbishop! Perhaps her temper was rendered still more intolerable by the manifest apathy of her husband towards herself. Tired of her uncongenial company, he left her in the latter part of 1555 and went over to Flanders. The papists had the mortification to perceive that their well laid plan to secure a Catholic prince for the succession to the English crown was destined to come to naught. For the queen remained childless. Nature had issued her eternal fiat against the reproduction of monsters.

It will be recalled that at this juncture, namely, in 1556, the disappointed Charles V. concluded to exchange the vision of universal dominion for the shadow of an apple tree in the garden of San Yuste. This determination carried into effect, called the Archduke Philip to the throne of Spain and the Netherlands. Meanwhile the unhappy Mary, finding herself deserted, hearing the murmurs of discontent on every hand, seeing the ancient Empire which she had sought to restore about to suffer a double subversion by her own childlessness, and the consequent certain accession of her hated Protestant half-sister Elizabeth, sank through a two years' miserable decay and died on the 17th of November, 1558. On the same day the Cardinal de la Pole, who in a more benign age would have shone conspicuous for his talents and virtues, though never for the system which he professed, went down to the grave with the unloved mistress whom he had tried to serve, and against whose name the pen of history has written the terrible epithet of *Bloody*.

The English people scarcely made a decent show of grief for the death of the queen. Only the papists were sincere in their sorrow. As for the rest, their thoughts were with the living, and cries of "God save Queen Elizabeth!" arose on every hand. It is narrated that even in Parliament, when the news came that Mary was certainly dead, the members forgot themselves and exulted in the sudden deliverance of the kingdom. All faces were at once turned towards Hatfield, where Elizabeth was then

residing. The princess was at this time twenty-five years of age. She had inherited her father's will and energy; nor was her mother's culture undiscoverable in her character. Her most striking characteristic was self-possession. As a man she would have made one of the greatest politicians of any age or country. As a woman, she was destined to become the most distinguished queen of the century.

The enthusiasm with which she was received by her subjects was well calculated to flatter her pride and stimulate her ambition. Nor would it have been wonderful if under the conditions of her accession and the powerful stimulus of popularity she had begun her reign with such acts as the majority of queens would have visited upon their people. Not so, however, Elizabeth. Notwithstanding that she had been disowned by one king—her father—and neglected by another—her brother; notwithstanding the fact that her whole life had been a series of insults most galling to any high-spirited person and intolerable to one of her rank and sex, she entered upon the duties of her high station with a passionless disregard of the past and an oblivion

of her own wrongs for which all history could hardly afford a parallel. Even Sir Henry Benfield, in whose custody she had been lodged, and who had treated her with unbecoming severity, was dismissed with the cutting remark



ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND.

that whenever she had occasion to employ for some state prisoner an unmerciful jailer she would send for him! It was the first of many such comments which this remarkable woman and more remarkable queen was destined to

ELIZABETH'S SIGNATURE.

drop as the finality to some dangerous feud or bloody quarrel. Even the tyrannical and blood-stained Bonner was permitted to escape with his life; though Elizabeth, with good reason, would never allow him to come into her presence.

Great was the religious réaction which now ensued in the kingdom. The whole force of the new administration was at once bent to the task of restoring Protestantism to the status which it had occupied at the death of Edward VI. The gory stains of Mary's reign were quietly effaced, and it is believed that not a single drop of blood was shed in the beneficent revolution which was affected under the queen's personal direction. Not even the property rights of the papists were in any wise disturbed. Only the irreconcilable of the irreconcilables, such as Bishop Bonner, who was imprisoned for life, were punished for their contumacy.

Scarcely had Elizabeth taken the throne when half of Europe, to say nothing of her own kingdom, became suddenly interested in procuring for her a fitting husband. Never was a work of self-sacrifice less appreciated by the beneficiary. It would hardly have been thought that the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn could have displayed the character, prudence, and resolution which were ever exhibited by Elizabeth in this trying matter. First came her loving brother-in-law, Philip II., of Spain, and would fain prostrate himself a second time at the feet of English royalty. But English royalty had had enough of *him*. He soon found that he had now to deal with a personage very different in her moods and aspirations from his former wife. For a while the queen toyed with her suitor. It was her interest to keep him for a season at bay before refusing the *honor* of his hand. When this policy could be followed no further, she declined the flattering offer, and at the same time announced to Parliament her determination to live and die a maiden.

From the early years of her reign, Elizabeth was haunted by a shadow out of the North. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, granddaughter of James IV. and Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., laid claim, in virtue of her descent, to the crown of England. Of course, such a claim was absurd, except on one hy-

pothesis, and that was that Elizabeth was illegitimate. Such a theory was not likely to be favorably received by the queen or the English people. Mary proceeded to assume the arms and title of Queen of England, and this menace laid the foundation and reared the superstructure of the burning jealousy and hatred between the rivals—a hatred which could only be quenched by the destruction of the one or the other.

After the death of her first husband, Francis II. of France, Mary, who had been reared amid the sunshine and glory of Paris, returned with a shudder to the gloom of Edinburgh. To her gay and cultured nature the change was intolerable. Meanwhile, the Reformation had spread into the North, and old John Knox stood like a figure rampant on the shield of Scotch theology. In him the forbidding aspect of the country and the austerity of the national character were intensified, and to this was added the still darker shadow of the Genevan doctrines. The Scotch took naturally to the system which seemed to reflect the joyless moods of their own inner life. Catholicism went to the wall. Mary's horror at the sullen temper of the people whom she was called to rule was increased by the fact of the awful heresy into which she saw them plunged and plunging. The beautiful and fascinating widow of Francis II. found herself alone in her own kingdom, though supported by the whole Catholic world without and beyond.

On the other hand, the Queen of England grew in favor with her subjects, and in reputation with the neighboring powers. Her energy was equaled by her prudence. She made herself familiar with the needs of the kingdom. She entered into the spirit of the people, and consulted their wishes. She encouraged manufactures and commerce, drew in and reissued the coin of the kingdom, reorganized the army, filled the arsenals with arms, called the ablest men to her councils, and took every possible measure to increase the maritime strength of England. All this she did in a way so adroit and politic that the wisest statesmen of the times perceived not how the ambitious queen, under the immense popularity of her government, was still maintaining and even enlarging all the prerogatives

which had been claimed and exercised by the Tudors since the days of her grandfather. She managed to be, and to be considered, at once imperious and liberal, royal and condescending, haughty and generous.

Among those who were called to responsible positions in the English government may be particularly mentioned the celebrated William Cecil, who, with the title of Lord Burleigh, was made high treasurer of the kingdom—a man of the greatest abilities and the highest integrity. Not inferior to him in character was Sir Francis Walsingham, who, after being twice sent on missions to France, was appointed privy councilor and one of the secretaries of state. Less happy was the queen in the choice of him who, in the early years of her reign, was regarded as her personal favorite. This was the accomplished, but morally delinquent, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, son of that ambitious Earl of Northumberland who lost his head in the reign of Mary. The younger Dudley, by his courtly bearing and assiduous flatteries, won the favor of his queen, and continued to bask

Elizabeth was not without her whims and caprices. Her leading idiosyncrasy related to marriage. Neither would she enter in herself, or permit others within the range of her influence to do so. Many suitors came to her court, and she permitted them one after an-



MARY STUART AND FRANCIS II.
Drawn by Vierge.

in the sunshine of the court, shadowed now and then by a passing cloud, for the first thirty years of her reign. He flourished not, however, without a rival. For the soldierly Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, by his greater sincerity and devotion, occasionally obtruded his massive form between Leicester and the light.

other to dance attendance in the royal precincts, only at last to flutter away like moths with singed wings. At the first, her ministers joined with Parliament and Parliament with the people in urging upon her the necessity of reëstablishing the imperiled line of Tudor by choosing a husband. But she would

not; and those who sought to fathom her motives and remove her objections only succeeded in arousing her anger. The question became a forbidden topic in the palace, and was bruited by none except those who were willing to encounter a storm.

Notwithstanding the bitter feelings which existed between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, an outward semblance of courtesies and affection was maintained between them. As for Mary, she was, unlike her royal kinswoman, not only willing but anxious to enter a sec-

ond time into marriage. In deference to Elizabeth, she submitted the question to her; but the English queen put obstacles in the way of every proposal, until at last the Queen of Scots chose her own husband in the person of her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. This distinguished nobleman was himself a Tudor through the female line; for he was the son of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Lord Angus and Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. In case of the death of both Mary and Elizabeth, Darnley would himself become heir to the English crown.

had determined to remain unmarried, this union of the Scottish queen with Lord Darnley would probably result in the transfer of England to the House of Stuart. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the measure adopted by her rival was exceedingly distasteful to Elizabeth. Nor did the marriage with Darnley bring any happiness to Mary. True, the promised heir was born; but the father was a man so cold, austere, and gloomy that the queen's affection for him, if any she ever had, soon turned to aversion and disgust. For a season, she took no pains to conceal her growing dislike for her dull and repellent husband.

Meanwhile there came to the Scottish court a certain Italian musician named David Rizzio, whose accomplishments and southern manners first amused and then captivated the wayward queen. The matter of her attachment for her favorite became notorious, and the Scotch Presbyterian councilors were profoundly scandalized by the conduct of their sovereign. Amid such surroundings the foolish love-fit of Mary could have only one ending—murder. On a certain occasion while she with her ladies and Rizzio were at supper Lord Darnley, who had sense enough to be jealous, burst with a band of armed men into the queen's apartment. The situation revealed itself in a moment. Rizzio flew to the queen and vainly clung to her for protection. In spite of her imperious attitude in attempting to defend her

favorite he was thrust through with the swords of the assailants and his life-blood spurted over the tapestry of the royal chamber. It was not to be expected that such a deed would go unpunished. Revenge, however, was more easily to be obtained in a manner similar to the crime than by the uncertain process of a judicial investigation.

From the moment of Rizzio's death Darnley was a doomed man. Mary had enough of the Guise in her blood and education to warrant the expectation of another crime in the high life of Scotland. It appears that she deliberately determined that Darnley should die the



MARY STUART.

It was clear, therefore, that since Elizabeth

Death. She refused to receive him into her presence or to hear any excuses calculated to mitigate or explain the deed which he had done. At the same time she took into her confidence and admitted to her secret purpose a certain infamous nobleman named James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. With him she made a conspiracy to destroy Darnley and substitute her confederate in his place. The offcast husband was persuaded, *for the benefit of his health*, to make his sleeping apartments in an out-of-the-way house in a lonely field near Edinburgh. When this part of the pro-

On the contrary, she proceeded in the very face of a public sentiment amounting to abhorrence to accept the bloody hand of Bothwell in marriage. This was more than the Scots could stand. She who had begun by marrying first a king and then a noble dolt had now ended by opening the door of her bed-chamber to a detested criminal. An insurrection broke out under the lead of Lords Morton and Murray. The indignant Northland renounced the queen and arrayed itself under the banners of the insurgents. In vain did Mary attempt to stand against the storm



CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

gramme was carried into effect the queen made it in the way to absent herself from the city in a convenient attendance upon the wedding of one of her bridesmaids. During her absence the lone house of Darnley, called the kirke of the field, was blown up with gunpowder, and he himself perished miserably in the ruins. The public finger was at once pointed to Bothwell as the perpetrator of the crime.

That ignoble personage, as if to divert the attention of the people, and with the pretense of securing the queen against a like destruction, carried her to the castle and shut her in in a sort of nominal imprisonment. She resisted neither the captor nor the captivity.

which her violation of the laws of society had called forth. Not even the royal army, paid from her own treasury, would fight to maintain her cause. Finding herself virtually abandoned, she gave herself up to Morton and Murray and was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven. Not satisfied with her overthrow and humiliation, the rebellious Lords next compelled her to sign a paper of abdication in favor of her infant James, son of the hated Darnley. The royal seion was accordingly crowned with the title of JAMES VI., and Murray was made regent of the kingdom.

In the general collapse of Mary's government the Earl of Bothwell made his escape

and took to the sea. His crime against his country was succeeded by another against mankind; for he became a pirate and ran a desperate career for a season, until he was arrested and imprisoned in Denmark. Becoming insane he dragged out a miserable existence of ten years and died. As for Queen Mary she was little disposed to accept the prison to which she had been assigned by her half brother, the regent. Escaping from confinement she raised an army of royalists, and gave battle to Murray at Longside, but the regent's Presbyterians easily overpowered her forces and she took to flight. Mounted on a swift horse she spurred away in the direction of England. Coming to a small stream which divided the two kingdoms, she was about to dash into the dominions of her rival, when the Bishop of St. Andrews, who had accompanied her flight, besought her not to venture on so hazardous a step. Mary, however, preferred to trust the clemency of Elizabeth rather than that of the regent. She accordingly crossed into England, proceeded to Workington in Cumberland and thence to Carlisle. Elizabeth, on receiving the news of this startling business in the North, and of the arrival of the royal fugitive within her borders, gave to that lady of broken marriage vows and fortunes a cordial reception.

It was not long, however, after Mary's arrival in England until her presence in that kingdom became the source and center of one of the strangest political complications in modern history. Doubtless Elizabeth was gratified that her dangerous rival had been reduced to so low an ebb of fortune. Doubtless the English queen did not clearly perceive what her own interests demanded respecting this fugitive daughter of James Stuart. Doubtless her conduct, shifting and uncertain as it was, was the result, in part at least, of personal motives rather than such reasons as a queen might give in a like condition of affairs. Be these matters as they may, certain it is that Elizabeth first sent for Mary and then refused to receive her until she should clear herself of the charges which were brought against her by her Scottish subjects. It was, of course, impossible for Mary Stuart to remove the stains from her escutcheon. It therefore pleased the English queen to send her into a sort of *quasi* imprisonment at Bolton Hall in York-

shire, and Lady Scrope was ordered to accompany her in her captivity.

In order to investigate the alleged crimes for which Mary had been driven from her throne and kingdom, a Joint High Commission was appointed to sit at York. The proceedings, however, were characterized by extreme insincerity and double dealing, alike on the part of the regent Murray, who conducted the prosecution, and Mary's lawyers who defended her. As a result, the charges against the Queen of Scots were neither proved nor disproved. The prosecution failed to convict her of being privy to the murder of Darnley, and on the other hand the naked facts in the premises were well-nigh sufficient to implicate her in that crime. This ambiguous issue of the trial gave good opportunity for the display of Elizabeth's disposition respecting her "loving sister," as she was wont to call her and be called in turn. The Tudor declared that since Mary had not been exculpated from the crimes written against her name, it would be sound policy and thorough justice to detain her in captivity. Mary was accordingly assigned to the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom she was taken to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, and put into confinement.

Her imprisonment, however, was not severe. She was permitted to receive visitors; nor did the captive queen fail to employ all of those arts for which her education had so well fitted her to charm those who came into her presence, and to instill into their minds the conviction of her innocence. As a matter of course, the papal party throughout christendom espoused her cause, and carefully disseminated the belief that she was a martyr to intrigue, and a victim of cruel persecution. It was easy to allege that Elizabeth's course toward the royal captive was the result of fear and jealousy. It thus happened that while the papists rallied around the Queen of Scots, and began in all countries to lay plots for her restoration to the throne of Scotland and ultimate seizure of the English crown, with the overthrow and ruin of Elizabeth, the Protestants supported the latter with equal zeal and steadfastness.

Within the limits of England the most powerful nobleman favoring the cause of Stuart

was the Duke of Norfolk. Him the Queen of Scots received into her most secret councils. He became the sharer of her designs, and the twain, backed as they were by the Romish Church, made a conspiracy, the cardinal points of which were the liberation of Mary from prison, the dethronement of Elizabeth and the transfer of her crown to the head of her rival. Norfolk for his part was to receive the hand of Mary as soon as she could obtain a divorce from the piratical Bothwell. For a while the plot flourished in secret, but was at length divulged to Elizabeth, who put a sudden end to the brilliant dream of the conspirators. Norfolk was seized and imprisoned in the Tower. But even from this gloomy abode he managed in spite of the vigilance of Burleigh and Shrewsbury to open communication with her for whose liberation he had staked his life.

It was now four years since Mary's dethronement. It is as clear as any other fact in history that she busied herself constantly with the project of escape and the vision of regaining, not only her lost dominion in the North, but also in more distant prospect, the grasping of the English crown. At length the secret correspondence of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots was discovered. The duke, however, when brought to trial boldly denied that he had been guilty of the treasonable acts with which he was charged; but it soon transpired that Bannister, a servant of the duke, who had been intrusted with the correspondence, had unwittingly permitted the same to fall into the hands of Lord Burleigh! Norfolk was thus condemned out of his own mouth. Convicted of treason, he was sentenced to death and led to the block in 1572.

Mary Stuart had now become an actual menace to Elizabeth. The latter was urged to bring the Queen of Scots to trial and put her out of the world; but such a proceeding was foreign to Elizabeth's character and purpose. Nor was it an expedient measure to set Mary at liberty. The whole Catholic world was ready to receive her with open arms. It was evident that the English queen had a royal specter in her dominions from whose presence she would most gladly have been delivered. As the best measure to be adopted under the circumstances, the imprisonment of Mary was made more rigorous. She was

transferred from the custody of the somewhat lenient Shrewsbury to that of a more severe jailer in the person of Sir Amais Paulet, assisted by Sir Drue Drury.

It will be remembered that in this summer of 1572 the diabolical scheme of Catharine de Medici and Charles IX., for the destruction of the Protestants of France, had been carried out in the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew. That tragedy having been consummated, Catharine, in collusion with Philip of Spain, found time to brood over the project of performing a like service for other countries infested with heresy. England was a promising field for such evangelism as that preëminent witch and wizard of bigotry were likely to patronize. Albeit, Elizabeth must be dethroned and Mary Stuart seated in her place. Of course, whatever resources might be needed to create a sentiment in favor of this programme and to undermine the loyalty of the English nation would be readily furnished by the papal party in Scotland and the Jesuits of all the world. Meanwhile a plot was made by a Catholic priest named John Ballard to solve the whole question by the assassination of Elizabeth. Ballard secured coadjutors, and the desperate scheme was almost ready to be carried into execution when it was divulged to Walsingham. The vigilance of that nobleman proved to be fully equal to the occasion. The conspirators to the number of fourteen were seized, tried, condemned, and executed before Mary was aware that they had fallen into trouble. Her first intelligence of the collapse of the plot was borne to her while she was abroad on horseback, and the news was coupled with a mandate from the queen to the effect that Mary Stuart should be immediately sent to prison in the strong castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. Thither she was followed by a court of commissioners appointed by Elizabeth to determine the part which Mary herself had had in the late murderous plot against the peace of the kingdom and the life of the queen. The evidence adduced at the trial, though not overwhelming, was sufficient to satisfy the judges of Mary's guilt. Judgment was accordingly pronounced against her on the 25th of October, 1586. Elizabeth appeared to be profoundly, and no doubt was in some measure, agitated and grieved by this

decision; for it devolved on her the necessity of pronouncing or withholding the sentence of death.

Meanwhile James VI., learning of his mother's condemnation, made unwearied efforts to save her from destruction. In this work he might have had better success but for the action of his own ministers, who entertained for Mary a hatred so cordial that they were willing to see her die. The very ambassador sent with the remonstrance to the court of Elizabeth advised her secretly to permit the condemnation of the court to take its course. For several months the queen held the death warrant unsigned, and when at length she affixed her signature it was with the ostensible purpose of holding it from the executioner. But the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with or without the connivance of Elizabeth, procured the warrant and sped away to Fotheringay castle, where Mary was confined. To her they read the fatal paper and bade her prepare for death on the following morning. The only heroism in her character now shone forth in full luster. Like the frivolous Marie Antoinette, she rose to her full height under the appalling sentence. She faced her doom without a perceptible shudder, passed the night in writing letters, remembering her friends with keepsakes, praying, and a brief period of slumber. In the morning she arrayed herself in her best robe. She walked into the hall of execution and faced the headsman with the air of a queen. Only when her servants burst into tears and sobs did her feelings gain a momentary ascendancy over her composure. After another prayer she unrobed herself so as to expose her neck and laid her head on the block. Two strokes of the axe and the deed was done. Such was the intrepidity of her death that the beautiful wickedness of her life was forgotten, and posterity has persisted in loving *her* rather than Elizabeth.

Thus, on the 7th of February, 1587, perished Mary Queen of Scots, being then in the forty-fifth year of her age. By her death a serious and far-reaching complication was removed from the politics of the time. Whatever may have been the feelings of Elizabeth, she deemed it prudent to make a decent show of grief. She accordingly put on mourning, and manifested the usual signs of sorrow

which the royal living are wont to show for the royal dead. As for young James of Scotland, his resentment at his mother's execution knew no bounds; but the Protestant party in Scotland, coöperating with that in England, and having an undisputed ascendancy in public affairs, succeeded in repressing his resentment against the English queen. The outcry of nature was smothered in the cloak of policy.

Turning, then, from this long personal episode in the affairs of England and Scotland to the foreign relations of Elizabeth's government, we find such elements at work as might well have daunted the spirit of that resolute sovereign. For, in the mean time, the whole Catholic world, angry at her from her birth and at her mother and father *before* her birth, had conspired to destroy her, and reverse the wheels of English Protestantism. As the head and front of this offending appeared Philip II. of Spain. Cherishing a deep antipathy against the English on account of their old treatment of himself in the days of his union with Mary Tudor, and deeply piqued at Elizabeth for her rejection of his suit, and ambitious—so far as such a nature could cherish ambition—to restore the shattered dominion of Catholicism, he formed the design of invading the insular kingdom, driving Elizabeth from the throne, subverting the Protestant cause, and restoring the Island to Rome. To this end, he organized a powerful army under command of the Duke of Parma, and equipped in the Tagus the greatest fleet of the century. So complete were the preparations, and so formidable the squadron, that it received the boastful name of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA. Nor can it be denied that the sound of the coming storm across the waters was well calculated to spread alarm in England, and awaken the most serious apprehensions at the court.

It was, however, just such an emergency as this that was needed to bring out the highest qualities of the queen and her people. Neither she nor they cherished the slightest idea of being conquered by the hated Spaniards. Preparations were at once begun for defense. The command of the English fleet was given to Lord Howard of Effingham. Neither the squadron nor the army was at all

comparable in strength with that of the enemy; but in the will to conquer or to die the comparison was altogether the other way. With such commanders as the Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, who served under Lord Howard, and with such generals as Lords Leicester and Hunsdon, the bulwark which English hands industriously raised around their queen was not likely to be easily broken down.

Elizabeth herself took the field and became the divinity of the war. Nothing could surpass the splendid anger with which she rode forth from her capital and went in person among the soldiers. She was borne from place to place in her palanquin. In the camp at Tilbury she sat on horseback and delivered a speech to the army, in which she said with

day out, however, a storm arose of such violence as to shatter the armament and drive it back to port. After repairing damages the squadron again put to sea with the intention of proceeding first to Flanders and then to the mouth of the Thames. On the way out, however, the Duke of Medina learned that the English fleet was assembled at Plymouth, and believing himself able to annihilate his enemy at a blow, he ventured to disobey his orders and made all sail for the squadron of Lord Howard. But before the Spanish admiral could reach the harbor of Plymouth a swift sailing Scotch pirate sped before the coming storm and gave notice to the English commander that the fleet of Spain was upon him.

Scarcely had Admiral Howard drawn forth



ELIZABETH BORNE IN HER PALANQUIN.

flaming indignation: "I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma of Spain or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realms; to which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, your judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."

In the mean time the Armada, under command of the Duke of Medina, whose abilities as an admiral were in inverse ratio to the importance of the trust to which he had been assigned by the partiality of Philip, dropped out of the Tagus, and on the 29th of May, 1588, set sail for England. On the very first

his fleet from the harbor, when sure enough the Armada hove in sight. Stretching in a semi-circle from right to left for a distance of seven miles, the portentous Spanish men-of-war loomed up out of the horizon. Here it was that the heroism of England on the sea, which has been the boast and just pride of that wonderful Island Empire for centuries, was destined to flame up with unexampled brightness. Howard quickly perceived that his main dependence for success would lie in the superior agility of his fewer and lighter ships, and in the dauntless courage of his men. Otherwise the small fleet of England would be borne down by the heavy, rolling ships of Spain and the pennon of St. George would sink into the sea.

The battle began with a cannonade. The Spaniards fired wildly, and their volleys flew over the masts of the English ships, but Howard poured in his broadsides with terrible effect upon the lumbering vessels of the enemy. Presently a huge treasure-ship of the Spaniards was set on fire, and that, together with another formidable vessel, was captured by Sir Francis Drake. After the battle had continued for some time, to the constant disadvantage of the Armada, the Spaniards began to draw off and ascend the English channel, but Howard pressed hard after the receding foe, constantly renewing the attack. Meanwhile ships began to pour out from every harbor along the English coast. Straggling vessels of the enemy were cut off from day to day.

Thus, considerably injured, the Armada cast anchor off Calais, there to await the arrival of the land forces under the Duke of Parma. The fleet of Lord Howard still hovered in sight. The English admiral prepared eight fire-ships, filled with combustibles and explosives, and sent them into the midst of the Spanish flotilla. In great alarm lest a general conflagration might be produced in his invincible squadron, the Duke of Medina ordered the anchors to be cut, and the vessels to disperse themselves for safety. In the confusion consequent upon this movement, Howard bore down upon the Armada, and captured twelve ships. Meanwhile the Duke of Parma arrived on the coast, but, perceiving the shattered condition of the armament, and fearing to trust his army to so unsafe a convoy, declined to embark. This left the Armada, now wallowing in terror off the coast, to take care of itself as best it might.

The huge wounded beast of the sea began to draw off in the hope of reaching Spain; but the winds were adverse, and it was found necessary to sail to the North, and double the capes of Scotland. This movement was accordingly undertaken; but Lord Howard hung constantly on the rear of the retreating squadron, striking blow after blow, with ever-increasing courage. Only the final failure of his ammunition compelled him to desist. Then came the storm-winds of the North to finish what had been spared by English audacity. The tempest howled out from the Orkneys, and the great hulks of

the Spanish flotilla were blown up in a pitiable wreck on the rock-coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Only a few ships survived to bear back to Philip the story of the utter ruin of his splendid fleet. That which had been begun with infinite boasting and bravado had ended in the most signal collapse of the century.

Great was the triumph in England. The victorious Protestants kindled their bonfires in every town. The burly mariners of the solid little Island made every harbor ring with the shout of "Long live the Queen!" The sun of Elizabeth rose to the zenith, and the real greatness of Modern England began in the glory of her reign. The Catholic princes of the continent looked on in amazement at the wonders which were wrought under the administration of this fiery and imperious daughter of the expiring House of Tudor. Meanwhile, her long-time favorite minister, the Earl of Leicester, died, and was succeeded by young Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. This distinguished nobleman had been educated by his guardian, Lord Burleigh, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was fitted by his genius and accomplishments to shine with peculiar luster at the court. His chief competitor for the favor of the queen was the great navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh.

Between these two a fierce and deadly rivalry sprang up which would have destroyed the peace of any court of which the reigning divinity was a less haughty and imperturbable spirit than Elizabeth Tudor. To her, however, the quarrels of her admirers and would-be lovers were no more than the gambols of the idle wind, which she could control, direct, or allay at her pleasure. It appears, however, that of all the royal flatterers who crowded around her, even from her girlhood to her death, Robert, earl of Essex, obtained the strongest hold on her affections. Such was his ascendancy, and such his haughty will, that he spoke to the queen and demeaned himself in the palace in a manner which Elizabeth would have brooked from none other, living or dead.

All the latter years of her reign are filled more or less with the deeds, follies, and misfortunes of Essex. In 1598, he was appointed governor-general of Ireland. It was

one thing to receive his appointment, and quite another to perform the duties of his office. For in that remarkable island which he was sent to govern a dangerous insurrection broke out under the leadership of the powerful Earl of Tyrone, a chieftain who had been recognized and honored by the queen, but was now acting in defiance of her authority. It was the misfortune of Essex to have as much impetuosity as genius. Rushing into the conflict with Tyrone, he soon found himself unable to cope with his sturdy antagonist. He accordingly made a truce with the insurgents, though that step had been expressly forbidden by the queen. At this Elizabeth's temper was ruffled, and she sent orders to Essex to remain in Ireland awaiting her commands. This was precisely what her favorite was least disposed to do. Setting at naught her mandate, he immediately returned to England, and rushed into the queen's apartments without waiting to change his dress. At this the imperious Elizabeth was still more seriously offended. The government of Ireland was taken from Essex and transferred to Lord Montjoy, and the favorite himself was ordered into retirement at his own house.

Now it was that the real struggle began in Elizabeth's breast between her affectionate regard for Essex on the one hand and her pride and sense of justice on the other. She had, however, now passed that time of life at which woman is most swayed by her emotions. What at an earlier epoch might have been impossible for her to do she now did with resolution and firmness. Essex, for his mismanagement of Irish affairs, was brought to answer before the privy council of the kingdom. The nobleman, hard pressed before his judges, made no attempt to excuse his bad administration, but put himself upon the mercy of the queen. That lady was now disposed to enjoy her triumph. She accepted the apology of Essex, but his expectation of a sudden restoration to favor was little flattered by her manner toward the suppliant. It was evidently her purpose to let him suffer the pangs of despair for a season, and *then* restore him to her smiles.

But Essex suddenly flared up in his humiliation and poured out a torrent, declaring that the queen, since she had become an *old woman*,

was as crooked in her mind as in her person. Since the days of insulted Juno what woman ever yet patiently endured the *spretæ injuria formæ*—the intolerable insult offered to her form and beauty? If any, it was not Elizabeth of England. She struggled with her resentment. At times her old partiality for Essex well-nigh overcame her, and then her queenly pride would rally all of her passion for the punishment of her contumacious favorite. Essex himself lost all self-control. With the folly of a madman he opened the door to treason. He actually concocted a scheme for the overthrow of the dynasty and the transfer of the crown to James VI. of Scotland. With that prince he opened a correspondence; nor did it appear that James was at all loth to entertain the project of the incensed Englishman. But Essex had no skill in such business. He was one of the least secretive and politic of the great men of his times. The conspiracy instantly ran away with its driver.

Finding himself discovered, he rushed forth from his place at Essex House and offered himself with insane audacity as the leader of a mob to overturn the throne of England! The movement was only sufficiently formidable to excite the derision of the queen. After shouting to the charge in the streets of London, after discovering that the citizens, though greatly attached to him personally, were still more attached to the queen, he fled in disgrace and shame, first to the Thames and then to his own house. Here he was captured and taken to the Tower. A trial followed, which was scarcely necessary, for the overt acts of Essex were so manifestly treasonable that his conviction followed as a matter of course.

