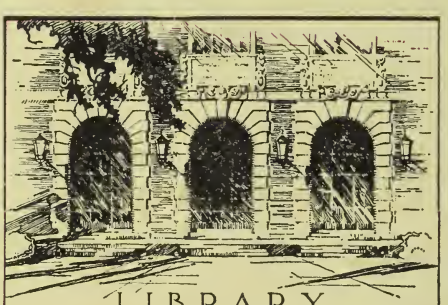
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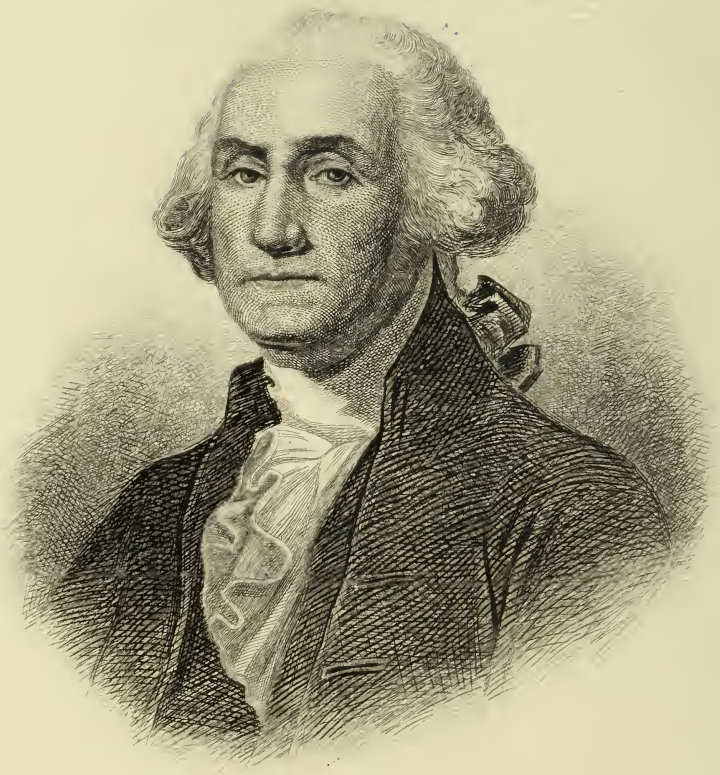
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CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

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

MIDDLE AGES
AGE OF REVOLUTION

VOL. III.

MODERN
MONARCHIES

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Preface to Volume III.

IN pursuance of the general plan of the present work, I have now arrived at a break in the narrative which may well suggest the beginning of a new Volume. We here find ourselves in the dawn of the History of Modern Europe. Guizot has with great propriety designated the Crusades as "the first European event." By this is meant that the Holy Wars were the first event subsequent to the Dark Ages, in which the several countries of Europe, considered as a whole, joined their forces in a common cause under the influence of common sentiments and passions. When the crusading fever first appeared, Europe was, as we have seen, thoroughly broken up. The various States were segregated and hostile. There was no common opinion, no fact which might properly be called European. But at the close of the epoch, Modern Europe had been born. Chaos had brought forth. The political results of the tremendous agitation were the germs of institutions destined under the law of evolution and historical growth to expand and become permanent in the States and kingdoms of the present day.

It is at this point of view that we now take our stand. I shall hope to continue the narrative in the same manner as that already employed in the two preceding volumes. Albeit, the *matter* is now much changed from the character which it bore in the Classical Ages, and even more changed from the character which it bore in the Epochs of Darkness. In historical narrative every such change in subject-matter must needs be reflected to a certain extent in the style and treatment. The thought, when fixed intently on any event, takes by sympathy much of the form, and something of the substance, of the thing considered.

Since a Preface is largely personal, it may be appropriate that I should refer again to the part which historical writings are performing in the literature of our age, and particularly in the literature of our own country. The people of the United States hold a relation to the general history of mankind entirely singular and unique. No other people in ancient or in modern times have stood in so important an attitude with respect to civilization and the course of events. We have here in our American arena a larger and freer field of political and civil action than has ever been known hitherto among the nations. The civil and social life of the American people is set forth on a grander scale and with more striking phenomena than have ever been witnessed in other countries. The life of mankind associated, as distinguished from the life of man individual, is a larger fact in the United States than among any other people who have flourished since the times of the Grecian Democracies. All of these circumstances and conditions have conspired to produce in the American mind and in American life a better ground for historical study—for the knowledge of the past and its application to the present—than could be discovered in the situation and attainment of any other nation.

Among many peoples, viewed with respect to their social and political condition, it might well be said that history, as a branch of learning, should be remanded to a subordinate and unimportant place, or altogether omitted from the subjects of common inquiry. The lessons which the historians have with so much pains and labor deduced from the affairs of men in one age, and set forth for the instruction of men in another age, must needs be wasted on those nations that have not yet emerged from the Mediæval condition and reached political autonomy. Doubtless among peoples of this kind a few minds of superior force and more favorably developed may find profit from the pursuit and application of historical teach-

ings. But on the subjected masses all such learning is wasted as a jewel cast forth.

With the American people the case is fortunately different. Never under other conditions have the motive and aim of historical study been so powerfully present. The knowledge of events and of their meaning is to the American citizen an active force, determining both his opinions and conduct. From the furniture of the American mind many parts of information—many even of the important and valuable articles of mental merchandise—to say nothing of mere ornament, of articles of *vertu* and intellectual bric-a-brac, may be spared and still the equipment be fairly complete. But the American citizen uninformed in at least the primary lessons of history is weak indeed, fatally unarmed, as it respects both the offensive and defensive warfare of his citizenship.

This knowledge of historical events—a fair degree of information relative to the evolution of human society—is essential not only to a complete and rational citizenship, but also to the happiness, intelligence, and perfection of the American family. Of this family the informed mind is a fact which can not be spared. In the American household the members who constitute the social unit are not met together and associated merely to eat and sleep and survive. They are not joined simply as an industrial force or a coöperative contrivance. They are met, rather, and held in unity, by an intellectual and spiritual heat and light, without which organization does not organize and the domestic bond does not bind. It is from this point of view that American fatherhood and motherhood, and all the sentiments that spring therefrom, take to themselves a higher form and better destiny than have been reached by the people of other lands. At the American hearthstone, as truly even as at the fireside seen in the vision of the German poet, may be sung the touching ballad:

> Denn Brüderchen und Schweſterchen
> Sie kommen oft zu mir.
>
> For brotherkin and sisterkin
> They ofttimes come to me.

Reflections such as these have been with the writer a strong motive for persisting in the present task. The ideal People's History has not yet been produced, and perhaps it may be long before such a work shall be perfected. The qualities requisite therein are many and difficult to attain. One mind may hardly hope to possess them all. Moreover, the period of life is limited, and exertion tires. The days of the calendar are few and ofttimes full of rain. The enthusiasm of the worker does not always flame with equal warmth. Avocations and distresses are many, and come when patience and courage are hardly sufficient to welcome them with open hand.

It were long to say what limits of time and application are requisite for the completion of a task in History. In the preliminary study it is as though a traveler should ascend a mound to gain a clearer view of the horizon. Lo! the horizon recedes and widens as he climbs, and he at length perceives that there is no line at all! After this experience, so uncertain and so little satisfying, comes the actual work of construction, the painting of historical landscapes and their arrangement in the gallery so that the aggregate effect may be that of unity. Finally, perhaps, a period is reached, and the writer is able to survey his work. But how imperfect the whole appears! How feebly does it answer his hopes! How, to *his* eye at least, does the discrepancy seem emphasized between the glorious work that might have been and the paltry work that is.

I have already consumed on these volumes much time and effort. Perhaps at length I may be able to bring them to a standard which, while it may not satisfy, may nevertheless please somewhat the author's fancy, and profit in some small degree his unknown readers. Meanwhile, I here present to them the THIRD VOLUME of the series, beginning, as has been said above, with the dawn of Modern Europe and extending to the close of that Age of Revolution by which Mediæval society was at last transformed into the society of the present century. My hope is that all who have an interest in the writer's work, or in himself, may find in this third section of the HISTORY OF THE WORLD a measure of gratification and advantage.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, *March*, 1890.

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Introduction to Volume III.

BY common consent the historical period subsequent to the Crusades is considered one of the most difficult and confused in the pages of human progress. Events whirled round and round. The epoch was tentative. The consciousness of Modern Europe, which for the first time had found self-revelation in the heat of the Holy Wars, now sought organic expression in political forms and social institutions. But the elements of society were suspicious, and stood asunder. As it respects the actual civil condition of the Western States in the era under consideration only a few facts can be noted with distinctness; the rest can be seen only in cloud-form and nebula. First, it is clear that the two centuries succeeding the Crusades are the times of the emergence and forthstanding of the modern European KING. Until then he was not. His genesis dates from the hither decades skirting the Holy Wars. The kings and emperors of the Ancient World and of the ages preceding the establishment of Feudalism in Europe were of a type strongly discriminated from the prevalent styles of royalty in the last four centuries. The modern type was deduced from feudal chieftainship and enlarged by the Crusades. It was in the Holy Wars that he who had been a count or baron became by military growth a monarch. The smaller lord of the multitude either perished in battle with the Turks, or was overshadowed by his suzerain; the latter became the king.

While the great leaders of the crusading hosts were thus augmented in power and glory, another fact of different sort may be discovered clearly in the dimness of the age. This is the emergence of the PEOPLE. The people of modern times differ as much from the corresponding fact in the social and civil organization of antiquity as does the monarch of to-day from a king of Persia or an emperor of Rome—as does Cleopatra from Eugênie, or Alexander from William of Germany. A true people was a thing unknown in Ancient History, nor has the fact so-called received as yet a complete development and revelation. Slow and painful has been the emergence of this last great element of civilization. Strange it is that the evolution of humanity seems to be the only process which has been resisted instead of aided by universal nature—that the growth of the social and political creature is the one growth which has been retarded and perpetually disturbed—not indeed by the blind laws of the material world—but by the artificial restraints and unreasoning hostilities of every thing that thinks.

However the aspect of the Middle Ages may be presented in philosophic history, thus much is clear, that to this period of human development belongs, on the one side, the genesis of the modern *King*, and, on the other, the genesis of the modern *People*. These two great facts, associated in the caption, have been taken as the highest generalization possible for the two centuries immediately following the crusading epoch; and under this heading of PEOPLE AND KINGS the subject-matter of the First Book of the present Volume will be presented.

From this historical condition, however, we turn quickly to another aspect, wholly different and vastly more exciting. Among the physical facts which have influenced the course and character of civilization, the first place may perhaps be assigned to the DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. Virtually, one-half of the world had hitherto lain hidden behind the Western waters. The people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did well to regard the event as the revelation of a New World. At the

first the nature of the great discovery was but dimly apprehended, and the well-nigh infinite results which have flowed therefrom were not discerned at all.

There can be little doubt that the human race has in its general course conformed to the order of physical nature. The laws of the material world have held man fast, and determined the extent of his excursions. In no other fact has this domination of nature over humankind been more conspicuously exhibited than in the leap which the man of the fifteenth century, following the path of the sun, took across the Atlantic. The time came when he must go. The westward draft was strong upon him. The electrical currents that girdle the earth, determining its motion and polar slope, circled also around the human brain; and the same law which twists the vine from left to right around the tree, carried the barques of Columbus and Cabot to the western verge of the ocean of Atlas.

What the destinies of mankind might have been if no New World had been revealed, it is needless to conjecture. The question belongs to the long list of historical *ifs* which it is not profitable to consider. In Europe two great attempts had been made to construct a permanent civilization. In the first place, the two Southern peninsulas, dropping into the Mediterranean, had been brought under the dominion of those forces which humanize mankind. In Hellas and Italy there was the light of knowledge and the activity of reason. After the wreck of Rome, at the close of the fifth century, the energies of man, roughly displayed in the coarse body of barbarism, began to strain towards light and freedom in the countries north of the Alpine ranges. During the whole period of the Middle Ages the slow and toilsome ascent of humanity, climbing towards the summit of its ancient renown, may be noted in all those European States which Winter honors with his snows.

In the eternal and unalterable destiny of things it was decreed that the third act of the drama should be witnessed on this side of the deeps. America was to be the scene of the newest—let us believe the grandest—display of human power and aspiration ever exhibited on this sphere of earth. The story of the revelation of the new field of hope and endeavor will naturally claim our attention in the opening paragraghs of what may be called the recent history of mankind. The period extending from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present day has been like a new youth to the human race—stormy, agitated, dashed with sun and rain, full of warmth and fecundity and power.

The movement of man across the sea to the new lands of the West is strangely connected in time with a corresponding activity in the world of thought and reason. With the overthrow of paganism in Western Europe, the system of religion, germinal in the Son of Mary and the Carpenter, formulated afterwards by Paul and the Apostles, made organic and aggressive by the genius of Rome, had been planted amid the ruins of heathenism in all the countries from the Thracian Chersonesus to Ireland and Portugal. Within these limits the universality of the system had been achieved. It seemed that the great *Imperium in imperio* was really established among the kingdoms, never to be removed or shaken. The three-storied mitre of the Holy Father might well symbolize the height and breadth and depth—not to say the arrogant grandeur—of that dominion which Cephas, who carried the famous keys at his girdle, was *said* to have planted on the Tiber. That any shock could break the solidarity of Rome and scatter the fragments to the left and right, appeared the most improbable of all chimeras.

But it is the peculiarity of History to surprise and hurl down the impotent logic of man. In the very day when the bastions of his greatest syllogism seem more impregnable than the Hill of Taric, it is doomed to reel from its foundations and come down with a crash. So it was in the day of the Lutheran Reformation. Rome was saying in her heart, "I sit a queen." The dome of St. Peter's, glorified by the genius of Buonarotti, looked serenely from a cloudless sky. The obedient kingdoms lay around; nor might it be supposed that the fury of an iron-forger's son could excite even a smile of derision on the omnipotent face of the Vicar of God.

Considered merely as a secular catastrophe, and without much regard to the beliefs and doctrines involved in the conflict, the audacious attack of the Reformers on the tre-

mendous structure of Rome, and their long-continued battle with an antagonist that could only yield with death, must ever constitute one of the most instructive chapters in human history. In reality the Reforming party was from the beginning predestined to success. For that party had on its side the fundamental and unalterable principles of human nature. The natural man—the man that lives and hopes, and loves freedom and hates slavery—was a stronger ally of Luther than Frederick the Wise or Philip Melanchthon. The profound core and center of humanity was worth more to the monk of Wittenberg than the Peace of Passau or the Edict of Toleration. For this reason it is easy to discover why it was that the progress of the Reformation was checked and quenched at the borders of all those lands in which the principles of civil liberty and the deeper principles of freedom in the heart had been extinguished.

No sooner was the structure of Catholicism broken by the sword of religious revolt than the movement spread into the civil and political life of the epoch. Fully a quarter of a century before the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, an agitation was begun in our ancestral Island which was destined to work among the abuses of temporal power the same kind of reform which had been achieved in the spiritual kingdom. The English revolutionists of 1640 took up and carried forward the war which had been begun by the Reformers in Germany. Cromwell was the political Luther of the seventeenth century, and the struggle with the Stuarts at home and abroad was only another phase of the battle with Rome.

Thus we see that the period of History on which we are next to enter, will consist of two principal parts: first, the discovery of another continent on the hither side of the Atlantic; and second, the revelation of a new world in the soul and conscience of man. Perhaps no two events with which the student of the past is familiar are more analogous and accordant in their nature than the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the discovery of America. These two great facts, so closely related in time and circumstance, are even more profoundly interwoven when we come to consider the endless and inseparable web which issues from the loom of humanity and progress. The eye of philosophy will not fail to discover that the emancipation of thought, in at least a part of the European countries, and the drawing aside of the curtain which concealed the two Americas behind the salt-mists of the Western sea, are but a part and parcel of a common movement which had—and has—for its end and aim the liberation of the human spirit from thralldom and the institution of a higher form of civilization among the peoples of the earth.—To these great themes of NEW WORLD AND REFORMATION and ENGLISH REVOLUTION the attention of the reader will be directed in the second general division of the current Volume.

We thus press hard upon a sixty year's prelude to the great Revolutionary Age of the eigteenth century. There was an introductory act to the tremendous social and political transformation about to be in Europe and America. If we thoughtfully consider the period from the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 to the outbreak of our War of the Revolution in 1775, we shall be able to discern everywhere in the turmoil of the elements the premonitory swirls of the coming tempest. In our own country it was the age of intercolonial warfare. France and England contended with each other for the mastery of the New World. The Colonies themselves were not without their enmities and causes of hostility. The settlements of the French and of the English were precipitated upon each other, and the parent nations rallied to the support of their respective transatlantic States.

Meanwhile the European nations had become embroiled in difficulties more serious than those which existed on this side of the sea. The long apathy which ensued in France in the early years of Louis XV. was succeeded about the middle of the century by a reäction which was destined, before it should abate, to sweep away many of the political landmarks of the continent. France awoke from her torpor. Her thought became emancipated, though her body was still in chains. Her great thinkers began to emit those flashes of light which were soon to illumine the confines of Europe and the world. As a physical fact the War of the Austrian succession came in, adding by its shock to the rising agitation of

the epoch. England became embroiled as usual in the controversies of the continental Powers. Then it was that that peculiar, eccentric, and solitary character called FREDERICK THE GREAT was first seen on the horizon of the age. The sword of the flute-piper flashed like a premonitory gleam of lightning in the distance, and then the storm began to pour.

Of this introductory part to the Revolutionary Age which was to follow, the Seven Years' War, in which the rising power of Prussia announced itself to the world, was the opening scene. Not without its phases of bravado and meanness and heroism was this fierce struggle, wherein the hard-pressed but resolute Frederick came forth with well-earned laurels. In England, meanwhile, the shadow of the House of Stuart had faded away forever. The Hanoverian princes had come to stay, and with their coming a reäction against the Whig Revolution of 1688 had set in, which threatened imminent mischief to the political liberties of men. George III., though strongly contrasted by his personal merits with his fellow-king of France, and still more strongly with the flaming audacity of Frederick, was a fit contemporary of the former, and an unworthy kinsman of the latter. Such was the aspect of affairs when the quarrel between Great Britain and her American States announced that the curtain was up for that tremendous drama which was destined to fill up the remaining annals of the century.

The history of the American and French Revolutions, covering a period in all of forty years, must ever be regarded by the thoughtful student of events, as among the most important transformations of the political and social world. At no other time, and in no other part of human annals, have mankind made such rapid and audacious strides. The epoch was tempestuous and anarchic. It was one of those fruitful eras in which the germs of new things, long dormant in the earth, felt strongly the flush of sunshine and the sympathy of the rain. There was sudden outbursting from a soil which had seemed for centuries to be stricken with the curse of everlasting barrenness and desolation. True, the green surface of this new world was everywhere splashed with blood. Armies of fighting men, drifting from horizon to horizon, struck each other like black clouds flying tempest-wise through the air. It seemed that the world would never grow calm again. It was the March and April of what promised to be a new summer of peace and development.

If we consider mere personalities, the three principal figures of this stormy epoch—leaders of men towering high above the surrounding forests — were Frederick, Washington, and Bonaparte. The first surpassed in fierce ingenuity and in power of revival from defeat. The second gave to his age and to all ages the sublimest example of greatness, modified and held in check by those moral virtues which are reckoned the crowning glory of the warrior. The third exibited in his person the greatest development of human power which has been witnessed since the days of Julius Cæsar, if not indeed since the beginnings of civilization. The drama of which he was the principal figure corresponded in its terrible aspects with the fiery activities of him who was the principal actor.

Such was the so-called AGE OF REVOLUTION. It was the last bequest of the eighteenth and the first inheritance of the nineteenth century. All that has followed has issued from this period of fire and tempest. Our own war for freedom, and the more stirring conflict in revolutionary France, were the political facts which have given to the present era its form and fashion.—To these great scenes and transformations of the historical drama the attention of the reader will be directed in the concluding parts of the present Volume.

CYCLOPÆDIA

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VOLUME III.

MIDDLE AGES.

MODERN MONARCHIES.

AGE OF REVOLUTION.

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QUEEN ELIZABETH

SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF MARY STUART.

Book Sixteenth.

The People and the Kings.

Chapter XCIV.—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 burgess 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 burgess 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 burgess 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 Mediæval 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.

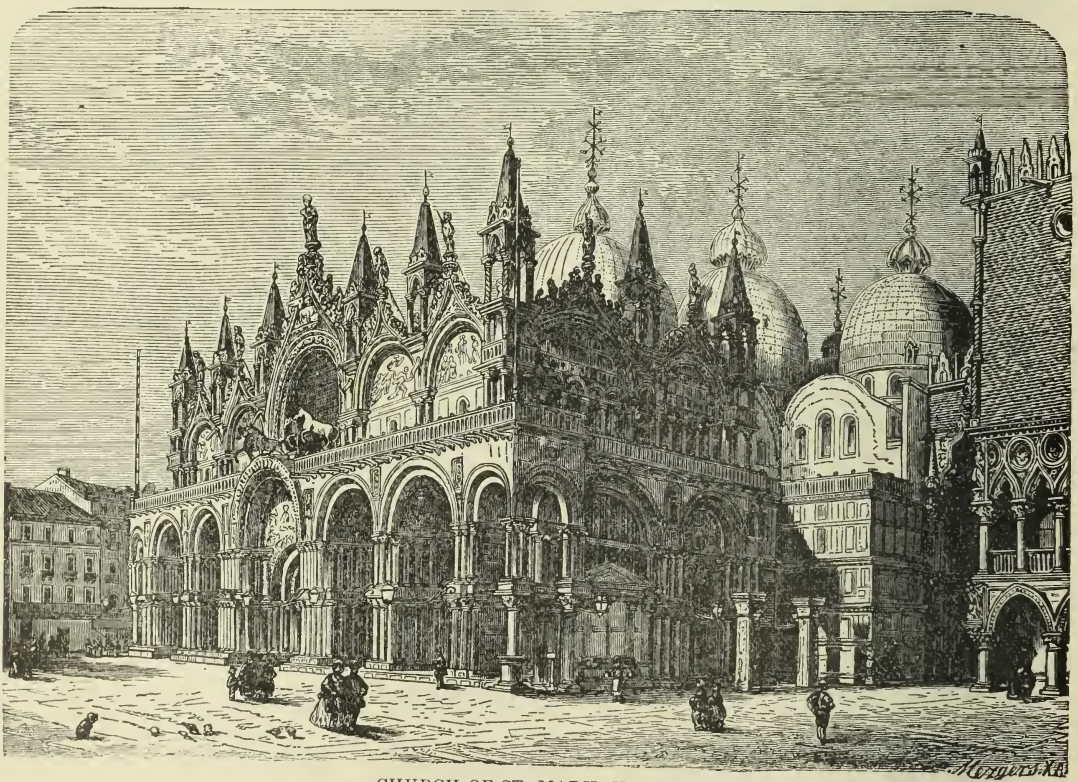
During the eighth century the seat of government was several times transferred from island to island, and Venice, like the republican cities of Ancient Greece, became the prey of demagogues. At last, in the year 810, the island of the Rialto was permanently fixed upon as the capital and made the center 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 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 Frederick 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

[1] This 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 ascendency. 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] See Book Fifteenth, p. 745.

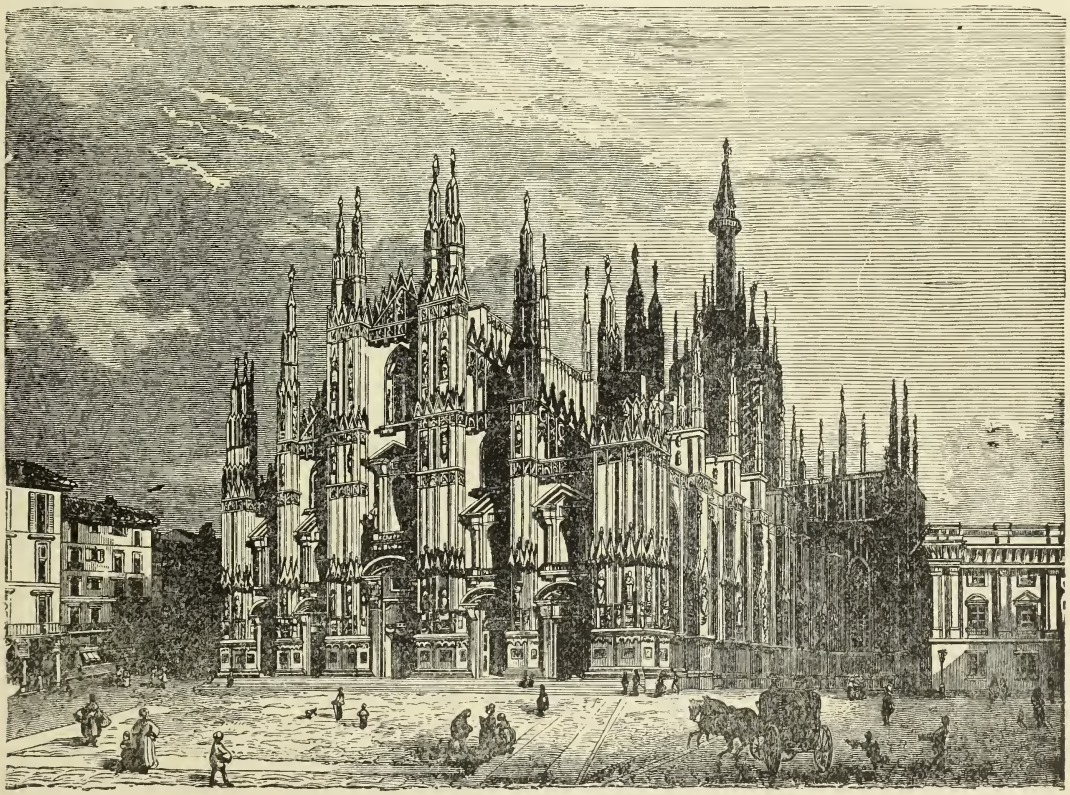
[1] The curse which the great poet makes Faliero pronounce, just before his execution, on the ungrateful Venice and her "serpent seed," is the most terrible anathema in English literature:

"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.

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 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.

In the thirteenth century, Milan was greatly retarded in her development by the turmoils of the Ghibellines and the Guelphs. 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 ascendency 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 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.



CATHEDRAL OF MILAN.

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 Carlovingian 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 Constantinoble, 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 Palæologi. 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 Ghibellines 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 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 Radagasius. It will be remembered that the general Stilicho came against the barbarians, defeated them in battle, raised the siege, and put Radagasius 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 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 years, the Guelphic or papal party was overthrown and expelled from the city.



CATHEDRAL OF PISA AND LEANING TOWER.

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 ascendency 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 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 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 member of the family of the Medici, Giovanni, was raised to the papal chair with the title of Leo X.



ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE MEDICI.
Drawn by Conrad Ermisch.

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 further 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 XCV.—FRANCE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE 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 reörganized his forces in overwhelming numbers, reëntered 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 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.



BATTLE OF COURTRAY.

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 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 the enmity 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 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, *nolens volens*, into France. This band of soldiers, led by a certain Norgaret, made their way to Anagnia, 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 Colonnæ, ready for any desperate enterprise. The people of the town were bribed to admit the invaders, and they found little difficulty in gaining possession of the person of Boniface.



BONIFACE STRUCK BY COLONNA.
Drawn by Vierge.

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 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 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 escaped 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.



BURNING OF JAQUES DE MOLAY.

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 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, 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 ascendency 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.