In all this miserable business the queen, with her profound insight, readily perceived the true secret of Essex's folly and crime. He was mad—desperate. At heart he was in no wise disloyal, and would at any time, in the midst of his insane bravado, have drawn his sword and fought to the death for the very woman whom he was trying to dethrone had she but so much as smiled upon him in the old-time fashion. It was the lover's madness rampant in the high places of politics. As for Elizabeth she was now in the pitiable condition of being *obliged* to go forward. Essex was condemned to death, and the warrant was

placed before her by his enemies for her signature. There she sat.

And now comes the story of the ring. In the palmy days of his glory Essex, on a certain occasion when about to depart on a campaign, pouring out his lover's grief to the queen and bewailing his hapless lot in having to leave her presence, with the consequent advantage which his rivals would have in reviling and injuring him in her esteem during his enforced absence, had received from her a ring—for she too was smitten—with the assurance that if ever anywhere, even under her own extreme displeasure, he should come to grief and be shaken over the edge of despair, he need but return to her this remembrance of her pledge to secure him the revival of her esteem and a rescue from his peril. The lover-politician carefully preserved the ring. The hour of destruction had now come, and with it that crisis which demanded the return of the token in order to save his life. Elizabeth remembered her promise. She hesitated to sign the warrant. She waited day by day, still believing that her obstinate lover would bow his haughty spirit and send back the token of his old-time devotion and hope. But the ring came not. At last, driven to desperation by what she considered his obstinacy and defiance, urged, as she was by some of the most powerful men of the kingdom, and notably by Sir Walter Raleigh, to carry the sentence of the court into execution, she at last yielded to her pride and the suggestions of the situation and signed the fatal document. It was the end of all hope for him who had been the most powerful and favored of her flatterers. His enemies were only too glad to get the death warrant into their hands. On the 25th of February, 1601, he was led forth to the block, and fell under the axe of the executioner.

Nor was it long until the *dénouement* of the tragedy was presented with thrilling effect. In the course of the year the old Countess of Nottingham, when brought to her death-bed, fell into an agony of distress and sent hastily for the queen. Elizabeth came, little expecting to receive the terrible revelation. The countess told her that a short time before the execution of Essex he had sent for her, *had given her a ring*, and solemnly charged her to bear it to the queen. This, however, the

countess, being dissuaded and overborne by the will of her husband, had failed to do. Here it was! Essex *had* remembered the pledge. Essex *had* struggled in the day of doom to save himself from death. Essex *had* bowed his spirit to her imperious will and knelt in submission at her feet. Essex *had* died believing that the ring, with its sacred recollections had been delivered to her, and that even *that* had failed to move in her stony heart the late remorse of love. All this rushed upon Elizabeth like a torrent. Perhaps no such a passion ever in the annals of human despair swept over the heart of woman already chilled, half-frozen with the ambitions and wasted purposes of seventy mortal years. She flew with the ferocity of an aged tigress upon the couch of the dying countess. She shook her and then recovered herself. But any peace of mind which Elizabeth of England may ever have enjoyed was gone forever. Essex was dead. "God may forgive you, but I never will," she exclaimed angrily at the quaking old countess, and then rushed from the apartment. She returned to the palace in an uncontrollable storm of grief. None could comfort her. Eat she would not. Sleep she could not. For ten days and nights she remained where she had flung herself on the floor, propped up with such cushions as her ladies vainly brought in the hope of procuring her rest. The iron barb had at last entered the soul of the haughty Elizabeth. Over her also had sounded the solemn clock in the tower of fate. Nature had triumphed over pride, and the queen lay prostrate before the woman.

Elizabeth never recovered from this shock. The people of the court vainly strove to wean her thoughts from the subject of her grief. She was already aged and broken. She had preferred glory to motherhood, and now the House of Tudor was dying with her. She grew so feeble that she could no longer resist the attentions of those who sought to save her. She was laid on the royal couch, from which she was never to rise again. Here she lingered for a few days longer. Then it became certain that the end was at hand. The shadows fell on the evening of the last day of her life. She herself knew that she was going. The Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for to give her the last consolations of religion.

Long he prayed by her bedside. Still she beckoned for him to go on. The counselors came to ask her about the succession. To this forbidden subject she now gave such attention as her dying hour could afford. But that ambiguity with which for forty-five years she had been wont to baffle the inquisitive and put away unpleasant questions of politics, was still employed in her last utterance. She said to her ministers who had come to know her will, that she had held a regal scepter, and desired a royal successor. Hereupon, Lord Burleigh asked her to explain more fully her wishes, and to this she replied very faintly: "A king for my successor." It was tolerably evident that this answer could refer to none other than her nephew, the king of Scotland. It is said that Cecil asked her in so many words if she referred to James, and to this she made no answer, but raised her hand to her head, which was construed by the bystanders as a sign of assent. But whatever may have been the will of the dying queen, there could be but one solution of the question. James Stuart was clearly entitled to the succession.

The three children of Henry VIII. had successively held the English throne. The crown must, therefore, find a collateral resting place among the descendants of Henry's sister Margaret. That princess had been married to James IV., of Scotland; and of that union James V., father of Mary and grandfather of James VI., was born. The latter prince, therefore, evidently was the true claimant, and his right was greatly strengthened by the fact that through his mother he had inherited the crown of Scotland, so long worn by the princes of the House of Stuart.—Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, being then in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.

The epoch during which she had held the scepter was one of the most important in the annals of England. To the greatness of her time she had herself contributed not a little. Elizabeth was, in her own genius and character, both a product and a factor of the age. The summary of the illustrious Hume may well be added as the best epitome of this remarkable reign and more remarkable sovereign:

"Few great persons have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adu-

lation of friends than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. . . . Her vigor, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne. A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulence and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities—the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, the sallies of anger.

"Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people; and, while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances, and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity."

As it relates to the religious questions with which England had been distracted since the beginning of the century, the reign of Elizabeth may be cited as the epoch in which Protestantism became irreversibly established as the religion of the kingdom. Papacy went to the wall. Even the Jesuits, with all their subtlety, were unable to intertwine themselves with the policy of the state. The Protestant forms, however, which Elizabeth encouraged were wholly out of tune with Calvinism, and in many particulars jangled a discord with the doctrines of Luther. Elizabeth, in her own nature, was a Catholic. She was a Protestant by the necessity of her birth and the stress of the situation. She preferred the gorgeous worship of Rome to the simple ceremonial adopted by the doctors of Wittenberg,

and the still more austere forms evolved by the Genevese theologians. The result of this preference was that the Church of England took its station *between* the high-flown formalism of Rome and the utter non-formalism of the sectaries—that St. Paul's Cathedral until this day stands midway between St. Peter's and a Quaker meeting-house.

The attempt to check the schismatic tendency in religion made England a fruitful field for the development of new sects, in which the reformatory movement could find a further vent. Chief among the religious parties which thus appeared to carry forward the reformation were the PURITANS. Dissatisfied with the half-Romish formalism of the Church, unwilling to worship according to the ritual which had become organic in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, this people assumed an attitude as severe and uncompromising as that of the Lutherans in Germany or of the Calvinists of Switzerland and Scotland. The discipline which they prescribed for themselves and others was well-nigh intolerable. The rigor of their creed and code was almost inhuman in its uncharitable hostility to the common joys and pleasures of human life.

In its antipathy to the formalism of Rome and of the English Church, Puritanism instituted a formalism of its own, more exacting than that of either. Yet the age was in a mood to favor the spread of such a system. The severe morality of the Puritans was as undeniable as their practices were absurd, and this fact gave them a hold upon the somber conscience of England, especially in the North.

About the time of the oncoming of the great Armada, the Puritan movement began to attract the attention and awaken the anxiety of Elizabeth. She made efforts, not a few, to check the growth of the party, but it flourished all the more. In the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, the Puritans gathered strength and adopted what measures so ever they deemed essential for the establishment of a free religious worship. Politically, they professed themselves to be patriotic subjects of the English queen. Religiously, they were rebels against the authority of the English Church. Their rebellion, however, only extended to the declaration that every

man has a right to discover and apply the truth as revealed in the Scriptures without the interposition of any power other than his own reason and conscience. Such a doctrine was very repugnant to the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth herself declared such teaching to be subversive of the principles on which her monarchy was founded. King James who succeeded her, was not more tolerant; and from time to time violent persecutions broke out against the feeble and dispersed Christians of the North.

Despairing of rest in their own country, the Puritans finally determined to go into exile, and to seek in another land the freedom of worship which their own had denied them. They turned their faces toward Holland, made one unsuccessful attempt to get away, were brought back and thrown into prisons. Again they gathered together on a bleak heath in Lincolnshire, and in the spring of 1608 embarked from the mouth of the Humber. Their ship brought them in safety to Amsterdam, where, under the care of their pastor, John Robinson, they passed one winter and then removed to Leyden. Such was the beginning of their wandering, and such the origin of that powerful religious party which was destined in the following century to contribute so largely to the establishment of the American Colonies in the North.

The one fact, however, which added most of all to the glory of the Elizabethan Age, was its literary splendor. In this regard the latter half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century in England was a period unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, in the history of the world. Not the Age of Pericles in Greece, the Augustan Age of Roman letters, the Age of the Medici in Italy, or of Louis XIV. in France was equal to the era of Elizabeth in its splendid outburst of intellectual activity. The human mind began suddenly to display its energies with a freedom and vigor never before witnessed. The cloud under which the spirit of man had so long groped, began to roll away as early as the reign of Henry VIII. One thing in all ages is and has been the enemy of mental achievement—FEAR. That goblin has struck with paralysis the sublimest powers of man's genius, and left him weak and groveling. Literature and fear can



MAP XV.
THE WORLD,
 Showing the Colonial Possessions,
 By A. von Steinwehr.
 From Thaelheimer's Medieval and Modern
 History, by permission.

- England & her colonies.
- France " " " " " "
- Portugal " " " " " "
- Spain " " " " " "
- Holland " " " " " "

not inhabit the same kingdom. Freedom is the antecedent of manly thought—fearlessness of manly expression.

It happened, then, that under the fogs of England, about the time of the break of Henry VIII. with Rome, the mind of man in the social and political condition then present in the Island, began to feel the glory of freedom and to exhibit it in a fearless literature. Now came conspicuously forth Sir Thomas More, who had Erasmus for his friend, and gave to English letters the first example of a good biography—that of King Edward V. Better known is his *Utopia*, or the Republic of No-land, wherein the longings and aspirations of the human heart for an Ideal State are so happily expressed. Then came the court poet Isaac Skelton, and made the backs of the courtiers smart with the stinging lash of his satire. Well saith this sarcastical but still good-humored son of the dawn :

“For though my rime be ragged,
Tattered and jagged,
Rudely raine-beaten,
Rusty and mooth-eaten,
If ye take wel therewith,
It hath in it some pith.”

In the distance we can still see the great Wolsey writhing under the deserved castigation of this fearless doggerel.

Any extensive list of the literary men of Henry's time would present the names of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, both of whom were poets of considerable genius. At the same time the literature of Scotland was graced with the works of William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Robert Henryson, and Blind Harry the Minstrel, all of whose trial songs woke an echo in the hearts of their countrymen. Nor should failure be made to mention the beginnings of English *History* as illustrated in the translation of Froissart's *Chronicle*, by Lord Berners, and the *Chronicles* and *Historyes* of those garrulous old tale-tellers, Hall, Fabyan, and Hollinshed.

But the true outburst of genius came with the reign of Elizabeth. The language was new and generous. The English mind felt the joy, the ecstasy, of emancipation. The epoch abounded in materials. The western sky was still stained a gorgeous hue with the dying glories of chivalry. Thomas Sackville, Lord

Buckhurst, gave the world his *Mirror for Magistrates*, and then the great sun of Edmund Spenser's genius rose full-orbed upon the age. From his luminous brain poured forth an ocean of Romantic poetry, in which the philosophy of Plato and the religion of Christ were strangely blended with the splendors of heathenism and the Knight-haunted dreams of the Middle Ages. The Belle Phœbe of the *Faëry Queen* was Elizabeth herself; the poem in its entirety was but the shadow of her reign.

Next rose the inspired pagan, Shakespeare, in many respects greatest among men. He was the spirit of his times personified; most humane and gentle; tender and noble; reaching with his magical fingers from the all to the nothing of our nature. In his thirty-seven dramas, those infinite and ever-living “Histories, Tragedies, and Comedies of Master William Shakespeare,” he has poured forth for us and for all posterity the swelling, the heroic, the sublime symphonies of love and battle mingled with the mutterings of remorse, the cooings of hope, the dying accents of despair. What would England be without her Shakespeare?

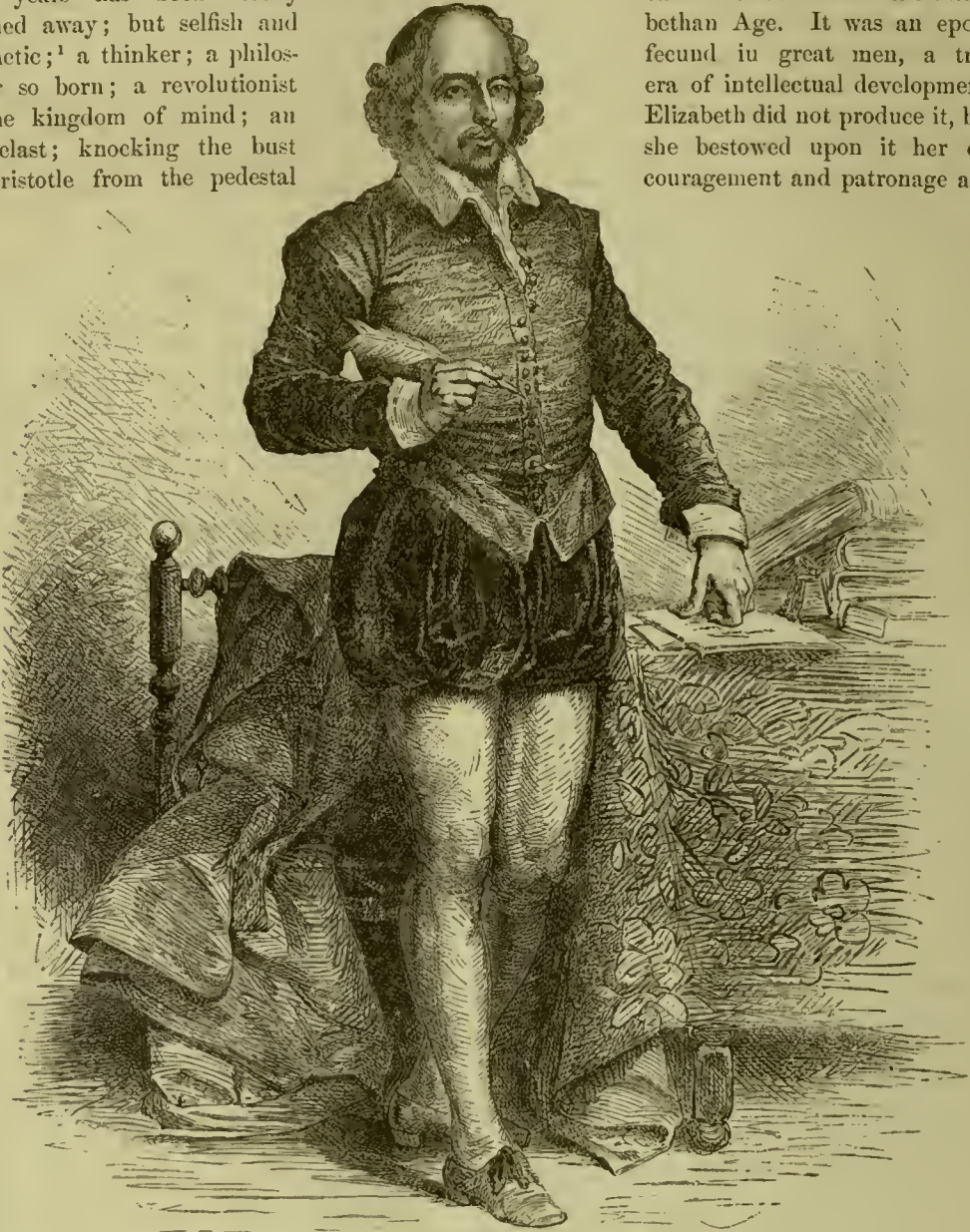
Before him, after him, around him, came a host. What shall be said of Massinger and Ford and Webster, and the lovely twain Beaumont and Fletcher, and the somber Marlowe almost as powerful as Goethe, wrestling with the agonies of *Faust*? What shall be said of gruff Ben Jonson, that classic pugilist of the English drama, who but for the presence of a greater would have been a king? How they grew and flourished! How they wrote and rioted! How they pictured human nature! How they held up its whims and its greatness! How they brought forth the Man, the Angel, and the Devil, and loosed them on the stage! How from one extreme to the other of the great diapason they swept the chords until all mankind trembled—and are trembling—with the agitation!

And Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, there he stood, the apostle of the New Philosophy. Greatest teacher of the thing which has come to pass! A brain as luminous as that of Plato! A hard, unsympathetic nature! A steel-finished intellect shining like the sun; an understanding never surpassed; an ambition never overtopped; a

spirit cold as ice; *not* the meanest of mankind, for the calumny with which his memory has been loaded for more than two hundred and fifty years has been mostly brushed away; but selfish and apathetic;¹ a thinker; a philosopher so born; a revolutionist in the kingdom of mind; an iconoclast; knocking the bust of Aristotle from the pedestal

diæval learning, laid our hand gently in the hand of Nature, and taught us to *know*.

Time would fail to sketch the many and various celebrities of the Elizabethan Age. It was an epoch fecund in great men, a true era of intellectual development. Elizabeth did not produce it, but she bestowed upon it her encouragement and patronage and



SHAKESPEARE.

of scholasticism; too great to be appreciated and too weak to be great; such was Francis Bacon, founder of that Inductive Philosophy which has carried us beyond the pale of me-

¹He who can seriously entertain the notion that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespearean drama, overflowing as it does with all the loves of the

shared in it. The splendor of the time was focused not far from the throne; and it is the great praise of the queen that she not only endured the brilliancy in which she was set,

world and all the milk of human kindness, must be smitten of a chimera. Shakespeare was Shakespeare; Bacon was Bacon.

but added by her genius and accomplishments to the dazzling light which fell upon her.

In the preceding pages glimpses not a few have been caught of the malign figure of PHILIP II. of Spain. The remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to him and his deeds. This monarch, who has found so little favor with posterity, was the son of the Emperor Charles V. and Isabella, daughter of Manuel the Great of Portugal. He inherited all the political and religious vices of his ancestry. At the age of sixteen he took in marriage his cousin, the Princess Maria, of Portugal, and by her became the father of Don Carlos. Maria died during the infancy of her son, and Philip subsequently chose for his queen Mary Tudor, of England. Of that marriage and its outcome an account has already been given in the preceding narrative.¹

After a year's doleful residence among the English, whose hard sense and good morals he could not understand, much less appreciate, he went over, in 1555, to Flanders, being summoned thither by his father, who was now about to execute his purpose of abdication. On the 16th of the following January Charles ceded to him, besides the Netherlands, which he had already received, the remaining hereditary dominions of the Spanish crown. Germany had been given over to Ferdinand I.; but there still remained to Philip enough to constitute the most powerful empire in the world. His sway extended over Spain, the greater part of Italy, the Netherlands, and the almost boundless Spanish possessions in America, Africa, and the East Indies. The personage thus inheriting so vast an estate of power and grandeur was in every respect of the unheroic build. He was a Spaniard of the Spaniards. As he moved about, his weazen visage was ever turned to

the ground. He was small in stature, meager in form, with thin legs, and hands that might have belonged to an Italian bandit. He had not even the generosity to converse with his fellow-men, except under necessity. Even



PHILIP II.

then he spoke as if by some hateful compulsion. His small mind possessed a single virtue: he was indefatigable in business, and spent most of his hours in his cabinet, dictating dispatches and public papers.—As for the rest, he is said to have laughed but once

¹ See *ante*, p. 659.

in his whole life, and that was *when he heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew!*

The revolt of the Netherlands and the establishment of the Dutch Republic constitute one of the most heroic events in modern times. A word will be appropriate regarding the *countries* in which this remarkable movement of political society was accomplished. These *Hollow Lands*, or *Nether-lands*, or *Low Lands*, of North-western Europe had been for the most part taken from the sea. So low was the level that the tide beyond, especially when swollen by angry winds, rolled in of old-time and deluged great districts capable—as was afterwards demonstrated—of supporting hundreds of thousands, aye, millions, of people. The soil had a natural fertility; and the Dutch who had settled in this region were, by race-character, among the most resolute of all the populations of Europe.

Never in all the world did man have such a battle with nature as in Holland. The eloquent Taine, in describing this situation, says:

“As you coast the North Sea from the Scheldt to Jutland, you will mark in the first place that the characteristic feature is the want of slope. . . . In Holland, the soil is but a sediment of mud; here and there only does the earth cover it with a crust of mire, shallow and brittle, the mere alluvium of the river, which the river seems ever ready to destroy. Thick mists hover above, being fed by ceaseless exhalations. They lazily turn their violet flanks, grow black, suddenly descend in heavy showers; the vapor, like a furnace-smoke, crawls forever on the horizon. Thus watered, the plants multiply; in the angle between Jutland and the continent, in a fat, muddy soil, the verdure is as fresh as that of England. Immense forests covered the land even after the eleventh century. The sap of this humid country, thick and potent, circulates in man as in the plants, and by its respiration, its nutrition, the sensations and habits which it generates, affect his faculties and his frame.

“The land produced after this fashion has one enemy, to wit, the sea. Holland maintains its existence only by virtue of its dykes. In 1654 those in Jutland burst, and fifteen thousand of the inhabitants were swallowed up. One need see the blast of the North

swirl down upon the low level of the soil, wan and ominous; the vast yellow sea dashes against the narrow belt of the coast, which seems incapable of a moment's resistance; the wind howls and bellows; the sea-mews cry; the poor little ships flee as fast as they can, bending, almost overset, and endeavor to find a refuge in the mouth of the river, which seems as hostile as the sea. A sad and precarious existence, as it were, face to face with a beast of prey. The Frisians, in their ancient laws, speak already of the league they have made against the ferocious ocean.”

How Holland diked out the sea is known to all the world. Year after year, generation after generation, this sturdy and indomitable people fought back the hostile and ever aggressive deep until at last, far off in that bleak, north-western horizon, the figure of Man, standing complaisant on the long mole of earth which his own industry had raised, was seen between the North Sea and the sky. The Dutch Minerva planted a garden where the surly Neptune had lately set his trident.

At the time when Philip II. was called to the throne of the Netherlands, the country was already one of the richest and most prosperous of all Europe. In all there were no fewer than seventeen of these lowland provinces, differing from each other in language, customs, and laws. Next to France were the four Walloon districts, the people of which spoke a dialect of French. In the central provinces were the Flemings with their own language; while the coast regions belonged to the Dutch. A common political bond was supplied by the States-general, which body convened from time to time, and exercised such prerogatives as were conceded by the crown of Spain.

Industrially considered, the people of the Netherlands were agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants. Their thrift was unsurpassed; their accumulations greater than could be found anywhere else from Riga to London. Already the cities of Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam had become the commercial centers of Northern Europe. In the matter of religion, the Hollanders were Protestants. In no other country, save Germany only, had the doctrines of Luther been so cordially accepted. This action of his subjects had been exceed-

ingly distasteful to Charles V., who spared no effort to check and repress the religious revolution which he saw going on in the Netherlands. Against the Protestant leaders he launched one edict after another, and finally, in hope of extirpating the heresy, established the Inquisition in Flanders. Before the death of Charles, the fangs of persecution had already been fixed in Holland, and several thousand of her people had been put to death on account of their religious belief.

After his father's death, namely, in 1559, Philip II. committed the government of the Netherlands to his half-sister, the Duchess of Parma. Her ministry consisted of Bishop Granvelle, the statesman Viglius, and Count Barlaimont. This governmental system, however, was somewhat foreign to the tastes of the Netherlands, who were somewhat disposed to look to Prince WILLIAM OF ORANGE as the head man in the state. This remarkable personage had not long before returned to his own principality from Paris, where he had been detained as a

hostage during the reign of Henry II. Though at that time a Catholic himself, he was amazed and horrified, while residing at the French court, to hear coolly discussed the various measures which the princes of the Catholic world were then debating for the destruction of the Protestants.

On his accession to the throne, Philip II.

proceeded to establish in the Netherlands a number of new bishoprics. Each of these was of course an incubus laid upon the people, who had no sympathy with the bishops and their work. This circumstance was the beginning of the break between Philip and his subjects. The Netherlands adopted the con-



WORK OF THE INQUISITION IN HOLLAND.

stitutional course of obtaining redress. They sent to the Spanish court one of their most distinguished noblemen, Count Egmont of Flanders, to represent to the king how greatly his subjects were distressed by the recent measures, and to ask that the same might be modified or annulled. Philip, in such a situation as this, was a thorough Jesuit. He as-



THE BEGGARS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

sured Egmont of his kind intentions. He lavished upon him flatteries and attentions to such a degree that the count's head was turned, and he went back to the States-general possessed of the belief that all was well respecting the policy of the king. But scarcely had Egmont reached the provinces when letters followed from Philip ordering the Inquisition, backed by the government, to proceed with all rigor against the heretics, and declaring that though a hundred thousand lives all his own should perish, he would not hesitate in the work of upholding and reëstablishing the ancient faith in all his dominions.

Now it was, however, that William of Orange, who at this time held the office of governor of Holland and Zealand, supported by a league of others, like-minded with himself, interposed to prevent the work of the Inquisition. He declared that his countrymen should not be put to death on account of their religious opinions. For the moment the situation was critical and full of peril. Many of the Flemings and Hollanders fled. Thirty thousand of them, the best artisans and merchants in Europe, left their country and sought shelter under the outstretched arm of Queen Elizabeth.

The only safety lay in concert of action. Two thousand of the leading Hollanders, embracing every variety of religious belief, came together for mutual protection. It was determined to try the effect of another appeal to the king. A list of demands was prepared and laid before the Duchess of Parma, who was amazed at the number and character of the petitioners. Turning to her councilors for advice, she was assured that the rabble who had declared against the Inquisition, and now presumed to ask for a redress of grievances, were only a "pack of beggars." It was, for those who made it, an unfortunate epithet; for the petitioners at once adopted the name which had been given them, and it was not long until the cry of "Long live the Beggars!" was heard on every hand.

Affairs had now assumed such shape as to demand the most serious attention of the Spanish government. A movement which had at first been regarded with contempt had already become formidable. An edict was issued by the king in which the startling concession was

made that henceforth those convicted of heresy in the Netherlands might be hung instead of burned! With Philip II. the quality of mercy was not strained. Such was the absurdity of the measure, viewed as a means of reconciliation, that the people gave vent to their joenlar indignation by nicknaming the edict, to which Philip had given the title of the *Moderation*, the *MURDERATION!* The insurrectionary spirit began to flame on every hand. The Dutch towns took fire. The people rose in arms and made a rush for their enemies. Cathedrals were burned, the pictures of the saints were thrown down in the churches, and images knocked from the niches; the coffers of the bishops were rifled, and the revolt became as defiant as that of the Hussites in Bohemia. The duchess-regent was pent up in her own capital, and there, in 1566, was obliged by the insurgents to sign an edict of toleration. It was agreed that hereafter the Protestants should be permitted to worship in their own manner, subject only to the condition that they should not disturb others in the exercise of similar rights.

It was clear from the first, however, that this compact would never be ratified by Philip. The Hollanders soon obtained information that he was rallying all his forces to destroy them and their cause together. The first battle of the bloody war which was now about to ensue was fought near Antwerp, in the spring of 1567. The Beggars suffered a severe defeat, loosing fifteen hundred men. As a foretaste of what might be expected, three hundred of the prisoners taken by the royal army were executed without mercy. Great was the distress of the Prince of Orange on account of these events. Vainly did he strive to bring about a reconciliation between the popular party and the king. Finding himself unable to control the storm which now began to rage as if four winds were blown together, the calm-tempered and dispassionate nobleman gave over the contest, and retired into Germany.

Meanwhile Philip, having completed his preparations for the subjugation of the Netherlands, found a fitting instrument for that nefarious work in the person of FERNANDO ALVAREZ, duke of Alva, one of the most cruel, relentless, and infamous of all the human blood-hounds that have ever been unleashed

to bathe their remorseless jaws in the blood of the innocent. A powerful Spanish army, under command of this cold and able genius,

was landed at Brussels, in the summer of 1567, and the work which had been committed to his hands was faithfully undertaken.



PROTESTANTS OF HOLLAND BREAKING THE IMAGES OF THE CATHEDRALS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Counts Egmont and Horn, who, after William of Orange, were the most prominent men in the Netherlands, were seized and thrown into prison. The duke then proceeded to organize a tribunal before which offenders were to be arraigned and tried for the crime of disloyalty to Philip and the Church. Not without good reason did the Protestants give to this inquisitorial court the name of the Council of Blood.

The field was first cleared by the deposition of the Duchess of Parma. The Prince of Orange and nobles who had accompanied him into Germany were summoned to answer for their conduct before Philip's court; but they refused to present themselves for trial. After the retirement of the duchess from the regency, Alva became governor-general of the Netherlands. Nor was it long until the highest expectations of Philip were justified by the conduct of his subordinate. Such a career of crime and blood as Alva now ran can not be paralleled in the whole history of heartless and licentious madness. An edict was procured from the Inquisition by which all the people of the Netherlands, with the exception of those who were specifically exempted, were sentenced to death! It seems impossible to realize the horrible extent and brutality of such a decree. Nor did Philip fail to ratify, by a royal mandate, the action of the inquisitors. As to the execution of the decree, the same now rested with the merciful Alva.

The spectacle of legalized murder soon

began in earnest. Those belonging to the lower classes of society were hanged. Nobles were beheaded and heretics burned at the stake. The property of the condemned was seized by Alva and his officers, and it was not long until the murderers wallowed in the wealth of their victims. Even those classes of persons who were exempted from persecution were in many instances robbed of their property by onerous taxes and requisitions.

Under this terrible reign of proscription



DUKE OF ALVA.

and blood the most flourishing country in Europe fell prostrate. Manufactures ceased, towns were deserted. In the summer of 1568 the grass and weeds grew rank around the richest wharves and marts which the industry of man had created since the days of the glory of Venice. In June of that year the counts Egmont and Horn were brought forth from their dungeon in Ghent and dragged before the Council of Blood for trial. Both of these illustrious citizens were knights of the Golden Fleece, and both were by the solemn statutes

of the Empire exempt from trial by such a court as that which Alva had constituted. Egmont as prince of Brabant might claim the protection of the laws of his own state; and Horn, who was a German count, could be legally tried only by the statutes of the Empire. But all these guarantees were brushed aside as so much cobweb by Alva and his council. Both the counts were condemned to death and were led forth and beheaded in the great square of Brussels. Terror seized the people. Those who could do so fled as from a pestilence. Many took ship and went to sea. A Dutch fleet was equipped and letters of marque were granted to privateers by William of Orange, who now appeared on the scene

the sky should fall, he would carry out his purpose in the Netherlands. It was this failure of Maximilian to mitigate the malevolence of Philip that finally determined the Prince of Orange to draw the avenging sword on behalf of his bleeding country. He raised and equipped three armies and entered the field to put an end to Alva's atrocities or perish in the attempt. Before proceeding against his antagonist, however, he published the first of his great state papers called the *JUSTIFICATION*, wherein he denounced the Duke of Alva and his Council of Blood with deserved severity. He declared that King Philip, forgetting the services which the Princes of Orange and Nassau had rendered to the Spanish crown, had



THE DUKE OF ALVA'S MARCH TO THE NETHERLANDS.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

and became the good genius of his country. The patriotic buccaneers who sailed under his commission, emulating the opprobrium which had been heaped upon their fellow patriots in the outbreak of the struggle took to themselves the name of Sea Beggars. Others of the Netherlanders sought refuge in the woods and became known as Wild Beggars, though their begging consisted in daring attacks made as opportunity offered upon their persecutors.

At this juncture the Emperor, Maximilian, cousin to Philip, sent a letter of remonstrance to that prince urging him to desist from his madness and cruelty. But he might as well have remonstrated with the fiend. Philip replied that he would rather not reign at all than to reign over heretics, and that, though

with unwonted and perfidious cruelty, broken the solemn oaths which he had taken when crowned king of the Netherlands, and that such a ruler was unfit to sway the destinies of a free people.

Hostilities now began on an enlarged scale. Two of Prince William's armies were defeated by the Spaniards; but the third, under command of Count Louis of Nassau, gained a signal victory over D'Artemberg in the battle of Groningen. This success, however, was of short duration. Alva soon came up with Louis of Nassau and overthrew him, with the destruction of his whole army, in the battle of Emden. So complete was the victory of the Spaniards that William of Orange and his brother, Prince Louis, were obliged to disband

their remaining forces and escape from the country. Unable any longer to sustain the Protestant cause in the Netherlands, they retired with a few followers into France and joined themselves with the Huguenots.

The Duke of Alva, now triumphant on the laud, proceeded with his programme of legal-

not seriously offended at these proceedings of her loyal subjects. She and Philip began assiduously to cultivate their long standing animosity, and the plant grew with repeated waterings. Elizabeth sent gold into Flanders to supply the suffering patriots in their struggle with the Spanish king, and he in his turn dis-



THE DUKE OF ALVA DEPOSES THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.

Drawn by R. Ermish.

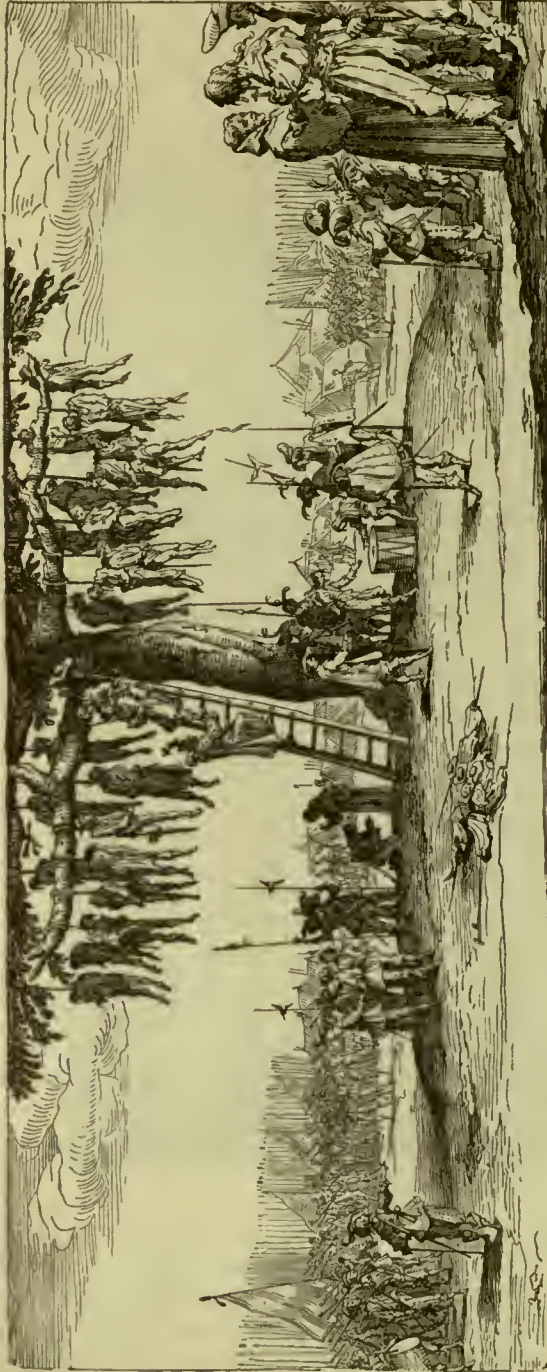
ized murder and extermination. The Beggars of the Sea, however, were more difficult to hunt down and bring to the gibbet. For four years they carried on a kind of honorable piracy, snatching many a ship from the Spaniards and selling their prizes to willing purchasers in the ports of England. It is but the truth of history to say that Elizabeth was

patched secret messengers into England with instructions to encourage the intrigues of Mary Stuart and her supporters to sow the seeds of sedition in the kingdom, and should opportunity offer, to assassinate the woman whom he had recently tried to marry! Such were the amiable beginnings of that cordial hatred which, after twenty years of cultivation, sent

the Invincible Armada out of the Tagus to meet its fate at the hands of Lord Howard and the North Sea.

to supply the Sea-Beggars with food. This act, however, conduced indirectly to the advantage of the Dutch cause. For De la Marek, who, by his genius, had risen to the rank of admiral of the Flemish privateers, gathered together his ships out of the English harbors, and, departing with twenty-four sail to the north of Zealand, seized Briel, and made it a rallying point of the Beggars. The place was soon fortified, and became well-nigh impregnable to assault. Having thus obtained a stronghold, De la Marek drew to his support the neighboring towns and islands. In July of 1572—while Catharine de Medici and her loving son were preparing the crimson programme for St. Bartholomew's Day—deputies from a multitude of the Dutch towns came together at Dort, and framed a declaration that William, Prince of Orange, was the lawful Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and that Philip II. being absent from the Netherlands, the government of Prince William should be upheld with their lives and fortunes. With this act the DUTCH REPUBLIC may be said to have had its beginning.

This sudden revival of the cause which they had supposed extinguished first astonished and then alarmed the Spaniards. Alva was amazed at the energy suddenly displayed by the patriots. In addition to this, the double-dealing of the French court greatly perplexed him. It was clearly the policy of the king of France and the queen-mother to be strictly Catholic in their own dominions, and at the same time to be Catholic or Protestant in other kingdoms as suited their interest and convenience. Alva perceived that, instead of the powerful support which he had expected on the side of France, the Italian woman who governed that country was actually throwing her influence in favor of the Dutch. None the less, the duke again took the field, and displayed his wonted courage and savagery. He drove Prince Louis of Nassau into Mons, and there besieged him. Meanwhile Prince William, having reorgan-



J. JOUQUEL

EXECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

J. FLAMING

But openly the two kingdoms continued at peace. Elizabeth, not wishing to violate the law of nations, forbade her subjects any longer

ized his forces in Germany again entered Flanders, and for a short time swept every thing before him. He captured Ruremonde, Mechlin, Dendermonde, and Oudenarde, and was about to raise the siege of Mons when the news came of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. At this juncture, a large division of Huguenots who were aiding Prince Louis in the defense of the town, and who were at that very time in the pay of Charles IX., were by his orders betrayed into the hands of the Duke of Alva, and were butchered in cold blood. Mons, thus weakened, fell, and all the conquests made by William in Brabant and Flanders were quickly recovered by the Spaniards. Indeed, in all the southern provinces, the Protestant cause was overthrown; but in Holland the Dutch were victorious, and the Prince of Orange gained an unequivocal possession of the government.

During the following winter the Low Lands were the scene of some of the strangest military operations ever witnessed. The Dutch fleet was frozen up in the harbor of Amsterdam, and, while in that condition, was attacked by a division of Alva's army. But the sailors armed themselves with muskets, put on skates, went forth on the ice-field, and defeated their assailants. Then followed the siege of Haarlem, one of the most heroic episodes of the war. Never was a place more heroically defended. The best women of the city enrolled themselves as soldiers, and fought with as much valor as their husbands and fathers. The winter was one of great severity, and this circumstance was favorable to the Dutch; for the Spaniards, though inured to the hardships of the field, were not accustomed to the cold, and they perished by thousands.

Notwithstanding her obstinate defense, Haarlem was at length taken, and nearly three thousand of her citizens put to death. The Spaniards next proceeded to lay siege to Alkmaar. But here they were met with a still more stubborn resistance; and, after the investment had been pressed for a season, the besiegers were driven off. Soon afterwards the Duke of Alva, having perhaps perceived the hopelessness of the work in which he was engaged, and disgusted with the intrigues of the Spanish court, many of which were directed against himself, procured his own recall. On the 18th of December, 1573, he left

the Netherlands never to return. As his successor, Don Luis de Requesens, a man of more placable disposition and better sense of justice, was appointed. As soon as he reached the provinces, the old method of wholesale slaughter and destruction was renounced, and a new policy adopted, which, if it had come at an earlier stage of the war, would doubtless have ended the conflict. Now, however, the angry Dutch were determined to secure their independence, or die in the struggle. Besides, the oppressive taxes previously imposed by the Spanish government were still retained, and the Council of Blood continued its work of proscription.

In the year 1573 the Dutch fleet gained a complete ascendancy on the sea. Had the land forces of the Netherlands been equally successful, the war would have been brought to a sudden end. But the Spanish infantry long regarded as the best soldiery in Europe, could not be driven from the country. The year passed without decisive results. But in the beginning of 1574, Prince Louis of Nassau, who was advancing from the side of Germany to reinforce William in Holland, was met by the Spanish army and totally defeated in the battle of Nimegucn, where the prince himself was slain. In the mean time the Spaniards had begun the siege of Leyden. After the battle just referred to, the investment was pressed more rigorously than ever. Only a few soldiers were in the town, but the citizens took up arms and manned the ramparts. Unable to carry the place by assault, the besiegers waited until famine should compel a surrender. By the beginning of June the stress of hunger began to be felt in the city. But the people quailed not at the prospect. Prince William, who now had his headquarters at Delft, in Rotterdam, made unwearied efforts to relieve the suffering garrison. The situation was such, however, that he could not approach Leyden with his fleet without breaking the dykes along the Meuse and the Yessel, thus letting out the rivers and letting in the sea. To do so was to deluge the already afflicted country, and to destroy the growing crops still unripe in the fields. The States-general, however, gave orders that the dykes should be broken, and the floods rushed over the country.

The starving citizens of Leyden well understood the meaning of the rising sea. They climbed to the towers and anxiously watched the swelling waters until what time the provision fleet of William should come in sight. That thoughtful prince had prepared and loaded with supplies two hundred ships at Delft, and as soon as the waters were sufficiently deep, he ordered them to sail for Leyden. When the fleet came in sight of the city, and thousands of eager hands were ready to stretch forth to receive the food which was to save them from a horrible death, an adverse east wind blew the vessels back towards Delft. The waters sank so low under the pressure of the blast that the ships could not immediately return. When at length the floods rose, the same thing happened again, and the famishing people of Leyden at last gave way to despair. They rushed to the burgomaster and demanded that the city should be surrendered to the Spaniards; but that undaunted officer faced the hungry multitude with true Dutch heroism. "I have taken an oath," said he, "never to deliver our city of Leyden into the hands of the perfidious Spaniards. I am ready to die, but not to break my oath. Here is my sword and here my breast. Kill me if you will and eat my body, but surrender I will not." Such heroic conduct on the part of the burgomaster could produce only one result. The people rallied from their despair; and though many fell dying of hunger, the rest stood to the work like heroes.

At last, on the 1st of October, the wind turned, and blowing from the north-west, brought in the deepening sea. Again the provision fleet drew near. The Spaniards saw that the hour of deliverance was at hand and made a furious attempt to beat off the approaching ships. In the middle of the night a battle was fought—one of the strangest spectacles in history—wherein for some hours the combat raged between the Dutch provision fleet—swinging about among the tops of the apple-trees and the roofs of submerged houses—and the Spaniards. But the latter were beaten off and the ships sailed up the Channel, distributing provisions right and left to the starving crowds of people on the banks. On the very next day after the deliverance, a gale from the north-east blew out the sea from the

flooded district, and before the tide could turn the dykes were securely rebuilt.

It was now evident that the besiegers could not succeed in taking the city. Though a great part of the walls, undermined by the water, fell, the Spaniards made no further attempt to repair their discomfiture, but began a retreat. In commemoration of their deliverance, the authorities of Leyden founded a university and established a sort of memorial fair of ten days in each year.

In the latter part of 1574 Philip II., finding the fates against him, assented to the mediation of Maximilian, and it was agreed that a peace congress should be held at Buda in the following year. When the assembly convened, however, it was found that the Spanish king's idea of peace was that the Netherlanders should concede every thing and himself nothing. Even if it had been otherwise the case would hardly have been improved, for the perfidy of Philip was so well known as to destroy all confidence in any pledges which he might make. The Congress of Buda was obliged to adjourn without important results, and the war was immediately renewed.

In the spring of 1576, De Requesens died, and his soldiers, who were unpaid, broke into mutiny, dividing into lawless bands they marched whither they would, committing such outrages as made civilization shudder. The cities of Ghent, Utrecht, Valenciennes, and Maestricht were successively taken by the lawless and licentious troops, who burned and murdered at their will. At last Antwerp itself was captured and for three days became a scene of such devastation as had hardly been witnessed since the days of the Goths. A thousand buildings were left in ashes and eight thousand of the people were butchered.

Still William of Orange held his position in the North. In the hope of lending a helping hand to the stricken southern provinces he induced the authorities of Brussels to convoke the States-general, and when that body convened he sent an army to aid in expelling the Spaniards from Ghent. By these means the northern and the southern provinces were brought into alliance, and the prospects of the Netherlands greatly improved. An agreement was made, under the name of the Patrification

of Ghent, by the terms of which the estates of the seventeen provinces were to assemble by their representatives and devise measures for the complete expulsion of the Spanish armies from their borders, and for the establishment of religious toleration.

In the mean time, however, Prince Don John, of Austria, had been appointed by his brother Philip to succeed Requesens in the governorship of the rebellious country. By the time of his arrival, in November of 1576, so hostile had the states become to the continuance of Spanish rule that he was compelled to enter Luxembourg, which was the only province now holding aloof from the League, in the disguise of a Moorish slave. Nor could he in any wise enter upon his alleged duties as governor until he had taken an oath to observe the statutes and customs of the country. The agreement which he was thus obliged to ratify was known as the PERPETUAL EDICT. But the absurdity of such a name for such a document is well illustrated in the fact that before setting out for the Netherlands Don John had been instructed by Philip to *promise the people every thing and perform nothing!*

In the very beginning the new governor had a foretaste of what was to be expected. The authorities refused to give him possession of the citadel of Brussels. In revenge for this business he availed himself of the first opportunity to seize the fortress of Namur, and soon afterwards continued his aggressions by capturing Charlemont and Marienburg. He then attempted to perform a like feat at Ghent and Antwerp, but was defeated by the people, who destroyed their citadels to prevent them from falling into the power of the Spaniards.

In the mean time, the Catholic nobles of Flanders and Brabant, seeing the havoc that was wrought in the country by the agents of Philip, stood off from that crooked prince, and set up in opposition to Don John the Archduke Matthias, brother of Emperor Maximilian. The latter was acknowledged by William of Orange, and the prince accepted, at

his hands, the office of lieutenant-general of the Netherlands. Once more the States on this basis assembled and adopted the UNION OF BRUSSELS. The northern and the southern provinces were by this means drawn into a closer alliance and community of interests.

But Philip was in no wise disposed to abate his pretensions to absolute authority in the North. In 1578, he sent into the Netherlands a new army of Spanish troops under command of Alexander Farnese. This movement was precipitated by the action of Queen Elizabeth, whose contingent of six thousand



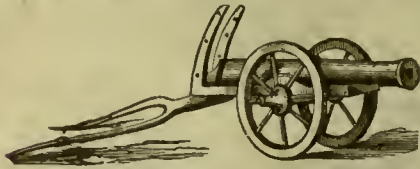
ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMIA.

soldiers arrived in the same year and joined the army of Holland. The English queen had now become thoroughly enlisted in the cause of the Dutch; for she had discovered a plot which her enemies had concocted to depose herself, put Mary Stuart on the throne, and marry her to Don John of Austria. Back of this scheme stood Philip II., Catharine de Medici, the Guises, the Pope, *et id omne genus*. When Farnese entered the Netherlands, he was soon confronted by the Dutch; but the Spanish infantry still proved to be superior to any that could be

brought against it, and the battle of Gemblours resulted in a complete victory for Philip's army.

But shortly after this disaster to the Dutch cause, the city of Amsterdam gave in her adherence to the Union of Brussels, thus adding a new increment of strength to the forces of the Protestants. In the next battle, that of Rymenants, the Spaniards were defeated; but the success of the Dutch was mainly attributable to the English auxiliaries, to whom the sight of a Spanish uniform was abhorrent. In October of this year Don John died, and was succeeded by Alexander, duke of Parma, whose reputation as a soldier was not surpassed by that of any general of the century.

On the other hand, the Protestants also found it desirable to take down the figure-head which they had found in the person of Matthias of Austria; for he had proved to be of no advantage to the cause. In his place the States now determined to set up the Duke



CANNON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

of Anjou, who, being French, could perhaps bring over the court influence of his country to the support of Dutch independence. Another part of the programme contemplated the marriage of Anjou with Queen Elizabeth. Albeit, the princes of the continent had not yet learned that, in the matter of marrying, that distinguished lady had views of her own which were likely to be made known before the ceremony. It suited her purpose, however, to play awhile with her alleged lover, and to direct his movements. Anjou marched into Hainault, made a brief but successful campaign, and then retired into France.

Now it was that the cause of the Dutch Protestants was more injured by internal fanaticism than by foreign foes. At the city of Ghent a democratic insurrection broke out against the Union of Brussels. The movement was headed by certain demagogues who were going to introduce the millennium by transferring the legislative powers of the state to the deans of the trade-guilds and the cap-

tains of the militia, while the executive functions were to be lodged in a Council of Eighteen. This impractical scheme was caught at not only in Ghent, but in many other towns, and the movement was for political reasons supported by the deposed Matthias and John Casimir, prince of the palatinate. The pitiable spectacle was thus presented of a division among the opponents of Spanish absolutism. Vainly did the Prince of Orange attempt to prevent one faction of the Protestants from going to war with the other. He had the mortification to see a Huguenot invasion of the Walloon provinces, while the Walloons themselves were making a campaign against the insurgents in Ghent. The general result of this factious conflict was that the Catholic provinces of the South renounced the Union of Brussels, and renewed their allegiance to the Spanish crown.

In this emergency the best that could be done by the Prince of Orange was to save whatever remained to the cause of Dutch independence. To this end he secured a new confederation known as the UNION OF UTRECHT, embracing in the compact the seven Protestant provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders, Overysse, Friesland, and Groningen. It was agreed that the nominal sovereignty of the Netherlands should still be conceded to Philip of Spain, but that so far as the local government of the country was concerned, all foreigners should be expelled, the offices given to natives, and the ancient laws and usages of each province restored and guaranteed.

In the mean time the attention of the great powers of Europe had been called to the unprecedented conflict in the Netherlands. In 1578 a congress of the leading European states convened at Cologne. The delegates came together under a summons from the Emperor Rudolph II. Representatives were present from most of the German countries, from France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, and the States of the Church. The question presented by the Emperor was the pacification of the Netherlands. Those provinces were willing to be pacified on the principle of religious toleration, the expulsion of foreign officers, and the restoration and observance of the old Dutch laws and customs. These conditions

were precisely what Philip was determined never to concede. For seven months the congress wrestled with the problem, and then adjourned, wholly barren of results. As a consequence of the general condition of affairs and the fruitlessness of the recent effort for peace, the seventeen provinces which had been united under the Union of Brussels were now divided into three groups: the four Walloon districts lying next to France returned to Spain, conditioned, however, on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops; the middle provinces grouped themselves in Flanders; while the remaining states of the North united on the ground of absolute independence. As to the religious questions which lay at the bottom of the insurrection, the Walloons returned to the Catholic communion. Flanders tolerated both the old and the new doctrine, and the northern provinces became wholly Protestant.

Meanwhile Farnese had begun his military operations with the siege of Maestricht. About midsummer the city fell into his hands, and was given up to the licentious rage of the Spanish soldiers. On the other hand, William of Orange was successful in putting down the democratic rioters in Ghent, and restoring order in the North. At this epoch of the contest that Cardinal Granvelle, who had been a chief counselor in the administration of the Duchess of Parma, reappeared on the scene, and induced Philip II. to issue a ban against William of Orange. He was branded with

every crime in the calendar, and a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns was set on his head. The murderer, whoever he might be, was promised a free pardon for any and all crimes of which he might have been guilty, and an elevation to the ranks of the Spanish nobility. As a matter of fact, the Prince of



AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MAESTRICHT.

Orange had been the most blameless leader of his times; nor had his course at any epoch of the conflict been so radical as justly provoke the Spanish government. And yet the measures which were now adopted against him were such as would hardly have been justifiable against the most ferocious brigand of the Middle Ages.

The bloody edict of Philip was of so low

and brutal a character as to arouse all the slumbering indignation and insulted honor of William's nature. He replied in one of the ablest and most severe state papers of the century. Philip's murderous meanness was answered with just scorn. The king was told of

of lawless war. *He* it was who had already many times sought, by the employment of paid assassins, to destroy the nobler men whom he could not subdue to his brutal will. *He* it was who now attempted to terrify the lawful Stadtholder of the Netherlands by setting a

price on his head. And then, having completed the terrible arraignment, the undaunted prince made out the document in duplicate, affixed thereto his signature, set his seal, wrote his fearless motto, "I WILL MAINTAIN," upon it, and sent a copy to nearly all of the rulers of Europe.

From this time forth the ascendancy of William of Orange over the people of the North was almost unlimited. He made good use of his influence by inducing the retirement of the Archduke Matthias on a pension. One troublesome factor was thus removed from Dutch politics. In the next place the prince persuaded his countrymen of the middle provinces and the North to accept



Guilielmus D. G. Princeps Auroica, Comes Nassavie, Caronenellonhyie, Pinda, Dietrie, Longe, Buxra, Leerdami, etc. Marchio Pera et Flaninge, Dux et Baro Breda, Dux, Grimbergie, Artois, Vnoresii, Castellollin etc. Vice-comes harenariis, Auvergie, et Bioncie, Gubernator Generalis Brabantie, Hollandie, Zelandie, Frisie, Ottraiechi, Archibasilicus maris inferiori Germania.
Comptabilis republi. Or. Conf. Parisi 1. P. inde Venet. cur. Martell. 1612. *West. Thron, ante, qui Sara postima redente* *1618* *Aut. inde Venet. pisanis, et Diff. anjua*

WILLIAM THE SILENT.

his own crimes against humanity and the law of nations. *He* it was who, by his obstinate cruelty, had brought all the woes upon the Netherlands. *He* it was who had sent a rapacious and brutal soldiery to fall upon his peaceable subjects in the North, and had inflicted upon them every outrage known in the annals

the Duke of Anjou as governor-general of the Netherlands, reserving for himself only the countries of Holland and Zeeland. The duke on his part, in accepting the power thus conferred, solemnly covenanted to observe and maintain the laws, rights, and privileges of the provinces.

The States-general convened at the Hague, and in June of 1581 the authority of Philip of Spain was forever renounced by an *Act of Abjuration*. Francis of Valois, Duke of Anjou, was proclaimed ruler of the Netherlands. The formal action of the states was set forth in an able and radical paper drawn up by Sainte Aldegonde, under the inspiration of his friend, the Prince of Orange. Among other articles of the great document a clause was inserted declaring the natural right of a people to renounce and depose a sovereign who presumed to govern with injustice—a political maxim afterwards adopted by the English revolutionists of the Cromwellian era, and still more explicitly by the American patriots of the Congress of Seventy-six in declaring independence.

The Duke of Anjou now sought to establish his authority by force. In so doing he had to face the Spanish army under Alexander of Parma. The latter was at this time engaged in the siege of Cambray, and thither Anjou led an army of French. Parma was obliged to raise the siege, and the forces of Anjou took possession of the city. The duke soon afterwards entered Antwerp, where he received, at the hands of the Prince of Orange, the ducal cap and other insignia of his office. A like ceremony was performed in other provinces of the North, and Francis was recognized as "Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire."

Not much, however, could be reasonably expected of a prince of the House of Valois. Francis was neither better nor worse than his kinsmen. He had received his education in the school of absolutism, and could not understand or appreciate the free-born loyalty of the Dutch. To him, their principles and conduct seemed to be an end of all government. He was, moreover, the victim of an intense jealousy regarding the Prince of Orange, whose superior influence over the people he could but recognize. It was not long, under these conditions, until the duke entered into a plot with others like-minded with himself to overthrow the liberties of the Netherlands, and re-subject the Dutch to an absolute rule. His purpose in this regard was quickly discovered, and preparations were made to resist him. Nor was it long before an occasion was found for

an outbreak. In January of 1583, the duke brought an army to Antwerp with a view to taking military possession of the city. The citizens, perceiving his intent, flew to arms, stretched chains across the streets, threw up barricades, and opposed force with force. A battle was fought in the city, and nearly a half of Anjou's army was destroyed by the rioters. The duke himself took flight in the direction of Dendermonde. Not satisfied with his expulsion, the patriots cut the dyke, and sent the sluices after him, swallowing up a thousand of his band. Finding his government suddenly overthrown, Anjou left the scene of his discomfiture, and sought refuge at Dunkirk.

In Flanders the Duke of Parma continued his conquests. One place after another was wrested from the patriots until only three Flemish towns remained in their possession. Still the cause was not extinguished, and one revolt rose upon the heels of another. Not the loss of their cities, however, nor the devastation of their country, struck such terror into the soul of the Netherlanders as did the calamity which now darkened the land. In July of 1584 the Prince of Orange was assassinated. Philip at last found a murderer to his hand. A certain Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian by birth, accomplished what five of like sort had failed to do in the course of the two preceding years. More adroit than the other villains, Gerard sought and gained admission to William's household at Delft, and there, watching his opportunity, shot the prince as he was coming from the dining hall. The assassin was immediately seized by the enraged Dutch, and tortured in a manner almost as horrible as the deed which he had committed.

But no vindictive cruelty done upon the murderer could restore the great leader upon whose strong arm the patriots of the Netherlands had leaned for so many years. William of Orange was indeed among the greatest and best of heroes. He had courage, steadfastness, devotion to liberty. In a dark and troublous time, when his country by the persecutions of her foes was brought time and again to the very verge of ruin, his invincible will and calm defiance still stood upright in the storm. Cheerful and genial in private intercourse, his judicious continence as it related to matters of state and public wel-

fare, his ability to gain a knowledge of the purpose of others without revealing his own, gained for him his sobriquet of the SILENT, and gave him his reputation as the most astute statesman of his times. His ample fortune was spent in the service of his country. Not all the honors and distinctions which Philip of Spain, or indeed all the sovereigns of Europe, could offer were sufficient to seduce him from the high and straight path of duty. He lived without fear and died without reproach.—As to the murderer, his family was rewarded according

qualities of a great leader, but lacked the self-possession and persistency which had characterized his father.

Meanwhile, the siege of Antwerp was pressed with ever-increasing rigor by the Duke of Parma. For nearly a year the citizens held out against him. Sainte Aldegonde, who conducted the defense, seemed equal to every movement of his adversary. The Spaniards spent about six months in constructing a kind of fortified causeway below the city with a view to cutting off communications with the provinces next the



SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

to the promise of the Spanish king, and three lordships in Franche-Comté were set aside as the *distinction* which the kinsmen of the assassin were to have for the perpetration of his infamous deed.

Prince William's second son, Maurice of Nassau, was appointed as his father's successor in the government of the Netherlands. His elder brother, the Count of Buren, was a prisoner in Spain, and was besides alienated from the affections of his countrymen. As to the Prince Maurice, he possessed many of the

sea, and in this work they were finally successful. The Dutch attempted to destroy the causeway by sending fire-ships against it; but their efforts were thwarted and themselves defeated in a hard-fought battle on the dykes. Antwerp fell. But the victory of the Spaniards was well-nigh barren. The people left the city. Public and private buildings were pulled down by the victors to obtain materials for the construction of a new citadel, and this, when completed, received a Spanish garrison. But the commerce of Antwerp ceased. Her wharves

rotted away. Her bankers, who had controlled the money market of Europe, departed to foreign lands, and cattle were presently seen grazing in public squares recently thronged with thousands of busy tradesmen.

In the next epoch of the war, the queen of England appeared as a prominent figure. Deeply offended at the murder of William of Orange, and perceiving that she herself was likely to meet the same fate at the hands of some emissary of her *friend* Philip, she now openly sought to stay the tottering fortunes of Holland. She accordingly made an alliance with the Dutch, supplied them with money, and sent an army under the Earl of Leicester into the Netherlands. In return for these favors the states put into her hands the cities of Briel and Brest, and offered to make her sovereign of the country. It suited not her policy, however, to accept the honor; for so strongly was she imbued with the doctrines of absolutism in government, that although she desired Philip to be beaten in the war, she hoped to see the rebellious Hollanders reduced to obedience. Accordingly, when the Dutch—she herself having refused to accept the government—conferred the title of Governor-general upon the Earl of Leicester, she was so greatly angered that she sent to the States a savage paper so little in sympathy with them and their cause that they began to suspect her of a secret understanding with Philip. Nor was the suspicion without foundation in fact.