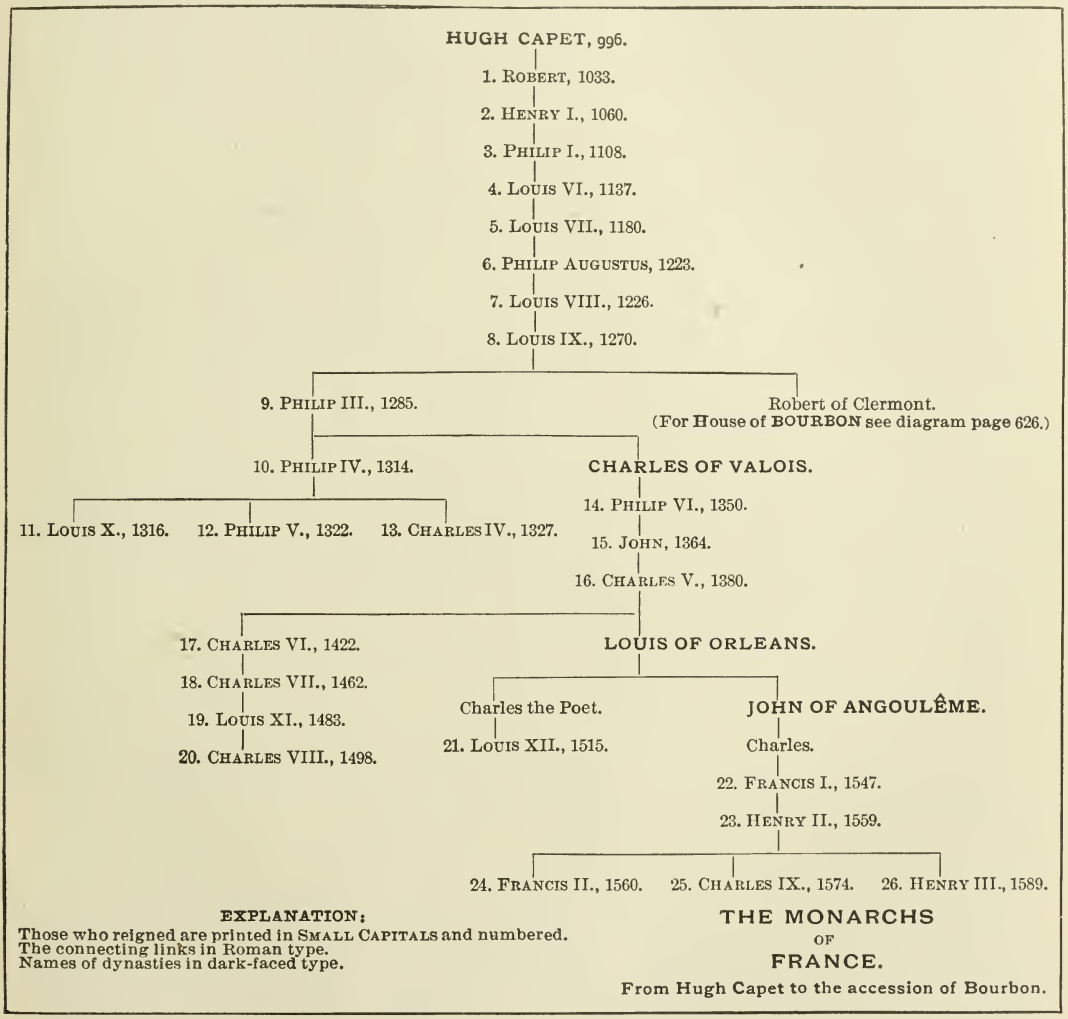
One of the first measures of the new administration was the renewal of the war with Flanders. The king was chagrined to find that the treasures of the kingdom had been exhausted by his father. In order to raise new armies it was necessary to replenish the exhausted coffers of the royal treasury. To accomplish 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 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. 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 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.



U. OF ILL. LIB.

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 ascendency 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 belonging 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, 1340.
Drawn by A. de Neuville

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 bowstrings 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.



THE ENGLISH CROSSING THE SOMME.

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 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 Chateâu 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 Poitiers. 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 overanxious 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 opprobium 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 retiracy 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-



DEATH OF DOM PEDRO.—Drawn by Conrad Ermish.

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 homage 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 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 ascendency 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.,

[1] One 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 Burgundy 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 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 insurgents 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.



YOUNG CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF MANS.

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 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 inexpert 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 Crayoa, 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, reässerted 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. 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 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 Shœnberg.

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 the Bastile 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 friendship; 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 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-



BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

companied 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 communication with the besieged, and in supplying them with provisions and stores.



JOAN OF ARC.

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 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 despondency. 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]

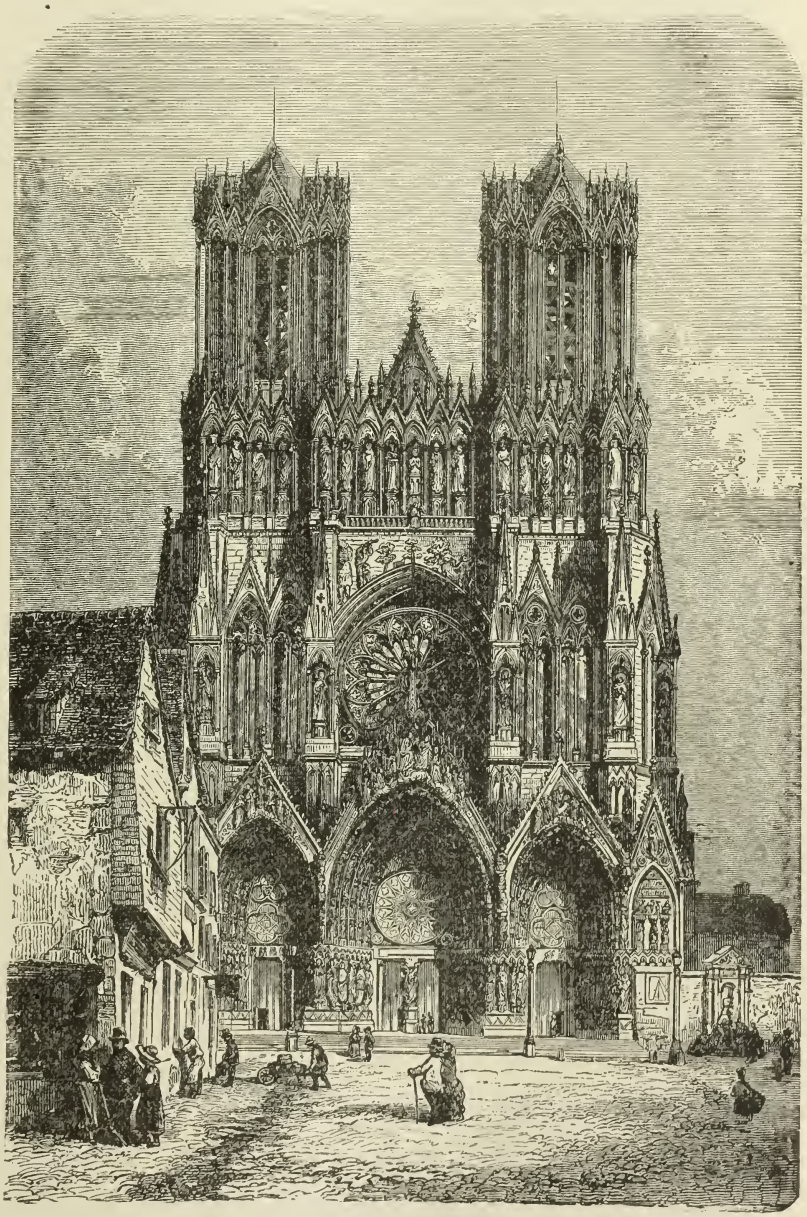
Now it was that the slight figure of a girl was seen on the smoky horizon of war. Joan of Arc, daughter of the peasant of Domremy, left her father's house on the Meuse and came to Orleans to deliver her suffering country from the oppression of the English invaders. Albeit she had seen a vision of angels. 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, 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 Vancouleurs, 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 investment 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 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-



CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS.

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 Beaurevoir and there confined in a fortress.



BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC.

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 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 ascendency 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 contributed 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 reärrest 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

[1] The 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 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.

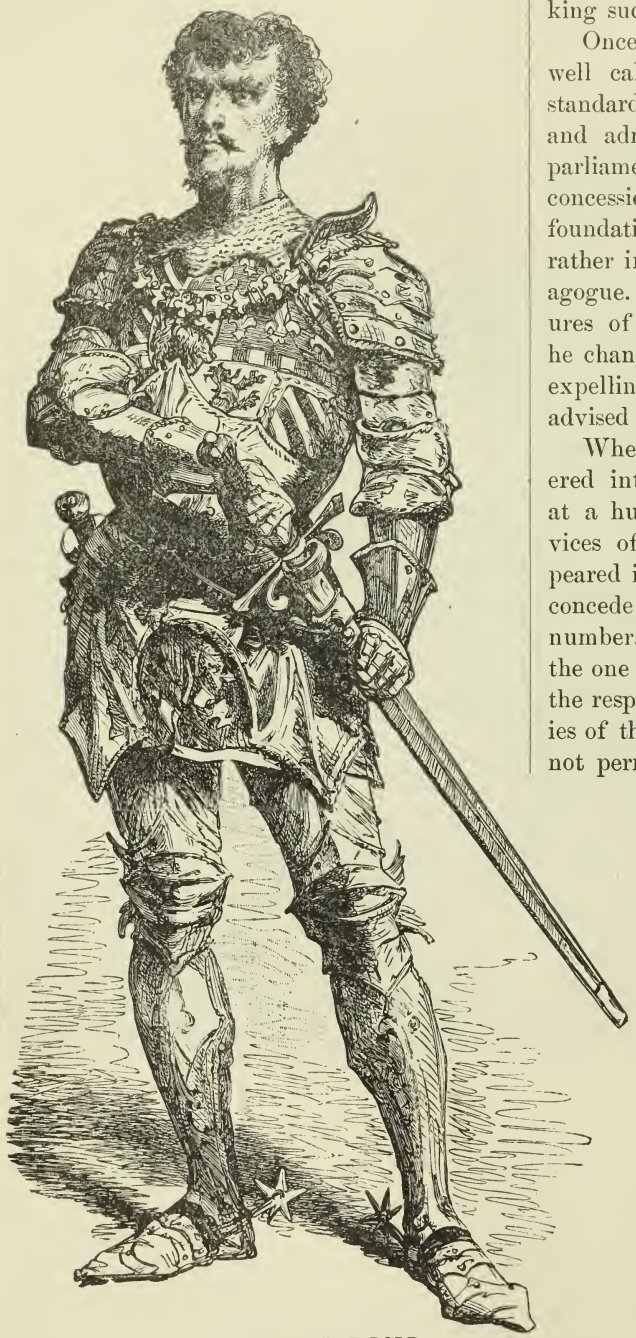
The initial character of the reign of Louis XI. excited an intense antagonism among the nobility. Here began that final warfare which expiring Feudalism was destined to wage with the ambitious monarchy of France. An alliance, called the League of the Public Good, was formed among the barons and nobles, 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 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.



BATTLE OF MONTLHERI.

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 MONTLHERI, 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 developed, 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 Granson. 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



DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

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 reïncorporated 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.



LOUIS XI. IN PLESSIS-LEZ-TOURS.

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 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 Rouen (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 ascendency 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 XCVI.—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 Fifteenth, p. 792

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 renounce 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.

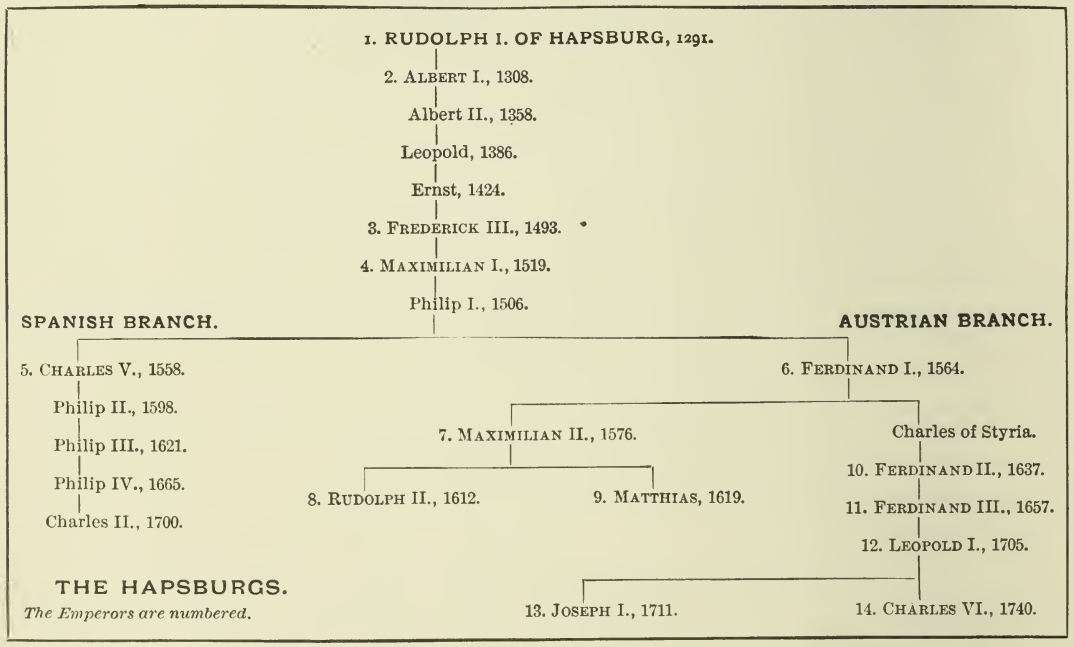
Rudolph displayed the qualities of a true king in the way in which he used his victory. No advantage was taken of the fallen enemy. Instead of that the shattered fortunes of the House of Bohemia were somewhat restored by the marriage of Rudolph's daughter to Wenceslaüs, the surviving son of Ottocar. 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 Coblentz, 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 reïmpose 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 Wenceslaüs 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 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 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 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.



THE BATTLE AT MORGARTEN.
After Pleuddemann.

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 Mühldorf 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 MUHLDORF
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 Frankfort, 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 reïnforced 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.

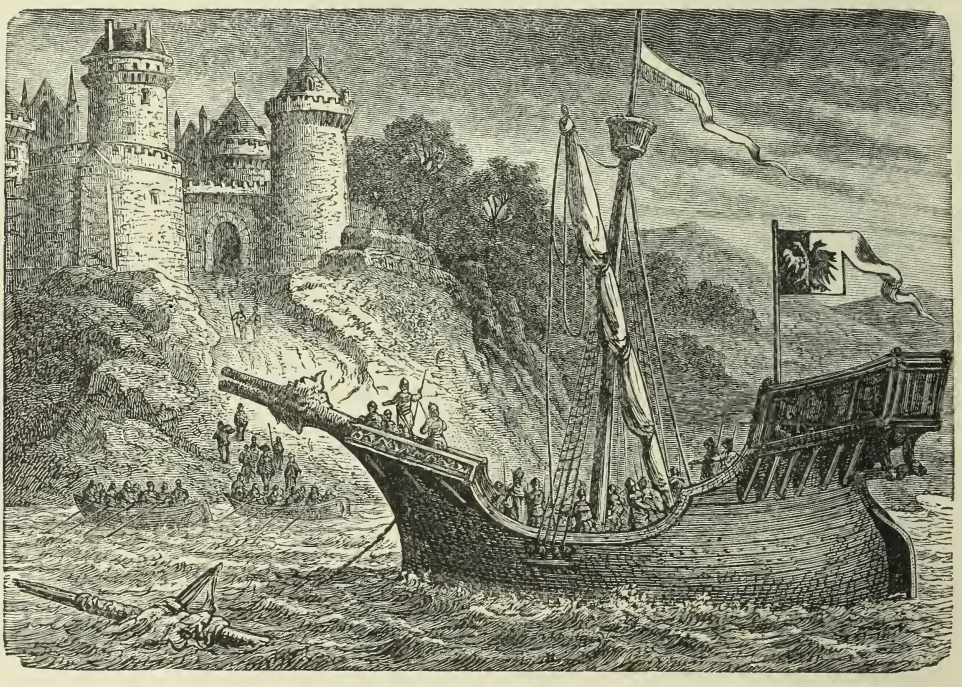
For a while after the establishment of this so-called Constitution of Germany, affairs went smoothly and promised well for a continuance of peace. Eight years after his coronation Charles took care that his son Wenceslaüs, then but two years of age, should be crowned at Prague as king of Bohemia. In 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 Republics, 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, Wenceslaüs, 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 Würtemberg, 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 Wenceslaüs 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 Wenceslaüs 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



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 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 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.

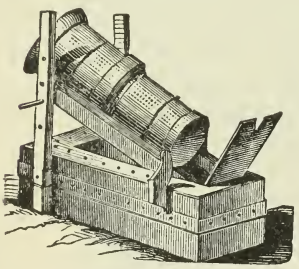
The effect of the victory of Sempach was to inspire the Suabian cities to continue the



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 Döffingin 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 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 erelong 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 brother, who took the title of Vicar of the Empire.



OLD SWISS MOUNTAIN CANNON.

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.

[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!'"

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 Wenceslaüs 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 Wenceslaüs.

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 reäction in favor of the papal party. Wenceslaüs 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 representatives 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 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. 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 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 BEFORE THE COUNCIL.—After the painting by K. F. Lessing.

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 reörganization 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 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.



BURNING OF HUSS.

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 hundred thousand florins Sigismund executed 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 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.



FREDERICK OF HOHENZOLLERN.

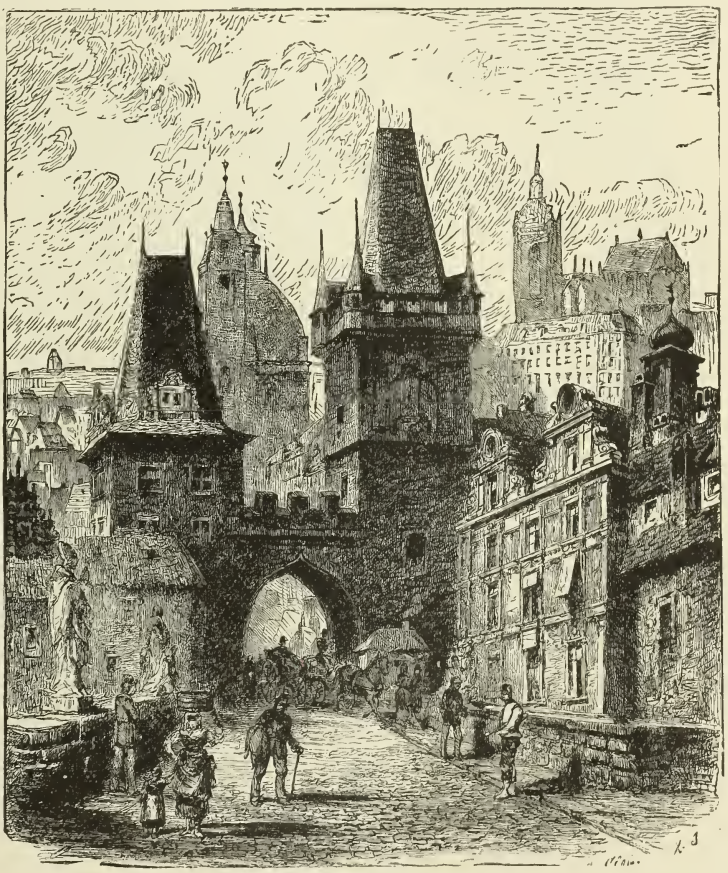
In 1418 Wenceslaüs found himself prepared to begin a war with the Turks. This movement gave occasion for an insurrection in Bohemia. In that country an army of Hussites, numbering forty thousand men, rose in revolt and put the Imperial authorities at defiance. In Prague they stormed the city hall and threw the burgomaster and other officers of the government out at the window. Such was the rage and mortification of Wenceslaüs 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 crept 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 coädjutors 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 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 malcontents were thus to be crushed between the closing walls. But the heroism of the blind old Ziska rose with



OLD STONE BRIDGE OF PRAGUE.

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 of the double victory that but for the internal misfortunes of Bohemia her religious emancipation must have been secured.



ZISKA VICTORIOUS.—Drawn by W. Camphausen.

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 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, 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 reündertake 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 reëstablish 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 desperate 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.



ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE WITH THE SUABIANS.

The effect of this second emancipation of Switzerland by the sword was to encourage the cities of Suabia again to renew the battle 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 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 ascendency 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 Presburg, 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, 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 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 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



DESTRUCTION OF PRINTING PRESSES IN MAYENCE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

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 foretokened 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 XCVII.—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 Warrenne 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 elements 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 Fifteenth, pp. 787, 788.

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 — 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 particular the superior of the royal ladies of the century. She was gentle, amiable, and given to charity. The poor of the kingdom came to look upon her as the angel of all good gifts. A stronger contrast could hardly be drawn than that existing between the character, manners, and influence of Philippa and those of the reckless queen mother, Isabella. Nor was the comparison of King Edward with



QUEEN PHILIPPA WITH THE POOR.
After the painting of F. Pauwels.

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 ascendency 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 reörganize 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 repeopled 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 Neuville

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 terrified. 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 courtesy 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] See *ante*, p. 67.

[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.

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 Spanish 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. 61.

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 ascendency 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.



JOHN WICKLIFFE.
From the Luther statue in Worms.

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

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 Langlande 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

[1] For the rival claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster, see Diagram, Vol. IV., p. 275.

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 respecttive 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 reïnterred 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 reäction. 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 Orleanists, 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 reëstablish 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. 70–73.

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 erelong 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 agreement 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.



STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC.

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 Scales 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 reäction 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 ascendency 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; insomuch 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 reïmprisoned 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 Beaulieu. 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 currish 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-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

[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.
See, how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!
O, may such purple tears be alway 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 reäction 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 bodyguard 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-

[1] The 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 ascendency 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 XCVIII.—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 ascendency, 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 Bermudo 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 Trastamara, 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 Beltran 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 peninsula 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 ascendency 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 morality 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. 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 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 ascendency in Alessandia, 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



ASSASSINATION OF A NOBLEMAN BY BANDITS.

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.



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 and flourished. It was amid the ravages of the plague that Boccaccio's fantastic spirit sketched the passionate and half-heartless 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 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.

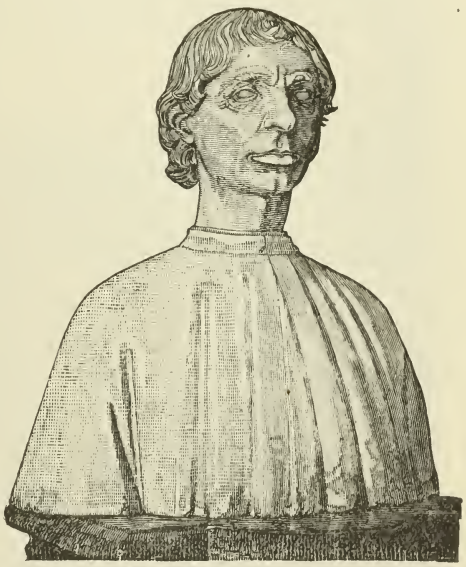
The latter half of the fifteenth century was noted for the extinction of whatever remained

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

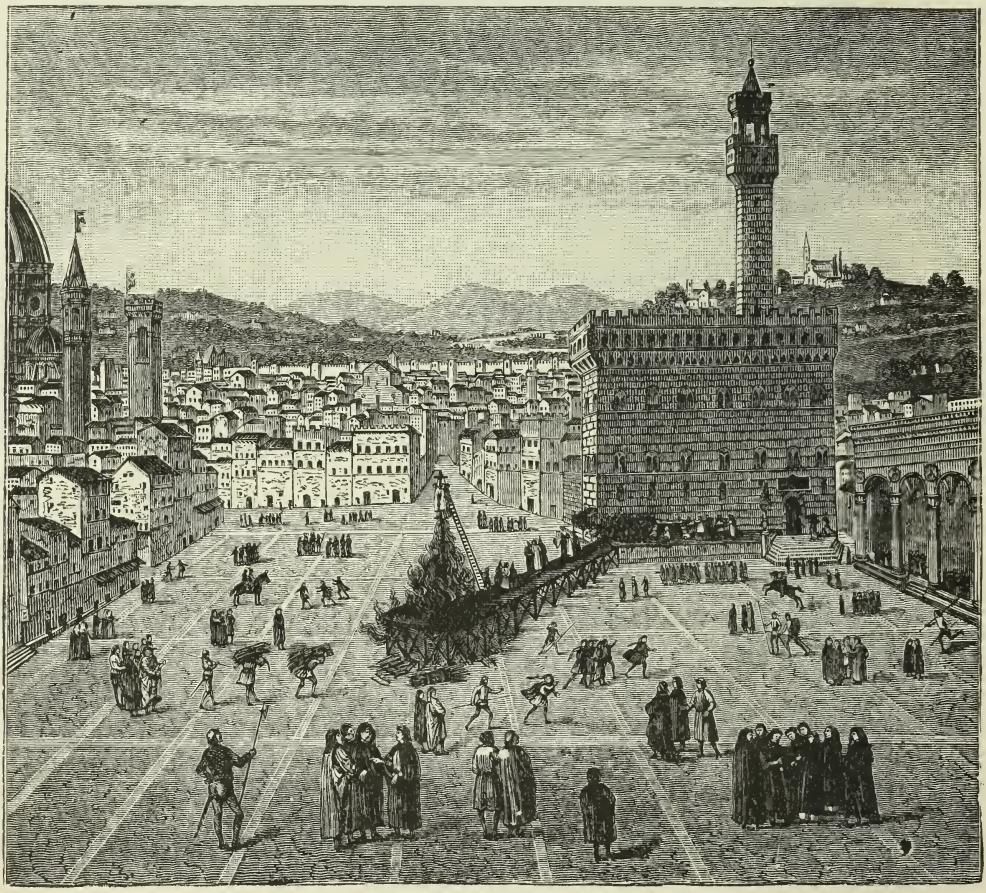


MACHIAVELLI.

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 acquired and preserved. Machiavelli died in 1527, and was buried in the cemetery of Santa Croce.



DEATH OF SAVONAROLA.
After a painting in the cell of Savonarola.

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 1489 returned to Florence. He became a sort of prophet, who cried aloud against the pagan vices of Mediæval 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 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 Barnlock—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 SMEK 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 reäction ensued in favor of the work and policy of Magnus Smek—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 Scandinavia, 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 suffered 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 Waldemar of Denmark has already been mentioned. This Haco reigned until 1380, when he was succeeded by his son, OLAF III., as ruler 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 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 Mediæval 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, buccaneers 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-



DEFEAT OF THE KHAN OF KAZAN.

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 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, Mozhaisk, 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

[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.



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."




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Hudson 1610.
BRITISH AMERICA
LABRADOR
NEW FOUNDLAND
L. of ST. LAWRENCE
John Sebastian Cabot
L. Superior
Quebec
Montreal
NEW BRUNSWICK
R. St. Lawrence
Bay of Fundy
NOVA SCOTIA
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Mississippi R.
UNITED STATES
NORTH
Cape Cod
Delaware Bay
Chesapeake Bay
C. Hatteras
ATLA
Bermudas
De Ayllon 1520
St. Augustine 1530
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
FLORIDA
De Leon 1512
Sandoval 1536
Bahama
S. Salvador
Columbus 1492
TRO
Cortez 1519
Havana
Cordova 1517
CUBA
Islands
WEST INDIES
YUCATAN
Grijalva 1518
SAN DOMINGO
Porto Rico
CARIBBEAN SEA
Ojeda 1510
Columbus 1498
Trinidad
R. Orinoco
MAP XIII.
VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY,
SHOWING
THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES
OF
THE EARLY NAVIGATORS.
SOUTH
AMERICA
Amazon.


ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Lief Erickson 1001
Cape Farewell
NORWAY
SWEDEN
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
HOL LAND
BELGIUM
GERMANY
PRUSSIA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
EUROPE
AUSTRIA
ITALY
BAY OF BISCAY
Gosnold 1602
Cape Finisterre
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Azores
Madeiras
Canaries
Str. of Gibraltar
1492
1501
1524
1534
OF CANCER
Cape Blanco
1519
Magellan
Cape Verdelds.
AFRICA
De Gama 1498
EQUATOR
40
30
20
10
0
10
20
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
37
47
57
67
77
87
97



Book Seventeenth.

New World and Reformation.

Chapter XCIX.—Land, Ho!

WAS 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 actually 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]

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



NORSE EXPLORATIONS.

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' 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-

[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.

rations along the coast of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and perhaps as far south as the capes of Virginia. Other companies of Icelanders



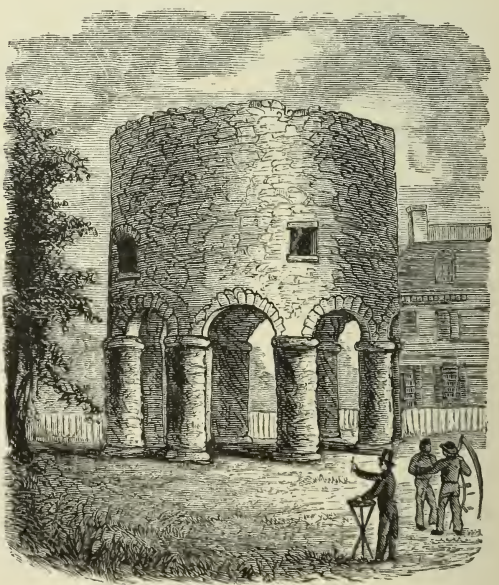
NORSE SEA-KING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

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 soldiers 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 walruses' 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.

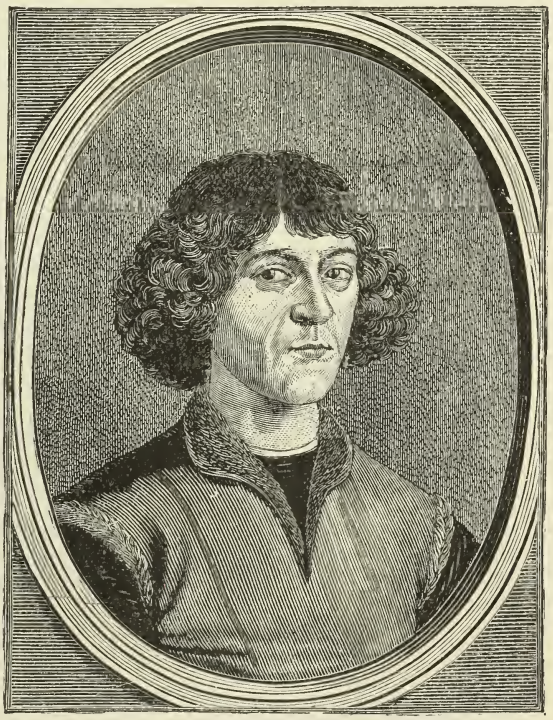
to point clearly to some such events as are here described; and the Icelandic historians give a uniform and tolerably consistent ac-

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 ascendency 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.

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 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 August, 1492, Columbus, with his three ships, left the harbor of Palos. After seventy-one days of sailing, in the early dawn of October 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 ships lay to. There was music and jubilee; and just at sunrise Columbus himself first stepped ashore, shook out the royal banner of



THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 11TH, 1492.

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

[1] The 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.

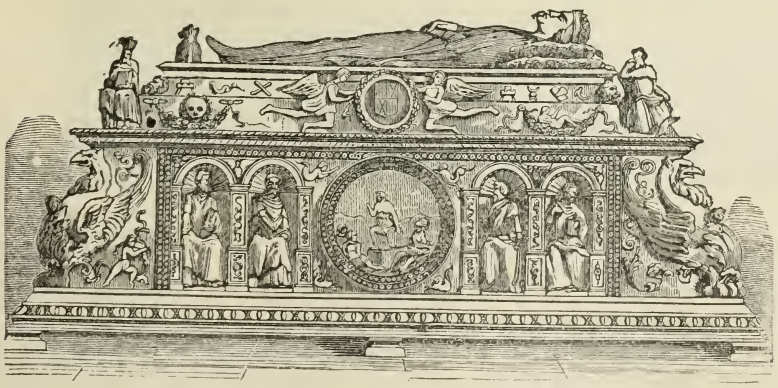
Of all the wrongs done to the memory of

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.



VESPUCCI.

The discovery of America produced great excitement throughout the states of Western Europe. In Spain, especially, there was wonderful zeal and enthusiasm.



SEPULCHER OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN THE CATHEDRAL OF GRENADA.

Within ten years after the death of Columbus, the principal islands of the West Indies were explored and colonized. In the year 1510, the Spaniards planted on the Isthmus of Darien their first continental colony. Three years later, VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, 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 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 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 day, called in the ritual of the Church *Pascua 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. Augustine. 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.



BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 1600

Central Period of the Middle Ages.
24. Conrad II.
52. Frederick Barbarossa.
80. The Kingdom of Jerusalem overthrown.
15. John Huss.
35. Columbus born.
98. De Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope and reaches the East Indies.
48. Treaty of Westphalia.

The CRUSADES.
99. The Kingdom of Jerusalem established.
56. First book written in English, in which the author, Sir John Mandeville, declares the spherical figure of the earth and the practicability of circumnavigation.
Luther.
Invented. Printing
The Reformation.

35. Union of Castile and Leon.
26. Louis IX.
39. Henry the Black.
8. Louis VI.
85. Philip IV.
80. Charles VI.
9. John Calvin.
56. Henry IV
The different Orders of Knighthood established.
16. Philip V.
11-31. Joan of Arc.
72. St. Bartholomew.

HOUSE OF CAPET IN FRANCE.
37. Louis VII.
71. Conquest of Ireland.
28. HOUSE OF VALOIS.
22. Charles VII.
61. Louis XI.
15. Francis I.
89. Henry IV.

17. Canute.
80. Philip II.
77. Richard II.
Wars of the Roses.
19. Charles V.

40. Hardicanute.
The LANCASTERS.
74. Ferdinand and Isabella.
10. Louis XIII.

42. Edward the Confessor.
The TUDORS.
The PURITANS.
43. Louis XIV.

66. Harold.
38. Struggle of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.
Wars of the Barons.
85. Henry VII.
3. James I.

66. William I.
35. Stephen.
15. Magna Charta granted.
9. Henry VIII.
25. Charles I.

87. William Rufus.
Henry I.
99. Henry IV.
47. Edward VI.
53. Mary.

DANISH KINGS IN ENGLAND.
54. Henry II.
72. Edward I.
13. Henry V.
22. Henry VI.
The STUARTS.

89. Richard I.
99 John.
7. Edward II.
Wickliffe.
61. Edward IV.
58. Elizabeth.

The NORMANS.
The PLANTAGENETS.
HEROIC AGE.
27. Edward III.
83. Edward V.
83. Richard III.

THE WESTERN CONTINENT UNKNOWN TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.

1. Leif Erickson, an Icelandic navigator, sailing westward from Greenland, discovers the coast of Labrador, and makes explorations as far south as Rhode Island.

Bjarne Herjulfson driven by a storm within sight of the American coast A. D. 986.

2. Thorwald Erickson returns to America and remains three years.

5. Thorstein Erickson comes to America.

7. Thorfinn Karlsefne explores the coast of Massachusetts.

11. Expedition of Freydis to Vinland.

21. Erik Upsi sent as bishop to Vinland.

50. The great plague depopulates Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland; communication with the New World is cut off.

47. A company of Norsemen in America.

70. Alleged discovery of America by Madoc, the Welshman.

77. Columbus visits Iceland and learns of the New World.

DOUBTFUL ICELANDIC AND NORWEGIAN VOYAGES.

92. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
93. Second voyage.
98. Third voyage.
98. Discovers America.
99. Amerigo Vespucci makes a voyage to South America.
12. De Leon explores Florida.
20. Cortez conquers Mexico.
25. De Allyon in Carolina.
28. De Narvaez makes explorations in Florida.
39. De Soto in America.
65. Melendez founds St. Augustine.
97. John Cabot discovers North America.
98. Sebastian Cabot explores the American coast.
78. Martin Frobisher's voyages.
79. Drake on the Pacific coast.
83. Gilbert's voyage.
Raleigh's attempts at colonization.
2. Gosnold's direct voyage.
3. Pring's voyage.
7. Settlement at Jamestown.
8. Waymouth in Maine.
20. The Puritans at Plymouth.
24. Verrazzani explores the American coast.
34. Cartier's expedition.
42. Roberval in Canada.
62. Ribault with the Huguenots.
64. Laudonniere's enterprise.
98. La Roche in Nova Scotia.
4. De Monts and Champlain.
5. Port Royal founded.
8. Founding of Quebec.
9. Hudson in America.
14. Explorations of Block and May.
14. Founding of New Amsterdam.
1. Voyages of the Cortereals.
19. Magellan circumnavigates the globe.

AMERICA UNDER THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
NO. VI.
VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES IN AMERICA,
From 986 to 1607 A. D.

Prepared by JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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ICELANDIC discoveries in *green.*
SPANISH " " *yellow.*
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 behind 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 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 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.



MONTEZUMA II.
After an old copperplate.

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 inducing 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

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 general 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.



BATTLE OF CORTEZ WITH THE MEXICANS.

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 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 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 eagerly at the opportunity, and ordered a fleet of five ships to be immediately fitted at the public expense and properly manned with crews.



SLAUGHTER OF MEXICANS BY SPANIARDS AT CHOLULA.

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 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 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 possession 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 Labrador, 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.



MAGELLAN.

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



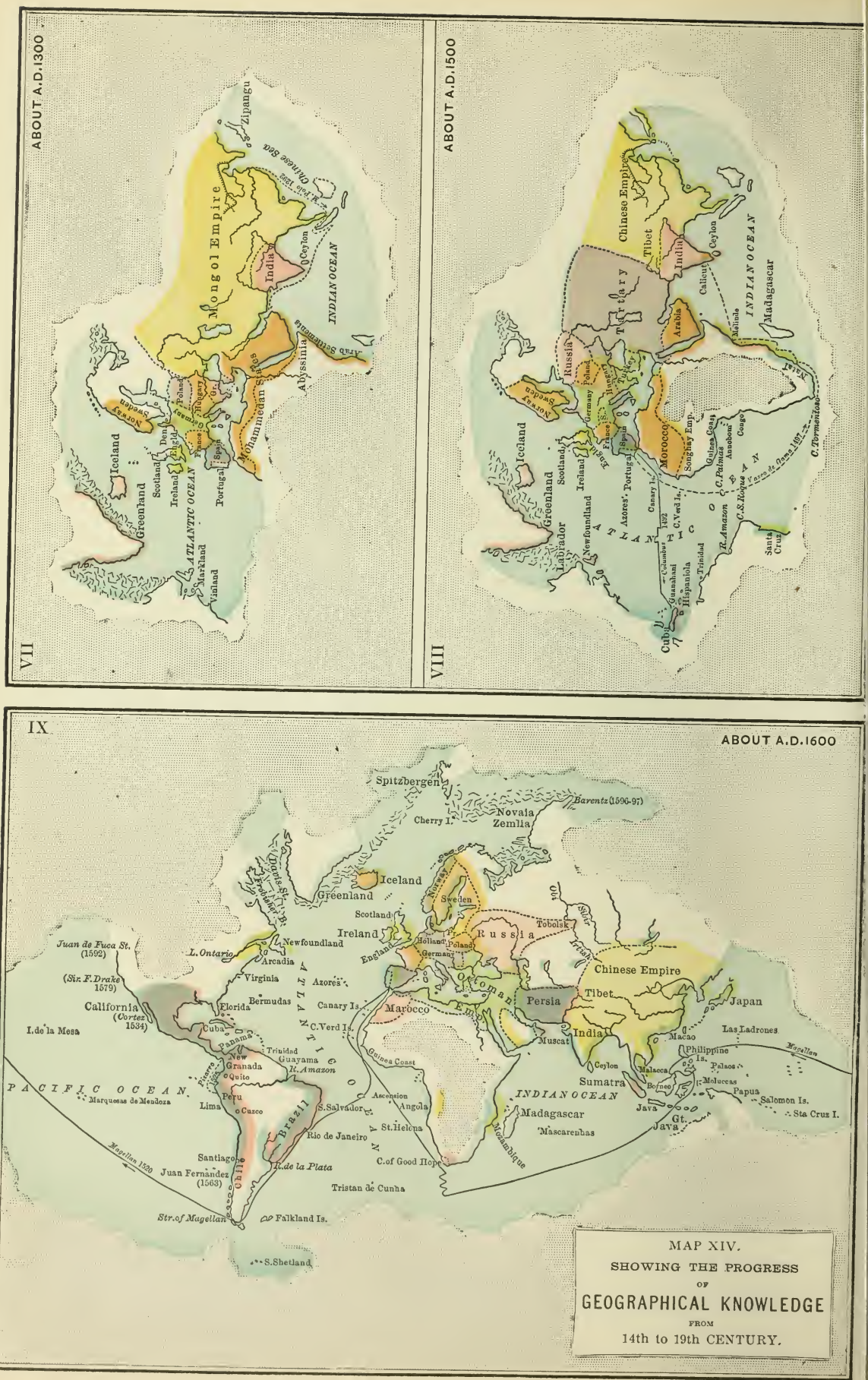
MERCATOR.

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, 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


VII
ABOUT A.D.1300
Mongol Empire
Zipangu
Chinese Sea
Java
India
Ceylon
INDIAN OCEAN
Arab Settlements
Abyssinia
Mohammedan States
Iceland
Greenland
Scotland
Ireland
Portugal
Spain
Norway
Sweden
Poland
Hungary
Germany
Flanders
Denmark
England
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Markland
Vinland
VIII
ABOUT A.D.1500
Chinese Empire
Tibet
India
Ceylon
Calicut
Arabia
Malinda
Madagascar
INDIAN OCEAN
Tartary
Russia
Moscow
Novgorod
Sweden
Norway
Germany
Poland
Hungary
Prussia
Flanders
England
Scotland
Ireland
Iceland
Greenland
Labrador
Newfoundland
Azores
Canary Is.
Portugal
Spain
Morocco
Songhay Emp.
Guinea Coast
C. Palmas
Ambono
Congo
C. Verd Is.
C. Bojador
C. Nun
C. Non
C. Tormentoso
Sierra de Lyma 1497
R. Amazon
C. S. Roque
Santa Cruz
Trinidad
Hispaniola
Columbus
Guanahani
Cuba
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IX
ABOUT A.D.1600
Spitzbergen
Barentz (1596-97)
Novaia Zemlia
Cherry I.
Iceland
Greenland
Davis's St.
Frobisher's St.
Hudson's St.
Juan de Fuca St. (1592)
(Sir F. Drake 1579)
L. Ontario
Newfoundland
Arcadia
Virginia
Bermudas
Florida
Californla (Cortez 1534)
I. de la Mesa
Cuba
Panama
New Granada
Quito
Peru
Lima
Cuzco
Marquesas de Mendoza
PACIFIC OCEAN
Guayama
R. Amazon
Trinidad
Brazil
S. Salvador
Rio de Janeiro
Santiago
Chile
R. de la Plata
Juan Fernandez (1563)
Magellan 1520
Str. of Magellan
Falkland Is.
S. Shetland
Tristan de Cunha
C. of Good Hope
Ascension
Angola
St. Helena
Guinea Coast
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Azores
Canary Is.
C. Verd Is.
Morocco
Ottoman Emp.
Sweden
Norway
Scotland
Ireland
England
Holland
Poland
Germany
Russia
Tobolsk
Obi R.
Irtish R.
Chinese Empire
Tibet
Persia
India
Muscat
Mozambique
Madagascar
Mascarenhas
INDIAN OCEAN
Sumatra
Ceylon
Malacca
Borneo
Java
Java Gt.
Macao
Japan
Las Ladrones
Philippine Is.
Magellan
Palaos
Moluccas
Papua
Salomon Is.
Sta Cruz I.
MAP XIV.
SHOWING THE PROGRESS
OF
GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE
FROM
14th to 19th CENTURY.

ABOUT A.D. 1700



ABOUT A.D. 1800

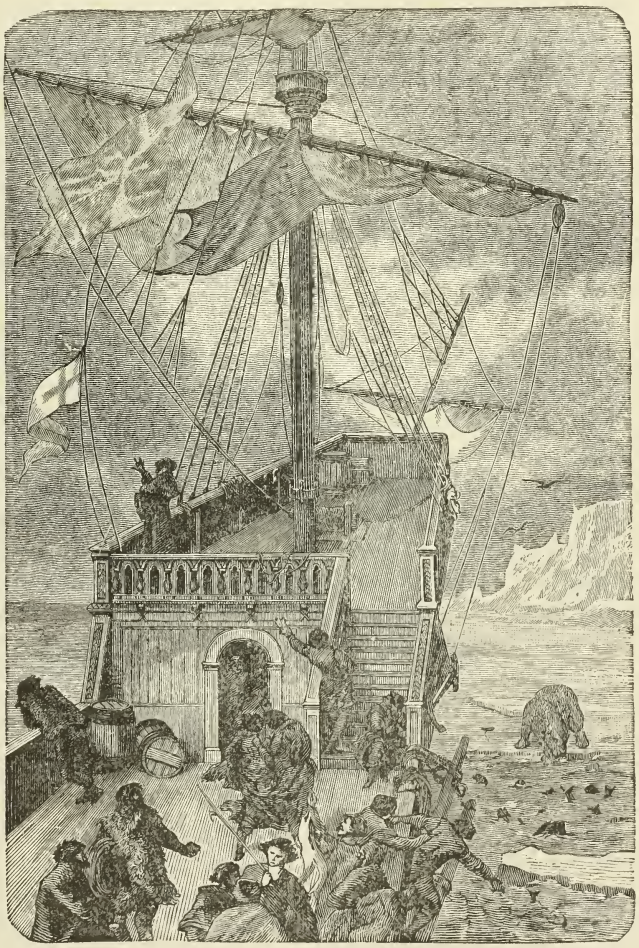


almost entire control of the maritime affairs of the kingdom, and sent out many successful voyages. He lived to be very old, but the circumstances of his death have not been ascertained, and his place of burial is unknown.

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 Frenchman 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, Verrazzani 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, unsuspicious 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 sailing[1] 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 prows 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 CORTEREAL 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

[1] All of the authoritities state the time of Cartier's voyage at twenty days. Such a statement does not accord with reason. That a clumsy caravel of the 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 C.—THE REFORMATION PROPER.



HILE 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 Albigenses 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.

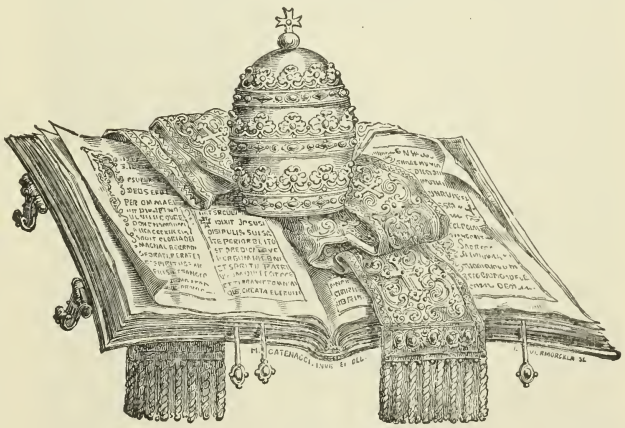
At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century occurred the great Schism of the West. The papacy was rent in twain. One pontificate was established at Avignon, while the other remained at Rome. The two Popes shook the Alps with anathemas launched at each other. After twenty-one 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 promulgated 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 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



MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.

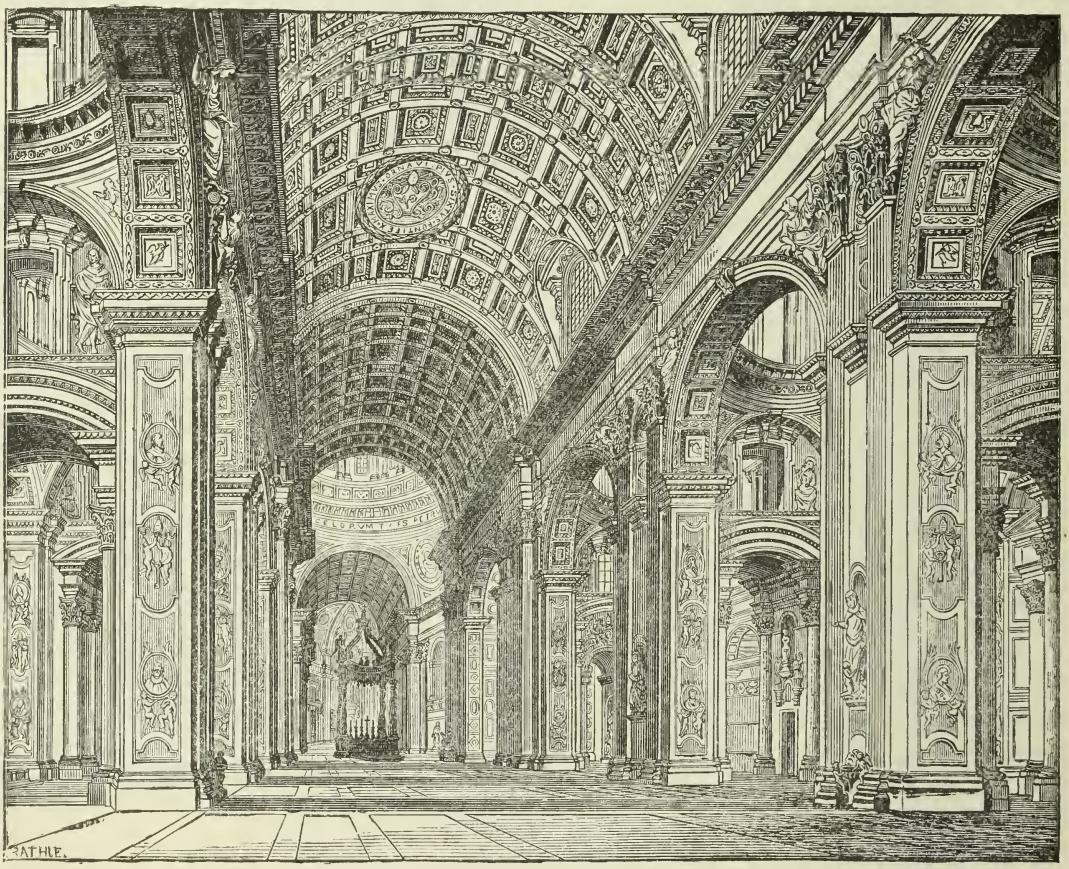
payment of the stipulated fee. The Church for a pious deposit made in her coffer would open the prison-doors of the nether world and let fly the imprisoned spirits of those who had died under the penalty of sin. Thus, when, in order to raise the money for the completion and decoration of St. Peter's, 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 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."

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 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.



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S OF ROME.

The family of Luther came from Möhra, 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 accordingly 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.



MARTIN LUTHER.

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 German 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

[1] Specimens 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 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 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 likely to prevail with his turbulent and excited spirit.



PREACHING THE REFORMATION.

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 Tetzel 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 Roman 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 appeard 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 Melanchthon 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 repugnance 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 Frundsberg, 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 immured 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 sect 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 Melanchthon. 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 Melanchthon 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 jeoparded 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 Melanchthon, 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 sacrement; 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 be 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, however, 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 imperial cities, drew up and signed a solemn *protest* against the action of the majority. In the document a demand was made for the convening 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 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



LEO X.

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 Melanchthon, 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 CI.—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 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 ascendency 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



DRINKING HEALTH ON THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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.

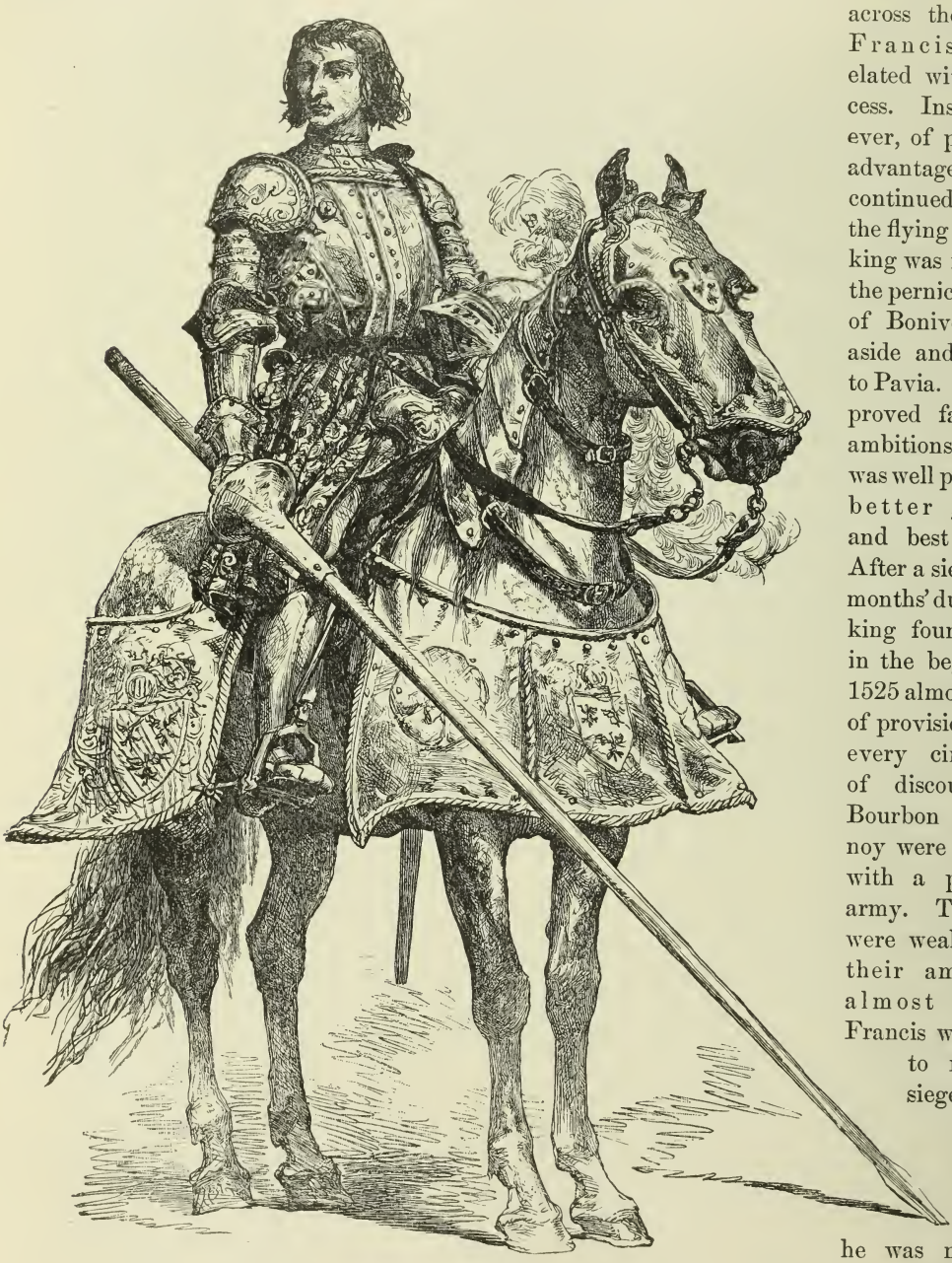
In the year 1522, Emperor Charles again visited England. The occasion was one of banqueting and pageants; but the Emperor had a profounder purpose than could be discovered in gold lace and wine cups. Again using Wolsey as his agent, he so corrupted, or at least won over, the English nobles as effectually 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 bedchamber 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 ascendency, 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 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.