Meanwhile the cause of Dutch independence received blow after blow at the hands of the Duke of Parma. In September of 1586 the city of Zutphen was besieged by the Earl of Leicester, but he was unable to wrest the place from the Spaniards. During the siege, in a skirmish before the town, Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most chivalrous spirits and gallant soldiers of the age, was mortally wounded. It is narrated that when suffering from intolerable thirst, and about to receive a cup of water from an attendant, his attention was drawn to the agonizing glance of a dying soldier near by who also thirsted unto death. With the true spirit of a knight, he refused the cup himself and said to the poor fellow, whose ears were already humming with the roar of other waters, "Take it, my friend; for thy necessity is greater than mine." Leices-

ter finding it impossible to establish himself in authority, at length gave over the contest, and in the latter part of 1587 returned to England.

In the following year the attention of all Western Europe was drawn to the great invasion of the English dominions by the Spaniards. Philip's Invincible Armada sailed out of the Tagus and went forth to encounter St. George and Neptune. It will be remembered that the Duke of Parma, on coming down to the coast to take part in the invasion, found things in so sorry a plight under the management of the Duke of Medina, that he refused to embark. Meanwhile the Dutch, perceiving his situation, collected their fleet and blockaded Parma in the Flemish harbors. These movements changed the aspect of the war. Parma succeeded in extricating himself from his situation, but his soldiers suffered greatly for want of pay and failure of supplies. In this state of shattered fortune the duke was ordered to withdraw his half-mutinous army in the direction of France, for the crown of that kingdom had now gone to Henry of Navarre, and the Catholics were shaken with fear lest the Protestants, still dripping with the bloody sweat of St. Bartholomew, should take all things for themselves and turn the Ancient Church, like Hagar, into the wilderness to perish of despair.

Such was the change in affairs that enabled Prince Maurice, of Nassau, to reunite the seven provinces of the North, to subdue Flanders and Brabant, and establish himself on the line of the Meuse and the Scheldt. Before the close of 1592, however, the Prince of Parma had succeeded in recovering the Flemish provinces and holding them for Spain. In December of that year Parma died, and his office of governor-general fell to the archduke Ernest of Austria. But the latter was never able to extend his authority over the Northern Netherlands.

While the attention of Philip was thus diverted to France and England the Dutch made good use of the interval to build and equip the finest navy in Europe. That done, there was no longer a likelihood of the ultimate resubjugation of their country by Spain. The last decade of the sixteenth century wore on, and that Philip who never laughed except at the news of St. Bartholomew grew old

and feeble. He died, however, with his face set like stone against liberty, and his heart hardened against mankind. The last scene came in September of 1598. Like his father, the Spanish king died in disappointment and

seas, and wherever a Spanish ship could be found there a summary vengeance was taken upon the perfidious flag of Spain. Thus the war dragged on until 1609, when Philip III., wearied at last with a conflict which brought

him nothing but the news of defeats and captured treasure-ships, consented to a truce with the Netherlands for twelve years. Such was the achievement of Dutch independence.

The Netherlanders now found that it was one thing to win freedom and another to be free. As soon as the genius of Catholicism, impersonated in the crown of Spain, was repelled from the North, the religious feud took a new form, not less destructive of human happiness than the old. For nearly forty years Catholic and Protestant had been imbruing their hands in each other's blood. Now the Protestants turned upon each other. The Calvinists and the Arminians succeeded in dividing the people of Holland into two parties, between which the strife raged with the same ferocity which had rent the country for



JAN VAN OLDEN BARNEVELDT.

disgust, leaving his crown to his son, Philip III. The latter undertook to accomplish what Philip had failed to do—subdue the revolted provinces; but his efforts were balked and defeated. The Dutch fleet went forth into all

nearly a half century. Prince Maurice himself appeared as a fomenter of this discord; for he hoped thereby to rise to the absolute sovereignty of the Netherlands. He took his stand at the head of the Calvinist party and was op-

MAP XVI.

EUROPE

During the Thirty Years War.

By A. von Stehwehr.

From Thalheimer's Mediaeval History,
by permission.

Scale of Miles.

0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200 220 240 260 280 300



posed by the two distinguished patriots, Olden Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius. Never did two leaders deserve better of the people whom they sought to serve. Those whom they led took the name of *Remonstrants*, while the followers of Maurice were known as the *Anti-Remonstrants*—two names which are still used in the party jargon of Holland. At length the Remonstrants were put down. The venerable Barneveldt, then seventy-one years of age, was condemned to death, and was executed on the 13th of May, 1619. Grotius was condemned to imprisonment for life. The crime with which he was charged was the defense and support of religious toleration, but his political liberalism furnished the animus of the prosecution. He had written a book, his *Mare Liberum* or *Free Sea*, in which he had advanced and defended the monstrous doc-

trine that the high seas are not the property of any king, but are and should be free to the ships of all nations. How could it be expected that the sixteenth century, aye, or the seventeenth, would permit a philosopher to live who had propounded so dreadful a political heresy as that? Grotius was thrown into prison in the castle of Lowenstein on the island between the Waal and Meuse. After two years of close confinement, he succeeded in making his escape, being aided in that adventure by his accomplished wife. Making his way into France, he was well received, became a pensioner of Louis XIII., and presently gave to the world his *De Bello et Pace*, his celebrated *Treatise on War and Peace*, a work so thoroughly profound and exhaustive as to become, and ever remain, the foundation of the Law of Nations.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.



NO one can thoughtfully view the condition of affairs in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century without perceiving the imminence of a great war. For more than seventy years the religious agitation had continued, now here, now there. Thus far the struggle had had a local aspect. At the first, Germany had been shaken, then England, then France, then Holland. As to Spain, the Reformation had made no progress therein, and in Italy the movement had been despised. In general it may be said that Protestantism flourished in the North, and withered in the South. The destinies of the cause had been as various as the countries in which it had struggled for recognition. In the greater part of Germany the triumph of the new faith was unequivocal. The same was true in England, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. But in France, though for the moment on the accession of Henry of Navarre, it appeared that the Protestants had gained the day, the Catholics really retained the ascendancy. Before the House of Bourbon could secure a recogni-

tion as ruling in verity and by right, the great representative and founder of that dynasty was obliged to return to the bosom of the Mother Church. In Spain, Catholicism had had little trouble in keeping its ancient dominion. What with the Jesuits and what with the Inquisition, the heretical doctrines of the reformers had been eradicated as fast as they were planted in the countries south of the Pyrennees and the Alps.

Thus far, however, there had been no general or international conflict of the Catholics and the Protestants. Many symptoms had already appeared of the formation of a general league of the states still holding the ancient religion against those which had adopted the reformed faith. Nor could he who understood the genius and constitution of Rome, fail to perceive that she would yet rally into one phalanx those kingdoms that still recognized her supremacy and send them forth in a final campaign for the recovery of her lost inheritance. The time had now come when all the organic powers of the Romish hierarchy were to be put in motion for the suppression of the great Protestant schism, and as a consequence for the combination of the reformed states to

prevent this result. The struggle consequent upon these antecedent conditions is known as the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. The conflict—though its beginning was not so clearly defined as its end—may be said to have begun with the storming of the Council Hall in Prague, on the 23d of May, 1618, and to have ended with the treaty of Westphalia, concluded on the 24th of October, 1648. It is the purpose in the present chapter to present an outline of the principal events and general course of this great and inglorious war by which Europe was devastated for more than a quarter of a century.

Like the Reformation, of which it was the closing act, the Thirty Years' War had its origin in Germany. Nor could it have been foreseen how great a conflagration would presently be kindled from so small a flame. The premonitory symptoms of the struggle were first seen in Styria. Duke Ferdinand of that principality, a cousin to Emperor Rudolph II., issued an edict for the restoration of the ancient religion. This was done in the face of the fact that a great majority of his subjects were Protestants. As might have been anticipated, his mandate was met with a refusal. Adopting the theory of Philip II., that it was better to rule over an orthodox desert than a heretical paradise, Ferdinand organized an armed force, and, marching from place to place in his dominions, proceeded to carry his edict into effect. The reformed churches were closed or demolished, the hymn-books and Bibles of the people seized and burned, and a decree of banishment promulgated against all who would not return to the Holy Church.

In the next year, namely, in 1607, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, emulous of the pious example set by Ferdinand, proceeded in like manner to overthrow the religion which his people had chosen. It happened at this time that the inhabitants of Donauwörth became involved in a quarrel with a neighboring monastery. Though this city was not a part of Maximilian's duchy, he took up the cause of the monks and seized Donauwörth. The latter hereupon appealed to the diet of the Empire, but a majority of the members of that body were Catholics, and the appeal was unheeded. This led to the formation of

a Union of the states of Southern Germany for the defense of their rights against the aggressions of the Romish party. The Protestant states of Northern Germany, however, would not enter into this confederation, for the reason that the southern Protestants had adopted the doctrines of Calvinism, thus giving in their adherence to the so-called *Reformed Church* as against the *Lutheran Church* of Germany.

The formation of the PROTESTANT UNION in the South led to the establishment, under the auspices of Duke Maximilian, of the CATHOLIC LEAGUE for the support of the position taken by the rulers of Styria and Bavaria. From the first, the promoters of these two leagues looked abroad, and expected the aid of powerful auxiliaries. The Union stretched out its hands to Henry IV. of France, and the League to Philip III. of Spain. Both parties made preparation for war, and a conflict was about to be precipitated, when the attention of the parties, and, indeed, of all Germany, was unexpectedly called to a crisis which had occurred in the duchy of Cleves.

In 1609, Duke John William of that principality, as also of Jülich and Berg, as well as of the counties of Ravensberg and Mark, died, leaving no male heir to succeed him. The people of the territories which he had ruled were Protestants; himself, a Catholic. Two claimants, John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Wolfgang William of the Bavarian Palatinate, both related through the female line to the deceased Duke of Cleves, now came forward with their supporters to secure the inheritance. The Protestants, perceiving that they were about to be overreached by their adversaries, took advantage of their superiority in numbers, and seized the duchy by force.

Learning of this action, the Emperor Rudolph II. sent the Archduke Leopold of Hapsburg to take possession of Cleves, and to hold it under the Imperial authority. At this, the Protestant Union at once appealed for aid to Henry IV. of France, and that prince was on the eve of espousing the cause when he was assassinated. This event changed for a while the whole current of affairs. The Union and the League were both so averse to the usurpation of Leopold that they now laid aside

their religious quarrel, and united to prevent the formation of another Austrian principality on the Lower Rhine.

The two candidates for the Cleves duchy, however, still pressed their claims. Each sought to strengthen his support by a change of religion. Wolfgang William became a Catholic to gain the influence of the League, and at the same time married the sister of Maximilian. John Sigismund went over to the Protestants in the hope of securing their support. Each of the rivals also sought foreign aid, and both received assistance out of the Netherlands. From that country a body of Spanish troops came into Germany to offer their services to William, and a division of Dutch soldiers from Holland enlisted under the banner of Sigismund. The war that ensued continued for nearly four years, and was closed by a treaty in 1614. A compromise was effected, but the larger part of the disputed territories fell to John Sigismund.

Eight years before the event just mentioned, the Emperor Rudolph II., who had grown old, fretful, and foolish, was deposed by the Diet "on account," as was said by that body, "of occasional imbecilities of mind." His brother Matthias was made regent in his stead. The old Emperor, however, still had intelligence enough to understand the degradation to which he had been subjected, and refused to yield to the edict of the diet. But the princes of the Empire, especially the Protestants, came to the support of Matthias, and he was confirmed in authority. In doing so, they took care that the regent should make large concessions in the direction of religious toleration. This fact gave the old Emperor still further ground of opposition. There was an attempt to annul the concessions which had been made; and the Bohemians sought to prevent this action. They rallied around Matthias, and Rudolph was driven out of Prague. "May the vengeance of God overtake thee," said he, as he looked back at the city gates, "and my curse light on thee and all Bohemia."

In 1612 the deposed Emperor died, and MATTHIAS succeeded him in the Imperial dignity. His first measure on coming to the throne was to convene a diet for the purpose of settling the religious disputes of Germany. When that body was assembled, however, the

Protestant members, finding themselves outnumbered, withdrew, and thus broke up the diet. Matthias hereupon sought to dissolve both the League and the Union, but in this he could not succeed. Meanwhile, his authority in Hungary was almost overthrown by an insurrection headed by Bethlen Gabor, a chief of Transylvania, who was aided by the Turks.

So great were the embarrassments under which Matthias found himself, that he shrank from the performance of his Imperial duties. Having no children of his own, he gave his attention to the succession, and at length nominated Duke Ferdinand of Styria to succeed him. The latter was a man of great energy of character, a thorough Jesuit, stern and bigoted, ambitious for the restoration of Catholicism. In proportion as he was acceptable to the Catholics of the Empire he was dreaded and antagonized by the Protestants. Nevertheless, he gave to the latter a grant of toleration in return for their support as king of Bohemia. Having been confirmed as ruler of that country, he now joined Matthias in an expedition against the insurgents of Hungary. During his absence, Bohemia was to be governed by a council of ten, seven of whom were Catholics and three Protestants.

No sooner, however, was the king away than the majority of this body began to persecute the minority, to destroy churches and confiscate their property. The Protestants, in their distress, appealed to the Emperor, Matthias; but the latter treated the petitioners with contempt and aversion. Seeing themselves about to be delivered into the hands of their enemies, they rose in insurrection, gained possession of Prague, stormed the City Hall, and threw two of the Councilors, together with their secretaries, out of the windows. Though the distance of the fall was twenty-eight feet, the expelled members escaped with their lives. This event, so audacious and tragical, happened on the 23d of May, 1618, and is generally cited as the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

At this time the Protestants were, as it respects the people of Germany, in a majority of four to one, but the princes of the Empire were mostly on the other side. It appears that the former party, relying upon its numer-

ical superiority, did not properly appreciate the compactness, persistency, and force of the old organization with which it now had to contend. None the less the Protestants of Bohemia perceiving that retaliation quick and sharp was sure to follow the outbreak in Prague, deemed it wise to widen the area of the revolt and convert it into a revolution. They accordingly chose Count Thurn as their leader, overthrew the Imperial authority in Bohemia, expelled the Jesuits from the country, and entered into a correspondence with their friends, the Protestant nobles of Austria, and also with Bethlen Gabor of Hungary.

As for Emperor Matthias, he would gladly have compromised the difficulty which had become so alarming among his subjects; but Ferdinand, who was a man of greater force of will, and withal a fiery zealot of Rome, completely under the influence of the Jesuits, would hear to nothing but suppression. Two armies were accordingly sent into Bohemia. But the people of that country were aided by a force of four thousand men under Count Mansfeld, and also by a Silesian contingent of three thousand. In the first general battle of the war the Imperialists were defeated and driven back to the Danube. Such was the condition of affairs when, on the 20th of May, 1619, Matthias died. To seize upon the Imperial authority became at once the prevailing ambition with Ferdinand.

But to succeed in his purposes was no easy task. The Hungarians had now openly espoused the cause of Bohemia. Austria herself was on the eve of general revolt; nor had Ferdinand for the time any adequate force with which to support his claims. On the other hand, the Protestant army, led by Count Thurn, was already on the march against Vienna. Encamping before the walls of the city, the count opened negotiations with the king, and the latter was about to yield to the demands of his subjects when a body of cavalry made its way through the lines of the besiegers and came to his support. Thus strengthened, he was enabled to hold the city, and when the news came that Count Mansfeld had suffered a defeat, the king dismissed all thought of compromise. Count Thurn was obliged to raise the siege, and when in August the Diet was convened at Frankfort, the king

readily found opportunity to attend the meeting and promote his election to the Imperial crown.

Against all probability in the premises, the three Protestant electors were induced to give their votes to Ferdinand. It was afterwards alleged that they were bribed so to do by the Jesuits. The greater likelihood is that they received from the candidate such pledges respecting religious toleration as to induce the belief, or at least the hope, that he would deal justly by their party. At any rate, he secured all the votes, and was crowned in the cathedral at Frankfort as FERDINAND II.

Perceiving that their cause was about to be ruined, the Bohemians refused to ratify the choice, and proceeded to choose as their king the prince palatine, Frederick V. This action was taken in the hope that the Protestant Union would rally to the support of the new election. But not so the event. When the Emperor came against Bohemia, the princes of the Union left Frederick to his fate. The latter was a Calvinist, and this fact made the Lutherans indifferent or averse to his cause. John George of Saxony actually went over to the Imperialists and aided Ferdinand to put down the rebellion. The Emperor for his part promised that the war should go no further than Bohemia, that being the only country in revolt.

Frederick did not appear to realize his critical condition. On the contrary, he spent the winter of 1619–20 in foolish pleasures, and when the campaign of the next summer began, he was unprepared to meet it. When the Imperial army of Spaniards, Italians, and mercenary Cossacks came against him, he was obliged to fall back to Prague. Here, outside of the walls, in November of 1620, was fought the battle of White Mountain, in which the Bohemians were utterly discomfited. Frederick V. fled from the country; his army was scattered and his kingdom given up to the rage and lust of one of the most brutal military forces seen in Europe since the days of the Huns. The Cossacks to the number of eight thousand were loosed to take their fill. Twenty-eight Protestant nobles were beheaded in Prague in a single day. The churches were given to the Catholics; the University to the Jesuits. Thousands of estates were divided

among the victors; Ferdinand is said to have taken forty millions of florins from the Bohemians; nor did the Imperialists desist from confiscation, murder, and robbery, until the last signs of life were seemingly extinct in Bohemian Protestantism. A like proceeding was instituted in Austria, and at the end of a year only a few congregations on the outskirts of Hungary and Transylvania remained to tell the story of the rising civilization, freedom, and progress which had come with the Reformation.

This result in Austria, however, was not accomplished without a struggle which deserved a better issue. The people rose to defend their faith against the Emperor's despotism. A popular leader was found in a farmer named Stephen Fadinger who, without military education or experience, led the Protestants to battle. They fought with such courage as to be on the point of victory, when Fadinger was killed. The command then devolved upon a student *whose name is unknown*, and by him the battle was urged on until he also was slain. His followers were either killed or dispersed. A silence settled over Austria like that which had already fallen on Bohemia. The pall of the ancient faith was stretched from one horizon to the other, and all was still. Ferdinand had triumphed, and liberty lay dying among the ashes of Austrian greatness.

The next scene of the conflict was in the palatinate of the Rhine. It was hoped that this prosperous region, at any rate, could be saved to Protestantism. An army of Spaniards out of Flanders was first in the field, but this was soon opposed by Count Ernest of Mansfeld and Prince Christian of Brunswick, both of whom had lent some aid to Frederick V. in Bohemia. The armies which these leaders gathered about them, however, were mostly wild and reckless men, little able to confront the veterans of Spain and the Empire. Ernest and Christian both adopted the policy of supporting their forces by contributions levied on the country—a method of warfare already unpopular in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Christian of Brunswick was possessed of some foolish notions about the restoration of chivalry. He had for his divinity the Countess Elizabeth of the palatinate, sister of Charles I. of England, and,

after the manner of a mediæval knight, he wore her glove on his helmet. He was, withal, an eccentric genius, not without wit and great abilities. On a certain occasion, when his supply of money was exhausted, he seized the cathedral at Paderborn, and, on entering, was delighted to find the twelve apostles, in cast silver, standing around the altar. "What are you doing here?" said he; "you are ordered to go forth into the world; but wait a bit—I'll send you!" Thereupon, he had the silver statues taken down and melted into dollars, and upon each coin he had these words stamped: *Friend of God—foe of the priests*. Finding the caption a taking one, he assumed it himself, but among the soldiers he was generally known as "Mad Christian."

These two Protestant leaders were soon joined by George Frederick of Baden. Against them the Emperor Ferdinand sent Maximilian of Bavaria—to whom he promised the palatinate as the reward of victory—and JOHANN Tserclaes Tilly, a veteran German soldier of Brabant, who had already, in 1621, driven Count Mansfeld from Bohemia. This remarkable personage, destined to bear so important a part in the tragical history of his times, was one of the strangest characters of the century. His body was lean and ill-favored; his face, twisted into a sort of comical ugliness, emphasized with a nose like the beak of a parrot. His forehead was furrowed crosswise with deep seams, and above his projecting cheek-bones his small eyes were set deep in their sockets. As if to heighten the disesteem of nature, he generally wore a green dress with a cocked hat and a long red feather; and, having thus made himself as grotesque as possible, he completed the *tout ensemble* by mounting a little gray horse of a figure and proportions in harmony with his own. But whoever failed to perceive in the gorgeous dwarf the fires of an unquenchable genius was likely to discover his mistake.

At the first onset, in 1622, Tilly's army suffered a defeat at the hands of Mansfeld and Christian. But the reverse was but momentary. In May of that year the Imperialists again struck the Protestants at Wimpfen, and inflicted on them a disastrous defeat. The fragments of the overthrown army fell back into Alsatia, where, in imitation of the

policy adopted by the Emperor's generals, they burned, robbed, and ravaged at will. After his victory, Tilly pursued the same plan on the east bank of the Rhine, where he destroyed Manheim and Heidelberg, shut up the churches and schools, drove the preachers and teachers into banishment, and installed

In the mean time Frederick V. had, after his flight from Bohemia, shown himself unworthy of the cause by entering into correspondence with the Emperor. He made offer to Ferdinand of submission on condition of receiving the palatinate; but the Emperor paid little attention to the overture. Learn-



DESTRUCTION OF HEIDELBERG.

the Jesuits in their places. Seizing the library of Heidelberg, at that time one of the finest in Europe, he sent it to Rome as a present to Pope Gregory XV. The collection remained among the treasures of the Vatican until the treaty of Vienna, in 1815, when a part of it was restored to Heidelberg.

ing of Frederick's conduct, Mansfeld and Christian also showed their quality by offering to enter the Imperial service if Ferdinand would pay their soldiers! But this offer was also declined, whereupon the two generals fell upon Lorraine and Flanders, ravaged the country after the style which

had been adopted by both parties, and made their way into Holland.

In accordance with the scheme which had been agreed upon, the Emperor now conferred the electoral dignity of the palatinate on Maximilian of Bavaria; and this action, though in direct contravention to the laws of the Empire, was ratified, in 1623, at the Diet of Ratisbon. As to John George of Saxony, he was bribed into silence by the promise of receiving Lusatia as a part of his dominions.

Perhaps, in the whole history of Germany, there never was a time when affairs were in a more deplorable condition than just subsequent to the Diet of Ratisbon. The Jesuits had become masters of the country. Ferdinand was their agent and tool. His generals were but subordinates in the nefarious act by which it was sought to reverse the wheels of civilization. On the other hand, the leaders of the Protestants were scarcely wiser or better and much less consistent than their adversaries. The remaining virtue of the German race lay with the people, and the people were completely down. Their rights were trodden under the heels of power. Their property was seized and consumed by lawless bands of marauders, and the reign of license was established over the prostrate forms of justice and right.

The Protestants of other lands were horrified at the state of their cause in Germany. England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden would fain have rendered aid to their German friends, but the latter seemed unworthy to receive the support of any honest kingdom. As to France, now thoroughly dominated by the great Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII., that power, though never more thoroughly Catholic in its sentiments, was also willing for political reasons to see the prostrate Protestants of Germany arise from their overthrow; for the cardinal believed it to be to the interest of his master—and himself—that the ambition of Ferdinand should be curtailed and thwarted. At length England and Holland began to take an active part in the conflict by encouraging Mansfeld and Christian to raise new armies and by furnishing the means necessary for that work. It was not long until the fantastic Christian found himself at the head of a considerable force, with

which he entered Friesland and Westphalia, ravaging the country according to his manner. His object at this time was to make his way into and through Bohemia, and to join his forces with those of Bethlen Gabor. But in endeavoring to accomplish this march he was, on the 6th of August, 1623, encountered by Tilly at Stadtloon, near Münster. Here a battle was fought by far the most destructive and hotly contested of any that had yet occurred. For three days the conflict raged almost without abatement, but at the last the army of Christian was almost annihilated. Before this battle Count Mansfeld had deemed it prudent to secure a more positive alliance with England, and to this end had gone thither in person. Thus for a time the Protestants were virtually without a leader. Even Bethlen Gabor had been induced to lay down his arms and make peace with the Emperor. Tilly had meanwhile marched into Westphalia and put down all opposition. Indeed, for the time it appeared that rebellion would not be able any longer to lift its head.

Scarcely is it doubtful that if Ferdinand II. had adopted the generous policy of establishing on a liberal basis the peace which his generals had won by the sword, a certain measure of quiet might have been restored throughout the Empire. But when did ever tyrannical folly pause in its career until it had first destroyed itself? Instead of availing himself of the opportunity to restore peace, he set loose his agents in all parts of the Imperial dominions to consume the residue which war had left to the suffering people. There was complete concord between him and the princes in the sad work which they now undertook of destroying the remnants of religious toleration and civil freedom in all the countries where the same still exhibited signs of life.

During the year 1624, the suffering Protestants bore their fate in silence; but in 1625 the states of Brunswick, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Hanburg, Lübeck, and Bremen suddenly arose from their humiliation, and choosing for their leader Christian IV. of Denmark, set the Imperial authority at defiance. He it was who, though a Protestant himself, had recently attacked and broken up the Hansatic League, and even now it might be discovered that his purpose looked less to the

emancipation of the states of Northern Germany than to his own aggrandizement. But whatever might be his own personal ends, he entered the contest with a will, and by concluding a treaty with England and Holland, secured the coöperation of those countries, and soon sent Count Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick into the field at the head of new armies.

In order to meet the new movements of his adversaries, Tilly was constrained to enter the territories of those states which had put themselves under the protection of Christian IV. The latter thus gained the coveted excuse for declaring war. Assuming the aggressive, the Danish king came down from his own country and entered the borders of the protected states, but here he quickly perceived the union among his allies was little more than a name. Only seven thousand men were found prepared to join his standard. By the energy of his character, however, he soon diffused a better spirit and gathered to his camp a large and enthusiastic army. With this force it was his purpose to fall upon Tilly and destroy him before any of the Imperialist generals could come to his aid. But before the Dane could strike the intended blow, he had the misfortune to be badly injured by falling from his horse. The campaign was thus delayed during the better part of the autumn, and the year 1625 closed without any decisive event.

It is in the nature of despotism to cure itself with its own methods. The baneful system, full of poison in every part, turns about in its endeavor to find that upon which to gratify its malice, and fastens its fangs in its own pernicious side. By this time Ferdinand II. had become jealous of Tilly, and especially of Bavaria, from which country most of the Imperial soldiery had been recruited. The Emperor himself aspired to become a great military leader; for it was in the nature of the times that such a leader could without difficulty draw to his banners a powerful army, ready to do his bidding. Ferdinand would therefore enter the field in person. Should he not do so, Tilly would himself bear the credit of having restored the German world to Rome. For the present, however, it seemed necessary that Tilly should be reinforced in order to withstand the army of King Christian.

It was in this emergency that a new actor appeared on the scene in the person of ALBRECHT WENZEL EUSEBIUS VON WALLENSTEIN, duke of Friedland, destined to take a most conspicuous part in the historical movements of the age. Born in Prague in 1583; son of a poor nobleman; unruly and violent as a boy until what time a fall from the third story of a house, by rendering him unconscious for a season, left him of a gloomy and taciturn disposition; induced by the Jesuits to abandon Protestantism, and by them educated at Olmütz; a traveler in Spain, France, and the Netherlands; a soldier in the Italian and Venetian wars, and afterwards against Bethlen Gabor in Hungary; rising to military reputation by his valor; amassing great wealth by two prosperous marriages and by the confiscation of sixty Protestant estates; recognized by the Emperor as a power in his own principality of Friedland, where he lived in the manner of a king; under the domination of strange superstitions which had taken root in his nature from the study of Astrology; hearing voices which sounded in his ear with the wierd accents with which the prophetic witches allured Macbeth to the high and bloody precipice from which he was to fall into irretrievable ruin; and believing that the Emperor's present necessities afforded the opportunity by which he was to rise to the realization of his ambitions,—Wallenstein now arose in his province and offered to raise and command a new Imperial army against the Danish king and the forces of the Union.

The nature and disposition of Wallenstein were well illustrated in his correspondence with Ferdinand, who was overjoyed at the rising of this giant from the earth. The Emperor at once ordered the duke to enlist and discipline an army of twenty thousand men. Wallenstein replied: "Twenty thousand men are not enough. My army must live by what it can take. I must have fifty thousand, and then I can demand what I want."

The event fully justified Ferdinand's expectation. Within three months Wallenstein marched into Saxony at the head of more than thirty thousand men. It was, however, already the beginning of winter, and military operations were necessarily suspended until the spring of 1626. In April of that year the

campaign was begun by Mansfeld, who attempted to prevent the junction of the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. The army of the latter was met at the bridge of the Elbe, near Dessau, and here a terrible battle was fought, in which Mansfeld was badly defeated. Driven from his position, he fell back through Silesia with the purpose of joining the still insurgent Hungarians. But Wallenstein pressed hard after him, and before the count could effect a union with Bethlen Gabor—who until now

A short time after the battle of Dessau, Tilly, commanding the other Imperial army, marched against Christian IV., and came upon him at Lutter, in the northern borders of the Hartz. Here the battle went against the Protestants more decisively even than that between Wallenstein and Mansfeld. The army of the Swedish king was routed and dispersed, he himself barely escaping with his life. With what remnants he could gather from the conflict he retreated into Holstein. Hereupon



THE BRIDGE OF DESSAU.

remained in command of the Protestants of Hungary—induced him to make peace with the Emperor. On his part, Mansfeld was obliged to disband his troops. Thus enabled to escape the dilemma in which he found himself, he left the country for Venice, with a view of embarking from that city for England. But before he could reach his destination he died in Dalmatia. Prince Christian of Brunswick died also a few months later, and the Germans found themselves without any prominent leader of their own race.

Brandenburg withdrew from the Union. Mecklenburg was paralyzed by the disaster. Maurice, of Saxony, was forced to abdicate. The Emperor found himself in a position to press still more severely his measures against the remaining Protestants of Austria and Bohemia, who were compelled by force to return to the Catholic communion. For the time it appeared that the cause for which Huss and Jerome had perished, for which Luther had battled and Zwingli pleaded, was prostrated, never to rise again.

After his victory over Mansfeld, Wallenstein, with an army now swollen to forty thousand, marched to the North and fell upon Saxony. Prince John George now drank to the dregs the cup of folly and cowardice, which himself had mixed. The country was trodden under foot without mercy; towns were burned, and the people robbed and plundered. Brandenburg next paid the forfeit to which she had exposed herself by becoming a member of the Union. The two duchies of Mecklenburg were in like manner overrun and destroyed by the merciless Wallenstein, who continued his victorious course into Holstein, Jutland, and Pomerania. Having completed his campaign, he received Mecklenburg from the Emperor, and assumed for himself the title of "Admiral of the Baltic and the Ocean." He excogitated a vast scheme for a new power in the North. The Hanseatic League was to be broken up, and the ships belonging thereto were to be converted into an Imperial navy. Holland was to be reconquered and added to the dominions of the Empire. The arms of Poland were to be added to his own, and then the conqueror would bear the sword of doom to Denmark and Sweden, which were now—besides England—the only important states remaining to Protestantism. To what extent Wallenstein saw himself among these magnificent schemes of conquest it were vain to conjecture. For the present the work was to be done in the name, and as if in the interest, of the House of Hapsburg.

It appears that the great duke was little apprehensive of successful opposition; and for a while the event seemed to warrant a belief in his infallibility. The opulent cities of Hamburg and Lübeck surrendered at his approach. Not so, however, the little Hanseatic town of Stralsund. With a courage unequalled, this audacious municipality closed its gates against the invader, and the citizens entered into a solemn compact to keep him at bay, or die to the last man in the heroic effort. Hearing of their resolution, Wallenstein merely replied that if Stralsund were anchored to heaven with a chain he would tear it loose. In the summer of 1628 he invested the city, and presently ordered an assault, which resulted in the loss of a thousand men. A second assault cost him two thousand more, and then the cit-

izens began to sally from the gates and strike savage blows in return. Finding that Wallenstein was actually checked if not perplexed by the obstinate resistance of Stralsund, a force of two thousand Swedes came to the assistance of the besieged, and Wallenstein, after losing more than one-fourth of his army, was obliged to give up the siege as hopeless. At the same time a Danish fleet of two hundred ships succeeded in recovering the harbor of Wolgast in Mecklenburg, and it appeared that the Imperial invasion was permanently checked.

None the less, neither Ferdinand nor his generals were apprehensive of any further reverses. On the contrary, the Emperor regarded the conquest of Germany as complete. In March of 1629 he issued what he was pleased to call the "Edict of Restitution," in which it was ordered that all the territories and benefices which had belonged to the Protestants should be restored to the Catholics. The measure involved the creation of two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and a great number of monasteries in a territory where those institutions had ceased to exist a hundred years previously. And then on the Romish principle that the religion of the people should be determined by that of their rulers, it would follow as a matter of course and necessity that Protestantism must cease altogether in the reconstructed districts.

For a while after the issuance of this decree the Imperial armies were kept in the field for its enforcement. Never was a measure carried into effect with greater rigor or with more willing hands. Throughout Southern Germany it appeared that the Emperor's troops would stamp into the very earth the residue of the Lutheran heresy. In Franconia, Würtemberg, and Baden the estates of six thousand Protestant noblemen were at once confiscated; nor were the Imperial officers at all careful to hand over to the Catholics the immense property which they thus snatched from its rightful owners. Much of this was bestowed by Ferdinand upon his favorites and the members of his own family. The great and wealthy archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg were given to the Emperor's son Leopold, at that time a stripling but fifteen years of age. Such was the high-handed outrage of this proceeding against human liberty and the common

decencies of justice that even the Catholics began to mutter ominously against the conduct of Ferdinand. The despotism of the latter, however, was fairly eclipsed by the splendid arrogance of Wallenstein, whose tyranny and pride blazed like the flaming animosity of Lucifer. He declared that the liberalizing tendencies which had dominated Germany for the last hundred years should be crushed into the ground; that the reigning princes were useless figureheads in the Imperial system; that the National Diet should be abolished, and that the Emperor should become as absolute in his rule as the kings of France and Spain. But the general effect of this attitude of the warrior prince and his master was to intensify and quicken the growing hostility of all parties to the system which was about to be established. To such an extent was this tendency manifest that the Catholics and Protestants presently united in doing the very thing which the Emperor and Wallenstein would interdict, namely, the calling of a National Diet. In spite of their opposition the body was convoked, and the assembly convened at Ratisbon in June of 1630.

As soon as the diet was organized, a clamor arose for the removal of Wallenstein. At first Ferdinand stoutly endeavored to sustain the great prince upon whom he chiefly leaned for support. But the opposition, headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, was clearly in a position to enforce its demands. On the west and north, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and France were all threatening war. The Emperor was thus rendered dependent upon his diet for the enactment of such measures as might ward off the impending danger. The Protestants in the assembly set forth the rapacity and fury with which Wallenstein had plundered all Germany, and the Catholics did not withhold their voice in charging home his crimes upon him. What added more than any thing else to his unpopularity, was his unparalleled ostentation. His court was like that of a great monarch. His ordinary retinue consisted of a hundred carriages. More than a thousand horses were kept in his stables. A hundred cooks served him at the table, and sixteen pages of princely blood attended to his wants. Jealousy at this assumption of royal state was so inflamed that Ferdinand,

greatly against his wish, was constrained to assent to an edict for Wallenstein's removal.

Perhaps a company of ambassadors never discharged their duty with greater trepidation than did those who bore the message of deposition to Wallenstein's camp. They came into his presence with dread, and durst not make known their mission; but he having divined upon what errand they had come, pointed significantly to a chart upon which were drawn the symbols of astrology, and told them to proceed, as he knew their business before their arrival. He expressed his purpose to obey the Imperial mandate, entertained the ambassadors with a magnificent banquet, and then retired to Prague without any outward manifestation of the furnace of rage within him. Albeit he perceived with perfect clearness that perilous condition of public affairs which must ere long make his restoration a necessity.

As soon as Wallenstein's deposition was effected the command of the Imperial army was transferred to Tilly. The Emperor knew full well that the soldiers lately commanded by the great duke were devoted to *him* rather than to the crown; and in order to prevent a disaster which at any time might be precipitated by a disloyal army, the forces of Wallenstein were divided into small bands and distributed among inferior generals.

By a strange counterposition of events—of which not a few examples may be discovered by the careful reader of history—it now happened that just as the Imperialists of Germany, by their own internal dissensions and jealousies, lost their greatest leader, the Protestants, who up to this time had not possessed a general worthy of their cause, gained one fully as great as he whom the Catholics had deposed. For now it was that out of the snows of the North arose the august figure of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, king of Sweden. In that country Charles IX., son of Gustavus Vasa, after a reign of fourteen years, had died in 1611, leaving his crown to his son Gustavus, then but seventeen years of age. A sterling Protestant in faith and ambitious of military renown, he soon became an active participant in the great drama of the age. In 1627 he made war with the Poles, and was repulsed and wounded in the bloody battle of Dantzie. The Emperor Ferdinand then

placed him under the ban of the Empire, and sent Wallenstein with an army of ten thousand men to confront him in Pomerania. In the contest that ensued Gustavus held his own with the Imperialists until what time France and England interfered, and a truce was concluded favorable to Gustavus. Soon, however, hostilities broke out anew, and the Swedish king determined to make an invasion of the Imperial dominions. He accordingly raised an army, and on the 4th of July, 1630, landed with a force of sixteen thousand men on the coast of Pomerania. Flinging himself upon the ground in the presence of his army he offered up a devout prayer that his arms might be crowned with victory and the cause of Protestantism be reëstablished in the lands where it had been overthrown.

Not without much difficulty had this expedition of the Swedes into Germany been undertaken. The king's plans had been seriously opposed by his counselors at Stockholm. They had advised him to desist from the undertaking, and to abate his zeal until what time the bigotry and madness of Ferdinand should fill the cup of his offenses. But Gustavus could not be dissuaded from his purpose. He went before the representatives of the four orders of the people in the Council House, bearing in his arms his daughter Christina, and to her he induced them to take the oath of fealty.

Perhaps no other royal personage of his century was, in his personal appearance, so distinguished as Gustavus Adolphus. He was, at the time of his landing in Pomerania, in his full prime, being thirty-four years of age. He was almost a giant in his stature; powerful in his build, symmetrical, sinewy, active, and fresh as a boy in his ruddy, Swedish countenance. Nothing could present a stronger contrast than did this royal Hercules of the North to the withered and weazen Tilly, or to that solemn Mephistopheles of war, the star-reading, smileless Wallenstein. Nevertheless, the issues of battle were not—are not—to be decided by the relative beauty of the warriors. It was important in the present fortunes of the German Protestants that Gustavus, though not a German himself, was descended from the same Teutonic stock with themselves, and might not, therefore, be looked upon as a foreigner.

Nothing can better illustrate the pitiable condition of Germany and of the German people at this juncture than the manner of Gustavus's reception in the land which he had come to deliver. Instead of rushing to his support, the selfish Protestant princes turned from him in a spirit of meanness rarely equaled, never surpassed. The Pomeranians shut against him the gates of Stettin, and the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony gave him neither aid nor comfort. Only those who had nothing to bring, and they few and hungry, joined his standard. It was evident from the first that the reliance of the daring Swede must be placed in his own small army of veterans.

Notwithstanding the coldness or positive hostility with which he was received, Gustavus succeeded, in the course of the campaign of 1630, in overthrowing the Imperial authority in Pomerania. He then turned upon his friend, the elector of Brandenburg, and compelled him to give over the fortress of Spandau to be used as a base of operations by the Swedes. He captured Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and next proceeded to the relief of Magdeburg. This city, which with singular patriotism and persistency had resisted the Edict of Restitution, was now suffering a siege at the hands of Tilly and Gottfried Heinrich Pappenheim, the latter of whom, from being a regimental commander in 1623, had risen to a rank next to that of the commander-in-chief. In undertaking the relief of the place, Gustavus demanded of John George of Saxony the privilege of marching through his electorate; but that cowardly prince—though he was one of those most interested in the success of the Swedes—refused to grant them free passage.

The garrison of Magdeburg amounted to no more than twenty-three hundred soldiers and a militia force of five thousand men. Tilly's army, at this time, numbered thirty thousand; and yet against this overwhelming array of veterans, the city held out for more than a month. In May of 1631, however, the place was carried by storm. A scene then ensued which, by the common consent of historians, has been enrolled among the most barbarous, not to say infernal, acts in the annals of the world. The Imperial soldiers, already well

educated in all the methods of brutality, were turned loose to take their fill out of the captured city. Nothing was spared from their lust and fury. Whatever could be wasted by fire and the sword sank into blood and ashes. It is estimated that thirty thousand of the citizens were butchered without mercy. The dispatch of the accomplished Tilly to the Emperor gave this account of the capture: "Since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem, such a victory has never been seen; and I am sincerely sorry that the ladies of your Imperial family could not have been present as spectators!"

As soon as he heard of the fall of Magdeburg, the elector of Brandenburg ordered Gustavus to give up Spandau, and retire from his principality. This demand was such an outrage to the cause of German Protestantism that the Swedish king, instead of obeying the mandate, planted his cannon before Berlin, and was about to bombard the city. This action had the desired effect on the elector, and he gladly opened his fortresses to Gustavus. He was also obliged to contribute thirty thousand dollars a month to the support of the war, and by means of this levy the Protestant army was rapidly recruited; nor was it long until the Imperial authority in Mecklenburg was overthrown, as it had been already in Pomerania. An attack made by Tilly upon the Swedish camp was repulsed with severe losses.

The effect of these successes on the part of Gustavus was to draw to his banners a more efficient support. The first of the German Protestant princes to ally himself openly and actively with the Swede was Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel. Afterwards the sluggish John George of Saxony lent such aid as might be evoked from his helplessness. In the progress of the next campaign Tilly took possession of Halle, Naumburg, and at last captured Leipsic after a four days' bombardment. This last movement brought the Imperialists face to face with the Swedish army, now increased to thirty-five thousand men.

On the 7th of September, 1631, the great adversaries met before Leipsic. Here was fought the first decisive battle of the war, and here the Imperial dwarf, who would fain have had the tender-hearted ladies of the court witness the butchery of Madgeburg, first felt the

weight of the terrible hand which the "Snow King"—so named in irony by the Emperor because on his coming into Germany *he would melt as soon as the spring arrived*—was wont to lay on the foes of Protestant liberty. Finding himself deficient in arms, Gustavus distributed his musketeers among the cavalry and pikemen. The right wing was placed under command of the courageous Banner; the left, in charge of Marshal Horn. On the Imperialist side, Tilly commanded the right, and Pappenheim the left. "God with us?" shouted the Swedes as they went into the conflict, and "Jesu Maria!" answered the Imperialists. The Snow King flamed like Castor in the battle. His stalwart form, white hat, and green plume were seen passing rapidly before his lines, the very impersonation of war. As the fight began to rage, the Saxons under Marshal Horn gave way before the almost invincible Tilly. But on the other side of the field the Imperialists under Pappenheim were repelled and turned to flight by the charge of Gustavus. In this part of the battle Tilly's cannon were captured by the Swedes and turned upon himself. This event decided the conflict. The forces of Tilly were thrown into confusion and driven in a rout from the field. He himself was severely wounded, and only escaped death or capture by being borne along with the tide of fugitives. On reaching Halle he found himself surrounded by only a few hundred followers, survivors of the wreck of his veteran army.

The German Protestants were now ready to hail Gustavus as a deliverer. Foremost among those who now supported the victorious Swede, was the valorous and able Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Even John George of Saxony was galvanized into some show of life. With reluctance, however, he undertook a campaign into Bohemia in aid of the oppressed Protestants of that country. As to Gustavus he now took up his triumphant march to the Rhine. Vainly did Tilly, now recovering from his wound, and rallying his shattered forces, attempt to check the progress of his adversary. Gustavus captured Würzburg, defeated an army of seventeen thousand men brought out against him by Charles, duke of Lorraine, took the city of Frankfort and made it his headquarters for the winter. Here he gave his

army some months of needed rest and matured his plans for the future.

Great was the contrast afforded by the cou-

duct of Gustavus and that of the Imperialist generals. The Swede permitted no act of brutality to stain the record of his victories.



ASSASSINATION OF MARSHAL D'ANCRE.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The rights of the Catholics, even of the Catholic princes who had been *participes criminis* in all the horrors of barbarous warfare, were duly respected. So great was the influence and consequent popularity thus gained by Gustavus that the vision of the Imperial crown rose before him, and he was encouraged both by his own ambitions and the suggestions of others to undertake the wresting of the scepter from Ferdinand. Especially did Queen Eleanor, who joined him at Frankfort and contributed not a little by her presence to the elegance of the camp-like court which he there established, exert herself to secure a transfer of the allegiance of the German princes to her lord.

It was at this juncture that the shadow of the coming ascendancy of Gustavus, falling across the borders of France, began to excite the anxiety of that remarkable statesman and diplomatist, Armand Jean Duplessis, CARDINAL RICHELIEU. Born in Paris, in 1585, educated for the profession of arms, becoming in his youth Marquis of Chillon, he changed his purpose, and determined to enter the Church. At the age of twenty-two he was consecrated bishop. Soon afterwards he became a favorite of Maria de Medici, and was by her and by the famous Marshal D'Anere, at that time prime minister of France, introduced to public favor at the court. He became first almoner of the Queen Mother, and then secretary of state. Already he appeared to be on the high-road to great distinction, not only in France, but throughout Europe. In 1617 the way was still further opened for his rise to power by the assassination of Marshal D'Anere. Against that powerful minister and favorite a conspiracy was formed; nor was the suspicion wanting that Louis XIII. was himself at the bottom of the plot. On the 24th of April, 1617, the assassin, under the lead of an ingrate named De Luynes, whom D'Anere had raised to influence, attacked the Marshal in the street before the Louvre, and shot him to the death. "Thanks to you, Messieurs," said Louis XIII., looking down from a window at the tragedy, "now I am the king." For a while Richelieu sought to bring about a reconciliation between the French monarch and his mother, Maria de Medici; but the effort was abortive. Richelieu, in-

deed, was banished for a season, first to Languedoc and afterwards to Avignon. While in retirement he devoted himself to study and the composition of religious books. Finally Maria de Medici was recalled to court, and in 1622 Richelieu became prime minister of France. He received the cardinal's hat; became all-powerful in the state; undertook the reduction of the French nobility to a place greatly inferior to the king; and adopted that policy of statecraft which he followed inveterately through life of destroying the prestige of the German Empire and the elevation of France to the front rank among the western powers.

In the course of time Maria de Medici, between whom and the cardinal a bitter enmity had supervened, sought to compass his ruin even by assassination; but the Queen Mother was finally ginned in her own plot. In the year 1631, when Richelieu had been made a duke and peer of France, two of Maria's favorites, Gaston of Orleans and Henry of Montmorency, sought to carry out the wishes of their imperious mistress by organizing a rebellion against the government. The conspiracy came to a crisis in the battle of Castelnaudary, in which the plotters were utterly routed, the Duke of Montmorency escaping from the field only to be taken and executed.

Such was the condition of affairs when Richelieu, after many years of experience, though he had but recently given encouragement to the expedition of Gustavus, began to be solicitous lest the Lion of the North should become more dangerous to his own dominion in Western Europe than was the Emperor himself. He entered into secret negotiations with Maximilian of Bavaria, with the ulterior design of checking the career of Gustavus in Germany. By the beginning of the following year the Swedish king, who had now secured the firm support of the Palatinate, Baden, and Würtemberg, perceiving that Maximilian could not be drawn into league against the Empire, but not knowing that the hostility of the latter had been superinduced by his correspondence with Richelieu, determined to make an expedition into Bavaria and compel a compliance which he had been unable to secure by diplomacy.

Setting out from Frankfort, Gustavus came to Nuremberg, where he was received with

an excess of enthusiasm. Proceeding to Donauwörth he expelled the forces of Maximilian and reinstated the Protestant worship. As a matter of course Tilly now hurried to the support of Maximilian, joined the army of the latter with his own, and took up a strong



HENRY OF MONTMORENCY AT CASTELNAUDARY.

Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

position beyond the river Lech. Gaining knowledge of the movements of his antagonist, Gustavus marched against him and pitched his camp on the western bank of the river. On the 12th of April, 1632, the Swedes began a cannonade across the Lech, and for three days poured upon the enemy's camp the most destructive missiles which the then incipient science of war could command. Under cover of the smoke, and before his plan could be well discovered by the Imperialists, the Swede ordered his army to cross the river and carry the enemy's camp. The movement was executed with the greatest audacity. Not even the genius of Tilly and the valor of his veterans could withstand the shock. He himself was mortally wounded and his army was utterly routed and dispersed. So far as the life of the merciless specter, who had so long and so successfully commanded the soldiers of the Empire, was concerned, the voice of murdered Protestantism crying from the ground was at last appeased. The dying Tilly was carried to Ingolstadt, and there, after a few days, he expired, being then in his seventy-fourth year.

After the battle of the Lech the city of Augsburg opened her gates to Gustavus; but in an attempt to capture Ingolstadt he was unsuccessful. Soon afterwards he marched upon the strongly Catholic Munich, which, though unfriendly to his cause, was obliged to yield without a conflict. The Bavarians, in order to save their treasures and arms from the conqueror, had buried the same in pits under the floor of the arsenal; but some one betrayed the secret to the Swedes. "Let the dead arise," said the not unwitty Gustavus, and thereupon the floors were torn up and a hundred and forty pieces of artillery, together with thirty thousand ducats, were exhumed from the pits. It was now Maximilian's turn to reap the whirlwind. Gladly would he have made peace with the king, but the latter, despising his duplicity, refused to trust him.

It thus happened that in the course of two campaigns the whole aspect of German affairs was changed. The Catholic fabric rocked to its foundation. Never was monarch in a greater strait than was Ferdinand after the death of Tilly and the conquest of Bavaria by the Swedes. Well did the Emperor know

that on the approach of Gustavus to the borders of Austria the long-bound Protestantism of that country would snap its bonds and rise to welcome one who came in the name of religious freedom.

In his distress Ferdinand cast about him for help, but help there was none except the insulted Wallenstein. More angry and haughty than Achilles, the great duke had remained a gratified witness of the decline of the Imperial power. From his splendid court at Znaim, in Moravia, he still looked on and waited. When at last an importunate message came from the Emperor, asking him to resume his place at the head of the army, he haughtily refused to do so except on conditions that would almost have reversed the places of himself and Ferdinand. At the first the latter refused to grant the terms which the Duke of Friedland was in a position to exact. But it was not long until the Emperor was *compelled* to yield to what demands soever the now arrogant and triumphant Wallenstein might see fit to name. He accordingly consented to give to that proud potentate the two duchies of Mecklenburg and a portion of territory from the estates of the Hapsburgs in Austria. He also agreed to give him all the provinces which he should conquer, and to pay the expenses of the army. All appointments were to be made by Wallenstein, and to all this the Emperor added a pledge that neither he nor his son would at any time so much as visit the Imperial camp.

Having thus settled the preliminaries according to his liking, Wallenstein proceeded, by large bounties and the promise of unlimited license, to raise and equip an army. In the short space of three months he found himself at the head of forty thousand men. After taking possession of Prague, he waited for a season until necessity should compel Maximilian of Bavaria to put the armies of that kingdom also under his command. The event was as he had foreseen, and a Bavarian army of forty thousand was presently added to his own. With this tremendous force, completely at his will, he now proceeded against Gustavus, who fell back to Nuremberg and constructed a fortified camp around the city. Overtaking his antagonist, Wallenstein took up his position on the height of Zirndorf, within sight of the Swedish tents. It was now a wrestle of the

giants. For nine weeks the two commanders, equally cautious and equally determined not to suffer a surprise, watched each other with sleepless vigilance. At length the supplies of the Swedes began to fail, and Gustavus, though his army numbered but thirty-five thousand men, resolved to hazard an assault.

He accordingly attacked the camp of Wallenstein with desperate bravery, but was repulsed with a loss of two thousand men. For two weeks longer the maneuvering continued, and then Gustavus withdrew from Nuremberg and began a campaign against Bavaria. This movement resulted as the Swede had foreseen, in the division of the Imperial army. The Bavarians were drawn off by Maximilian to protect their own country, and Wallenstein with his army thus reduced, marched first into Franconia and then across the Thuringian Mountains into Saxony. On this march he adopted his old policy of devastation and pillage. The country withered in his presence. The cowering John George of Saxony called out with more than his wonted energy to Gustavus for help. The autumn of 1632 was already far advanced, when the latter, turning back from Bavaria, arrived at Erfurt. The old home of Protestantism welcomed him as a savior. Touched with humility when the common people held out to him their hands, he said with deep pathos: "I pray that the wrath of the Almighty may not be visited upon me on account of this idolatry towards a weak and sinful mortal." It appears that the king had a presentiment of some impending fate. In taking leave of his wife at Erfurt, he expressed a belief that he should never see her again.

For a time he and Wallenstein again maneuvered, and then Gustavus planted himself at Naumburg to await the action of his antagonist. Wallenstein, believing that the campaign was ended for the season, began to make preparations for the winter, and dispatched Pappenheim with ten thousand men to take a position in Westphalia. As soon as he perceived the Imperial army thus reduced to a proportion less overwhelming than previously, Gustavus resolved to place all on the hazard of battle. Accordingly on the morning of the 6th of November he marched to the attack of his terrible adversary in the plain of Lützen, between Naumburg and Leip-

sic. The forces of Wallenstein numbered twenty-five thousand men, and the Swedes about twenty thousand. As for the latter, they went into battle to conquer or to die. In beginning the fight, the whole army began to chant the hymn of Luther,

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,"¹

and then charged with irresistible fury. After several hours of desperate fighting, the left wing of Wallenstein's army was crushed by the onset of the Swedes. The artillery of the Imperialists was captured and turned upon themselves; but Wallenstein rallied his veterans, retook his cannon, and threw the forces of Gustavus into confusion. In making the counter-charge the steed of the Swedish king—such was his momentum—carried his master into the enemy's lines, and before he could regain his place, a shot from the Imperialist side shattered Gustavus's left arm; but he retained his seat in the saddle and continued to direct the movements of his men. At length, however, he was struck in the breast with another ball, and reeled heavily to the earth. A moment later the Swedes beheld the well-known charger, streaked with the blood of their beloved king, flying wildly about the field, feeling no longer the guidance of the master hand. Duke Bernhard, of Saxe-Weimar, immediately assumed command, and the battle raged more furiously than ever. The Swedes now added vengeance to the other fiery motives which had impelled them to the fight. While the struggle was still at its height, Pappenheim, for whom Wallenstein had sent a hurried message the day before, arrived on the field, and threw the whole weight of his division upon the Swedes. The latter fell back under his assault, but not until they had given him a mortal wound.

By the fall of their leader the Imperialists were in turn thrown into confusion, and the Swedes, making a determined rally, recovered the ground which had been lost. Night settled on the scene and the conflict ended. Though Wallenstein had not suffered a decisive defeat, though Gustavus Adolphus was no more, a virtual victory had been won by the Swedes. During the night Wallenstein retreated to Leipsic, leaving all his artillery

¹ Our God, He is a Tower of strength.

and colors on the field. But all the trophies of battle could illy repay the Swedes for the loss of him who had been the soul of the war.

The body of Gustavus, splendid even in its mutilation, was found buried under a heap of dead, stripped of clothing and trampled by



DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT LÜTZEN.

Drawn by A. de Neville.

the hoofs of horses. The great king, to whom history will ever award the palm of being the hero of the Thirty Years' War, was dead; but, like Samson, he had given to the Imperial Philistines, in the hour of his death, a wound from which they never fully recovered. The crippled Wallenstein, with many a backward, baleful glance, dragged himself off into Bohemia, where he let loose his disappointed rage upon his own soldiers!

The Protestant princes were thrown into great confusion by the death of the Swedish king. It was decided by Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, to continue the war; and since no other of sufficient eminence presented himself as a leader, he was accepted as the head of the Protestant Union. In the spring of 1633, a convention of the princes was held at Heilbronn, and the Suabians, Franconians, and people of the Rhine provinces joined their fortunes with those of the new alliance. Duke Bernhard and Marshal Horn were continued in command of the army. As for Saxony and Brandenburg, they at first held aloof, but were presently induced by Richelieu's ambassador, who attended the meeting at Heilbronn, to lend their aid to the Protestants and to pay a hundred thousand dollars each for the support of the war.

In the next campaigns, the armies of Bernhard and Horn were almost uniformly successful. The Landgrave of Hesse and George of Brunswick restored the Protestant authority in all Westphalia. Bernhard achieved a like success in Saxony and Silesia, and Marshal Horn in Alsatia. In May of this year, however, the sullen Wallenstein, now more inscrutable than ever, left Prague and entered Silesia. Here, in a short time, by superior generalship, he gained the upper hand of Count Arnheim, the Protestant commander, and might have destroyed his army. But Wallenstein was wholly absorbed in his own ambitious schemes, and refused to press his advantage. He made an armistice with Arnheim, and opened a correspondence through the French ambassador with Richelieu. It appears that the outline of this intrigue embraced the abandonment of the Catholic and Imperial cause by Wallenstein, and his own elevation to the crown of Bohemia. So far as France was concerned, this project had the hearty approval of the

court; but the shrewd Oxenstiern, with a better appreciation of the character of Wallenstein, refused to be a party to the compact. For he knew that the Duke of Friedland could be trusted in nothing. It is doubtful whether Wallenstein ever seriously contemplated going over to the Protestants; but it suited his purpose and character to entertain their overtures. Nor was he anxious that the rumor of these proceedings should be kept from Ferdinand. The latter was now in a condition bordering on despair. Attempt a second deposition of Wallenstein he durst not. At last it occurred to him to bring a Spanish army to the support of his cause, and to withhold the command of the same from Wallenstein. Ferdinand even went so far as to order the duke to send six thousand of his best cavalry to reinforce the Spanish army. It was this order that precipitated the final break between the duke and the Emperor.

Wallenstein, perceiving that Ferdinand's design was first to weaken and then destroy him, resolved to anticipate the movement of his enemies. He accordingly took into his confidence certain of his leading generals, and to them made known his purpose not to obey the Imperial mandate. Having thus secured a following, he called a council of war, and to that body made known the contents of the order which he had received. He also declared his purpose at once to resign the command of the army. This action on his part, if taken, the officers well knew would put an end to their own career of blood, lust, and plunder. The spirit of the assembly was excited by those who were in the General's secrets, and at a great banquet on the following day all the leaders to the number of forty-two signed a compact that they would stand by Wallenstein to the last.

Among the conspirators, however, was a traitor to the traitors. General Ottavio Piccolomini revealed the whole transaction to the Emperor. The latter at once issued an order transferring the command of the army to General Gallas, who, though a signer of the pledge to Wallenstein, was at heart with Ferdinand. A second Imperial edict commanded the seizure of the Generals Terzky and Illo, who were Wallenstein's chief supporters in the camp. It now became a question whether the intrigue

of Wallenstein or the counter-intrigue of the Emperor would prevail. The duke entered into hurried negotiations with Bernhard; but before he could complete his arrangements for going over openly to the Protestants, General Gallas and other friends of the Emperor succeeded in winning back a large part of the disloyal army. A few thousand remained faithful to Wallenstein, and with these he set out to join Duke Bernhard. In the latter part of February, 1634, he reached the frontier of Bohemia, and paused at the town of Eger.

Here in his own camp an underplot was formed by an Irish colonel named Butler and two Scots—Gordon and Leslie—to end the drama by the murder of Wallenstein and his associates. The conspiracy involved the invitation of Wallenstein, his brothers-in-law, Kinsky and Terzky, and the General Illo to a banquet, where the deed was to be done. The duke, however, on account of being indisposed did not accept the invitation, but remained at the Burgomaster's house where he was lodging. When the banqueters were assembled, Gordon and Leslie gave the signal by putting out the lights, and a body of armed assassins, rushing into the hall, butchered the three victims in cold blood. A certain Captain Devereux, with a company of six soldiers, then hurried to the Burgomaster's house, entered by force, cut down Wallenstein's servant, and burst into the bed-chamber of the duke. There he lay. His stars had at last conspired against him, and the hour of his fate had struck in the heavens. He perceived at a glance that his time had come. Half-rising from his couch, but with no sign of trepidation, he received the death-stab in his breast; and all that was mortal of Albrecht von Wallenstein lay still and breathless.

If we may believe what is reported, Ferdinand wept when he heard of Wallenstein's assassination. But he took good care that the murderers Butler and Leslie should be made counts, and be splendidly rewarded! As to the estates of the duke, the same were divided among the leading officers of the Imperial army.