CHEVALIER BAYARD.

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 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 disruption 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



CAPTURE OF FRANCIS I.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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, however, 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

[1] One 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.



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 Lutherans. 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 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 Melanchthon 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 Melanchthon 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,

demanded, 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 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?



SOLYMAN II.

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 Redeviva. 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 appeasing 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 Solyman 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 CII.—THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.



T 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 plighted 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 purpose 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 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

[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.
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.

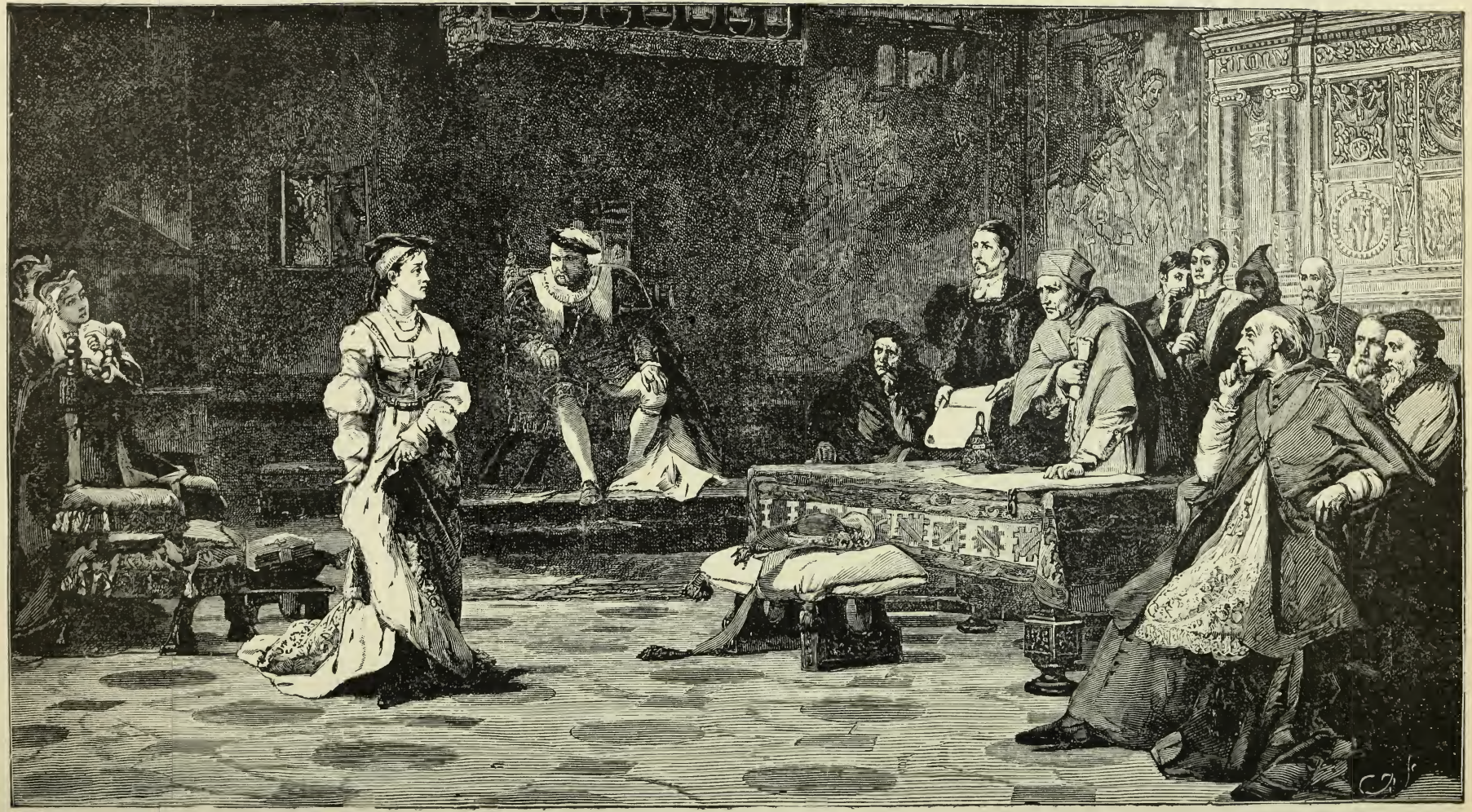
spare no effort to promote his interest in procuring so elegant a lady for his queen. When the English monarch returned to London he resolved to carry out his purpose, the dilatory Church to the contrary notwithstanding. He accordingly had a secret marriage performed with Anne, and then pressed the matter 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 Ampthill, 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 following 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 accomplishmeuts 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 Brereton 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 dignitary, 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 ascendency 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 Qeeen 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.

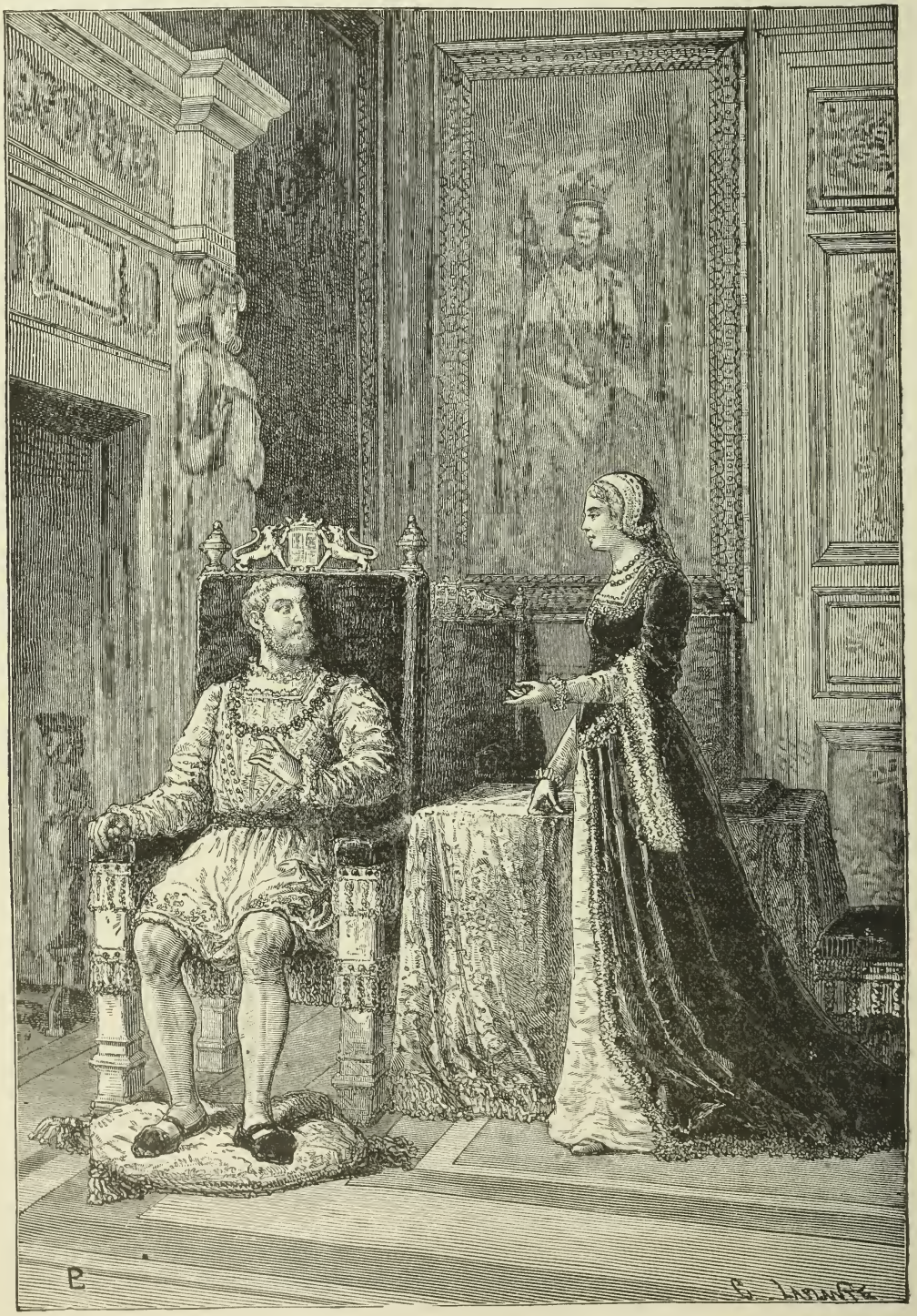
In the course of time peace was concluded between England and the Empire; but the reconciliation between Henry and Charles, merely glossed over their long-standing enmity. The settlement which they effected embraced the project of an invasion of France. Armies were raised in both countries, and the king 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 humbled 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 reïnforcements 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 thirty-ninth 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 ascendency 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 Protestanism of Germany into the hands of Rome and her servants.

These upbraidings 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 revulsion 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.

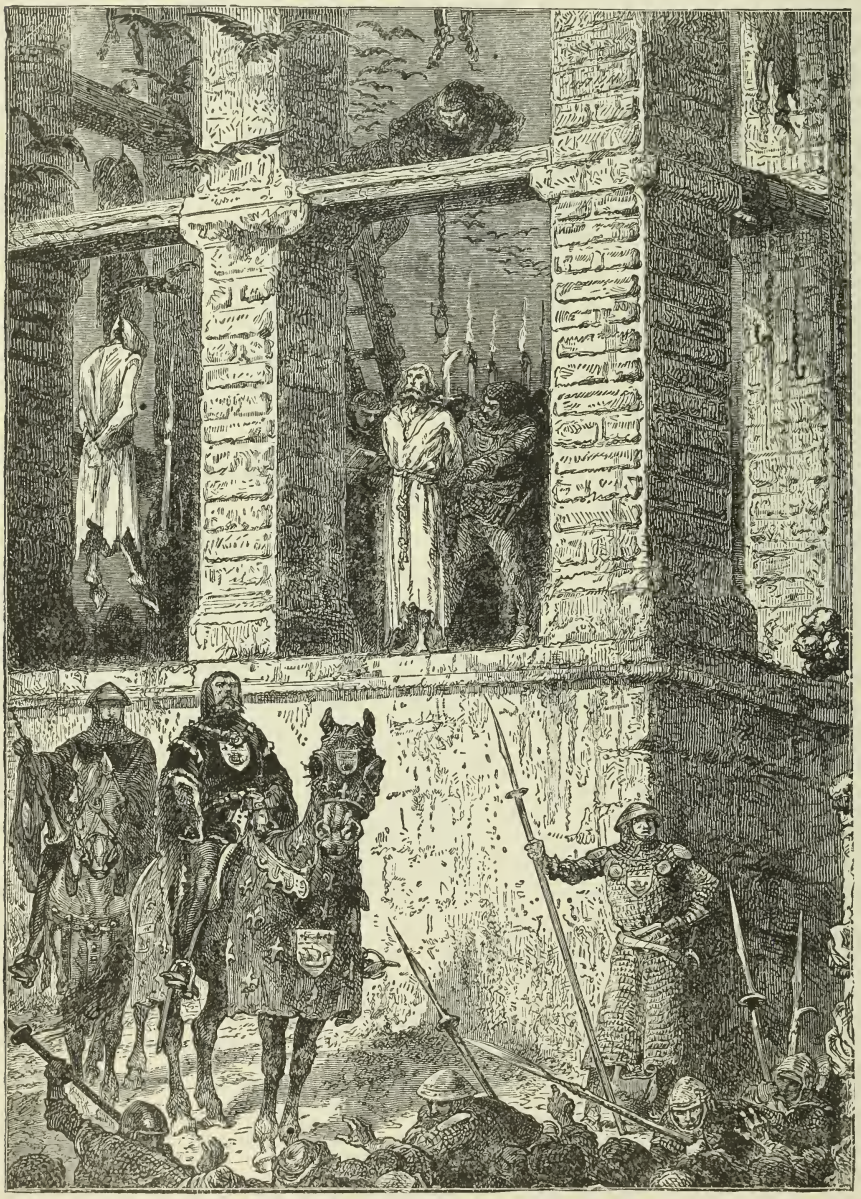
Before this action of the German electors the great schemes of Charles V. melted into vapor. At first he refused to sign the treaty, but he was no longer master of the situation. The Protestant leaders increased their armies and prepared to renew the war. The Crescent of Islam again rose above the Hungarian 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 ascendency. 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 success. 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 reässerted 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 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!



EXECUTION OF HERETICS—SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Such facts as these may well lead us to inquire for a moment into the true nature of the 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 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 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 ascendency 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.'

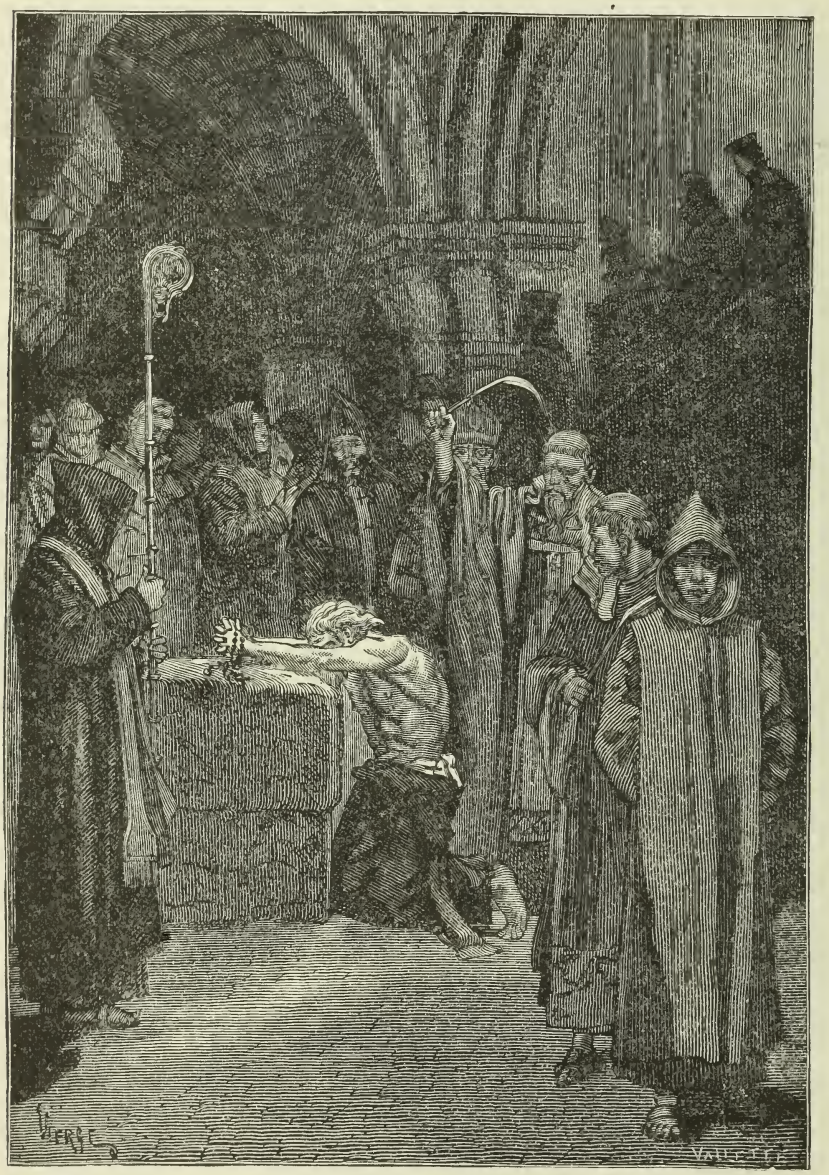
"If we take a review of all the principal charges which have been made against the Reformation, we shall find, if we set aside all questions purely doctrinal, that the above are the two fundamental reproaches to which they may all be reduced.

"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



THE PENITENT OF SAN YUSTE.
Drawn by Vierge.

authority in matters of reason. I do not speak of that coërcive 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 intellectual 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 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 regulate 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 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 Weekener.

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 theologian 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 principles elaborated in the *Institutes*. 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.



JOHN CALVIN.

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 Presbyterial 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, unparallelled 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 summarized: 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 foreördained 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 Melanchthon 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]

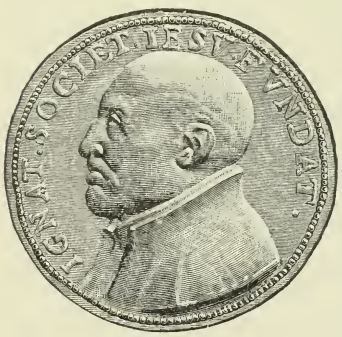
The work then went on bravely until the times of Elizabeth, during whose reign one hundred and sixty persons were burned on account of their religion. Seventeen others met a similar fate under James I., and twenty were sent to the stake by the Presbyterians and Republicans of the Commonwealth. It will 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,

[1] A 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 reässerted 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 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."



LOYOLA.

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, be 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 reäppropriated 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 life-long 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 Sapianza, 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.

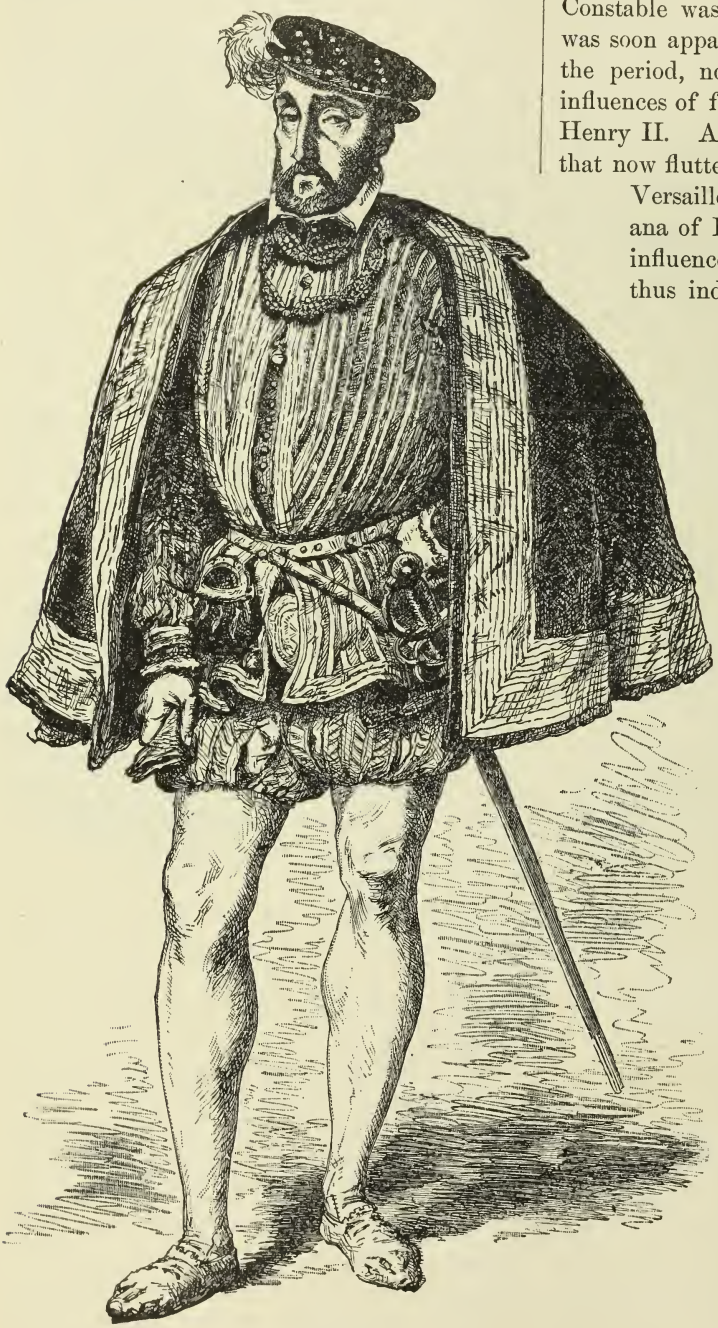
CHAPTER CIII.—LAST HALF OF CENTURY XVI.

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 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 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 ascendency by the arts of magic.



HENRY II.

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

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 to that monarch 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.

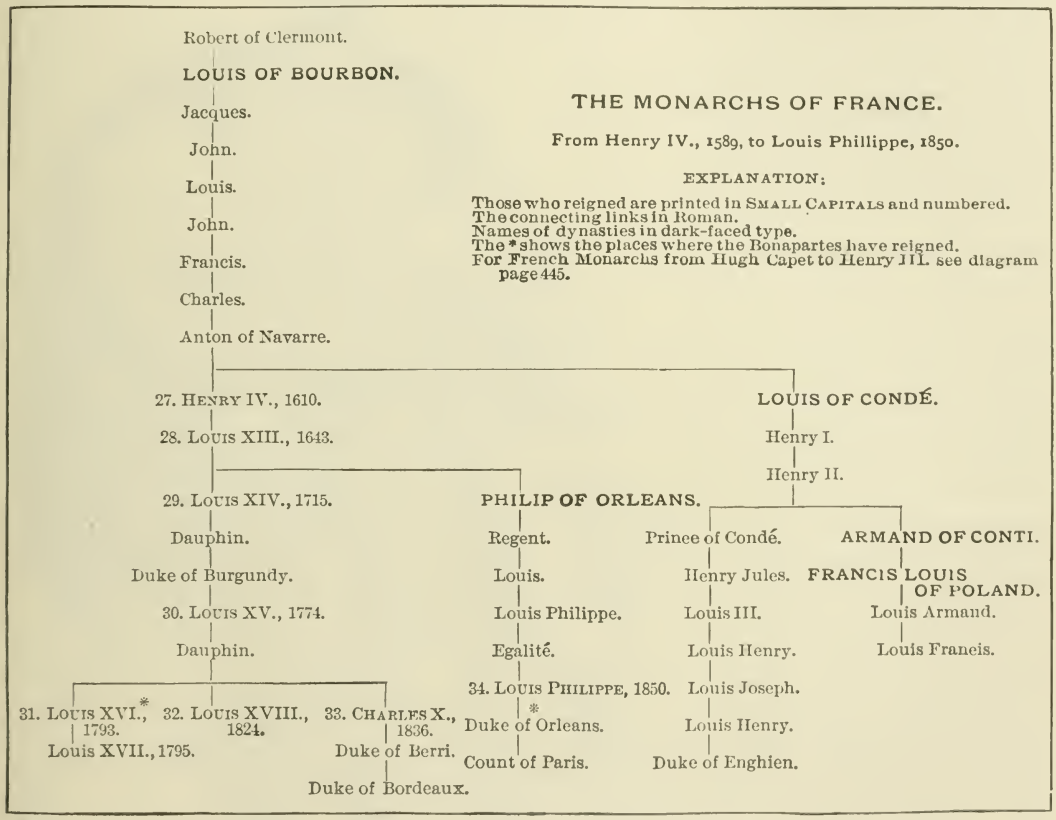
The expedition, however, resulted in disaster, and in a short time the duke was recalled by the critical condition of affairs at home. For in the mean time Philip II. had obtained for his queen the Princess Mary of England, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, and now heiress presumptive 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 kingdom 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 overwhelming 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



BURNING OF HERETICS IN PARIS.

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



Calais, and by a brilliant exploit wrested that stronghold from the enemy.

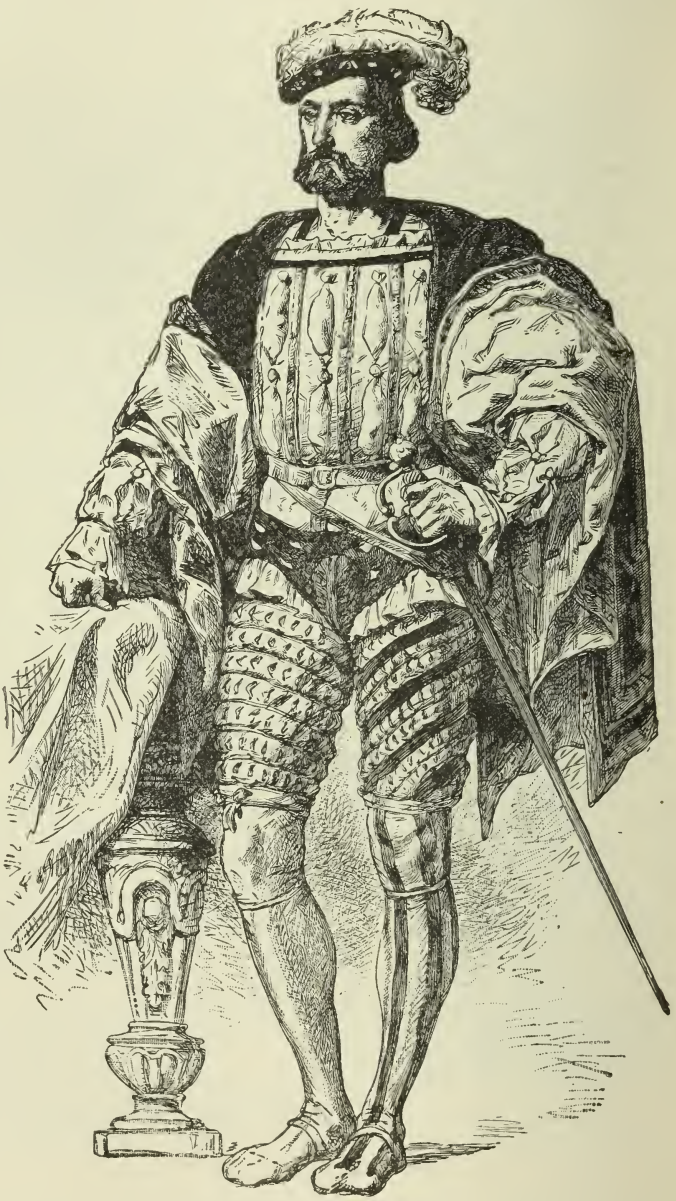
So great now became the fame of this ambitious leader that he was regarded as the first personage in France, if not in Europe. In order to strengthen and perpetuate his power he brought about a marriage between the Dauphin Francis and his own niece Mary, the young queen of Scotland. He became an arbiter 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 Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the French king, and that Margaret, the sister of that ruler, should be wedded to Philibert, duke of Savois. 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 precisely 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 Bastile 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 atilt. 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 ascendency 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 relationship 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 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



THE DUKE OF GUISE.

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 a certain liberalism which could not coëxist 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 fruitage.

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 Clicthon, 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 ascendency 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 altogether 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 ascendency 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 Merey. 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 bigotry 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.



PRINCE OF CONDÉ.

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 Tavanes 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, lessen 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, 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.



FLIGHT OF COLIGNI FROM PARIS.

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 reassuring 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 precautionary 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 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.



COLIGNI.

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, 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 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 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



CATHARINE DE MEDICI AND CHARLES IX.
After a contemporary painting.

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 with the blood of thirty thousand victims, slunk into his kennel, muttered *Te Deum laudamus*, and went to sleep!