The command of the Emperor's forces was now devolved upon Archduke Ferdinand, though the real direction of military affairs was intrusted to General Gallas. The latter, in 1634, marched upon Ratisbon, and captured

the city. The several divisions of the Imperialists were then united, and Donauwörth was retaken. Nördlingen was besieged, and Bernhard and Horn, having united their forces, risked a battle in the hope of saving the place from capture. But they were terribly defeated with a loss of twelve thousand in killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners. Marshal Horn was among the captured. The victory was such that the Imperialists were enabled to lay waste the country of Würtemberg after their manner in the early years of the war. To the Protestants the effect was disastrous in the last degree. Oxenstiern, who at this time was holding a conference with his German allies at Frankfort, suddenly found himself without support; for the princes, each anxious to save himself, abandoned the cause; so that in a short time only Hesse-Cassel, Würtemberg, and Baden remained in alliance with the Swedes.

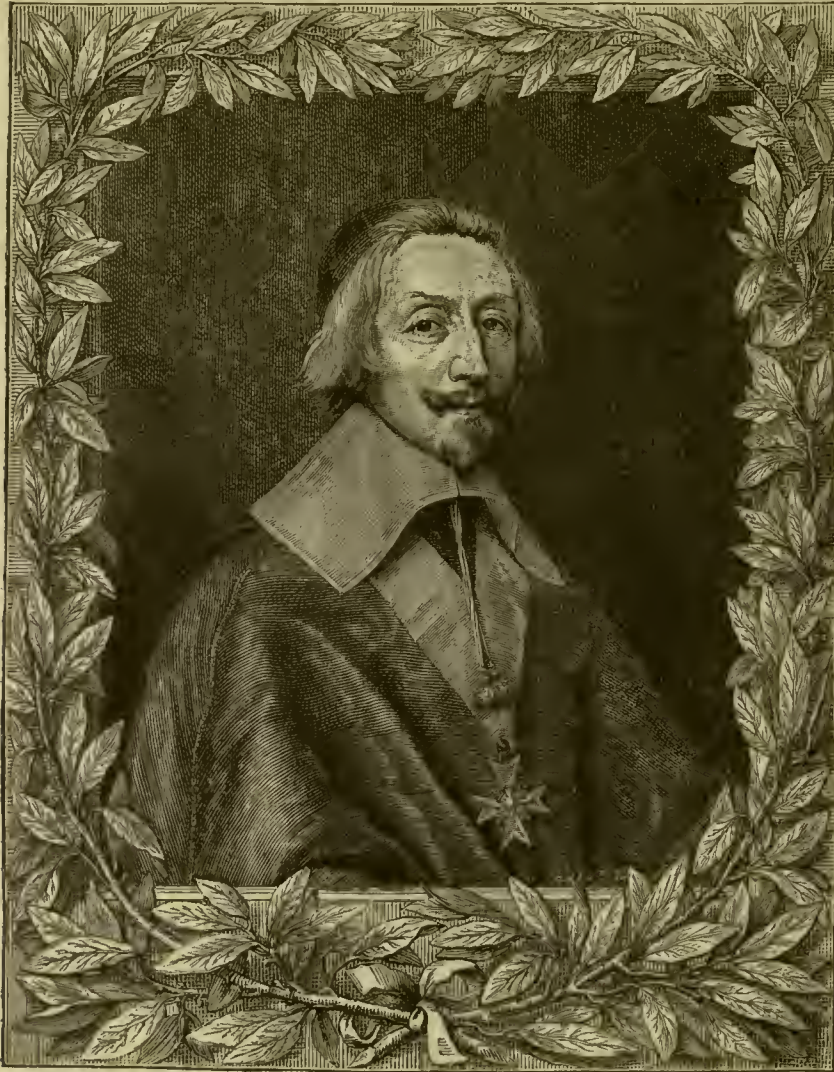
As the best thing to be done in the emergency, Oxenstiern turned to France. It had now become the settled policy of Louis XIII. and Richelieu to weaken the House of Hapsburg by giving aid to its enemies. These enemies were Protestants, but the French minister had long since learned to make his religion do service to his politics. The underhand methods hitherto employed were now abandoned, and in answer to the appeal of the Swedish Chancellor a contingent of French troops was sent to aid the enemies of the Empire. One of the first results of this action on the part of France was the conclusion of a separate peace between John George of Saxony and the Emperor; for the former, perceiving the advantage which was given by French interference, sought to secure himself in authority, whatever might become of the other Protestant princes. They, however, for the most part followed the example of Saxony. Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Anhalt, and many of the free cities, concluded a peace with Ferdinand. Only the Palatinate of the Rhine and Würtemberg held faithfully to the alliance with the Swedes.

The Emperor, in concluding this peace with his subjects, took care to have in each treaty a clause inserted by which the province making it agreed to join its forces with those of the Empire to enforce the compact. Such

was the strange complication in the religious affairs of Germany that this provision, which *seemed* to be in the interest of peace, was really in the interest of war. The general effect of the measure was to bring the Catholics and German Lutherans into a league against the Swedes and the German Calvinists.

them to accede to the treaty of Prague. Ferdinand exerted himself to the utmost to seduce those who held out against him. He offered Sweden three and a-half millions of florins and Bernhard a principality in Franconia if they would become parties to the treaty; but neither would accept the bait. On the contrary, Bernhard put

himself at the head of twelve thousand French soldiers, and made a successful expedition into Alsatia; while, at the same time, Banner led a Swedish army against the Saxons, and inflicted on them several severe defeats. At length the Imperialists gained the upper hand of Bernhard in Alsatia, and the latter went to Paris to secure additional aid. But the victories of Banner more than counterbalanced the successes of the Emperor's army. The campaigns of 1636 and 1637 were waged with all the ferocity and bloodthirstiness of the earlier years of the war. Many parts of the country were utterly ruined by the de-



RICHELIEU.

In this movement of the German princes to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, Duke Bernhard and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel would take no part. In general, the Swedes and the Protestants of Southern Germany held fast to their integrity. John George of Saxony they heartily despised. Nor could any effort of the compromising party induce

vastations of a lawless soldiery, and pestilence and famine came in to consume the residue.

In the mean time the mission of Bernhard to the French capital had proved successful. The duke was made a Marshal of France, and Louis XIII. agreed to make an annual contribution of four millions of livres for the support of the army in Germany. This

policy was adopted at the French court by the influence of Richelieu, whose life, since his first accession to power in 1624, had been the epitome of the history of France. Never had a minister of state a more absolute sway over the destinies of a nation than had the great cardinal in whose hands nearly all the affairs of the kingdom were as wax. He it was who determined the major conditions of the treaty concluded at Ratisbon in 1630. At this epoch in his career he had taken into his confidence and service a certain ecclesiastic named Francis du Tremblay, better known by his title of Father Joseph. This monkish dignitary became the chief adviser of the chief adviser of France. Between him and the cardinal the most momentous questions of international policy were discussed and decided. Striking indeed was the picture of Richelieu in his cabinet listening with downcast head to the reading by Father Joseph of those documents and papers of state which concerned the diplomacy of all the European kingdoms.

By the close of the year 1637, Banner had been beaten in several contests and driven back to the coast of the Baltic, while Bernhard had restored the fortunes of the Protestants in Alsatia by a decisive victory over the Imperialists. The elector of Brandenburg had in the mean time been so weakened that he was obliged to surrender the greater part of his rights as a prince to the Empire.

In February of this year Ferdinand II. died. It has been estimated that this benign Christian sovereign went into the world of spirits with the blood of ten millions of people on his soul. Those who would apologize for his crimes have sought to throw the blame for the horrors of his reign on the Jesuits, who had poisoned his youth and by their machinations and intrigues were the largest influence in shaping the policy of his manhood. In the whole history of the German race no other sovereign ever contributed so largely to the woes of the people. Not the least of the curses which he inflicted upon the world was a son like unto himself, who, with the title of FERDINAND III., now succeeded to the Imperial dignity.

In Alsatia all the country except the fortress of Breisach had surrendered to Duke Bern-

hard, and that stronghold was closely besieged. One Imperial army after another was sent to the relief of the fortress only to be defeated by the Protestants. At last, in 1638, Breisach surrendered. When the fortress was taken, Louis XIII. demanded that the same should be surrendered to him, and on the refusal of the duke to give over his conquest, the French king declined to lend him further assistance. Hereupon Bernhard declared his purpose to carry on the war alone; nor did his military abilities seem incommensurate with such an undertaking. So great was his popularity that thousands flocked to his standard, and by the summer of 1639 he found himself ready to renew hostilities. In July of this year, however, the duke suddenly sickened and died; nor was the suspicion wanting that he had been poisoned by a secret agent of France. After his death a French army immediately proceeded into Alsatia and took possession of the country.

Before these events, however, the success of Bernhard had compelled the Imperialists to withdraw a part of their forces from Northern Germany, and Banner was thus enabled again to take the offensive. In 1638 he made successful expeditions into Brandenburg, Saxony, and Bohemia. Nor was the kind of warfare which he adopted any more creditable to the age or to himself than had been the brutal methods of Tilly and Wallenstein. In the campaign of 1639 Banner was defeated before Prague by the Archduke Leopold, brother of the Emperor. But his overthrow was indecisive, and, falling back into Thuringia, he was soon reinforced by new bodies of troops from Hesse-Cassel and France.

Such was the condition of affairs which had now supervened in the Empire that Ferdinand III., whose chief virtue was a disposition somewhat more placable than that of his father, was constrained to call together the National Diet. That body convened at Ratisbon in the autumn of 1640. But it appeared that the assembly was as impotent as ever to put an end to the horrors of the epoch. The Protestant princes of Germany united with the Catholics in opposing the policy of Sweden and France, and the deliberations were confounded by the cross-purposes, jealousies, and implacability of the members. While the useless pro-

ceedings were still dragging on, Banner conceived the audacious design of marching upon Ratisbon, and scooping up both the Emperor and the Diet. With extraordinary swiftness

he came by a winter march as far as the Danube, and only a sudden thaw in the river prevented him from carrying his well-conceived purpose into execution. In May



CARDINAL RICHELIEU AND FATHER JOSEPH.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

of the following year, however, he died, and his army fell to pieces. This enabled the Imperialists to regain a portion of what they had lost, and again there were signs of submission on the part of the Protestant princes. As early as 1641, negotiations were undertaken for the conclusion of a general peace, and to that end a congress was convened in Hamburg. Delegates were present from France, Austria, and Sweden. But the meeting was merely preliminary, and no actual measures of pacification were agreed upon.

At this juncture, one of the principal forces which for many years had determined the course of the conflict was eliminated by the death of Cardinal Richelieu. His policy of humbling the House of Austria he pursued with unflinching purpose to the end of his life. Ever inimical to the Protestants of France, he had with inconsistent consistency supported the Protestant cause in Germany—this with the obvious determination to consolidate all the elements of nationality in his own kingdom, and to distract and weaken the neighboring states with perpetual discord.

The fires of Richelieu's genius burned with quenchless brightness to the last days of his life. Within three months of his death he had to grapple with a dangerous conspiracy headed by the marquis, Henri Cinq-Mars—a favorite of the king—and Francis de Thou, the royal librarian. Cinq-Mars had been raised to public favor by the influence of Richelieu, and was indebted to him for a place in the government. Becoming ambitious, he sought to marry the beautiful Maria de Gonzaga, princess of Mantua, afterwards queen of Poland. But Richelieu thwarted the favorite's purpose, and Cinq-Mars took a mortal offense at the wrong. He drew around him a company of young noblemen, chief of whom was De Thou, and, with the hope of hurling the cardinal from power, opened a treasonable correspondence with Spain. But Richelieu, whose vigilance no subtlety could escape, secured a copy of Cinq-Mars's letter, and he and De Thou were seized. A trial followed, and then condemnation and death. On the 12th of September, 1642, the rash conspirators were led forth from their cell and publicly beheaded in Lyons.

The great cardinal was himself already tottering on the brink of the grave. Gradually weakened by bodily infirmity, he was at last obliged to succumb to the common foe. On the 4th day of December, 1642, he gave over the struggle, and the impact of his tremendous will was felt no more in the affairs of Europe.

In the same year with the death of Richelieu, the cause of the Protestants in Germany was greatly revived by the appearance in the field of the noted Swedish general, Lennart Torstenson, count of Orstalo. At the head of a large army, he made his way through Silesia and Bohemia almost to the Austrian capital. He was already in his old age, decrepit in body, a sufferer from the gout; but the fires of his genius shone with inextinguishable luster. When unable to walk or ride, he was borne about the field and camp on a litter, and the spectacle of the undaunted old hero, thus carried into their presence, inspired the Swedish soldiers more than even Banner's splendid appearance on his war-horse. Near the close of 1642, Torstenson returned into Saxony, where he met and utterly routed the army of Piccolomini before the walls of Leipsic.

Following up his success, the old Swede drove John George completely out of the electorate, and obliged him to seek shelter in Bohemia. But for the circumstance of a declaration of war by Denmark against Sweden, it appeared probable that Ferdinand would be obliged to accept a peace on terms dictated by the Protestants. As it was, Torstenson was compelled to withdraw from the scene of his victories, and make a campaign into Holstein and Jutland. It was not long, however, until he gave Denmark good cause to rue her folly in going to war. The Danish government was obliged to subscribe a treaty highly favorable to Sweden. Thus did the year 1643 close under conditions which promised final success to the Protestants. In the following year, Torstenson returned into Austria, driving the Imperialist, General Gallas, before him, and in March of 1645, gained a great victory over his adversary in the battle of Tabor. So completely were the forces of the enemy overthrown, that little further opposition could be offered to the progress of the Swedes, and they quietly sat down before Vienna. But for the breaking out of the plague in his

army, which raged with such violence as to compel his withdrawal into Saxony, there is little doubt that Torstenson would have ended the war by the capture of the Austrian capital.

Exhausted with fatigue and the accumulating ills of old age, Torstenson himself yielded to an enemy greater than the Emperor, and, dying, left his command to General Karl Gustaf



CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU LED TO EXECUTION.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

Wrangel, by whose genius the military reputation of Sweden was fully sustained.

Meanwhile, the French armies in Alsatia had, under the command of the great Marshals Turenne and Condé, achieved successes almost equal to those of the Swedes in Bohemia and Austria. Not only was all Alsatia subdued, but successful expeditions were made across the Rhine into Baden, the Palatinate, and Württemberg. In the great battle of Freiburg, Turenne, after a three days' conflict, gained a victory over the Bavarians

was now completely broken. Even the unsavory John George of Saxony, mere natural as he was, perceived that the master, whose servant he had been since the treaty of Prague, was no longer able to protect his allies, or even to save himself. The elector accordingly concluded a separate armistice with the Swedes. Frederick William of Brandenburg followed the example. Thus stripped of the support of those upon whom he had chiefly depended, the Emperor found his forces reduced to twelve thousand men, with no general to command



DEATH OF RICHELIEU.

under Mercy; but in May of the following year, namely, 1645, he was by the same enemy defeated in the battle of Mergentheim. Three months later, however, being reinforced by the army of Condé, Turenne recovered his supremacy at Allersheim. He then effected a junction with the Swedes under Wrangel, and gained two additional victories at Laningen and Zusmarshausen. By these successes the elector of Bavaria was obliged, in 1647, to sign an armistice.

The military strength of Ferdinand III.

them. It was evident that the end was at hand—that the insane and bloody project, conceived in the bosom of Jesuitism, and transplanted to the brain of Ferdinand II., to crush into the earth the cause for which Huss had died and Luther had lived, was now doomed to a complete and everlasting disappointment.

True, the preliminary conference between the powers in 1643 had brought forth neither leaves nor fruit. At the first it was arranged that the Peace Congress should convene in two sections. The first was to sit at Osna-

brück, and in that body the ambassadors of the Emperor were to meet with those of Sweden as the representative of the Protestant states, which had been at war with the Empire. The second section was to convene at Münster, and there the Imperial delegates were to discuss the conditions of peace with the ambassadors of France as the representative of

states concerned immediately in the war, representatives came from Spain, Holland, Venice, Poland, and Denmark. Considerable time was consumed in the attempted organization of the assembly; for it was an age in which rank was considered much more important than virtue, and the sorrows of a whole nation, trodden for thirty years under the iron heel

of war, were indefinitely postponed in order to consider the relative honor and position of the seats which the ambassadors of different states should occupy in the Congress! What a satire on humanity is History!

The deliberations of the Congress were yet further retarded by the fact that the war still continued with varying successes, and now the Catholic, and now the Protestant princes waited for the news of victory in order to strengthen their respective parties in the assembly. Early in 1648 Wrangel succeeded in joining his forces with those of Turenne. The combined army of Sweden and France then swept over Bavaria, put down all opposition, inflicted a bloody overthrow on the Imperialists, and again made ready for an invasion of Austria. At the same time General Königsmark, at the head of



TURENNE

the Catholic powers.¹ Having completed this arrangement, the preliminary conference adjourned, and after two years, namely, in 1645, the Peace Congresses assembled at Osnabrück and Münster. Besides the delegates of the

¹ Both Osnabrück and Münster were in Westphalia, the latter being the capital of that province. Hence, the treaty finally concluded by the Peace Congress is known in history as the **TREATY OF WESTPHALIA**.

another Swedish army, subjugated Bohemia, stormed the city of Prague, and prepared to join Wrangel and Turenne in the final descent on Vienna.

These movements brought matters to a sudden crisis. Ferdinand III. perceived that his hour had come—that he must either yield and save a little, or be obstinate and lose all. He accordingly sent hurried instructions to his ambassadors at Osnabrück and Münster to bring

the deliberations to a close on the best terms which could be secured from the triumphant Protestants. In accordance with this sudden change of policy, the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA was concluded in the City Hall of Osnabrück on the 24th of October, 1648. It was now thirty years, five months and one day since the Protestant insurgents in Bohemia had stormed the Town Hall in Prague and pitched

been witnessed since the age of barbarism; and even the barbarians, actuated as they were by a certain brutal heroism, were less ferocious and more merciful than the military monsters who controlled the destinies and gave its character to the Thirty Years' War.

It only remains in the present Chapter to present an outline of the conditions of peace. The Treaty of Westphalia provided first, that



FUGITIVE PEASANTS.—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

the Emperor's councilors headlong from the windows. During this whole period of devastation and woe, Germany had been converted into a charnel. Her people had been slaughtered by hundreds of thousands. Her towns had been sacked; her villages burned; her flying peasants driven from home and scattered to the ends of the earth. No such atrocious and heart-rending butcheries, slaughters, burnings, and carnivals of licensed lust had

Sweden, on giving up her conquests in Germany proper, should receive therefor Hither Pomerania; the Isle of Rügen, and Stettin, Garz, Damm, Golnow, in Hither Pomerania; the Isle of Wollin and a part of the course of the Oder; the reversion of the rest of Pomerania in case the House of Brandenburg should become extinct; the archbishopric of Bremen; a subsidy of five million rix dollars for the Swedish army, and six hundred thousand rix

dollars for the government. Sweden might well be contented with her part of the spoils and honors.

Secondly, France was to receive the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the town Pignerol; Breisach; the landgravate of Upper and Lower Alsace; the Sundgan; the præfecture of ten Imperial towns in Alsace, and the fortress of Philipsburg.

Thirdly, a general amnesty was declared running back to the beginning of the war. A restitution of all things to the condition in which they were in the year 1624 should be made. But in several specified cases, certain territories were confirmed to those who had gained them during the war.

Fourthly, the exiled House of the Electors Palatine was given again the lower Palatinate, which thus became the eighth electorate of the Empire.

Fifthly, the independence of Switzerland, long recognized as a fact, was acknowledged as a right.

Sixthly, the Diet of the German Empire should henceforth have the right of controlling by its votes the conduct and policy of the Emperor.

Seventhly, as to the religious questions which had been involved in the conflict: 1. The religious freedom guaranteed by the Treaties of Passau and Augsburg was confirmed to the Lutherans and extended to the Calvinists. 2. The status of all religious properties should be determined by the possession thereof in January of the normal year—that is, in 1624. 3. Holders of benefices should, on changing their religion, vacate their property but retain their rank. 4. A secular ruler professing one faith and coming into authority over a people professing another, should have the right of his own worship, and his subjects should have theirs; and if a community desired to go over to the religion of its sovereign, the same might be done without hindrance or loss of rights; but in that event, the old status in school and Church must be continued. Thus, after a struggle of a hundred and twenty-eight years since Luther consigned to the flames the bull of Leo X., before the Elster gate of Wittenberg, the struggle between him and his foes was ended by the formal recognition of his work and the incor-

poration of the same into an international compact of such formality and binding force as would not permit its future abrogation. Neither the sullen opposition of the House of Hapsburg, nor the denunciations of Innocent X. from the chair of St. Peter, nor both combined in the hopeless war of the Past with the Present, could avail any longer to hold back the rising tides as they surged along the shores of the New Civilization.

From the dolor and blood of the great struggle which was ended by the treaty of Westphalia, it is a grateful relief to turn to the achievements of the human mind in this dark and ferocious epoch. The first half of the seventeenth century will be referred to in the benign annals of the future, not as the age of Wallenstein, not as the age of Gustavus Adolphus, but as the age of GALILEO. It was the time when ancient ignorance, as illustrated in a degraded and superstitious concept of the solar system, was shot through and slain with the arrow of light. Now it was that the crude theory of Ptolemy respecting the relations of the earth and the heavenly bodies fought its last battle with the heliocentric system of nature as defended by Copernicus and Kepler. To Galileo, more than to any other, must be attributed the triumph of the new truth which declared that the sun is our central orb, and that the earth and the planets are a harmonious family of worlds.

Galileo was born in Pisa in 1564. He was of a noble stock, though the family had lost somewhat of its ancient reputation. The father was an author in music. The son acquired a good education in the classics and fine arts. In mathematics his favorite branch was geometry. His first great discovery was the isochronism of the vibration of the pendulum, which he determined by the scientific observation of a swinging lamp in the cathedral of Pisa. Then followed the invention of the hydrostatic balance, and then the election of Galileo to a professorship in the university of his native city.

Still a young man, the great thinker now began his attack upon current errors in science and philosophy. His popularity in the university became so great that he was frequently obliged to deliver his lectures in the open air. Three times was he confirmed in

his professorship by the Venetian Senate, and his salary was increased to a thousand florins annually. In 1609 he began those experiments with lenses which presently led to the invention of the telescope. His first instrument was presented to the Doge of Venice, Leonardi Deodati, by whom it was tested from the tower of St. Mark with equal surprise and delight. It had for its tube a piece of leaden organ-pipe, and a magnifying power of three diameters. Such was the rude beginning of that great artificial eye through which the inquiring spirit of man was presently to read the magical story of the stars.

As soon as his telescope was somewhat improved, Galileo discovered the satellites of Jupiter. The ancient kingdom shook to its foundation. The learned uttered their voice and the pious lifted their hands in horror. The philosopher had said that there are lunar valleys, that Jove has moons, that Venus is a crescent. This was gross impiety and sacrilege—a rash and blasphemous invasion of the hidden things.

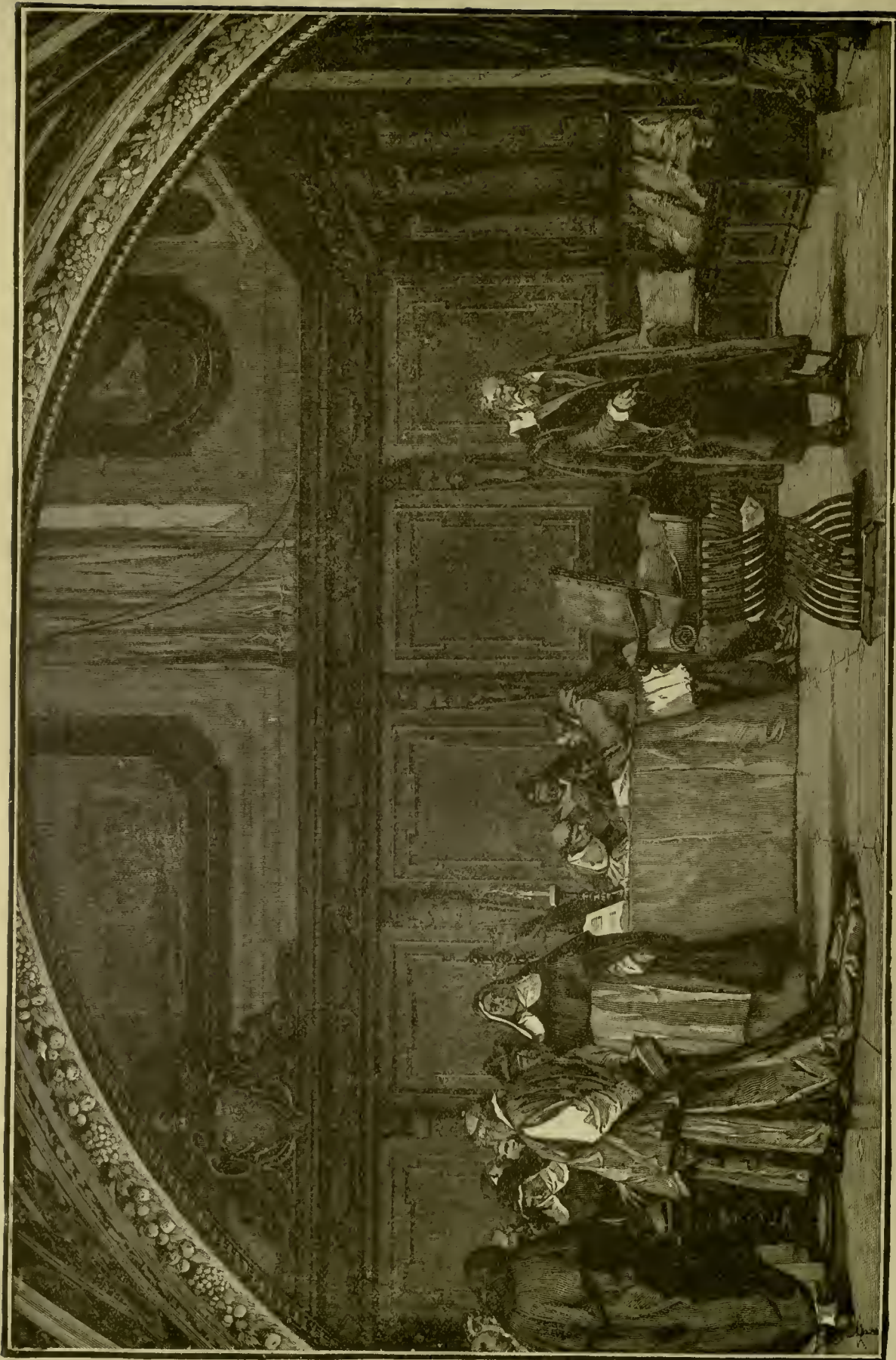
But for a while Galileo's support stood firm. The Grand Duke of Tuscany gave him a thousand florins for his discovery and appointed him his mathematician. The philosopher removed to Florence. For a while, however, he deemed it expedient—both to save himself from persecution and to secure his discoveries against the rapacity of quacks and pirates—to publish the results of his investigations in *riddles and enigmas*. In 1611 he visited Rome and set up his telescope in the garden of the Quirinal. Here the Cardinal Barberini and others were shown the wonders

of the skies. In this and the following year his prosperity reached a climax, and he became thenceforth an object of bitter persecutions. The monks and ecclesiastics attacked him with a virulence equal to their ancient reputation for bigotry. He was assailed from all sides with malice, ignorance, and ridicule. The philosopher had openly taught the Copernican system of the universe. This was sufficient. The offense might not be overlooked or forgiven. A certain Dominican preached a



INNOCENT X.

sermon, and believing himself to be the discoverer of the most astonishing pun of the Middle Ages, cried out for a text, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up into heaven?" Vainly did the philosopher plead that the views of Copernicus and his own might be reconciled with the Bible. The matter came before the Holy Inquisition, and Galileo was summoned to Rome to answer for his teachings. Before that Tribunal of Darkness he was tried and condemned. His works were declared to be heretical and "expressly contrary to Holy



GALILEO BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL.

Scriptures." He was forbidden to teach any more that the sun is central and that the earth revolves around it.

For several years Galileo was in retracy; but, when the Cardinal Barberini became Pope Urban VIII., he went to Rome, was again honored and given a pension. In 1632 he published his *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and Copernican*, in which the true theory of the universe was again set forth and defended. For this he was a second time brought to trial. Sentence was formally pronounced against him. He was condemned to imprisonment in the cell of the Inquisition, required to abjure his doctrines, and to recite once each week for three years the seven penitential psalms! Galileo consented to recant. He put on sackcloth, got down on his knees, and swore

on the gospels to renounce his teachings forever. Then, rising from the ground, he is said to have uttered, in an undertone, that famous saying: *E pur si moue*—"It moves, for all that!"

For a short time Galileo was imprisoned, and then given his liberty. But that could hardly be called liberty which was only permission to go forth under surveillance. All the rest of his life the philosopher was suspected and watched by the agents of the Inquisition. He whose mortal eye had first beheld the golden crescent of the Evening Star was pursued to his death with the implacable hatred of that ancient power to which in all ages free thought has been an enemy, knowledge a bane, and generosity a stranger. But the dominion of superstition was broken, and the Reign of Law came in.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.



WHILE the Thirty Years' War was dragging its slow and bloody length along, a different kind of a drama was enacting in the world this side of the waters. It was the epoch

of the planting of European colonies in America. After the discovery of our continent, the people of Europe were hundreds of years in making themselves acquainted with the shape and character of the New World. During that time explorers and adventurers went everywhere and settled nowhere. To make new discoveries was the universal passion; but nobody cared to plant a colony.

But as soon as the adventurers had satisfied themselves with tracing sea-coasts, ascending rivers and scaling mountains, they began to form permanent settlements. And each settlement was a new State in the wilderness. Every voyager now became ambitious to plant a colony. Kings and queens grew anxious to confer their names on the towns and commonwealths of the New World. The circumstances attending the establishment of the early American colonies were full of daring

adventure and romantic interest. The narrative will be more interesting by going back to the early part of the sixteenth century and noticing some of the antecedents of the States which were planted in the New World. Spain, who was first to discover, was now the first to plant.

In the year 1526, Charles V. appointed the unprincipled PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ governor of Florida, and to the appointment was added the usual privilege of conquest. The territory thus placed at his disposal extended from Cape Sable fully three-fifths of the way around the Gulf of Mexico, and was limited on the south-west by the mouth of the River of Palms. With this extensive commission De Narvaez arrived at Tampa Bay in the month of April, 1528. His force consisted of two hundred and sixty soldiers and forty horsemen. The natives treated them with suspicion, and, anxious to be rid of the intruders, began to hold up their gold trinkets and to point to the north. The hint was eagerly caught at by the avaricious Spaniards, whose imaginations were set on fire with the sight of the precious metal. They struck boldly into the forests, expecting to find cities and empires, and found

instead swamps and savages. They reached the Withlacoochie and crossed it by swimming, they passed over the Suwanee in a canoe which they made for the occasion, and finally came to Apalachee, a squalid village of forty cabins. This, then, was the mighty city to which their guides had directed them.

Oppressed with fatigue and goaded by hunger, they plunged again into the woods, wading through lagoons and assailed by lurking savages, until at last they reached the sea at the harbor of St. Mark's. Here they expected to find their ships, but not a ship was there, or had been. With great labor they constructed some brigantines, and put to sea in the vain hope of reaching the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were tossed by storms, driven out of sight of land and then thrown upon the shore again, drowned, slain by the savages, left in the solitary woods dead of starvation and despair, until finally four miserable men of all the adventurous company, under the leadership of the heroic De Vaca, first lieutenant of the expedition, were rescued at the village of San Miguel, on the Pacific coast, and conducted to the City of Mexico. The story can hardly be paralleled in the annals of suffering and peril.

But the Spaniards were not yet satisfied. In the year 1537 a new expedition was planned which surpassed all the others in the brilliancy of its beginning and the disasters of its end. The most cavalier of the cavaliers was FERDINAND DE SOTO, of Xeres. Besides the distinction of a noble birth, he had been the lieutenant and bosom friend of Pizarro, and had now returned from Peru, loaded with wealth. So great was his popularity in Spain that he had only to demand what he would have of the Emperor that his request might be granted. At his own dictation he was accordingly appointed governor of Cuba and Florida, with the privilege of exploring and conquering the latter country at his pleasure. A great company of young Spaniards, nearly all of them wealthy and high-born, flocked to his standard. Of these he selected six hundred of the most gallant and daring. They were clad in costly suits of armor of the knightly pattern, with airy scarfs and silken embroidery and all the trappings of chivalry. Elaborate preparations were made for the grand conquest; arms and

stores were provided; shackles were wrought for the slaves; tools for the forge and workshop were abundantly supplied; bloodhounds were bought and trained for the work of hunting fugitives; cards to keep the young knights excited with gaming; twelve priests to conduct religious ceremonies; and, last of all, a drove of swine, to fatten on the maize and mast of the country.

When, after a year of impatience and delay, every thing was at last in readiness, the gay Castilian squadron, ten vessels in all, left the harbor of San Lucar to conquer imaginary empires in the New World. The fleet touched at Havana, and the enthusiasm was kindled even to a higher pitch than it had reached in Spain. De Soto left his wife to govern Cuba during his absence; and after a prosperous and exulting voyage of two weeks, the ships cast anchor in Tampa Bay. This was in the early part of June, 1539. When some of the Cubans who had joined the expedition first saw the silent forests and gloomy morasses that stretched before them, they were terrified at the prospect, and sailed back to the security of home; but De Soto and his cavaliers despised such cowardice, and began their march into the interior. During the months of July, August, and September they marched to the northward, wading through swamps, swimming rivers, and fighting the Indians. In October they arrived at the country of the Apalachians, on the left bank of Flint River, where they determined to spend the winter. For four months they remained in this locality, sending out exploring parties in various directions. One of these companies reached the gulf at Pensacola, and made arrangements that supplies should be sent out from Cuba to that place during the following summer.

In the early spring the Spaniards left their winter-quarters, and continued their march to the north and east. An Indian guide told them of a populous empire ruled by a woman. But the story proved to be a delusion. After marching inland the wanderers turned to the westward, and passed down the Alabama River as far as the Indian town called Mauville, or Mobile, where a terrible battle was fought with the natives. The town was set on fire, and two thousand five hundred of the Indians were killed or burned to death. Eighteen of De

Soto's men were killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded. The Spaniards also lost about eighty horses, and all of their baggage.

The ships of supply had meanwhile arrived at Pensacola, but De Soto and his men, although in desperate circumstances, were too stubborn and proud to avail themselves of help, or even to send news of their whereabouts. They turned resolutely to the north; but the country was poor, and their condition grew constantly worse and worse. By the mid-

signal, set the town on fire, determined then and there to make an end of the desolating foreigners; but the Spanish weapons and discipline again saved De Soto and his men from destruction.

The guides now brought the Spaniards to the Mississippi. The point where the majestic Father of Waters was first seen by white men was at the lower Chickasaw Bluff, a little north of the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude; the day of the discovery can not certainly be



DE SOTO IN FLORIDA.

dle of December they had reached the country of the Chickasas, in Northern Mississippi. They crossed the Yazoo; the weather was severe; snow fell; and the Spaniards were on the point of starvation. They succeeded, however, in finding some fields of ungathered maize, and then came upon a deserted Indian village, which promised them shelter for the winter. After remaining here till February, 1541, they were suddenly attacked in the dead of night by the Indians, who, at a preconcerted

known. The Indians came down the river in a fleet of canoes, and offered to carry the Spaniards over; but the horses could not be transported until barges were built for that purpose. The crossing was not effected until the latter part of May.

De Soto's men now found themselves in the land of the Dakotas. Journeying to the north-west, they passed through a country where wild fruits were plentiful and subsistence easy. The natives were inoffensive and

superstitious. At one place they were going to worship the woe-begone cavaliers as the children of the gods, but De Soto was too good a Catholic to permit such idolatry. The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the St. Francis River, which they crossed and gained the southern limits of Missouri, in the vicinity of New Madrid.

Thence westward the march was renewed for about two hundred miles; thence southward to the Hot Springs and the tributaries of the

dian captives burned alive because, under fear of death, they had told a falsehood.

But De Soto's men were themselves growing desperate in their misfortunes. They turned again toward the sea, and passing down the tributaries of the Washita to the junction of that stream with the Red River, came upon the Mississippi in the neighborhood of Natchez. The spirit of De Soto was at last completely broken. The haughty cavalier bowed his head and became a prey to melancholy. No



BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

Washita River. On the banks of this river, at the town of Atiamque, they passed the winter of 1541-42. The Indians were found to be much more civilized than those east of the Mississippi; but their civilization did not protect them in the least from the horrid cruelties which the Spaniards practiced. No consideration of justice or mercy moved the stony hearts of these polite and Christian warriors. Indian towns were set on fire for sport; Indian hands were chopped off for a whim; and In-

more dazzling visions of Peru and Mexico flitted before his imagination. A malignant fever seized upon his emaciated frame, and then death. The priests chanted a requiem, and in the middle of the solemn night his sorrowful companions wrapped the dead hero's body in a flag, and rowing out a distance from shore sunk it in the Mississippi. Ferdinand de Soto had found a grave under the rolling waters of the great river with which his name will be associated forever.

The next attempt by the Spaniards to colonize Florida was in the year 1565. The enterprise was intrusted to PEDRO MELENDEZ, a Spanish soldier of ferocious disposition and criminal practices. He was under sentence to pay a heavy fine at the very time when he received his commission from the bigoted Philip II. The contract between that monarch and

an annual salary of two thousand dollars. Twenty-five hundred persons collected around Melendez to join in the expedition. The fleet left Spain in July, reached Porto Rico early in August, and on the 28th of the same month came in sight of Florida.

It must now be understood that the real object had in view by Melendez was to attack



MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS BY MELENDEZ.

Melendez was to the effect that the latter should within three years explore the coast of Florida, conquer the country, and plant in some favorable district a colony of not less than five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men. Melendez was to receive two hundred and twenty-five square miles of land adjacent to the settlement, and

and destroy a colony of French Protestants called Huguenots, who, in the previous year, had made a settlement about thirty-five miles above the mouth of the St. John's River. This was, of course, within the limits of the territory claimed by Spain; and Melendez at once perceived that to extirpate these French heretics in the name of patriotism and religion

would be likely to restore his shattered character and bring him into favor again. His former crimes were to be washed out in the blood of the innocents. Moreover, the Catholic party at the French court had communicated with the Spanish court as to the whereabouts and intentions of the Huguenots, so that Me-

proclaimed monarch of all North America; a solemn mass was said by the priests; and there, in the sight of forest and sky and sea, the foundation-stones of the oldest town in the United States were put into their place. This was seventeen years before the founding of Santa Fé by ANTONIO DE ESPEGO, and forty-two years before the settlement at Jamestown.

It appeared to be the destiny of things that Spanish civilization should spread into South rather than into North America. While the premonitory thrills of the Reformatory conflict were agitating Europe, FRANCISCO PIZARRO carried the banner of Spain into the countries south of the Isthmus of Darien. In 1524 he, with a company of followers, made an expedition into Central America. In a second expedition, he succeeded in reaching Peru, to which country he was drawn by fabulous reports of gold. He and Diego de Almagro established themselves on the coast of that country, and began a conquest of the Peruvian Empire. Having obtained from Charles V. the title of governor, and being reinforced from Spain, the adventurers built a town in the valley of Tangarala, calling it San Miguel.

At this time the Empire of the Incas was distracted by civil war, the two parties being led by Cuzco and Cajamarca, head cities of rival branches of the reigning family. Pizarro took advantage of this condition of affairs by encamping at Cajamarca, and uniting his forces with one of the Incas. But he soon managed to gain possession of the person of the friendly Emperor, and then scattered the Pe-

ruvians in all directions. The captive monarch, Atahuallpa, offered as the price of his liberty to fill the apartment in which he was confined with gold, and to this end the temples were stripped and the palace emptied of its treasures. It was estimated that the ornaments and coins which were melted down by Pizarro amounted to more than seventeen millions of dollars. Having obtained this immense booty, the Span-



ATAHUALPA, INCA OF THE PERUVIANS.
After an old copperplate.

lendez knew precisely where to find them and how to compass their destruction.

It was St. Augustine's day when the dastardly Spaniard came in sight of the shore, but the landing was not effected until the 2d of September. The spacious harbor and the small river which enters it from the south were named in honor of the saint. On the 8th day of the same month Philip II. was

iards mercilessly put to death the captive Inca, marched on Cuzco, the capital, subverted the Empire, proclaimed the authority of Spain, and built on the river Rimac the new capital called Lima.—Such were the beginnings of the establishment of Spanish influence in the New World. All of these events, however, antedated by more than half a century the true epoch of colonization in North America by the English.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT was perhaps the first to conceive a rational plan of settlement in the new continent which the genius of Cabot had added to the dominions of England. His idea was to form somewhere on the American shores an agricultural and commercial state. With this purpose he sought aid from the queen, and received a liberal patent authorizing him to take possession of any six hundred square miles of unoccupied territory in America, and to plant thereon a colony of which he himself should be proprietor and governor. With this commission, Gilbert assisted by his illustrious step-brother, WALTER RALEIGH, prepared a fleet of five vessels, and in June of 1583 sailed for the west. Only two days after their departure the best vessel in the fleet treacherously abandoned the rest and returned to Plymouth. Early in August, Gilbert reached Newfoundland, and going ashore took formal possession of the country in the name of his queen. Unfortunately, some of the sailors discovered in the side of a hill scales of mica, and a judge of metals, whom Gilbert had been foolish enough to bring with him, declared that the glittering mineral was silver ore. The crews became insubordinate. Some went to digging the supposed silver and carrying it on board the vessels, while others gratified their piratical propensities by attacking the Spanish and Portuguese ships that were fishing in the neighboring harbors.

Meanwhile, one of Gilbert's vessels became worthless, and had to be abandoned. With the other three he left Newfoundland, and steered toward the south. When off the coast of Massachusetts, the largest of the remaining ships was wrecked, and a hundred men, with all the spurious silver ore, went to the bottom. The disaster was so great that Gilbert determined to return at once to England. The weather was stormy, and the two ships that were now

left were utterly unfit for the sea; but the voyage was begun in hope. The brave captain remained in the weaker vessel, a little frigate called the *Squirrel*, already shattered and ready to sink. At midnight, as the ships, within hailing distance of each other, were struggling through a raging sea, the *Squirrel* was suddenly engulfed; not a man of the courageous crew was saved. The other ship finally reached Falmouth in safety.

But the project of colonization was immediately renewed by Raleigh. In the following spring that remarkable man obtained from the queen a new patent fully as liberal as the one granted to Gilbert. Raleigh was to become lord-proprietor of an extensive tract of country in America extending from the thirty-third to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. This territory was to be peopled and organized into a state. The frozen regions of the north were now to be avoided, and the sunny country of the Huguenots was to be chosen as the seat of the rising empire. Two ships were fitted out, and the command given to Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow.

In the month of July the vessels reached the coast of Carolina. The sea that laved the long, low beach was smooth and glassy. The woods were full of beauty and song. The natives were generous and hospitable. Explorations were made along the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and a landing finally effected on Roanoke Island, where the English were entertained by the Indian queen. But neither Amidas nor Barlow had the courage or genius necessary to such an enterprise. After a stay of less than two months they returned to England to exhaust the rhetoric of description in praising the beauties of the new land. In allusion to her own life and reign, Elizabeth gave to her delightful country in the New World the name of VIRGINIA.

In December of 1584, Sir Walter brought forward a bill in Parliament by which his previous patent was confirmed and enlarged. The mind of the whole nation was inflamed at the prospects which Raleigh's province now offered to emigrants and adventurers. The plan of colonization, so far from being abandoned, was undertaken with renewed zeal and earnestness. The proprietor fitted out a sec-

ond expedition, and appointed the soldierly Ralph Lane governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville commanded the fleet, and a company, not unmixed with the gallant young nobility of the kingdom, made up the crew. Sailing from Plymouth, the fleet of seven vessels reached the American coast on the 20th of June. At Cape Fear they were in imminent danger of being wrecked; but having escaped the peril, they six days afterward reached Roanoke in safety. Here Lane was left with a hundred and ten of the immigrants to form a settlement. Grenville, after making a few unsatisfactory explorations, returned to England, taking with him a Spanish treasure-ship which he had captured. Privateering and colonization went hand in hand.

Sir Walter expended two hundred thousand dollars in his attempt to found an American colony, and then gave up the enterprise. He then assigned his exclusive proprietary rights to an association of London merchants, and it was under their auspices that White made the final search for the settlers of Roanoke. From the date of this event very little in the way of voyage and discovery was accomplished by the English until the year 1602, when maritime enterprise again brought the flag of England to the shores of America. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was the man to whom belongs the honor of making the next explorations of our coast.

The old route from the shores of Europe to America was very circuitous. Ships from the ports of England, France, and Spain sailed first southward to the Canary Islands, thence to the West Indies, and thence northward to the coast-line of the continent. Abandoning this path as unnecessarily long and out of the way, Gosnold, in a single small vessel called the *Concord*, sailed directly across the Atlantic, and in seven weeks reached the coast of Maine. The distance thus gained was fully two thousand miles. It was Gosnold's object to found a colony, and for that purpose a company of immigrants came with him. Beginning at Cape Elizabeth, explorations were made to the southward; Cape Cod was reached, and here the captain, with four of his men, went on shore. It was the first landing of Englishmen within the limits of New England. Cape Malabar was doubled, and

then the vessel, leaving Nantucket on the right, turned into Buzzard's Bay. Selecting the most westerly island of the Elizabeth group, the colonists went on shore, and there began the first New England settlement.

It was a short-lived enterprise. A traffic was opened with the natives which resulted in loading the *Concord* with sassafras root, so much esteemed for its fragrance and healing virtues. Everything went well for a season; but when the ship was about to depart for England, the settlers became alarmed at the prospect before them, and pleaded for permission to return with their friends. Gosnold acceded to their demands, and the island was abandoned. After a pleasant voyage of five weeks, and in less than four months from the time of starting, the *Concord* reached home in safety.

Here we enter the seventeenth century. On the 10th of April, 1606, James I. of England issued two great patents directed to men of his kingdom, authorizing them to possess and colonize all that portion of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. The immense tract thus embraced extended from the mouth of Cape Fear River to Passamaquoddy Bay, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The first patent was granted to an association of nobles, gentlemen, and merchants residing at London, and called the LONDON COMPANY, while the second instrument was issued to a similar body which had been organized at Plymouth, in South-western England, and which bore the name of the PLYMOUTH COMPANY. To the former corporation was assigned all the region between the thirty-fourth and the thirty-eighth degrees of latitude, and to the latter the tract extending from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degree. The narrow belt of three degrees lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallels was to be equally open to the colonies of either company, but no settlement of one party was to be made within less than one hundred miles of the nearest settlement of the other. Only the London Company was successful under its charter in planting an American colony.

The man who was chiefly instrumental in organizing the London Company was Bartholomew Gosnold. His leading associates were

Edward Wingfield, a rich merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and John Smith, a man of genius. Others who aided the enterprise were Sir John Popham, chief-justice of England, Richard Hakluyt, a historian, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a distinguished nobleman.

By the terms of the charter, the affairs of the company were to be administered by a Superior Council, residing in England, and an Inferior Council, residing in the colony. The members of the former body were to be chosen by the king, and to hold office at his pleasure; the members of the lower council were also selected by the royal direction, and were subject to removal by the same power. All legislative authority was likewise vested in the monarch. In the first organization of the companies not a single principle of self-government was admitted. The most foolish clause in the patent was that which required the proposed colony or colonies to hold all property in common for a period of five years. The wisest provision in the instrument was that which allowed the emigrants to retain in the New World all the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

In the month of August, 1606, the Plymouth Company sent their first ship to America. The voyage, which was one of exploration, was but half completed, when the company's vessel was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. In the autumn another ship was sent out, which remained on the American coast until the following spring, and then returned with glowing accounts of the country. Encouraged by these reports, the company, in the summer of 1607, dispatched a colony of a hundred persons. Arriving at the mouth of the River Kennebec, the colonists began a settlement under favorable circumstances. Some fortifications were thrown up, a store-house and several cabins built, and the place named St. George. Then the ships returned to England, leaving a promising colony of forty-five members; but the winter of 1607-8 was very severe; some of the settlers were starved and some frozen, the store-house burned, and when summer came the remnant escaped to England.

The London Company had better fortune. A fleet of three vessels was fitted out and the command given to Christopher Newport. On the 9th of December the ships, having on

board a hundred and five colonists, among whom were Wingfield and Smith, left England. Newport, to begin with, committed the astonishing folly of taking the old route by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and did not reach the American coast until the month of April. It was the design that a landing should be made in the neighborhood of Roanoke Island, but a storm prevailed and carried the ships northward into the Chesapeake. Entering the magnificent bay and coasting along the southern shore, the vessels came to the mouth of a broad and beautiful river, which was named in honor of King James. Proceeding up this stream about fifty miles, Newport noticed on the northern bank a peninsula more attractive than the rest for its verdure and beauty; the ships were moored and the emigrants went on shore. Here, on the thirteenth day of May (Old Style), in the year 1607, were laid the foundations of Jamestown, the oldest English settlement in America. It was within a month of a hundred and ten years after the discovery of the continent by the elder Cabot, and nearly forty-two years after the founding of St. Augustine. So long a time had been required to plant the first feeble germ of English civilization in the New World.

After the unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec, very little was done by the Plymouth Company for several years; yet the purpose of planting colonies was not relinquished. Meanwhile, a new impetus was given to the affairs of North Virginia by the ceaseless activity and exhaustless energies of John Smith. Wounded by an accident, and discouraged, as far as it was possible for such a man to be discouraged, by the distractions and turbulence of the Jamestown colony, Smith left that settlement in 1609 and returned to England. On recovering his health, he formed a partnership with four wealthy merchants of London, with a view to the fur-trade and probable establishment of colonies within the limits of the Plymouth grant. Two ships were accordingly freighted with goods and put under Smith's command. The summer of 1614 was spent on the coast of lower Maine, where a profitable traffic was carried on with the Indians. The crews of the vessels were well satisfied through the long

days of July with the pleasures and profits of the teeming fisheries, but Smith himself found nobler work. Beginning as far north as practicable, he patiently explored the country, and drew a map of the whole coast-line from the Penobscot River to Cape Cod. In this map, which is still extant, and a marvel of accuracy considering the circumstances under which it was made, the country was called NEW ENGLAND—a name which Prince Charles confirmed, and which has ever since remained as the designation of the North-eastern States of the Republic.

It was about the year 1617 that the company of English Puritans, then resident in Holland, began to meditate a removal to the wilds of the New World. In their exile they pined with unrest. The unfamiliar language of the Dutch grated harshly on their ears. They would fain find in the land beyond the waters some quiet spot where they might be secure from persecution, and found an English-speaking state in the wilderness. Accordingly, John Carver and Robert Cushman were dispatched to England to ask permission for the Church of Leyden to settle in America. The agents of the London Company and the Council of Plymouth gave some encouragement to the request, but the king and his ministers, especially Lord Bacon, set their faces against any project which might seem to favor heretics. The most that King James would do was to make an informal promise to let the Pilgrims alone in America. Such has always been the despicable attitude of bigotry toward every liberal enterprise.

The Puritans were not discouraged. With or without permission, protected or not protected by the terms of a charter which might at best be violated, they would seek asylum and rest in the Western wilderness. Out of their own resources, and with the help of a few faithful friends, they provided the scanty means of departure, and set their faces toward the sea. The *Speedwell*, a small vessel of sixty tons, was purchased at Amsterdam, and the *Mayflower*, a larger and more substantial ship, was hired for the voyage. The former was to carry the emigrants from Leyden to Southampton, where they were to be joined by the *Mayflower*, with another company from London. Assembling at the harbor of Delft, on

the River Meuse, fifteen miles south of Leyden, as many of the Pilgrims as could be accommodated went on board the *Speedwell*. The whole congregation accompanied them to the shore. There Robinson gave them a consoling farewell address, and the blessings and prayers of those who were left behind followed the vessel out of sight.

Both ships came safely to Southampton, and within two weeks the emigrants were ready for the voyage. On the 5th of August, 1620, the vessels left the harbor; but after a few days' sailing the *Speedwell* was found to be shattered, old, and leaky. On this account both ships anchored in the port of Dartmouth, and eight days were spent in making the needed repairs. Again the sails were set; but scarcely had the land receded from sight before the captain of the *Speedwell* declared his vessel unfit to breast the ocean, and then, to the great grief and discouragement of the emigrants, put back to Plymouth. Here the bad ship was abandoned; but the Pilgrims were encouraged and feasted by the citizens, and the more zealous went on board the *Mayflower*, ready and anxious for a final effort. On the 6th of September the first colony of New England, numbering one hundred and two souls, saw the shores of Old England grow dim and sink behind the sea.

The voyage was long and perilous. For sixty-three days the ship was buffeted by storms and driven. It had been the intention of the Pilgrims to found their colony in the beautiful country of the Hudson; but the tempest carried them out of their course, and the first land seen was the desolate Cape Cod. On the 9th of November the vessel was anchored in the bay; then a meeting was held on board, and the colony organized under a solemn compact. In the charter which they there made for themselves the emigrants declared their loyalty to the English Crown, and covenanted together to live in peace and harmony, with equal rights to all, obedient to just laws made for the common good. Such was the simple but sublime constitution of the oldest New England State. A nobler document is not to be found among the records of the world. To this instrument all the heads of families, forty-one in number, solemnly set their names. An election was held, in which all had an equal

voice, and John Carver was unanimously chosen governor of the colony.

After two days the boat was lowered, but was found to be half rotten and useless. More than a fortnight of precious time was required to make the needed repairs. Standish, Bradford, and a few other hardy spirits got to shore and explored the country; nothing was found but a heap of Indian corn under the snow. By the 6th of December the boat was ready for service, and the governor, with fifteen companions, went ashore. The weather was dreadful. Alternate rains and snow-storms converted the clothes of the Pilgrims into coats-of-mail. All day they wandered about, and then returned to the sea-shore. In the morning they were attacked by the Indians, but escaped to the ship with their lives, cheerful and giving thanks. Then the vessel was steered to the south and west for forty-five miles around the coast of what is now the county of Barnstable. At nightfall of Saturday a storm came on; the rudder was wrenched away, and the poor ship driven, half by accident and half by the skill of the pilot, into a safe haven on the west side of the bay. The next day, being the Sabbath, was spent in religious devotions, and on Monday, the 11th of December (Old Style), 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the Rock of Plymouth.

It was now the dead of winter. There was an incessant storm of sleet and snow, and the houseless immigrants, already enfeebled by their sufferings, fell a-dying of hunger, cold, and exposure. After a few days spent in explorations about the coast, a site was selected near the first landing, some trees were felled, the snow-drifts cleared away, and on the 9th of January the heroic toilers began to build New Plymouth. Every man took on himself the work of making his own house; but the rav-

ages of disease grew daily worse, strong arms fell powerless, lung-fevers and consumptions wasted every family. At one time only seven men were able to work on the sheds which were building for shelter from the storms; and if an early spring had not brought relief, the colony must have perished to a man. Such were the privations and griefs of that terrible winter when NEW ENGLAND began to be.

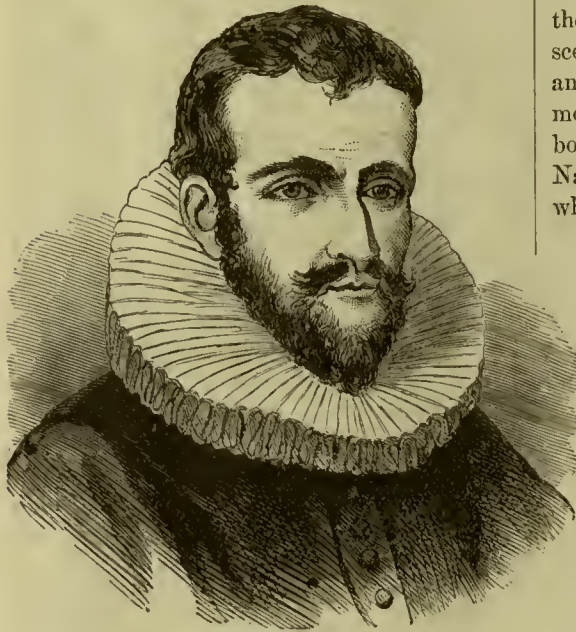
Meanwhile the Dutch had turned their at-



THE MAYFLOWER AT SEA.

ention to colonization. Their first settlement in the New World was made on Manhattan or New York Island. The colony resulted from the voyages and explorations of the illustrious SIR HENRY HUDSON. In the year 1607 this great British seaman was employed by a company of London merchants to sail into the North Atlantic and discover a route eastward or westward to the Indies. He made the voyage in a single ship, passed up the eastern coast of Greenland to a higher point of latitude than ever before attained, turned eastward to Spitzbergen, circumnavigated that

Island, and then was compelled by the icebergs to return to England. In the next year he renewed his efforts, hoping to find between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla an open way to the East. By this course he confidently expected to shorten the route to China by at least eight thousand miles. Again the voyage resulted in failure; his employers gave up the enterprise in despair, but his own spirits only rose to a higher determination. When the cautious merchants would furnish no more means, he quitted England and went to Amsterdam. Holland was at this time the foremost maritime nation of the world, and



SIR HENRY HUDSON.

the eminent navigator did not long go begging for patronage in the busy marts of that country. The Dutch East India Company at once furnished him with a ship, a small yacht called the *Half Moon*, and in April of 1609 he set out on his third voyage to reach the Indies. About the seventy-second parallel of latitude, above the capes of Norway, he turned eastward, but between Lapland and Nova Zembla the ocean was filled with icebergs, and further sailing was impossible. Baffled but not discouraged, he immediately turned his prow toward the shores of America; somewhere between the Chesapeake and the North Pole he would find a passage into the Pacific ocean.

In the month of July Hudson reached Newfoundland, and passing to the coast of Maine, spent some time in repairing his ship, which had been shattered in a storm. Sailing thence southward, he touched at Cape Cod, and by the middle of August found himself as far south as the Chesapeake. Again he turned to the north, determined to examine the coast more closely, and on the 28th of the month anchored in Delaware Bay. After one day's explorations the voyage was continued along the coast of New Jersey, until, on the 3d of September, the *Half Moon* came to a safe anchorage in the bay of Sandy Hook. Two days later a landing was effected, the natives flocking in great numbers to the scene, and bringing gifts of corn, wild fruits, and oysters. The time until the 9th of the month was spent in sounding the great harbor; on the next day the vessel passed the Narrows, and then entered the noble river which bears the name of Hudson.

To explore the beautiful stream was now the pleasing task. For eight days the *Half Moon* sailed northward up the river. Such magnificent forests, such beautiful hills, such mountains rising in the distance, such fertile valleys, planted here and there with ripening corn, the Netherlands had never seen before. On the 19th of September the vessel was moored at what is now the landing of Kinderhook; but an exploring party, still unsatisfied, took to the boats and rowed up the river beyond the site of Albany. After some days they returned to the ship, the moorings were loosed, the vessel dropped down the stream, and on the 4th of October the sails were spread for Holland. On the homeward voyage Hudson, not perhaps without a touch of national pride, put into the harbor of Dartmouth. Thereupon the government of King James, with characteristic illiberality, detained the *Half Moon*, and claimed the crew as Englishmen. All that Hudson could do was to forward to his employers of the East India Company an account of his successful voyage and of the delightful country which he had visited under the flag of Holland.

Now were the English merchants ready to spend more money to find the north-west passage. In the summer of 1610, a ship, called

the *Discovery*, was given to Hudson; and, with a vision of the Indies flitting before his imagination, he left England, never to return. He had learned by this time that nowhere between Florida and Maine was there an opening through the continent to the Pacific. The famous pass must now be sought between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the southern point of Greenland. Steering between Cape Farewell and Labrador, in the track which Frobisher had taken, the vessel came, on the 2d day of August, into the

enviored with the terrors of winter in the frozen gulf of the North. With unflinching courage he bore up until his provisions were almost exhausted; spring was at hand, and the day of escape had already arrived, when the treacherous crew broke out in mutiny. They seized Hudson and his only son, with seven other faithful sailors, threw them into an open shallop, and cast them off among the icebergs. The fate of the illustrious mariner has never been ascertained.



THE HALF MOON ASCENDING THE HUDSON.

mouth of the strait which bears the name of its discoverer. No ship had ever before entered these waters.