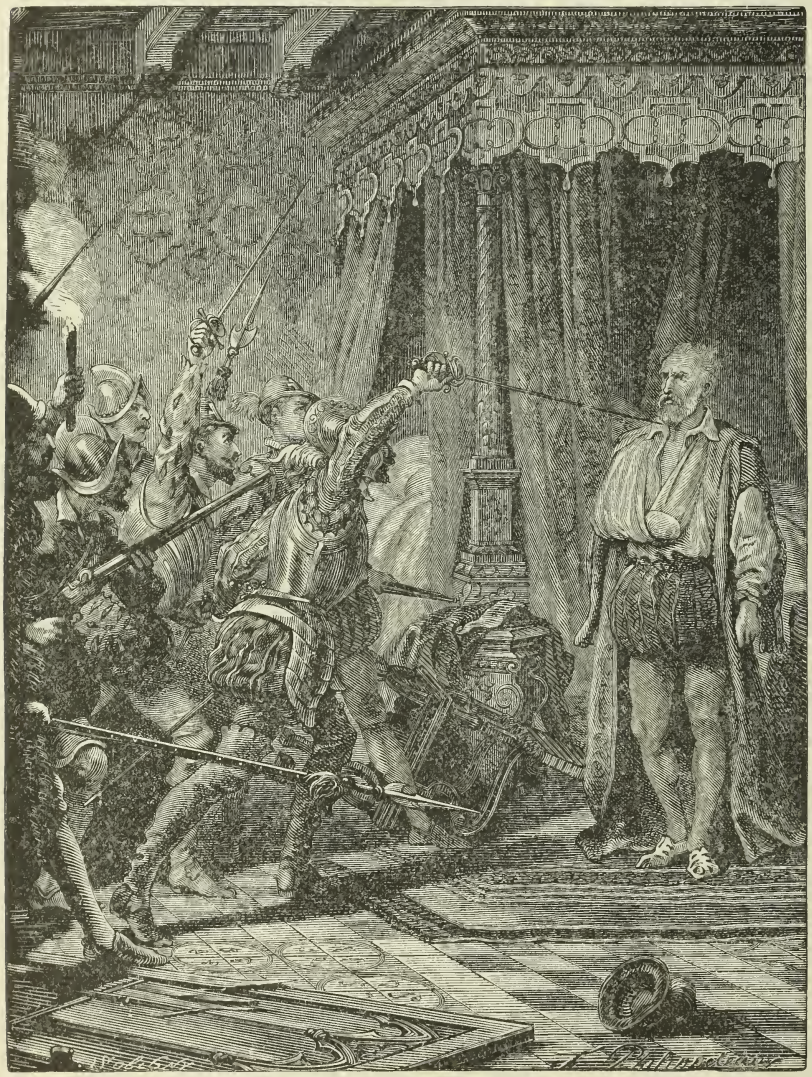
ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

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. Bartholomew, 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 short time 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 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.



ASSASSINATION OF COLIGNI.

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. 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 wherewith 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 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 prediction. 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 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 king elect of Poland to the borders of France.



THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE RECEIVING THE HEAD OF COLIGNI.

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 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 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, 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



SCENE DURING THE NIGHT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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 honors. 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 Balafré*, 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.

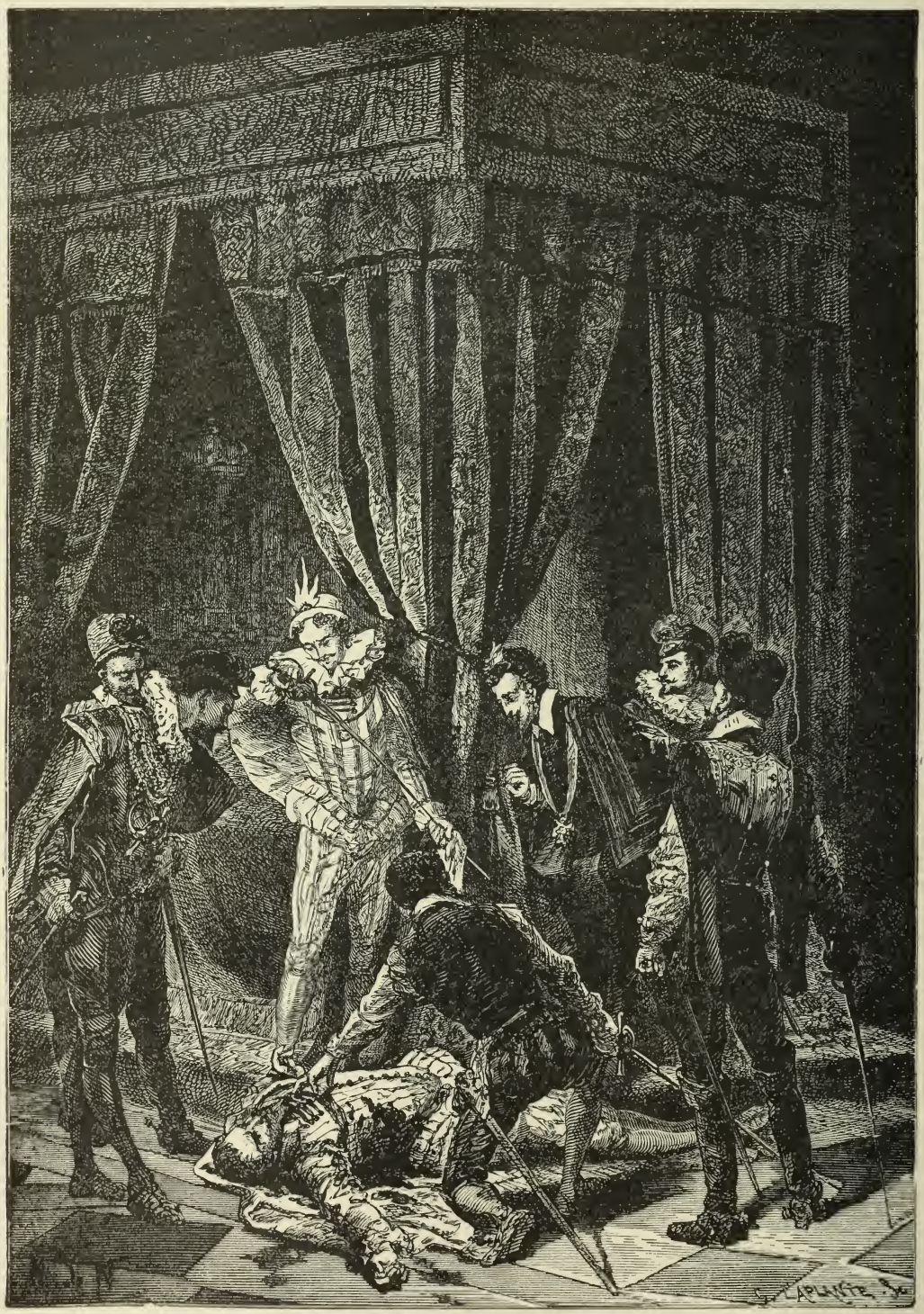
Meanwhile the war continued with varying successes. In October, of 1587, the fortunes of the conflict changed from the side of the king when his army, under command of the Duke of Joyeuse, was confronted by the Protestants under Henry of Navarre. At the town of Coutras, in the Gironde, the issue was 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 Auneau, 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 Montspensier, 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



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 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 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 cardinal 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. 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 Vervins, 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

[1] The 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!"

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



ENTRANCE OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS.

rent the kingdom for more than half a century. In the practical application of the new law, however, it was claimed by the Huguenots that the Catholics were favored, and themselves excluded from the places of honor in the state.

All things considered, Henry IV. was the greatest monarch which France had had since 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 kingdom. 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 Savois, 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 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 *á 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 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 Protestanism found in him a consistent opponent, he was no persecutor, and the Augs-



MARIA DE MEDICI.

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 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.

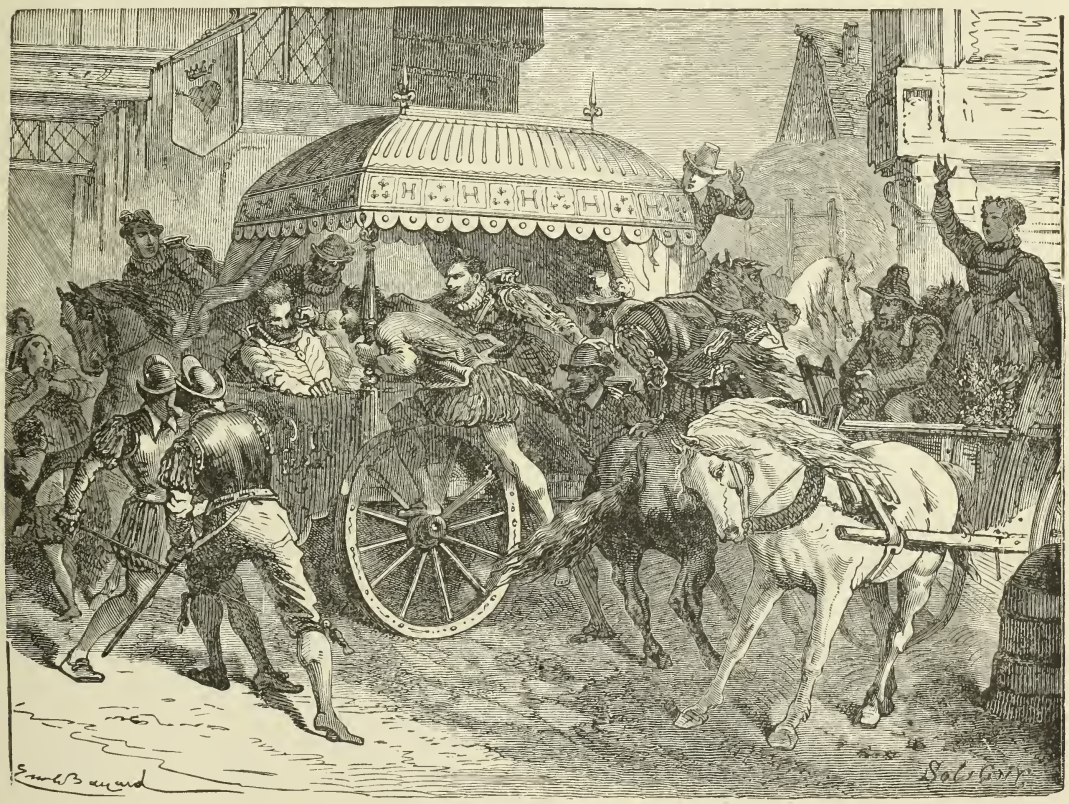


MARRIAGE OF HENRY IV. AND MARIA DE MEDICI.

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 reäffirmed. 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 reässerted 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 endless 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.

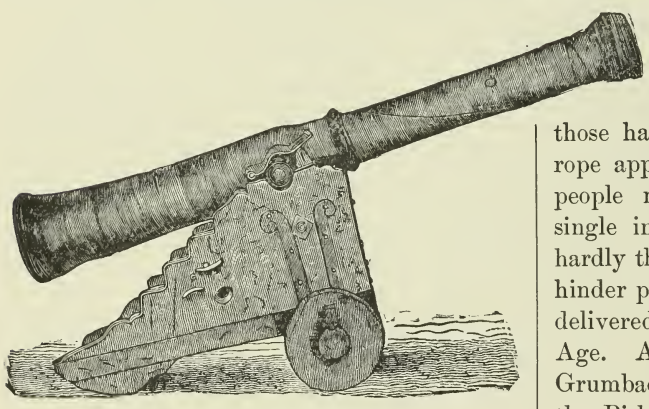
If we take a casual survey of the religious condition of the German Empire during the reign of Ferdinand I. we shall find that in the national Diet the Catholic element was still predominant. In that body, at the time of the election of Ferdinand, there were more than a hundred members belonging to the 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, 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 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, Solyman, not only invaded 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.



ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV.

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



OLD SWEDISH LEATHERN 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 ascendency, 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 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-

imilian 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-

ravia, 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 reäffirming 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 elevated forms of our speech, its strength in assertion, its depth in feeling, and its dignity in apostrophe, were cystallized 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 reäction 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, 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 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



LADY JANE GREY.

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 celebrated 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 Melanchthon. 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 remonstances 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 Dudleys.

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. 378.

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 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 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.



MARY TUDOR.

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.

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 boors,—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*.

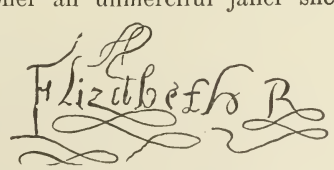
The English people scarcely made a decent show of grief for the death of the queen. Only the papists were sincere in their sorrow. As for the rest, their thoughts were with the living, and cries of "God save Queen Elizabeth!" arose on every hand. It is narrated that even in Parliament, when the news 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 Benefield, in whose custody she had been lodged, and who had treated her with unbecoming severity, was dismissed with the cutting remark 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 OF ENGLAND.



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 reäction 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 hypothesis, 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 reïssued 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 prerogative

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 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.



MARY STUART AND FRANCIS II.
Drawn by Vierge.

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 another 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 courtesy and affection was maintained between them. As for Mary, she was, unlike her royal kinswoman, not only willing but anxious to enter a second 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.



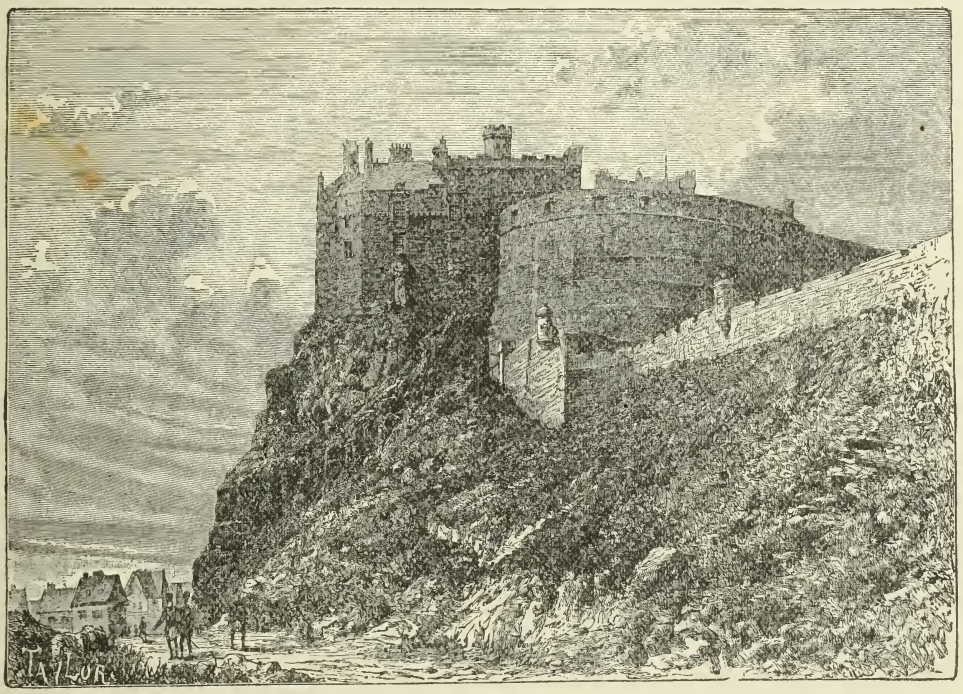
MARY STUART.

It was clear, therefore, that since Elizabeth 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

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 programme 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.



CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

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. 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 bedchamber 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 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 scion 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 Yorkshire, 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 headsmen with the air of a queen. Only when her servants burst into tears and sobs did her feelings gain a momentary ascendency 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.

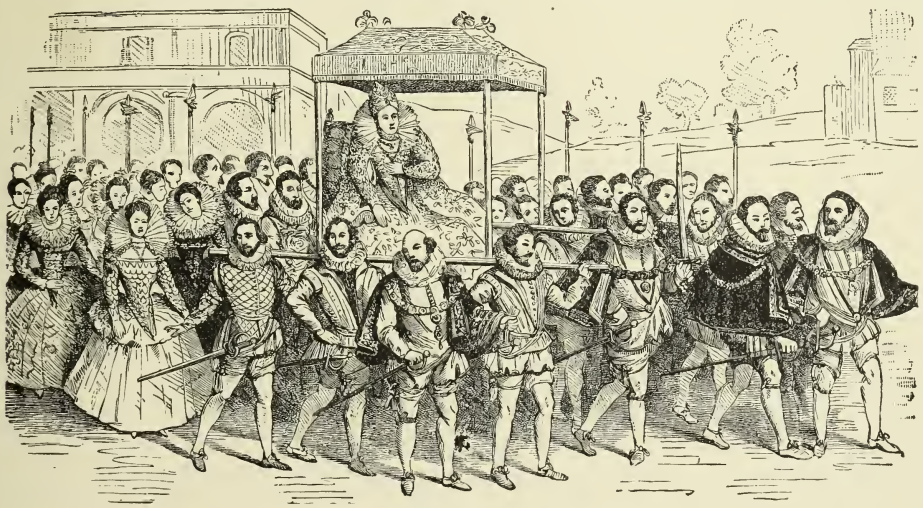
Thus, on the 7th of February, 1587, perished Mary Queen of Scots, being then in the forty-fifth year of her age. By her death a serious and far-reaching complication was removed from the politics of the time. Whatever may have been the feelings of Elizabeth, she deemed it prudent to make a decent show 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 ascendency 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



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 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 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 ascendency, 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 ot 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 adulation 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 rivalship 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 Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
England & her colonies.
France " " "
Portugal " " "
Spain " " "
Holland " " "
ARCTIC OCEAN
Greenland (Danish)
Iceland (Danish)
Spitzbergen
Jan Mayen
Alaska
BRITISH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
Newfoundland
Hudson Bay
Behring Sea
Banks Ld.
Victoria Land
Parry Is.
Baffin's Ld.
Baffin's B.
Davis Str.
Hudson Str.
Labrador
Gr. Bear L.
Yukon R.
Mackenzie R.
S. Francisco
Washington
Bermuda I. (British)
G. of Mexico
Mexico
Sandwich Is
Caribbean S.
Central America
Panama
Guyana
Venezuela
Quito
Ecuador
Peru
Amazon R.
Bolivia
BRAZIL
Bahia
Rio Janeiro
Arica
Valparaiso
Argentine Republic
Uruguay
La Plata R.
Patagonia
Falkland Is. British
C. Horn
Graham Land
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Azores Is.
Portuguese Possessions
Canary Is.
C. Verde Is.
Timbuktu
Monrovia
Guinea
Jacotra
Niger R.
Gibraltar (British)
Morocco
Algiers
Tripolis
Egypt
Cairo
Nile R.
Khartum
Abyssinia
Mecca
Medina
Red Sea
Arabia
Persia
Teheran
Constantinople
Black Sea
Turkey
Greece
Italy
Rome
Portugal
Lisbon
Madrid
Spain
France
Paris
Vienna
Austria
Germany
Berlin
Holland
Belgium
Ireland
London
GREAT BRITAIN
Shetland Is.
Faroe Is.
Denmark
Sweden
Norway
Riga
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Archangel
Nova Zembla
Volga R.
Astrachan
Orenburg
Aral S.
Caspian Sea
Turkestan
Khiva
Yarkand
Thibet
Lhassa
Beloochees
Afghans
Bombay
Goa (Portuguese)
Calcutta
Madras
Pondicherry (French)
Ceylon
Bengal
Farther India
Siam
Saigon (French)
Borneo
Philippine Is. (Spanish)
Canton
Formosa
Pekin
Nankin
Jeddo
Japan
Kiachta
Nicolajef
Baikal L.
Tobolsk
Omsk
Turukhansk
Jakutsk
Okhotsk
Lena R.
Yenisei R.
Obi R.
N. Siberia
Kamtschatka
Chinese Empire
Russian Empire
Zanzibar
Loanda
Portuguese Zambezi R.
Mozambique
Madagascar
Mozambique Chan.
Gondokoro
Jacotra
Capetown
Prt. Natal
Orange R.
Cape Colony
St. Helena (British)
Ascension
Perth
Sydney
Melbourne
AUSTRALIA
Tasmania
Nelson
N. Zealand
Auckland
Maquarrie I.
Caledonia (French)
Wilkes Land
Victoria Land

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 Noland, 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, Gawin 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 *Mirrour 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.

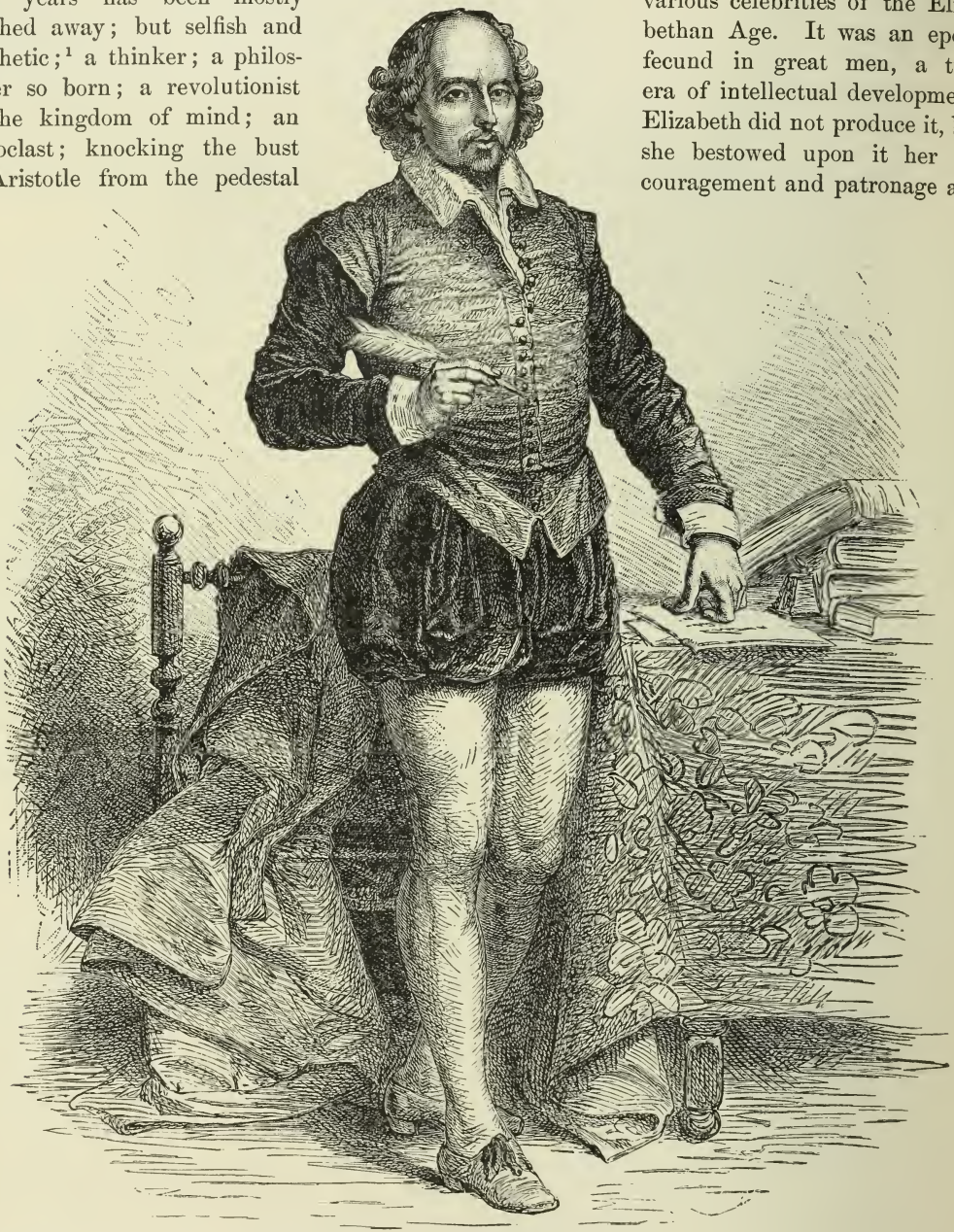
Next rose the inspired pagan, Shakespeare, in many respects greatest among men. He was the spirit of his times personified; most humane and gentle; tender and noble; reaching with his magical fingers from the all to the nothing of our nature. In his thirty-seven dramas, those infinite and ever-living "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 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 mediæval 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 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,



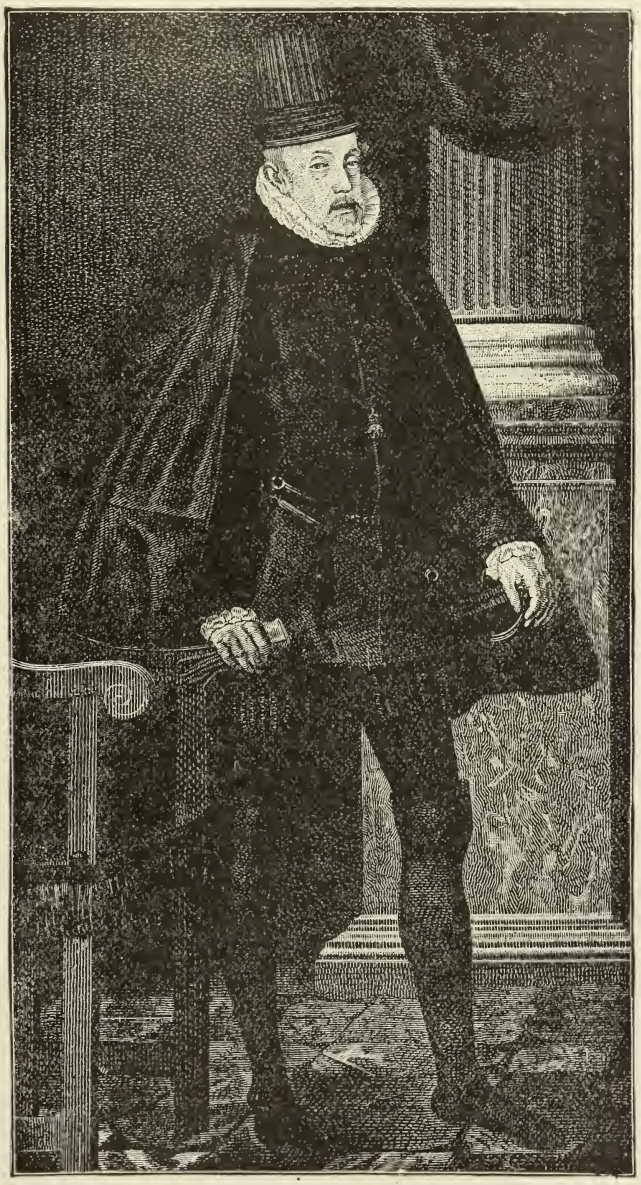
SHAKESPEARE.

[1] He who can seriously entertain the notion that Francis Bacon wrote the Shakespearean drama, overflowing as it does with all the loves of the 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 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



PHILIP II.

[1] See *ante*, p. 275.

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.

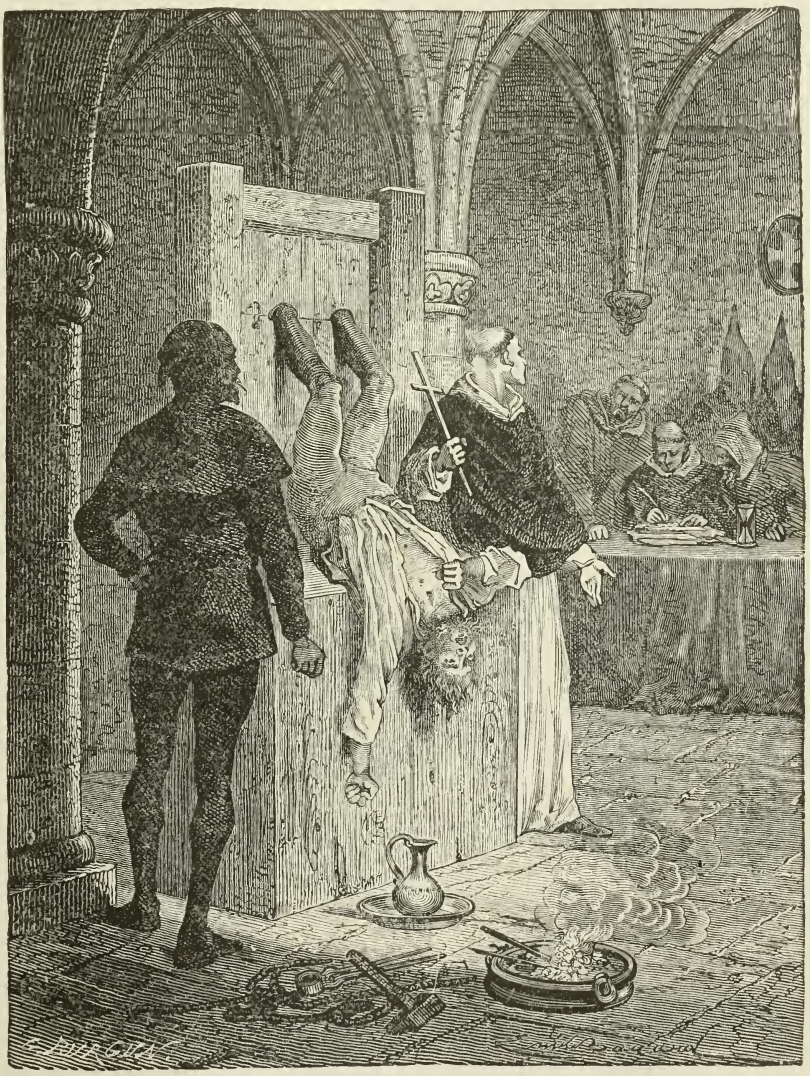
At the time when Philip II. was called to the throne of the Netherlands, the country was already one of the richest and most prosperous of all Europe. In all there were no fewer than seventeen of these lowland provinces, differing from each other in language, customs, and laws. Next to France were the 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-

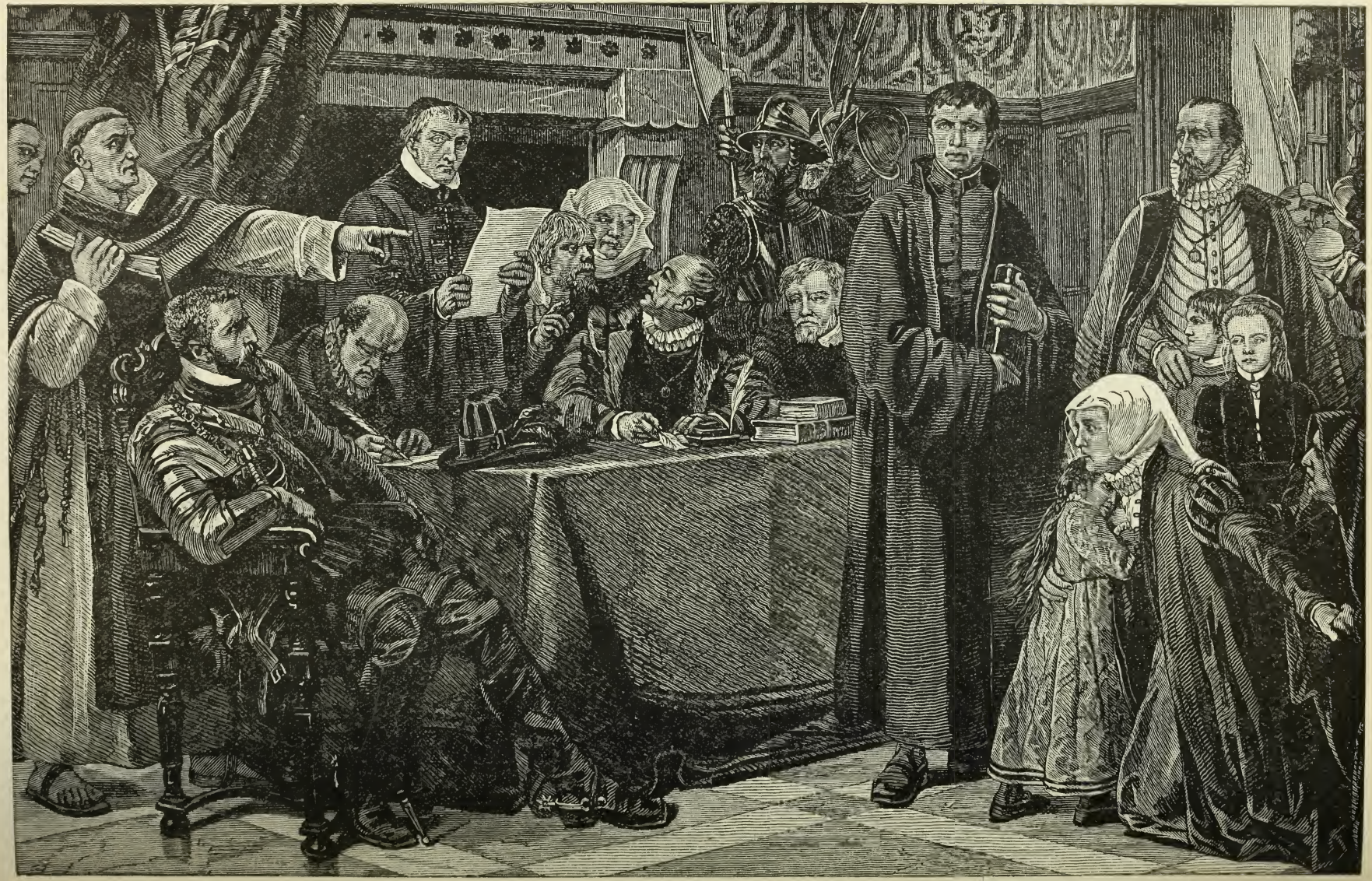
ingly distasteful to Charles V., who spared no effort to check and repress the religious revolution which he saw going on in the Netherlands. Against the Protestant leaders he launched one edict after another, and finally, in hope of extirpating the heresy, established the Inquisition in Flanders. Before 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 Netherlanders, 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 constitutional 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-



WORK OF THE INQUISITION IN HOLLAND.



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.

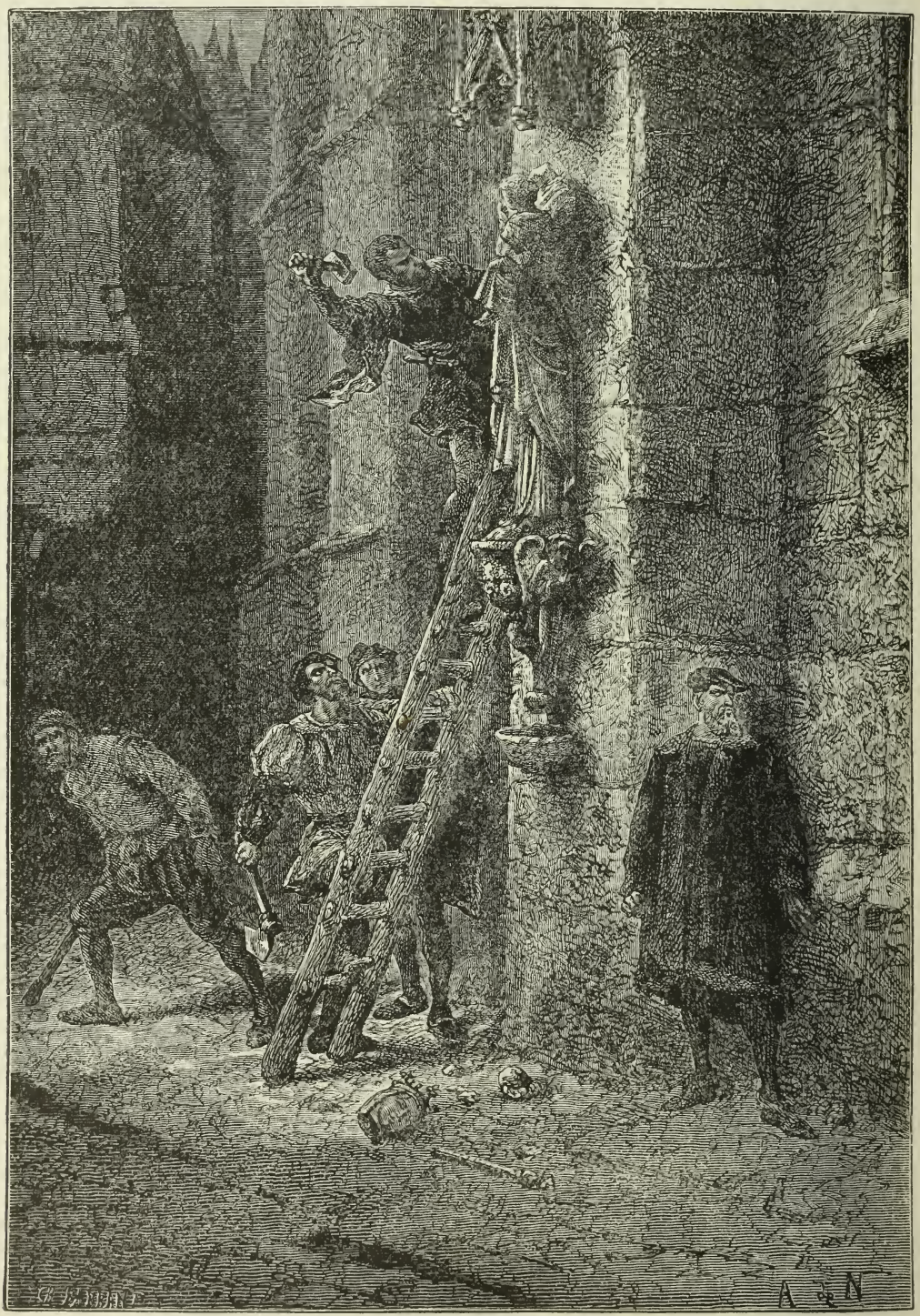
The only safety lay in concert of action. Two thousand of the leading Hollanders, embracing every variety of religious belief, came together for mutual protection. It was determined to try the effect of another appeal to the king. A list of demands was prepared and laid before the Duchess of Parma, who 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 jocular 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 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



DUKE OF ALVA.

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 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 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 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.

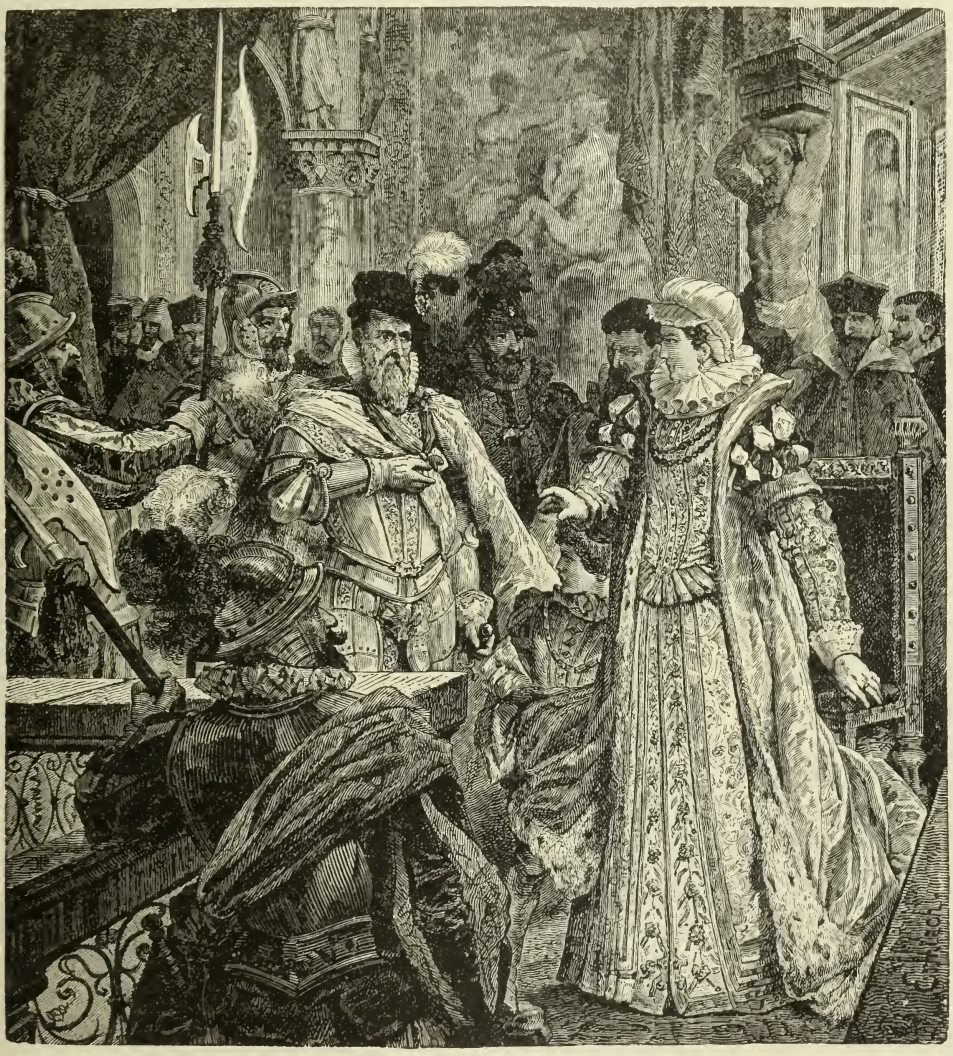


THE DUKE OF ALVA'S MARCH TO THE NETHERLANDS.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

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'Aremberg 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

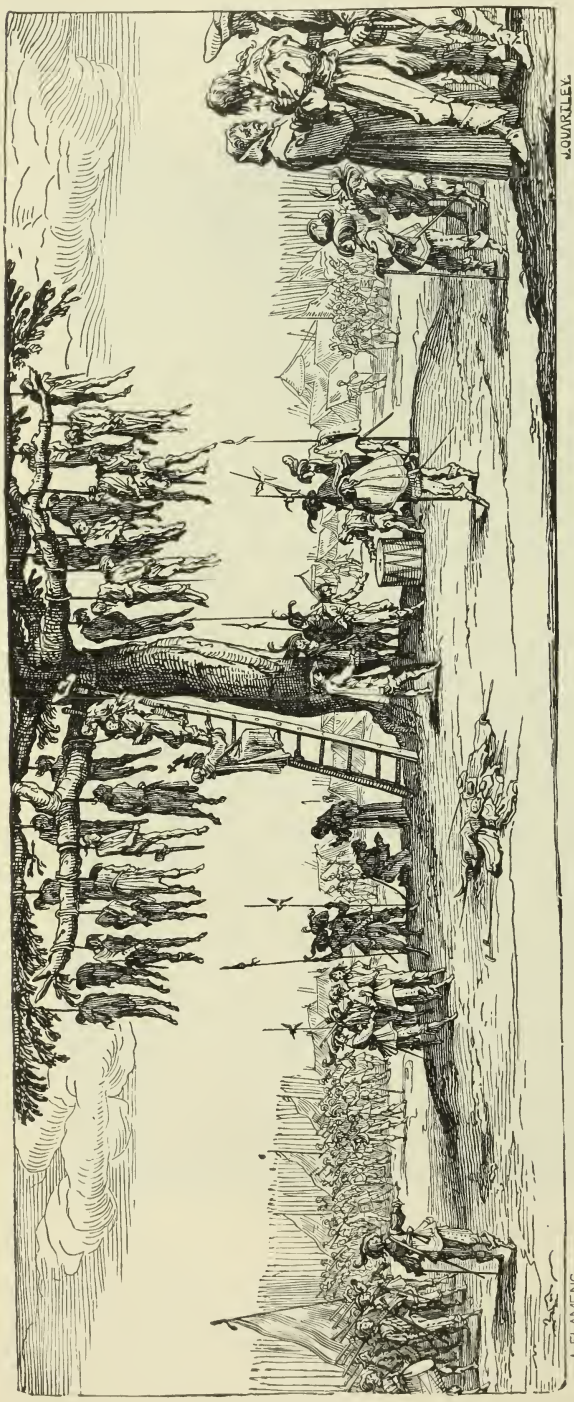
their remaining forces and escape from the country. Unable any longer to sustain the Protestant cause in the Netherlands, they retired with a few followers into France and joined themselves with the Huguenots.

The Duke of Alva, now triumphant on the land, proceeded with his programme of legalized 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 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 dispatched 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 DUKE OF ALVA DEPOSES THE DUCHESS OF PARMA.
Drawn by R. Ermish.

the Invincible Armada out of the Tagus to meet its fate at the hands of Lord Howard and the North Sea.



EXECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

But openly the two kingdoms continued at peace. Elizabeth, not wishing to violate the law of nations, forbade her subjects any longer to supply the Sea-Beggars with food. This act, however, conduced indirectly to the advantage of the Dutch cause. For De la Marck, 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 Marck 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-

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 massacree 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 ascendency 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 reïnforce William in Holland, was met by the Spanish army and totally defeated in the battle of Nimeguen, 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 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

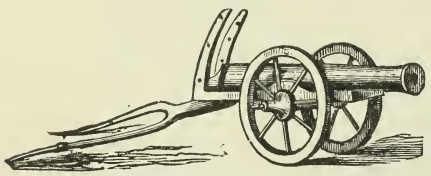


ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA.

brought against it, and the battle of Gembloux 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 figurehead 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 captains 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 pitable 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, Overyssel, 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 councilor in the administration of the Duchess of Parma, reäppeared 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 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 to 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.



AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MAESTRICHT.

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 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 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.



WILLIAM THE SILENT.

From this time forth the ascendency 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 the Duke of Anjou as governor-general of the Netherlands, reserving for himself only the countries of Holland and Zealand. 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.

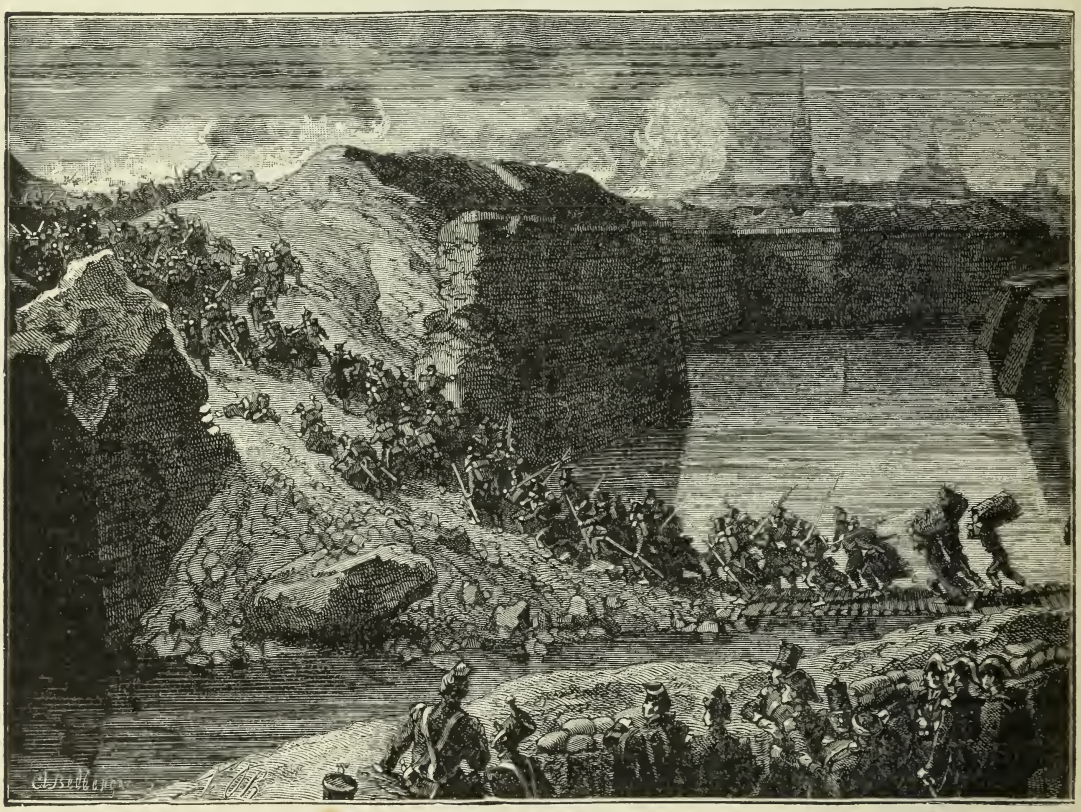
In Flanders the Duke of Parma continued his conquests. One place after another was wrested from the patriots until only three Flemish towns remained in their possession. Still the cause was not extinguished, and one revolt rose upon the heels of another. Not the loss of their cities, however, not the 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 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 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 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



SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

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." Leicester 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 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 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.



JAN VAN OLDEN BARNEVELDT.

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 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 Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Baltic Sea
BLACK SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Ch.
Irish Sea
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Bergen
Falun
Opslo
Arboga
Upsala
Stockholm
Norkoping
Bahus
Gothland
Calmar
Helsingborg
Copenhagen
Lund
Elsinore
Rugen
Stralsund
Lubeck
Colberg
Danzig
Konigsberg
Libau
Memel
Thorn
Grodno
Warsaw
Lublin
Zamosk
Cracow
Lemberg
Breslau
Prague
Dresden
Leipzig
Lutzen
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Lutter
Hanover
Wittstock
Domitz
Hamburg
Bremen
Minden
Halle
Munster
Cologne
Aix
Liege
Utrecht
Amsterdam
Arnheim
Antwerp
Ghent
Arras
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Rouen
Paris
St Germain
Chartres
Vernours
Orleans
Blois
Amboise
Nevers
Bourges
Nantes
Mayenne
Richelieu
La Rochelle
Jarnac
Cognac
Bordeaux
Contras
Bergerac
Montauban
Toulouse
Bayonne
Pau
Navarre
Guetaria
Bilbao
Oviedo
Coruna
Burgos
Tordesillas
Escurial
Madrid
Saragossa
Catalonia
Barcelona
Rosas
Tarragona
Tortosa
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Ivica
Murcia
Cartagena
Almeria
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Toledo
Alcazar
Badajos
Andalusia
Guadiana R.
Tagus R.
Lisbon
Oporto
Coimbra
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Pyrenees
Languedoc
Garonne R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Rhine R.
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
Pripet R.
Dwina R.
Niemen R.
Don R.
Volga R.
Oka R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Bug R.
Dnieper R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Theiss R.
Save R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Jordan R.
Nile R.
Thames R.
Severn R.
Humber R.
The Wash
Sole B.
Dublin
Drogheda
Limerick
Kinsale
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Marston Moor
York
Preston
Worcester
Nageby
London
Tonbridge
Sedgemoor
Dartmouth
Plymouth
Brest
Quiberon B.
Rochefort
Oleron I.
Re I.
Biscay B.
Finland
Lapland
Livonia
Courland
Lithuania
Prussia
Poland
Ukraine
Cossacks
Crimea
Tartary
Russia
Moskow
Tver
Smolensk
Polotz
Pskow
Novgorod
Lake Ilmen
Lake Ladoga
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
Gulf of Bothnia
Archangel
Vologda
Volga R.
Saratov
Simbirsk
Woronesch
Tula
Hungary
Transylvania
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bessarabia
Servia
Bosnia
Croatia
Dalmatia
Styria
Carinthia
Tyrol
Switzerland
Bohemia
Moravia
Silesia
Austria
Vienna
Ratisbon
Nuremburg
Heidelberg
Frankfort
Mayence
Treves
Metz
Strasbourg
Augsburg
Ulm
Munich
Basle
Berne
Geneva
Lyons
Avignon
Marseilles
Nice
Toulon
Corsica
(to Genoa)
Sardinia
Elba
Rome
Florence
Genoa
Milan
Mantua
Modena
Ferrara
Venice
Padua
Verona
Trent
Inspruck
Gulf of Venice
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Tuscany
Church States
Naples
Cerignola
Gaeta
Benevento
Barletta
KDM. NAPLES AND SICILY
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Malta
Algiers
Oran
Bona
Tunis
Mellilla
Tangiers
Ceuta
Fez
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Barbary States
Mediterranean Sea
Ionian Islands
Corfu
Zante
Cephalonia
Santa Maura
Ithaca
Dulichium
Lepanto
Patras
Morea
Athens
Navarino
Negropont
Candia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Smyrna
Satalia
Adana
Aleppo
Rakka
Damascus
Constantinople
Adrianople
Gallipoli
Sea of Marmora
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sinope
Trebizond
Tokat
Varna
Silistria
Braila
Bucharest
Widdin
Jaicza
Belgrade
Essek
Temesvar
Mohacz
Buda
Raab
Waitzen
Tokay
Cassovia
Presburg
Olmutz
Gr. Pr. Transylvania
Carpathian Mts
Turkish Empire
Polish Empire
Russian Empire
Kdm. Hungary
Kdm. Bohemia
Kdm. Denmark
Kdm. Sweden
Kdm. Portugal
Spanish Monarchy
Kdm. Naples and Sicily
Kdm. Poland
Kdm. Prussia
Kdm. Livonia
Kdm. Lithuania
Kdm. Finland
Kdm. Gothland
Kdm. Norway
Kdm. Scotland
Kdm. England
Kdm. France
Kdm. Navarre
Kdm. Arragon
Kdm. Castile
Kdm. Leon
Kdm. Andalusia
Kdm. Granada
Kdm. Algiers
Kdm. Tunis
Kdm. Fez
Kdm. Morocco
Kdm. Tartary
Kdm. Cassan
Kdm. Astrachan
Kdm. Siberia
Kdm. Circassia
Kdm. Georgia
Kdm. Armenia
Kdm. Persia
Kdm. Mesopotamia
Kdm. Arabia
Kdm. Egypt
Kdm. Abyssinia
Kdm. Nubia
Kdm. Barbary
Kdm. Tripoli
Kdm. Algiers
Kdm. Tunis
Kdm. Fez
Kdm. Morocco

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 Librum* or *Free Sea*, in which he had advanced and defended the monstrous doctrine 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 CIV.—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 ascendency. Before the House of Bourbon could secure a recognition 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 devasted 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 correspondenee 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 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.

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. Learning 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



DESTRUCTION OF HEIDELBERG.

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, Hamburg, 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 Hanseatic 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 reïnforced 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 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.

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 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.



THE BRIDGE OF DESSAU.

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 unequaled, 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 citizens 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 erelong 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 Dantzic. 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 wel

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 conduct 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 ascendency 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'Ancre, 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'Ancre. 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 assassins, under the lead of an ingrate named De Luynes, whom D'Ancre 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, indeed, was banished for a season, first to Luçon 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 reïnstituted 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 Nuremburg 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 Nuremburg 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 Protestanism 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 Leipsic. 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 Neuville.

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 embassador 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 reïnforce 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-arising 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.



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 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 devastations 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 Bernhard, 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 Thüringia, he was soon reïnforced 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 unflagging 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 Cing-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 Ortalo. 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 Würtemberg. In the great battle of Freiburg, Turenne, after a three days' conflict, gained a victory over the Bavarians 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 reïnforced 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. 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 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.



DEATH OF RICHELIEU.

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 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 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 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

[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.