For a while the way westward was barred with islands; but, passing between them, the bay seemed to open, the ocean widened to the right and left, and the route to China was at last revealed. So believed the great captain and his crew; but, sailing farther to the west, the inhospitable shores narrowed on the more inhospitable sea, and Hudson found himself

In the summer of 1610, the *Half Moon* was liberated at Dartmouth, and returned to Amsterdam. In the same year, several ships owned by Dutch merchants sailed to the banks of the Hudson River, and engaged in the fur-trade. The traffic was very lucrative, and in the two following years other vessels made frequent and profitable voyages. Early in 1614, an act was passed by the States-general of Holland giving to certain merchants of Amsterdam the exclusive right to

trade and establish settlements within the limits of the country explored by Hudson. Under this commission, a fleet of five small trading-vessels arrived, in the summer of the same year, at Manhattan Island. Here some rude huts had already been built by former traders, but now a fort for the defense of the place was erected, and the settlement named **NEW AMSTERDAM**. In the course of the autumn Adrian Block, who commanded one of the ships, sailed through East River into Long Island Sound, made explorations along the coast as far as the mouth of the Connecticut, thence to Narragansett Bay, and even to Cape Cod. Almost at the same time Christ-anson, another Dutch commander, in the same fleet, sailed up the river from Manhattan to Castle Island, a short distance below the site of Albany, and erected a block-house, which was named Fort Nassau, for a long time the northern outpost of the settlers on the Hudson. Meanwhile, Cornelius May, the captain of a small vessel called the *Fortune*, sailed from New Amsterdam, and explored the Jersey coast as far south as the Bay of Delaware. Upon these two voyages, one north and the other south from Manhattan Island, where the actual settlement was made, Holland set up a feeble claim to the country, which was now named **NEW NETHERLANDS**, extending from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod—a claim which Great Britain and France treated with derision and contempt. Such were the feeble and inauspicious beginnings of the Dutch colonies in New York and Jersey.

Such is the story of the planting of the three principal colonies—two English and one Dutch—on our Eastern shores. The other settlements in New England were for the most part offshoots from the parent colony on Massachusetts Bay. The history of **CONNECTICUT** begins with the year 1630. While Tilly's soldiers were engaged in the siege of Madgeburg, a grant of American territory was made by the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick; and in March of 1631 the claim was transferred by him to Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others. Before a colony could be planted by the proprietors, the Dutch of New Netherland reached the Connecticut River and built at Hartford their fort called the House of Good Hope.

The people of New Plymouth immediately organized and sent out a force to counteract this movement of their rivals. The territorial claim of the Puritans extended not only over Connecticut, but over New Netherland itself, and onward to the west. Should the intruding Dutch colonists of Manhattan be allowed to move eastward and take possession of the finest valley in New England? Certainly not.

The English expedition reached the mouth of the Connecticut and sailed up the river. When the little squadron came opposite the House of Good Hope, the commander of the garrison ordered Captain Holmes, the English officer, to strike his colors; but the order was treated with derision. The Dutch threatened to fire in case the fleet should attempt to pass; but the English defiantly hoisted sails and proceeded up the river. The puny cannon of the House of Good Hope failed to turn them back. At a point just below the mouth of the Farmington, seven miles above Hartford, the Puritans landed and built the block-house of Windsor.

In October of 1635 a colony of sixty persons left Boston, traversed the forests of Central Massachusetts and settled at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Earlier in the same year the Younger Winthrop, a man who in all the virtues of a noble life was a worthy rival of his father, the governor of Massachusetts, arrived in New England. He bore a commission from the proprietors of the Western colony to build a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, and to prevent the further encroachments of the Dutch. The fortress was hastily completed and the guns mounted just in time to prevent the entrance of a Dutch trading-vessel which appeared at the mouth of the river. Such was the founding of Saybrook, so named in honor of the proprietors, Lords Say-and-Seal and Brooke. This was the most important river of New England brought under the dominion of the Puritans; the solitary Dutch settlement at Hartford was cut off from succor and left to dwindle into insignificance.

The founding of Rhode Island was the work of the celebrated Roger Williams, a young minister of Salem village, north of Massachusetts Bay. To him belongs the imperishable honor of being first in America or in Europe

to proclaim the full gospel of religious toleration. He declared to his people that the conscience of man may in no wise be bound by the authority of the magistrate; that civil government has only to do with civil matters, such as the collection of taxes, the restraint and punishment of crime, and the protection of all men in the enjoyment of equal rights. For these noble utterances he was obliged to quit the ministry of the church at Salem and retire to Plymouth. Finally, in 1634, he

that compulsory attendance at religious worship, as well as taxation for the support of the ministry, was contrary to the teachings of the gospel. When arraigned for these bad doctrines, he crowned his offenses by telling the court that a test of church-membership in a voter or a public officer was as ridiculous as the selection of a doctor of physic or the pilot of a ship on account of his skill in theology.

These assertions raised such a storm in court that Williams was condemned for heresy and



PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING GOOD HOPE.

wrote a paper in which the declaration was made that grants of land, though given by the king of England, were invalid until the natives were justly recompensed. This was equivalent to saying that the colonial charter itself was void, and that the people were really living upon the lands of the Indians. Great excitement was occasioned by the publication, and Williams consented that for the sake of public peace the paper should be burned. But he continued to teach his doctrines, saying

banished from the colony. In the dead of winter he left home and became an exile in the desolate forest. For fourteen weeks he wandered on through the snow, sleeping at night on the ground or in a hollow tree, living on parched corn, acorns, and roots. He carried with him one precious treasure—a private letter from Governor Winthrop, giving him words of cheer and encouragement. Nor did the Indians fail to show their gratitude to the man who had so nobly defended their

rights. In the country of the Wampanoags he was kindly entertained. The Indian chief Massasoit invited him to his cabin at Pokanoket, and Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts, received him as a friend and brother.

On the left bank of the Blackstone River, near the head of Narragansett Bay, a resting-place was at last found; the exile pitched his tent, and with the opening of spring planted a field and built the first house in the village of Seekonk. Soon the information came that he was still within the territory of Plymouth Colony, and another

its purest form; an uncompromising advocate of freedom; exiled to Massachusetts, and now exiled by Massachusetts, he brought to the banks of the Narragansett the great doctrines of perfect religious liberty and the equal rights of men. If the area of Rhode Island had corresponded with the grandeur of the principles on which she was founded, who could have foretold her destiny?

The beginnings of NEW HAMPSHIRE date as far back as 1622. In that year the territory lying between the rivers Merrimac and Kennebec, reaching from the sea to the St. Lawrence, was granted by the council of Plymouth to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. The history of New Hampshire begins with the following year. For the proprietors made haste to secure their new domain by actual settlements. In the early spring of 1623 two small companies of colonists were sent out by Mason and Gorges to people their province. The coast of New Hampshire had first been visited by Martin Pring in 1603. Eleven years later the restless Captain Smith explored the spacious harbor at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and spoke with delight of the deep and tranquil waters.

One party of the new immigrants landed at Little Harbor, two miles south of the present site of Portsmouth, and began to build a village. The other party proceeded up stream, entered the Cochecho, and, four miles above the mouth of that tributary, laid the foundations of Dover. With the exception of Plymouth and Weymouth, Portsmouth and Dover are the oldest towns in New England. But the progress of the settlements was slow; for many years the two villages were only fishing-stations. In 1629 the proprietors divided their dominions, Gorges retaining the part north of the Piscataqua, and Mason taking exclusive control of the district between the Piscataqua and the Merrimac. In May of this year, Rev. John Wheelwright, who soon afterward became a leader in the party of Anne Hutchinson, visited the Abenaki chieftains, and purchased their claim to the soil of the whole territory held by Mason; but, in the following November, Mason's title was confirmed by a second patent from the



THE YOUNGER WINTHROP.

removal became necessary. With five companions who had joined him in banishment, he embarked in a canoe, passed down the river and crossed to the west side of the bay. Here he was safe; his enemies could hunt him no farther. A tract of land was honorably purchased from Canonicus; and in June of 1636, the illustrious founder of Rhode Island laid out the city of PROVIDENCE.

The leader of the new colony was a native of Wales; born in 1606; liberally educated at Cambridge; the pupil of Sir Edward Coke; in after years the friend of Milton; a dissenter; a hater of ceremonies; a disciple of truth in

council, and the name of the province was changed from Laconia to New Hampshire.

Turning to the South, we find the same kind of expansion of the settlements around the parent colony in Virginia as had taken place in New England. As early as 1621, William Clayborne, a resolute and daring English surveyor, was sent out by the London Company to make a map of the country about the head-waters of the Chesapeake. By the second charter of Virginia, the territory of that province had been extended on the north to the forty-first parallel of latitude. All of the present State of Maryland was included in this enlargement, which also embraced the whole of Delaware and the greater part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The ambition of Virginia was greatly excited by the possession of this vast domain; to explore and occupy it was an enterprise of the highest importance.

Clayborne was a member of the council of Virginia, and secretary of state in that colony. In May of 1631, he received a royal commission authorizing him to discover the sources of the Chesapeake Bay, to survey the country as far as the forty-first degree of latitude, to establish a trade with the Indians, and to exercise the right of government over the companions of his voyage. This commission was confirmed by Governor Harvey of Virginia, and in the spring of the following year Clayborne began his important and arduous work. The members of the London Company were already gathering imaginary riches from the immense fur-trade of the Potomac and the Susquehanna.

The enterprise of Clayborne was attended with success. A trading-post was established on Kent Island, and another at the head of the bay, in the vicinity of Havre de Grace.

The many rivers that fall into the Chesapeake were again explored, and a trade opened with the natives. The limits of Virginia were about to be extended to the borders of New Netherland. But, in the mean time, a train of circumstances had been prepared in England by which the destiny of several American provinces was completely changed. As in many other instances, religious persecution again contributed to lay the foundation of a new State in the wilderness. And Sir George Calvert, of Yorkshire, was the man who was destined to be the founder. Born in 1580; educated at Oxford; a man of much travel and vast experience; an ardent and devoted Catholic; a



RECEPTION OF ROGER WILLIAMS BY THE INDIANS.

friend of humanity; honored with knighthood, and afterward with an Irish peerage and the title of LORD BALTIMORE,—he now in middle life turned aside from the dignities of rank and affluence to devote the energies of his life to the welfare of the oppressed. For the Catholics of England, as well as the dissenting Protestants, were afflicted with many and bitter persecutions.

Lord Baltimore's first American enterprise was the planting of a Catholic colony in Newfoundland. King James, who was not unfriendly to the Roman Church, had granted him a patent for the southern promontory of the island; and here, in 1623, a refuge was established for distressed Catholics. But in

such a place no colony could be successful. The district was narrow, cheerless, desolate. Profitable industry was impossible. French ships hovered around the coast and captured the English fishing-boats. It became evident that the settlement must be removed, and Lord Baltimore wisely turned his attention to the sunny country of the Chesapeake.

In 1629 he made a visit to Virginia. The general assembly offered him citizenship on condition that he would take an oath of allegiance; but the oath was of such a sort as no honest Catholic could subscribe to. In vain



LORD BALTIMORE.

did Sir George plead for toleration; the assembly was inexorable. It was on the part of the Virginians a short-sighted and ruinous policy. For the London Company had already been dissolved; the king might therefore rightfully regrant that vast territory north of the Potomac which, by the terms of the second charter, had been given to Virginia. Lord Baltimore left the narrow-minded legislators, returned to London, himself drew up a charter for a new State on the Chesapeake, and easily induced his friend, King Charles I., to sign it. The Virginians had saved their religion and lost a province.

The territory embraced by the new patent

was bounded by the ocean, by the fortieth parallel of latitude, by a line drawn due south from that parallel to the most western fountain of the Potomac, by the river itself from its source to the bay, and by a line running due east from the mouth of the river to the Atlantic. The domain included the whole of the present States of Maryland and Delaware and a large part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Here it was the purpose of the magnanimous proprietor to establish an asylum for all the afflicted of his own faith, and to plant a State on the broad basis of religious toleration and popular liberty. The provisions of the charter were the most liberal and ample which had ever received the sanction of the English government. Christianity was declared to be the religion of the State, but no preference was given to any sect or creed. The lives and property of the colonists were carefully guarded. Free trade was declared to be the law of the province, and arbitrary taxation was forbidden. The rights of the proprietor extended only to the free appointment of the officers of his government. The power of making and amending the laws was conceded to the freemen of the colony or their representatives.

One calamity darkened the prospect. Before the liberal patent could receive the seal of state, Sir George Calvert died. His title and estates descended to his son Cecil; and to him, on the 20th of June, 1632, the charter which had been intended for his noble father, was finally issued. In honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France and wife of Charles I., the name of MARYLAND was conferred on the new province. Independence of Virginia was guaranteed in the constitution of the colony, and no danger was to be anticipated from the feeble forces of New Netherland. It only remained for the younger Lord Baltimore to raise a company of emigrants and carry out his father's benevolent designs. The work went forward slowly, and it was not until November of 1633 that a colony numbering two hundred persons could be collected. Meanwhile, Cecil Calvert had abandoned the idea of coming in person to America, and had appointed his brother Leonard to accompany the colonists to their desti-

nation, and to act as deputy-governor of the new province.

In March of the following year the immigrants arrived at Old Point Comfort. Leonard Calvert bore a letter from King Charles to Governor Harvey of Virginia, commanding him to receive the newcomers with courtesy and favor. The order was complied with, but the Virginians could look only with intense jealousy on a movement which must soon deprive them of the rich fur-trade of the Chesapeake. The colonists proceeded up the bay and entered the Potomac. At the mouth of Piscataway Creek, nearly opposite Mount Vernon, the pinnace was moored, and a cross was set up on an island. On the present site of Fort Washington there was an Indian village, whose inhabitants came out to meet the English. A conference was held, and the sachem of the nation told Leonard Calvert in words of dubious meaning, that he and his colony *might stay or go just as they pleased*. Considering this answer as a menace, and deeming it imprudent to plant his first settlement so far up the river, Calvert again embarked with his companions, and dropped down stream to the mouth of the St. Mary's, within fifteen miles of the bay. Ascending the estuary for about ten miles, he came to an Indian town. The natives had been beaten in battle by the Susquehannas, and were on the eve of migrating into the interior. The village was already half deserted. With the consent of the Red men, the English moved into the vacant huts. The rest of the town was purchased, with the adjacent territory, the Indians promising to give possession to the colonists at the opening of the spring. The name of ST. MARY'S was given to the this oldest colony of Maryland, and the name of the river was changed to St. George's.

South of Virginia, the first effort at colonization was made in 1630. In that year, an immense tract, lying between the thirtieth and the thirty-sixth parallels of latitude, was granted by King Charles to Sir Robert Heath. But neither the proprietor nor his successor, Lord Maltravers, succeeded in planting a colony. After a useless existence of thirty-three years, the patent was revoked by the English sovereign. The only effect of Sir Robert's charter was to perpetuate the name

of CAROLINA, which had been given to the country by John Ribault in 1562.

In the year 1622 the country as far south as the river Chowan was explored by Pory, the secretary of Virginia. Twenty years later a company of Virginians obtained leave of the assembly to prosecute discovery on the lower Roanoko and establish a trade with the natives. The first actual settlement was made near the mouth of the Chowan about the year 1651. The country was visited just afterward by Clayborne, of Maryland, and in 1661 a company of Puritans from New England passed down the coast, entered the mouth of Cape Fear River, purchased lands of the Indians, and established a colony on Oldtown Creek, nearly two hundred miles farther south than any other English settlement. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, General Monk, who was now honored with the title of the Duke of Albemarle, and six other noblemen, received at the hands of Charles II. a patent for all the country between the thirty-sixth parallel and the river St. John's, in Florida. With this grant the colonial history of NORTH CAROLINA properly begins.

In the same year a civil government was organized by the settlers on the Chowan. William Drummond was chosen governor, and the name of ALBEMARLE COUNTY COLONY was given to the district bordering on the sound. In 1665 it was found that the settlement was north of the thirty-sixth parallel, and consequently beyond the limits of the province. To remedy this defect the grant was extended on the north to thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes—the present boundary of Virginia—and westward to the Pacific. During the same year the little Puritan colony on Cape Fear River was broken up by the Indians; but scarcely had this been done when the site of the settlement, with thirty-two miles square of the surrounding territory, was purchased by a company of planters from Barbadoes. A new county named CLARENDON was laid out, and Sir John Yeamans elected governor of the colony. The proprietors favored the settlement; immigration was rapid; and within a year eight hundred people had settled along the river.

Not until 1670, however, did the successful managers of these colonies send out coin-

panies of settlers into the county of SOUTH CAROLINA. In that year a new colony was raised and put under command of Joseph West and William Sayle. There was at this time not a single European settlement between the mouth of Cape Fear River and the St. John's, in Florida. Here was a beautiful coast of nearly four hundred miles ready to receive the beginnings of civilization. The new emigrants, sailing by way of Barbadoes, steered far to the south, and reached the main-land in the country of the Savannah. The vessels first entered the harbor of Port Royal. It was now a hundred and eight years since John Ribault, on an island in this same harbor, had set up a stone engraved with the lilies of France; now the Englishman had come.

The ships were anchored near the site of Beaufort. But the colonists were dissatisfied with the appearance of the country, and did not go ashore. Sailing northward along the coast for forty miles, they next entered the mouth of Ashley River, and landed where the first high land appeared upon the southern bank. Here were laid the foundations of OLD CHARLESTON, so named in honor of King Charles II. Of this, the oldest town in South Carolina, no trace remains except the line of a ditch which was digged around the fort; a cotton-field occupies the site of the ancient settlement.

Turning again to the north we find the colony of NEW JERSEY arising in close connection with New Netherland. The beginning of its history was the founding of Elizabethtown, in 1664. As early as 1618 a feeble trading station had been established at Bergen, west of the Hudson; but forty years elapsed before permanent dwellings were built in that neighborhood. In 1623 the block-house, called Fort Nassau, was erected at the mouth of Timber Creek, on the Delaware; after a few months' occupancy, May and his companions abandoned the place and returned to New Amsterdam. Six years later the southern part of the present State of New Jersey was granted to Godyn and Blomaert, two of the Dutch patroons; but no settlement was made. In 1634 there was not a single European living between Delaware Bay and the fortieth degree of latitude. In 1651 a con-

siderable district, including the site of Elizabethtown, was purchased by Augustine Herman; but still no colony was planted. Seven years afterwards a larger grant, embracing the old trading house at Bergen, was made; and in 1663 a company of Puritans, living on Long Island, obtained permission of Governor Stuyvesant to settle on the banks of the Raritan; but no settlement was effected until after the conquest.

All the territory of New Jersey was included in the grant made by King Charles to his brother the Duke of York. Two months before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, that portion of the duke's province lying between the Hudson and the Delaware, extending as far north as forty-one degrees and forty minutes, was assigned by the proprietor to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These noblemen were already proprietors of Carolina; but they had adhered to the king's cause during the civil war in England, and were now rewarded with a second American province. Almost immediately after the conquest another company of Puritans made application to Governor Nicolls, and received an extensive grant of land on Newark Bay. The Indian titles were honorably purchased; in the following October a village was begun and named Elizabethtown, in honor of Lady Carteret.

In August of 1665, Philip Carteret, son of Sir George, arrived as governor of the province. At first he was violently opposed by Nicolls of New York, who refused to believe that the duke had divided his territory. But Carteret was armed with a commission, and could not be prevented from taking possession of the new settlements below the Hudson. Elizabethtown was made the capital of the colony; other immigrants arrived from Long Island and settled on the banks of the Passaic; Newark was founded; flourishing hamlets appeared on the shores of the bay as far south as Sandy Hook. In honor of Sir George Carteret, who had been governor of the Isle of Jersey, in the English Channel, his American domain was named NEW JERSEY.

The seventeenth century was drawing to a close before the Quaker State of PENNSYLVANIA was founded under the auspices of William Penn. The Friends had already planted

some flourishing settlements in New Jersey, and were greatly encouraged with the success of their experiment. Now the prospect of establishing on the banks of the Delaware a free State, founded on the principle of universal brotherhood, kindled a new enthusiasm in the mind of William Penn. For more than a quarter of a century the Friends had been buffeted with shameful persecutions. Imprisonment, exile, and proscription had been their constant portion, but had not sufficed to abate their zeal or to quench their hopes of the future. The lofty purpose and philanthropic spirit of Penn urged him to find for his afflicted people an asylum of rest. In June of 1680 he went boldly to King Charles and petitioned for a grant of territory and the privilege of founding a Quaker commonwealth in the New World.

The petition was seconded by powerful friends in Parliament. Lords North and Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland favored the proposition, and the Duke of York remembered a pledge of assistance which he had given to Penn's father. On the 5th of March, 1681, a charter was granted; the great seal of England, with the signature of Charles II., was affixed, and William Penn became the proprietor of PENNSYLVANIA. The vast domain embraced under the new patent was bounded on the east by the river Delaware, extended north and south over three degrees of latitude, and westward through five degrees of longitude. Only the three counties comprising the present State of Delaware were reserved for the Duke of York.

In consideration of this grant, Penn relinquished a claim of sixteen thousand pounds sterling which the British government owed to his father's estate. He declared that his objects were to found a free commonwealth without respect to the color, race, or religion of the inhabitants; to subdue the natives with no other weapons than love and justice; to establish a refuge for the people of his own faith; and to enlarge the borders of the British empire. One of the first acts of the great proprietor was to address a letter to the Swedes who might be included within the limits of his province, telling them to be of good cheer, to keep their homes, make their own laws, and fear no oppression.

Within a month from the date of his charter, Penn published to the English nation a glowing account of his new country beyond the Delaware, praising the beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the climate, promising freedom of conscience and equal rights, and inviting emigration. There was an immediate and hearty response. In the course of the summer three shiploads of Quaker emigrants left England for the land of promise. William Markham, agent of the proprietor, came as leader of the company and deputy-governor of the province. He was instructed by Penn to rule in accordance with law, to deal justly with all men, and especially to make a league of friendship with the Indians. In October of the same year the anxious proprietor sent a letter directly to the natives of the territory, assuring them of his honest purposes and brotherly affection.

The next care of Penn was to draw up a frame of government for his province. Herein was his great temptation. He had almost exhausted his father's estate in aiding the persecuted Quakers. A stated revenue would be very necessary in conducting his administration. His proprietary rights under the charter were so ample that he might easily reserve for himself large prerogatives and great emoluments in the government. He had before him the option of being a consistent, honest Quaker, or a politic, wealthy governor. He chose like a man; right triumphed over riches. The constitution which he framed was liberal almost to a fault; and the people were allowed to adopt or reject it, as they might deem proper.

In the mean time, the Duke of York had been induced to surrender his claim to the three reserved counties on the Delaware. The whole country on the western bank of the bay and river, from the open ocean below Cape Henlopen to the forty-third degree of north latitude, was now under the dominion of Penn. The summer of 1682 was spent in further preparation. The proprietor wrote a touching letter of farewell to the Friends in England; gathered a large company of emigrants; embarked for America; and, on the 27th of October, landed at New Castle, where the people were waiting to receive him.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Philadelphia, was born on the 14th of October, 1644. He was the oldest son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn of the British navy. At the age of twelve he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a student until he was expelled on account of his religious opinions. Afterward, he traveled on the Continent; was again a student a Saur; returned to study law at London; went to Ireland; became a soldier; heard the preaching of Loe, and was converted to the Quaker faith. His disappointed and angry father



WILLIAM PENN.

From the painting in possession of the Penn. Historical Society.

drove him out of doors, but he was not to be turned from his course. He publicly proclaimed the doctrines of the Friends; was arrested and imprisoned for nine months in the Tower of London. Being released, he repeated the offense, and lay for half a year in a dungeon at Newgate. A second time liberated, but despairing of toleration for his people in England, he cast his gaze across the Atlantic. West Jersey was purchased; but the boundary was narrow, and the great-souled proprietor sought a grander and more beautiful domain. His petition was heard with favor, and the charter of Pennsylvania granted by

King Charles. Colonists came teeming; and now the Quaker king himself, without pomp or parade, without the discharge of cannon or vainglorious ceremony, was come to New Castle to found a government on the basis of fraternity and peace. It was fitting that he should call the new republic a "holy experiment."

As soon as the landing was effected, Penn delivered an affectionate and cheerful address to the crowd of Swedes, Dutch, and English who came to greet him. His former pledges of a liberal and just government were publicly renewed, and the people were exhorted to sobriety and honesty. From New Castle, the governor ascended the Delaware to Chester; passed the site of Philadelphia; visited the settlements of West New Jersey; and thence traversed East Jersey to Long Island and New York. After spending some time at the capital of his friend, the Duke of York, and speaking words of cheer to the Quakers about Brooklyn, he returned to his own province, and began his duties as chief magistrate.

Markham, the deputy-governor, had been instructed to establish fraternal relations with the Indians. Before Penn's arrival treaties had been made, lands purchased, and pledges of friendship given between the Friends and the Red men. Now a great conference was appointed with the native chiefs. All the sachems of the Lenni Lenapes and other neighboring tribes were invited to assemble. The council was held on the banks of the Delaware under the open sky. Penn, accompanied by a few unarmed friends, clad in the simple garb of the Quakers, came to the appointed spot and took his station under a venerable elm, now leafless; for it was winter. The chieftains, also unarmed, sat, after the manner of their race, in a semicircle on the ground. It was not Penn's object to purchase lands, to provide for the interests of trade, or to make a formal treaty, but rather to assure the untutored children of the woods of his honest purposes and brotherly affection. Standing before them with grave demeanor, and speaking by an interpreter, he said: "My

FRIENDS: We have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are all one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but openness and love." The chiefs replied: "While the rivers run and the sun shines we will live in peace with the children of William Penn."

No record was made of the treaty, for none was needed. Its terms were written, not on decaying parchment, but on the living hearts of men. No deed of violence or injustice ever marred the sacred covenant. The Indians vied with the Quakers in keeping unbroken the pledge of perpetual peace. For more than seventy years, during which the province remained under the control of the Friends, not a single war-whoop was heard within the borders of Pennsylvania. The Quaker hat and coat proved to be a better defense for the wearer than coat-of-mail and musket.

On the 4th of December, 1682, a general convention was held at Chester. The object was to complete the territorial legislation—a work which occupied three days. At the conclusion of the session, Penn delivered an address to the assembly, and then hastened to the Chesapeake to confer with Lord Baltimore about the boundaries of their respective provinces. After a month's absence he returned to Chester and busied himself with drawing a map of his proposed capital. The beautiful neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware was selected and purchased of the Swedes.

In February of 1683 the native chestnuts, walnuts, and ashes were blazed to indicate the lines of the streets, and PHILADELPHIA—CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE—was founded. Within a month a general assembly was in session at the new capital. The people were eager that their Charter of Liberties, now to be framed, should be dated at Philadelphia. The work of legislation was begun and a form of government adopted which was essentially a representative democracy. The leading officers were the governor, a council consisting of a limited number of members chosen for three years, and a larger popular assembly, to be annually elected. Penn conceded every thing to the people; but

the power of vetoing objectionable acts of the council was left in his hands.

The growth of Philadelphia was astonishing. In the summer of 1683 there were only three or four houses. The ground-squirrels still lived in their burrows, and the wild deer ran through the town without alarm. In 1685 the city contained six hundred houses; the schoolmaster had come and the printing-press had begun its work. In another year Philadelphia had outgrown New York.

It only remains to notice the founding of GEORGIA, though to do so is to violate chronology and carry ourselves forward into the eighteenth century. This, indeed, has been already done—at least the chronological limits of the present Book have been overstepped—in the case of the two Carolinas and Pennsylvania. The unity of the work, however, is best preserved by considering Georgia with the rest. This colony, as in the case of the Quaker State, was the product of a benevolent impulse. An English philanthropist named James Oglethorpe, struck with compassion at the miserable condition of the poor, conceived the design of forming for them an asylum in America. The laws of England permitted imprisonment for debt. Thousands of English laborers, who through misfortune and thoughtless contracts had become indebted to the rich, were annually arrested and thrown into jail. There were desolate and starving families. The miserable condition of the debtor class at last attracted the attention of Parliament. In 1728 Oglethorpe was appointed, *at his own request*, to look into the state of the poor, to visit the prisons of the kingdom, and to report measures of relief. The work was accomplished, the jails were opened, and the poor victims of debt returned to their homes.

The noble commissioner was not yet satisfied. For the liberated prisoners and their friends were disheartened and disgraced in the country of their birth. Was there no land beyond the sea where debt was not a crime, and where poverty was no disgrace? To provide a refuge for the down-trodden poor of England and the distressed Protestants of other countries, the commissioner now appealed to George II. for the privilege of planting a colony in America. The petition was favor-

ably heard, and on the 9th of June, 1732, a royal charter was issued by which the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, and westward from the upper fountains of those rivers to the Pacific, was organized and granted to a corporation for twenty-one years, *to be held in trust for the poor*. In honor of the king, the province received the name of GEORGIA.

Oglethorpe was born a loyalist; educated at Oxford; a High Churchman; a cavalier; a soldier; a member of Parliament; benevolent; generous; full of sympathy; far-sighted; brave as John Smith; chivalrous as De Soto. He gave in middle life the full energies of a

site of his settlement the high bluff on which now stands the city of Savannah. Here, on the first day of February, were laid the foundations of the oldest English town south of the Savannah River. Broad streets were laid out; a public square was reserved in each quarter; a beautiful village of tents and board houses, built among the pine trees, appeared as the capital of a new commonwealth where men were not imprisoned for debt.

In 1736, a second colony of immigrants arrived. Part of these were the Moravians—a people of deep piety and fervent spirit. First and most zealous among them was the celebrated JOHN WESLEY, founder of Methodism. He came, not as a politician, not as a minister merely, but as an apostle. To spread the Gospel, to convert the Indians, and to introduce a new type of religion characterized by few forms and much emotion—such were the purposes that inspired his hopes. His brother Charles, the poet, a timid and tender-hearted man, acted as secretary to the governor. In 1738, came the famous George Whitefield, whose robust and daring nature proved a match for all the hardships of the wilderness. To these eloquent evangelists of the American dawn must be attributed the seed-sowing and early culture of that fervid form of religion which, from its second planting after the Revolution, was destined to spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Such were the half-romantic beginnings of civilization in America. From the founding of the first to the founding of the thirteenth colony a period of a hundred and twenty-six years had elapsed. During this time the Thirty Years' War had, at the beginning, sat like a bloody incubus on the moaning breast of Europe; the English Revolution—the destinies of which are to be recounted in the following Book—had come and gone; the age of Louis XIV. had passed like a spectacle, and many other great movements had taken place among the nations of the continent. For the present, then, we pause, after this glance at affairs in the Western World, and return to our Mother Island, to note therein the outbreak and progress of a momentous battle for civil liberty, a struggle of the People with the Kings.



OGLETHORPE.

vigorous body and a lofty mind to the work of building in the sunny South an asylum for the oppressed of his own and other lands. To Oglethorpe himself the leadership of the first colony to be planted on the Savannah was intrusted.

By the middle of November a hundred and twenty emigrants were ready to sail for the New World. Oglethorpe, like the elder Winthrop, determined to share the dangers and hardships of his colony. In January of 1733, the company was welcomed at Charleston. The vessels anchored at Beaufort, while the governor, with a few companions, ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and selected as the