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 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 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 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 archbishoric of Bremen; a subsidy of five million rix dollars for the Swedish army, and six hundred thousand rix



FUGITIVE PEASANTS.—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

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 hinderance 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 incorporation 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

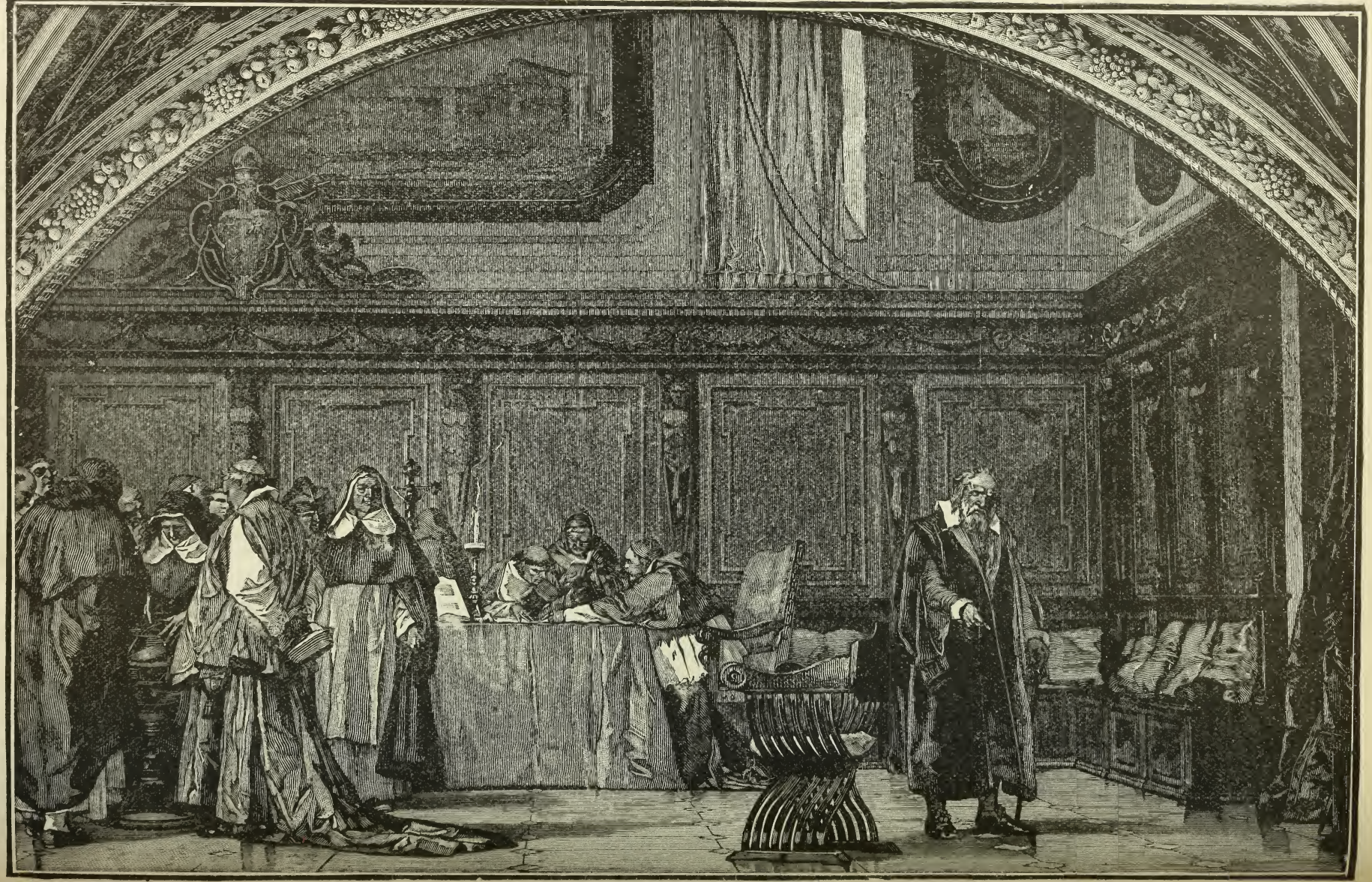
his professorship by the Venetian Senate, and his salary was increased to a thousand florins annually. In 1609 he began those experiments with lenses which presently led to the invention of the telescope. His first instrument was presented to the Doge of Venice, Leonardi Deodati, by whom it was tested 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.



INNOCENT X.

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 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 retiracy; 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 mouve*—"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 CV.—COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.



HILE 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-



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 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 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 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 Indian 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 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.



BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

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 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 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 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



MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS BY MELENDEZ.

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 Melendez knew precisely where to find them and how to compass their destruction.



ATAHUALLPA, INCA OF THE PERUVIANS.
After an old copperplate.

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 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 reïnforced 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 Peruvians 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-

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 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 he 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.

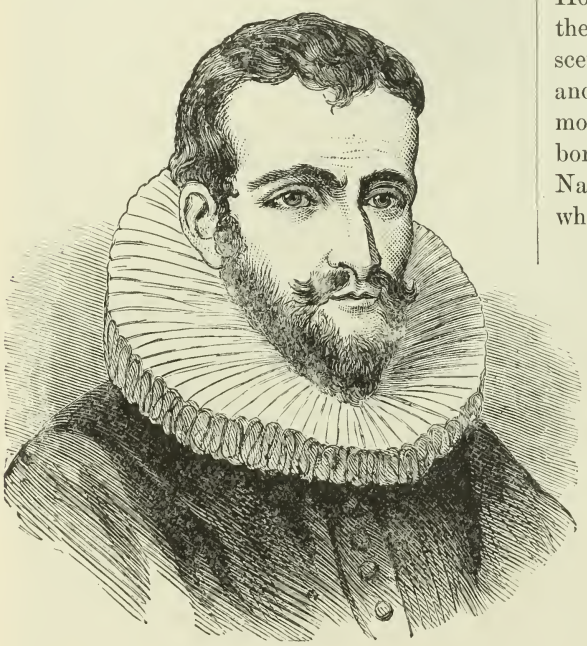
It was now the dead of winter. There was an incessant storm of sleet and snow, and the houseless immigrants, already enfeebled by their sufferings, fell a-dying of hunger, cold, and exposure. After a few days spent in explorations about the coast, a site was selected near the first landing, some trees 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 ravages 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 attention 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



THE MAYFLOWER AT SEA.

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 Netherlanders 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 environed with the terrors of winter in the frozen gulf of the North. With unfaltering 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 Christianson, 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. Thus 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 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 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.

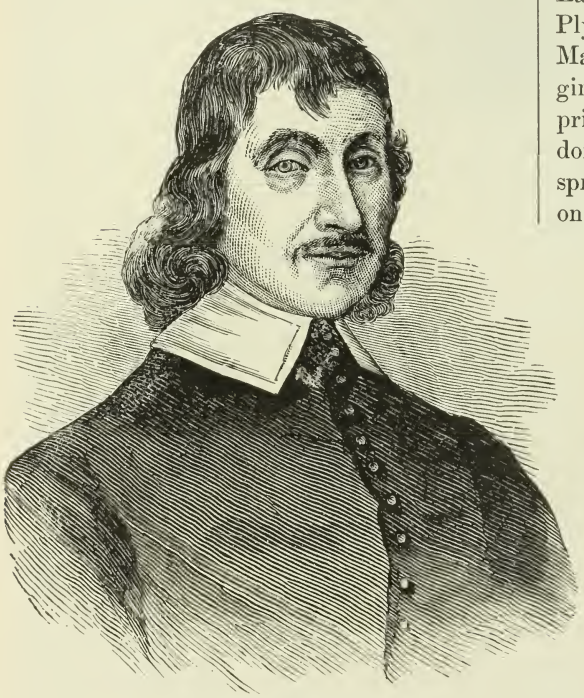
These assertions raised such a storm in court that Williams was condemned for heresy and banished from the colony. In the dead of winter he left home and became an exile in the desolate forest. For fourteen weeks he wandered on through the snow, sleeping at night on the ground or in a hollow tree, living 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



PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING GOOD HOPE.

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



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 its purest forms; 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 Cocheco, 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

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.



RECEPTION OF ROGER WILLIAMS BY THE INDIANS.

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 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 wellfare 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 carefuly 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 Roanoke 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 com-

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 considerable 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 Saumur; 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 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."



WILLIAM PENN.
From the painting in possession of the Penn. Historical Society.

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



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.

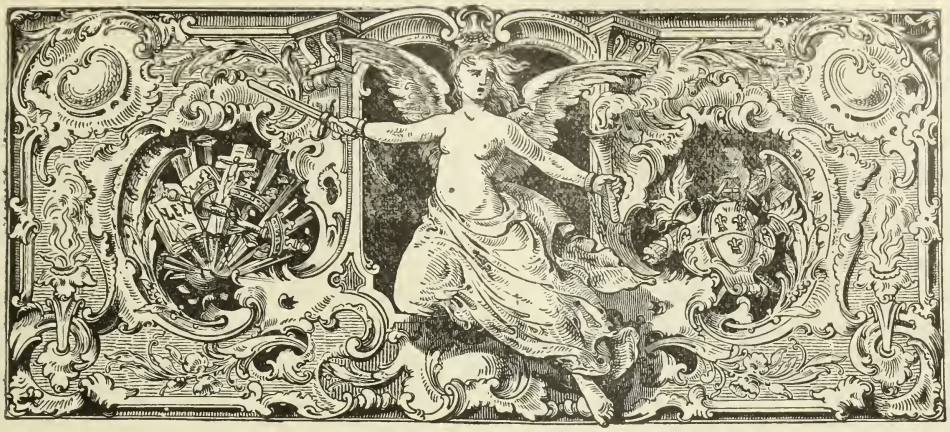
By the middle of November a hundred and twenty emigrants were ready to sail for the New World. Oglethorpe, like the elder Winthrop, determined to share the dangers and hardships of his colony. In January of 1733, the company was welcomed at Charleston. The vessels anchored at Beaufort, while the governor, with a few companions, ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and selected as the 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.



MATTHEWS, NORTHRUP & CO., SC.. BUFFALO. N. Y.



Book Eighteenth.

The English Revolution.

Chapter CVI.—First Two Stuarts.

THE caption of the present Book was selected because the English Revolution was *a part of a general movement.* The religious Reformation in the sixteenth century was followed by the political Reformation in the seventeenth. The destruction of the absolute domination of the papal hierarchy was succeeded after an interval by the destruction of the equally absolute domination of the secular rulers.

The true center of the Reformation of religious society was, as we have seen, in Germany; and from that center the movement spread like a wave on the sea until every nation of christendom rose and fell with the pulsations of the tide. The center of the Reformation of political society was in England, and from that center likewise the revolutionary influence was spread abroad until sooner or later the old theory of government was destroyed or modified in every civilized state of the world. It is therefore appropriate, under the general caption of THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION, to take a survey of the whole movement, first in the country of its origin and afterwards in the other kingdoms affected by its influence. This plan will bring us at the beginning to consider the reigns of the first two Stuart kings of England.

Before entering, however, upon the narrative of events consequent upon the accession of the House of Stuart it will be appropriate to notice briefly some of the general reasons why the revolution and reconstruction of political society began *in England* sooner than on the continent. In many respects England was undoubtedly less progressive, even less liberal, than the states beyond the Channel. France was greatly her superior in general culture. Italy, by her art, and Germany, by her schools, had far surpassed the achievements of our ancestral Island. London, with her coarse, strong society, rudely clad, boisterous, dripping with perpetual fogs, could illy compare with the delights of Paris, the elegance of Vienna, or the busy marts of Amsterdam. Why, then, should this insular kingdom become first of all the arena in which was fought the prime great battle for political liberty?

Perhaps the first element in the answer to this question is found in the fact that in England absolute monarchy became systematic at an earlier date than elsewhere. The destruction of the feudal nobility in the Wars of the Roses left the institution of royal—we might say personal—government without a counterpoise. From this circumstance absolutism grew and flourished. The Tudors became the most arbitrary of monarchs. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth swayed a real scepter, and the people cowered under their authority. By the times of James I. and Charles I. the growing desire for political freedom—a feeling manifested at that epoch both in England and on the continent—was more repressed, or at any rate the repression was more seriously felt in England than in those countries in which monarchy had not been so systematically developed.

Again: the fact that in England the Reformation had been accomplished by the kings and nobles rather than by popular leaders, and the additional fact that the new system of religion was more nearly like that of Rome than in any other kingdom, left the real reformatory impulse but half appeased; insomuch that when the desire for political freedom was once manifested, a strong party of popular religionists was already prepared to join hands and fortunes with the political agitators against the government which stood as the champion of absolute authority in the state and of conservatism in the Church.

But the great fact which tended to bring about the political reform in England at an earlier date than on the continent was the growth and development of the House of Commons. "In the course of the sixteenth century," says Guizot, "the commercial prosperity of England had increased with amazing rapidity, while during the same time much territorial wealth, much baronial property had changed hands. The numerous divisions of landed property, which took place during the sixteenth century, in consequence of the ruin of the feudal nobility, and from various other causes which I can not now stop to enumerate, form a fact which has not been sufficiently noticed. A variety of documents prove how greatly the number of landed properties increased; the estates going generally into the hands of the gentry, composed of the lesser nobility, and persons who had acquired property by trade. The high nobility, the House of Lords, did not, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nearly equal in riches the House of Commons. There had taken place, then, at the same time in England a great increase in wealth among the industrious classes, and a great change in landed property. While these two facts were being accomplished there happened a third—a new march of mind.

"The reign of Queen Elizabeth must be regarded as a period of great literary and philosophical activity in England, a period remarkable for bold and pregnant thought; the Puritans followed, without hesitation, all the consequences of a narrow but powerful creed; other intellects, with less morality but more freedom and boldness, alike regardless of principle or system, seized with avidity upon every idea which seemed to promise some gratification to their curiosity, some food for their mental ardor. And it may be regarded as a maxim, that wherever the progress of intelligence is a true pleasure, a desire for liberty is soon felt; nor is it long in passing from the public mind to the state."

When from her dying couch the great Elizabeth indicated James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots, as her choice for the succession, there was little doubt that that choice would be ratified. The family of Henry VIII. was extinct. While Elizabeth trifled with her lovers, she also trifled away her day of grace so far as motherhood was concerned, and at last she awoke to the fact that her father's House was doomed to perish with herself. In the last hour she made some amends to the shade of Mary Stuart by naming her son for the throne of England. Albeit, the act was one of necessity; for there was none other who could well compete with James for the dignity of the English crown.

Thus, in the year 1603, was accomplished the plan long entertained and often thwarted of uniting the two crowns of England and Scotland. That measure had been a favorite scheme of Edward III. The Lancastrian kings had cherished it. Henry VIII. had labored to effect it. Now, by a process almost

independent of the will of man, the work was done, and the whole island was united under a single sovereignty.

The qualities of the father and the mother were never more strangely blended than in James Stuart. His character was a mixture of contradictory traits and impulses. The vanity, pride, and shrewdness of Mary, thoroughly French in her dispositions, were transmitted to her son, and the dull folly and commonplace mediocrity of Lord Darnley were in like manner a part of James's inheritance. He was more learned than most of the kings of his age, and possessed a certain sagacity uncommon among monarchs of the time; but his learning he made ridiculous by pedantic displays, and his sagacity was generally shown in taking advantage of his subjects.



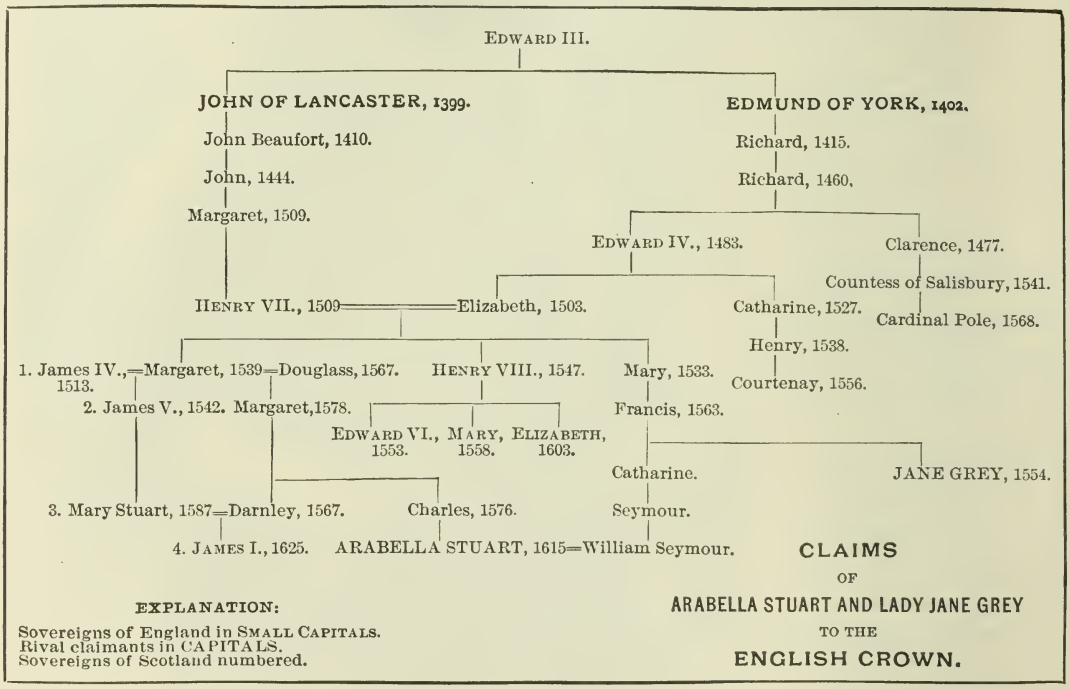
JAMES I.

Most of these qualities were exceedingly distasteful to the rough-and-ready English. To them the king's awkward person, uncouth demeanor, and broad Scotch accent were especially disagreeable. Nor did the coarse manners and unprepossessing appearance of Queen Anne, daughter of the king of Denmark, in any wise improve the reputation of the new court. Alas, the difference between *this* and the majestic splendor of the stately Elizabeth! *She* was a queen indeed, and her court shone like a new morn risen on noonday.

On his accession, James was thirty-seven years old. By his queen he was the father of three children: Prince Henry, now nine years of age; Elizabeth, seven; and Charles, four. The king brought with him into England his Scottish favorites—nobles and lords anxious to seize what honors and emoluments soever might be gained from the displaced pensioners of Elizabeth's bounty. In this respect, however, the conduct of James was fairly prudent; for he took care to retain many, perhaps a majority, of the ministers of the Maiden Queen. Among those so kept in authority was Robert Cecil, who was promoted to the barony of Essendine, then to the viscounty of Cranborne, and finally, in 1605, to the earldom of Salisbury. Such was the shrewdness of this minister, especially in the matter of discovering plots and intrigues, that the king was wont to call him "my little beagle." On the other hand, James at once

recalled and reïnstated the deposed family of Lord Howard, whose distresses had resulted from the adherence of that nobleman to the cause of Mary Stuart.

It was not long after the accession of King James until a plot was discovered to dethrone him and confer the crown on Lady Arabella Stuart. This distinguished personage was the daughter of a brother of Lord Darnley, and therefore first cousin to the king. She thus stood in precisely the same relation of descent from Henry VII. as did James himself. Her mother was an English lady of the family of Cavendish, and might therefore be well confidently believed that, remembering the sorrows and death of his mother, he would espouse the cause for which she died. and do his best to plant again the ancient faith in the Island. But in this expectation they were greatly disappointed. James proved to be thoroughly Protestant. He stoutly maintained the existing religious status and refused to countenance any movement towards a restoration of the ancient *régime*. At this the Catholics were profoundly exasperated. In 1604 the feeling among them became so intense that the celebrated, though infamous, scheme known as the GUNPOWDER PLOT was



compared by the anti-Scot party with Mary Stuart. Lady Arabella, however, was not *particeps* in the movement by which she was to be raised to the throne. Indeed, she was kept in ignorance of the conspiracy. As soon as the same was divulged the authorities, under the lead of Cecil, hunted down the plotters, and three of them were executed. Sir Walter Raleigh, a long-time rival of Cecil, was condemned to die, but the sentence was commuted by the king into imprisonment for life.

The Catholic party in England and Scotland had looked forward with eager anticipation to the accession of King James; for they concocted with a view to wreaking a signal vengeance on the king and his Protestant supporters.

It appears that the great plot was first conceived by Lords Catesby and Percy, two Catholic nobles of high rank, who gave way to vindictive passion and mutually drew from each other in a heated conversation an expression of a willingness to resort to assassination in order to secure what they could not gain by honorable means. It was agreed to destroy both the king and parliament! Never was there a scheme more cold-blooded in its conception. The plot contemplated the laying of a train of gunpowder under the Parliament

House, and then, when circumstances should favor, of blowing the whole establishment, king, lords, and Commons, into indiscriminate destruction. Catesby and Percy, having once formed this purpose, looked around for confederates. As the proper person to execute the prodigious tragedy they selected a certain Guy Fawkes, at that time serving in the Spanish army in Flanders. Nor can it be doubted that their selection was made with care; for Fawkes was a man capable both by nature and daring experience for any enterprise. A few other trusted spirits, to the number of about twenty, were taken into the conspiracy, and the plot was carefully laid in all of its particulars.

In the course of the summer the managers succeeded in hiring a house adjacent to that of Parliament. From the cellar of this building it was proposed to dig through into the basement of the Parliament House, and thus gain an easy access to the place where the powder was to be deposited. Much labor was required to cut through the nine-foot wall on which the great building was reared; and before this work could be effected it was found that the very basement into which the conspirators desired to gain an entrance was for rent. Lord Percy accordingly hired that apartment, and thirty-six barrels of powder were stored therein. Upon this was thrown a heap of rubbish and billets of wood.

It was the plan of the conspirators to carry their work into execution in May of 1605. Fawkes was to fire the train. It was reckoned that Henry, prince of Wales, would in all probability be present at the opening of Parliament and would perish in the common ruin. Prince Charles was to be seized and carried into the country, and the Princess Elizabeth, then at Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, was also to be made a prisoner. A general rising of the Catholics was to follow, and it was hoped that English Protestantism might be thus stamped out in blood.

It happened, however, that Parliament was several times prorogued, and the meeting of that body was finally set for the 5th of November. In the mean time the conspirators were troubled with a question which, it seems, had not occurred to them at the beginning. Many of the members of Parliament were Catholics, and these, if the programme should be carried out, must be destroyed with the rest. A disagreement thus arose among the plotters, some of whom were anxious to save the Catholic lords from the common ruin. It was agreed that the latter *ought* to be warned of the impending catastrophe; but how to do so without endangering the whole scheme was a source of much embarrassment. Nor could any satisfactory conclusion be reached by the conspirators. Things were, in a measure, left to take their own course.

A few days before the opening of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic and friend of several of the leaders in the plot, received an anonymous letter, warning him in ambiguous terms not to be present at the opening of the session; "for," said the missive, "they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament." The writer of this letter was not known; but Francis Tresham, one of the confederates of Catesby, was suspected of the authorship. Be that as it may, the tone and character of the letter were such as to arouse Lord Monteagle's suspicions, and he carried the communication to Lord Salisbury, who in his turn laid it before the king. After a conference of the three the conviction grew that the letter was more than a mere menace. It was resolved to take every precaution against the threatened but still unseen disaster. In these days Robert Winter, one of the conspirators, received a warning to save himself, as the plot was discovered. Tresham informed Catesby and the others that all was known, and advised them to leave the country. But the conspirators stood their ground, refusing to believe that any of their number had proved traitor. Fawkes especially displayed no sign of trepidation. With a coolness and courage worthy of the greatest cause, he remained at his post in the vault, and awaited the hour when he should light the train.

Thus matters stood on the 4th of November, the day before the opening of Parliament. On that day the Lord Chamberlain, as was his duty, went through the Parliament House to see that every thing was in readiness. Going into the basement, he came upon Fawkes, whom he describes as a "very tall and desperate fellow," whose actions, though fearless, excited the officer's suspicions. His attention

was also caught by the great pile of wood, under which was hidden the barrels of powder. Going to the king, the Chamberlain told him of what he had seen, and Sir Thomas Knevet, magistrate of Westminster, was sent



PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

to search the premises. The latter went to his duty just before midnight, and when about to enter the basement, met Fawkes stepping out of the door. The powerful conspirator was seized and bound with his own garters. In his possession were found a tinder-box and touch-wood. Entering the cellar and throwing aside the wood, the magistrate discovered the powder, and the whole plot was out. Fawkes, without any show of concealment or sign of terror, at once avowed his purpose, and told his captors that had he been within when about to be taken, he would have buried them and himself in a common ruin.

As soon as the danger was over Fawkes was taken into the king's presence at White-


Pentland Firth
Dunnet Hd.
Stroma I.
Duncansby Hd.
Cape Wrath
Butt of Lewis
Roma Lighthouse 40 miles N.E.
Far ont Hd.
Kyle of Durness
L. Eriboll
Whiten Hd.
Kyle of Tongue
Strathy Pt.
Dunnet
Castleton
Kelss
Thurso
Reay
Halkirk
Sinclair B.
Noss Hd.
L. Watten
Wick
Pulteneytown
Ulbster
Clyth
Latheron
Lybster
CAITHNESS
Berriedale
Helmsdale
Port Gower
Brora
Golspie
Dornoch
Dornoch Firth
Tarbat Ness
Portmahomack
Moray Firth
Findhorn
Burghead
Lossiemouth
Elgin
Forres
Kinloss
Nairn
Cawdor
Rothes
Fochabers
Banff
Macduff
Troup Hd.
Aberdour
Rosehearty
Kinnaird Hd.
Fraserburgh
Rattray Pt.
Gardenstown
New Pitsligo
Cuminestown
Strichen
St. Fergus
Peterhead
Buchan Ness
Turriff
New Deer
Keith
Huntly
Forgue
Dufftown
Fyvie
Ellon
Inverury
Old Meldrum
Collieston
Newburgh
Aberdeen
Old Aberdeen
Girdleness
Woodside
Kintore
Monymusk
Alford
Kincardine O'Neil
Aboyne
Banchory
Finzean
Durris
Ballater
Braemar
Crathie
Balmoral Cas.
Stonehaven
Dunnotar Cas.
Inverness
Beauly
Muir of Ord
Dingwall
Fortrose
Cromarty
Cromarty Firth
Invergordon
Tain
Golspie
Dornoch
Bonar Bridge
Ardgay
Lairg
Loch Shin
Loch Naver
Strath Naver
Strath Halladale
Tongue
Bettyhill
Loch Inchard
Loch Laxford
Kyle Scow
Stoir Pt.
Loch Eriboll
Loch Hope
Loch Loyal
Loch Eddrachillis
Loch Stack
Loch Assynt
Loch Inver
Enard B.
Summer Isles
Loch Broom
Gruinard B.
Little Loch Broom
Ullapool
Lochbroom
Poolewe
Gairloch
Loch Ewe
Loch Maree
Loch Torridon
Loch Carron
Strath Carron
Strath Bran
Strath Farrar
Strath Glass
Strathpeffer
Contin
Strathconon
Strathvaich
Scour Ennerdale
Scour Fiadh
Scour Mullin
Scour Lapie
Loch Luichart
Loch Fannich
Loch Glascarnoch
Loch Vaich
Loch Garve
Loch Achonachie
Loch Rannoch
Loch Achanalt
Loch Achilty
Loch Meig
Loch Orrin
Loch Ussie
Loch Kinellan
Loch Beannie
Loch Ruthven
Loch Duntelchaig
Loch Ness
Loch Dochfour
Loch Tarff
Loch Oich
Loch Lochy
Loch Arkaig
Loch Eil
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Awe
Loch Fyne
Loch Shiel
Loch Sunart
Loch Aline
Loch Don
Loch Buie
Loch Spelve
Loch Na Keal
Loch Scridain
Loch Tuath
Loch Staffin
Loch Snizort
Loch Portree
Loch Greshornish
Loch Bracadale
Loch Harport
Loch Eynort
Loch Boisdale
Loch Skiport
Loch Carnan
Loch Eriskay
Loch Barra
Loch Vatersay
Loch Stockinish
Loch Obisary
Loch Maddy
Loch Scadavay
Loch Langavat
Loch Hosta
Loch Roag
Loch Erisort
Loch Resort
Loch Tarbert
Loch Seaforth
Loch Shell
Loch Ruay
Loch Stornoway
Loch Broad Bay
Loch Eye Pen.
Loch Tiumpan Hd.
Loch Gallon Hd.
Loch Barvas
Loch Tolsta Hd.
Loch Grt. Bernera
Loch Flannan Is. or 7 Hunters
Loch Pabbay
Loch Berneray
Loch Sound of Harris
Loch Trotternish Pt.
Loch Aird Pt.
Loch Vatternish Pt.
Loch Monach Is.
Loch St. Kilda distant 40 miles west
Loch North Uist
Loch Benbecula
Loch South Uist
Loch Eriskay
Loch Barra I.
Loch Vatersay
Loch Saundray
Loch Pabbay
Loch Mingulay
Loch Barra Hd.
Loch Canna I.
Loch Soa I.
Loch Rum I.
Loch Eig I.
Loch Muck I.
Loch Ardnamurchan Pt.
Loch Sleat Pt.
Loch Sound of Sleat
Loch Sound of Barra
Loch Kyle Akin
Loch Kyle Scow
Loch Kyle of Durness
Loch Kyle of Tongue
Loch Caledonian Canal
Loch Glen Garry
Loch Glen Moriston
Loch Glen Urquhart
Loch Glen Affric
Loch Glen Cannich
Loch Glen Strathfarrar
Loch Glen Tilt
Loch Glen Feshie
Loch Glen Truim
Loch Glen Tromie
Loch Glen Garry
Loch Glen Spean
Loch Glen Roy
Loch Glen Turret
Loch Glen Almond
Loch Glen Lyon
Loch Glen Dochart
Loch Glen Falloch
Loch Glen Orchy
Loch Glen Etive
Loch Glen Shiel
Loch Glen Coe
Loch Glen Nevis
Loch Glen Finnan
Loch Glen Mallie
Loch Glen Pean
Loch Glen Dessary
Loch Glen Roy
Loch Glen Spean
Loch Glen Glo


MAP XVIII.
SCOTLAND
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Railways shown thus —— Heights of Mountains in Feet
Towns of over 100,000 in caps thus GLASGOW &c.
from 50,000 to 100,000 underlined
from 10,000 to 50,000 thus....
County Towns.....
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH CHANNEL
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
Solway Firth
ARGYLE
PERTH
FIFE
KINROSS
STIRLING
DUMBARTON
RENFREW
EDINBURGH
HADDINGTON
BERWICK
LANARK
PEEBLES
SELKIRK
ROXBURGH
AYR
DUMFRIES
KIRKCUDBRIGHT
WIGTOWN
CANTYRE
ARRAN
BUTE
JURA
SLAY
MULL
Tiree I.
Coll I.
Colonsay
Oronsay
Iona
Staffa
Oban
Appin
Mortern
Kilmaluag
Scarba I.
Gigha I.
Rhynns Pt.
Mull of Oe
Campbelton
Pladda I.
Mull of Cantyre
Sanda I.
Ailsa Craig 1097
Malin Hd.
Rathlin I.
Londonderry
Lough Foyle
Corsewall Pt.
Larne
Belfast Lough
BELFAST
Donaghadee
Port Patrick
Kirkmaiden
Mull of Galloway
Burrow Head
Wigtown Bay
Luce Bay
Glenluce
Wigtown
Newton Stewart
Stranraer
Castle Douglas
Creetown
Gatehouse
Kirkcudbright
Dalbeattie
Carlisle
Silloth
Annan
Dumfries
Lockerbie
Moffat
Beattock
Thornhill
Sanquhar
Kilmarnock
Ayr
Maybole
Girvan
Ballantrae
Stranraer
Greenock
Paisley
GLASGOW
Airdrie
Motherwell
Hamilton
Lanark
Douglas
Biggar
Peebles
Selkirk
Hawick
Jedburgh
Kelso
Coldstream
Berwick
Dunbar
North Berwick
Haddington
Edinburgh
Leith
Musselburgh
Dalkeith
Penicuik
Linlithgow
Falkirk
Stirling
Dunfermline
Kirkcaldy
Kinghorn
Burntisland
Queensferry
Perth
Dunkeld
Aberfeldy
Crieff
Auchterarder
Dunblane
Callander
Comrie
Methven
Scone
Kinross
Milnathort
Falkland
Markinch
Leslie
Cupar
Ceres
St.Andrews
Fife Ness
Crail
Kilrenny
Anstruther
Pittenweem
Isle of May
Elie
Earlsferry
Largo
Newburgh
Newport
Tay Bridge
Dundee
Arbroath
Auchmithie
Montrose
Brechin
Forfar
Kirriemuir
Alyth
Blairgowrie
Coupar Angus
Meigle
Newtyle
Dunkeld
Aberfeldy
Kenmore
Bankfoot
Buddon Ness
Bell Rock L.H.
Ferry Port on Craig
Tay Bridge
Firth of Tay
Firth of Forth
Inchkeith
Cockburnspath
St. Abbs Hd.
Eyemouth
Ayton
Chirnside
Duns
Whitadder R.
Greenlaw
Lauder
Earlston
Melrose
St.Boswells
Kelso
Tweedmouth
Berwick
Tweed R.
Till R.
Coquet R.
Braemoor
Yetholm
Jedburgh
Eckford
Denholm
Hawick
Selkirk
Galashiels
Melrose
Tweedbank
Abbotsford
Lasswade
Roslin
Penicuik
Dalkeith
Musselburgh
Prestonpans
Haddington
Dirleton
North Berwick
Dunbar
Tranent
Cockenzie
Port Seton
Longniddry
Aberlady
Gullane
Dirleton
North Berwick Law
Bass
Inchkeith
Leith
Granton
Queensferry
Cramond
Corstorphine
Slateford
Colinton
Juniper Green
Currie
Balerno
Lanark
Carstairs
Carnwath
Wiston
Biggar
Broughton
Moffat
Beattock
Lockerbie
Ecclefechan
Gretna Green
Longtown
Annan
Dumfries
Thornhill
Sanquhar
New Cumnock
Cumnock
Auchinleck
Mauchline
Catrine
Ochiltree
Cumnock
Dalmellington
Patna
Dalrymple
Ayr
Prestwick
Troon
Irvine
Kilwinning
Stevenston
Saltcoats
Ardrossan
Largs
Fairlie
Dalry
Kilbirnie
Beith
Lochwinnoch
Barrhead
Neilston
Paisley
Renfrew
Johnstone
Greenock
Gourock
Wemyss Bay
Rothesay
Inch Marnock
Port Bannatyne
Kames
Tighnabruaich
Colintraive
Port Askaig
Bowmore
Port Ellen
Port Charlotte
Portnahaven
Machrihanish
Campbeltown
Tarbert
Lochgilphead
Kilmartin
Kilmichael
Ardrishaig
Crinan
Oban
Kerrera I.
Dunstaffnage
Connel
Ballachulish
Kinlochleven
Fort William
Corpach
Banavie
Caledonian Canal
Inverness
Nairn
Forres
Elgin
Lossiemouth
Buckie
Cullen
Portsoy
Banff
Macduff
Fraserburgh
Peterhead
Aberdeen
Stonehaven
Montrose
Arbroath
Carnoustie
Broughty Ferry
Dundee
Tay Bridge
Newport
Wormit
Tayport
Leuchars
Guardbridge
St.Andrews
Crail
Anstruther
Pittenweem
Elie
Earlsferry
Largo
Lower Largo
Upper Largo
Kirkcaldy
Dysart
Burntisland
Kinghorn
Aberdour
Inverkeithing
Dunfermline
Rosyth
Charlestown
Limekilns
Culross
Torryburn
Kincardine
Alloa
Clackmannan
Tillicoultry
Dollar
Muckhart
Auchterarder
Crieff
Comrie
Callander
Aberfoyle
Port of Menteith
Lake of Menteith
Inchmahome
Inchtalla
Inchmaholme
Inchcailloch
Inchmurrin
Inchlonaig
Inchfad
Inchcruin
Inchtavannach
Inchcailloch
Balmaha
Rowardennan
Drymen
Killearn
Strathblane
Milngavie
Bearsden
Clydebank
Dumbarton
Helensburgh
Garelochhead
Arrochar
Tarbet
Inveruglas
Ardlui
Crianlarich
Tyndrum
Bridge of Orchy
Glencoe

hall. He answered all questions with a careless and sarcastic indifference that astonished the hearers. Not a word would he say, however, to implicate any one but himself. But the nerves of the others were not equal to the shock of discovery. They fled into the country, where a meeting of the Catholic gentry had been called under pretense of a hunting party. Thither they were hotly pursued, and all were either killed or taken. Those captured were subjected to several examinations, but nothing of importance could be elicited. Fawkes was tortured, but his iron will could not be broken. All the plotters were condemned at a formal trial on the 27th of January, 1606. The sentence was that they be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Three days afterwards Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Lord Grant, and a certain Bates, servant of Catesby, were executed in the church-yard of St. Paul's. On the following day Thomas Winter, the noblemen Rookwood and Keyes, and Guy Fawkes himself were put to death at Westminster. Fawkes was the last to ascend the scaffold. Though tottering from the effects of torture and sickness, he met his doom without a shudder, and left behind what is, perhaps, the most noted example on record of a courageous conspirator facing the final ordeal.

Great was the excitement throughout the kingdom. The rage of the people rose to the highest pitch, and many would fain have fallen upon and destroyed every papist in England. It was, however, greatly to James's credit that he refused to countenance the persecution of any who were not manifestly engaged in the plot. The only apology which Catholic writers have been able to invent is couched in the theory that the whole Gunpowder Plot was a fiction and ruse invented by Cecil to create sentiment against the papal party and sympathy for the House of Stuart.

With the accession of James I. the union of the *crowns* of England and Scotland was effected; but the union of the two kingdoms was a work of more difficult accomplishment. For the latter movement implied the bringing into one assembly of the English and Scottish Parliaments; and this measure was of course resisted by the long-standing and inveterate prejudices and hatreds of the two peoples. At the first, the whole power of the crown was exerted unsuccessfully to bring about the desired result. The policy of the king was most seriously resisted by his own subjects of the North; for a great deal of the existing legislation of England had been of a sort to excite the animosity of the Scots, and the removal of the court from Edinburgh to London added to their jealousy and discontent.

Defeated in his project of consolidating his kingdoms, James next turned his attention to such measures as were calculated to fill his treasury. His scale of expenditure was altogether greater than good economy or proper political sagacity would indicate. Deficient in the ways and the means of legitimate money-making, he resorted to the sale of fictitious dignities. Titles were distributed to those who could purchase them. The title of *Baronet* was invented with the especial design of adding to the king's revenues; and he could obtain it who could produce the requisite thousand pounds.

In the early years of James's reign the court and country were constantly distracted by the jealousies, quarrels, and intrigues of the royal favorites. It was in the king's nature and practice to choose from among the courtiers some one upon whom he might center his affections and bestow his extravagant favors. It was thus that Robert Carr, a Scottish youth of some distinction, became conspicuous as the object of the king's idolatry. One honor followed another until at last Carr was created Earl of Somerset. He then sought to marry the Countess of Essex, but was strongly advised against that step by the wise Sir Thomas Overbury. At this the favorite was so much incensed that he procured the imprisonment of Sir Thomas and soon afterward became privy to the taking-off of that nobleman by poison. Carr and the countess were then married; but she soon proved to be Jezebel *rediviva*, and he fell into a miserable melancholy. It afterwards transpired that the twain had been guilty of the murder of Overbury, and they were accordingly tried and driven into banishment.

The year 1613 was marked by the deaths of Henry, prince of Wales, and Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, the great minister whom James had inherited from the court of Eliza-

beth. Neither could well be spared; for the English people, by no means attached to the cold and unambitious James, were enthusiastically devoted to his promising and aspiring son. As for Cecil, he was undoubtedly one of the ablest ministers of his times, and his methods were just sufficiently unscrupulous to make him a power among a people whose estimate of success and brilliancy has always made them blind to the faults of a favorite, except when they were laboring under some temporary inflammation of conscience.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The death of Salisbury was the signal for a liberation from a thirteen years' imprisonment of his old-time rival, Sir Walter Raleigh. It was in keeping with the meanness of the age that the mandate for his freedom was issued by the king in the hope of profit; for Raleigh was said to have knowledge of a gold mine in Guiana, and thither the long-imprisoned nobleman was sent, with the still uncanceled sentence of death behind him. Sir Walter was given command of a small fleet, manned by a company of reckless adventurers who were for gold or nothing. Sailing into the Orinoco, a landing was made; but the expedition in search of a gold mine proved abortive. An attack was made upon a Spanish settlement, and Raleigh's son was killed in the onset. The band then became mutinous, and Sir Walter was obliged to return to England. An inquiry into his conduct found him guilty, as a matter of course, for he had been unsuccessful; and the king gave his consent that the long-suspended sentence should be carried into execution. This shocking decision was accordingly fulfilled, and Raleigh was beheaded on the 20th of October, 1618. Of all the great lights that had shone in the sky of the Elizabethan Age only Sir Francis Bacon now remained.

This man of remarkable genius, made by nature for the solution of the highest problems of philosophy, had long been kept in the background by the Cecils, his kinsmen; for they knew that his extraordinary powers would shine in affairs of state to the partial or total eclipse of their own luster. After the death of the younger Burleigh, however, Bacon was promoted to the highest dignity. In June of 1616 he was made a privy councilor, and on the 5th of March in the following year was appointed to the chancellorship, with the title of Lord Keeper of the Seal. Two months later he took his seat in the Court of Chancery, and such was the vigor and energy with which he entered upon his duties that in less than a month he was enabled to report to Lord Buckingham that he had cleared off all the outstanding causes in his court.

In the year 1618 Bacon was made Baron Verulam, and in January of 1621 the title of Viscount St. Alban was added. In the mean time he published his celebrated work, the *Novum Organum*, by which his reputation as one of the most profound thinkers of the world was established, not only for his own age, but for all posterity. Doubtless, the fame which Bacon thus acquired, and the influence which he wielded in the state, conduced more to his downfall than did the

accusations which were trumped up against him. Charges were brought forward to the effect that, while occupying the bench in the Court of Chancery, he had acted corruptly, had received bribes, and in other ways left an indelible stain on the judicial ermine. The facts were, that up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the court practices of England had been any thing else than pure; that most of the offices of the crown were venal; that suits in Chancery had, as a rule, been as much influenced by corrupt inducements as by legal principles, and that, of all the chancellors which had held that court since the times of Henry VIII., Bacon himself was the justest judge. Nevertheless, the temper of the age was changed. England had one of her periodic inflammations of the conscience. Dissatisfied with peace and unable to persuade the plodding king to go to war, the Parliament appeared to gloat over the prospect of excitement furnished by the overthrow of Bacon.

On the 14th day of March, 1621, a certain Aubrey appeared before the bar of the House and charged Lord Bacon with having received from him a sum of money, while his cause was pending in the chancellor's court, and with afterwards having decided the cause against him. Then came another by the name of Egerton, and preferred a similar accusation. A committee was appointed to investigate these charges, and the result was the presentation of articles of impeachment. In his reply Bacon presented an analysis of the various circumstances under which a judge might receive benefits from those who had had matters in his court; and as this, his answer, is the real basis of a decision of the accusations against Bacon and his memory, the same is here inserted: "The first," says he, "[is] of bargain and contract for reward to pervert justice while a cause is pending. The second [instance is] where the judge conceives the cause to be at an end, by the information of the party or otherwise, and useth not such diligence as he ought to inquire of it. And the third, where the cause is really ended and it is without fraud, without relation to any preceding promise. For the first of these, I take myself to be as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent's Day, in my heart. For the second, I doubt on some particulars I may be faulty. And for the last, I conceive it to be no fault, but therein I desire to be better informed, that I may be twice penitent—once for the fact and again for the error."

All the subsequent facts which have been developed in the controversy relative to the guilt or innocence of Bacon may be readily harmonized with this, his own theory of the case. Nevertheless, Parliament, in its passing gust of virtue, well pleased to have found so illustrious a victim of its rage, proceeded to pass sentence upon him. He was condemned to a fine of forty thousand pounds and to imprisonment in the Tower during the pleasure of the king. He was declared forever incapable of holding any office, place, or employment in the state, and was forbidden to sit in Parliament or come within the verge of the court. This severe sentence, however, was not rigorously enforced. The fine was virtually remitted by the king. The fallen chancellor's imprisonment lasted for four days, and a general pardon—not, of course, removing the censure of Parliament—was presently granted. But Bacon never recovered his standing in the state; and after a retirement of five years, passed in the industrious pursuits of literature, but not unhaunted by the ever-recurring hope of regaining his place among the great, he died at Lord Arundel's house, in London, on the 9th of April, 1626.

One of the principal causes of difference between King James and his Parliament related to the question of war. He was essentially a man of peace, nor could he be easily provoked from his habitual disposition. In 1619, just after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, he was strongly urged to interfere in that conflict. His daughter Elizabeth had been married to the elector of the Palatinate, and the king was solicited to take the part of his son-in-law in his break with Ferdinand II. It will be remembered that this elector was for a short time king of Bohemia, and that he lost that dubious distinction in the battle of Prague, in which he was overthrown by the Austrians. He then took refuge in Holland, and it was this condition of affairs that led Parliament to press upon the king the importance of restoring his son-in-law to the lost Palatinate.

But the unwarlike James was so averse to acts of hostility that he could not be induced to undertake the elector's cause. The English recruits that went into Holland did so of their own accord, and the king limited his endeavors to futile negotiations. In this work he even undertook to enlist the king of Spain; and in order to induce that monarch to second his plans, he proposed that Prince Charles should take in marriage the Spanish Infanta.



HENRIETTA MARIA.

To this proceeding the English people were especially averse. They had had enough of Spanish marriages in the times of Mary Tudor. But the king was set in his purpose, and the project was seconded by George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, then one of the most powerful ministers of the government. He proposed to James that Prince Charles should go into Spain and see and woo the princess for himself. And this half-romantic scheme was carried out. The event, however, did not answer to the expectation of the managers. For the prince, while passing incognito through Paris, attended a court ball, at which he saw the beautiful Henrietta Maria, daughter of the French king; and she, rather than the princess at the end of his journey, became the divinity of his dreams.

The Infanta was seen and that was all. The prince returned to England, and the proposed treaty with Spain was broken off. James yielded to the inevitable, and entered into ne-

gotiations with France. The history of his own life, and the more unhappy history of his mother's, had not been of a sort to encourage French alliances. But Charles, the heir apparent to the crown, had fallen deeply in love with the Princess Henrietta, and the father was obliged to assent to the marriage.

The king was at length driven against his wishes to send out an English army in aid of the elector palatine. The forces thus ordered into Germany were put under command of Count Mansfeld; but the latter was little successful in his struggle with the Imperial generals, and the expedition soon came to naught. A short time previously a body of six thousand English soldiers had been sent into the Netherlands to serve under Prince Maurice of Saxony. But that movement was also without any important results; nor could it have been expected that the military reputation of England would be enhanced under the auspices of a prince to whom war was utterly repugnant.

The reign of King James ended with the first quarter of the century. Before the arrangements were completed for the marriage of his son with the French princess, he fell under a malarial attack and was brought to his death. His last days were marked with more dignity than had characterized the principal acts of his life. He took a composed leave of his family, gave good counsel to Prince Charles, and on the 27th of March, 1625, died quietly in the palace of Theobalds, being in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

In a religious point of view, the most important event in the reign of James I. was the translation of the Bible into current English. The version thus produced in the year 1611 has, notwithstanding many blemishes and defects, held its own to the present day. The king appointed a commission of about fifty persons, to whom the work was intrusted. The men chosen were as learned as the age in which they lived, and the translation which they produced was as good as could have been made in their times. Following the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew original, they fell into many errors which a riper scholarship would have avoided; and the sterling language employed in the rendition, rather than accuracy of translation, has prevailed for more than two and a-half centuries to give to the "Bible of King James" a permanent hold on the affections of the English-speaking race.

Politically the kingdom made some progress. This was specially noticeable in the affairs of Ireland. Since the time of the Crusades that island had been miserably governed by the English. The Celts, still in the incipient stages of civilization, long subjugated by a stronger and more warlike people, had been horribly oppressed by their masters. The Tudors seemed to have looked upon the Irish as a race to be robbed and plundered at will. Nor did any English king until the accession of James attempt to alleviate the condition of the suffering half-barbarians of the west. His efforts to ameliorate the condition of Ireland, and to hasten the emergence of the island into fairer light and better condition, were in the highest measure commendable.

Charles I. was in the first flush of full manhood when called by his father's death to the throne of England. He was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, handsome in person, dignified in manners. He had in his constitution and character a certain mixture of Scotch austerity, with the suavity and gentleness peculiar to his grandmother, the Queen of Scots. His mind had been carefully cultivated, and his morals were better than the standard of the century. He is represented as having a melancholy expression of countenance, a kind of sadness of face and manner but little agreeable to the robust and hilarious English people. It was his misfortune to have a hasty temper, and his will was too easily swayed by the interested and scheming courtiers who flourished in the palace and at his council board.

It was easy to discover at the beginning of the new reign at least two conditions unfavorable to the peace of the kingdom. The first was the ascendency of the unprincipled Duke of Buckingham in the affairs of the state. To him the king seemed to surrender the entire management of the government. Nor could he perceive how great a drawback to his reign were the caprices, fickleness, and implacable hatreds of his favorite minister. In the second place, the queen greatly displeased the nation. Henrietta Maria brought with her to London not only the sunshine and gayety of

Paris, but the religion of the ancient Church. That she persisted in practicing openly, against the deep-seated prejudices of her subjects. It were hard to say whether the religious sentiment of England, now strongly inclining to Puritanism, was more offended at the gay and joyous court which the queen created around her, or at her adherence to the hated faith of the papacy. It was not difficult for the sunless Puritan of 1626 to discover more loveliness in the gloomy and vulgar Queen Anne, who had lately occupied the throne with James, than in the beautiful and accomplished Henrietta.



CHARLES I.
After the painting by Vandyke.

It was the peculiarity of the first two Stuart kings of England to speculate, speak, and write about those abstract questions of religion and politics which were just then beginning to stir to its depths the mind of England. Such a disposition is highly unfavorable to the success of kingly administration.

Government is preëminently a practical affair, and the theorist who is unwilling to learn the lesson of wisdom from passing events, as they rise and vanish in the commonplace drama ever enacting under his eyes, is least of all men fitted to manage successfully the public business of the state. Such a ruler is likely to undertake the impracticable, if not impossible, task of bending facts into conformity with preconceptions and theories true only in his own imagination. Of this kind was Charles Stuart, and in the end the disposition cost him most dearly. Particularly was this so in view of the fact that the English House of Commons had in the interval of peace become a powerful body, little disposed to be patient when crossed in its practical—perhaps its vulgar—adherence to business principles, or to listen with proper respect to the king's platitudes on matters concerning which the members knew little and cared nothing.

It appears that from the beginning of his reign Charles I. conceived it to be his business to reduce the House of Commons to its old-time subserviency; nor could he understand the changed condition of affairs which rendered it impossible for him to succeed in the undertaking. A great transformation had

taken place. The England of 1560, which could not think, or if it thought could find no organ by which to express its wishes and demands, had now found a tongue, and the king instead of welcoming this voice of the people and calling it to his aid adopted the theory of suppression as the best and only means of maintaining the ancient prerogatives of the English crown. The first year of his reign was for the most part spent in the foolish endeavor to reässert his sway over the Commons. Finding himself unable to accomplish this result he dissolved the Parliament, failing to perceive the inevitable assembling of another still more hostile to his purpose.

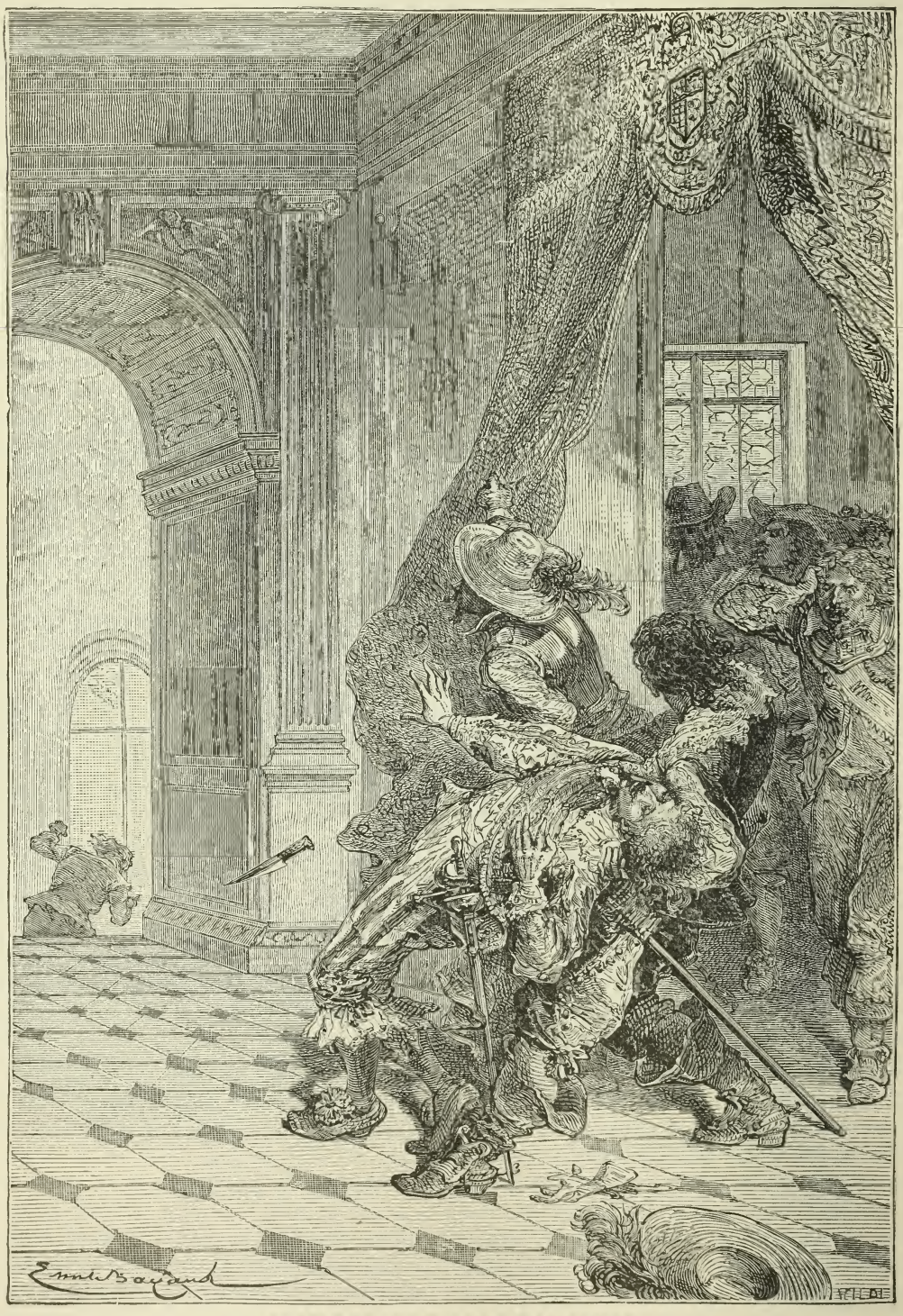
The unpopularity of the king and his government was still further heightened by the ill success which attended the military operations of the kingdom. Hoping to distract the attention of the people from their political griefs, and perhaps to ingratiate himself into public favor, Buckingham induced his master to go to war with France. In 1627 a large force of English troops was sent to the relief of the French Huguenots, then besieged at Rochelle. Buckingham took command in person, but his military abilities were in inverse ratio to his arrogance, and from the first the expedition was doomed to failure. Attempting to land on the Isle of Rhé he was repulsed with great loss. In the following year another campaign was planned, and the Duke of Buckingham went to Portsmouth to superintend the preparations. While engaged in this work he was hunted by a certain sour Puritan by the name of Felton, who imagined himself inspired to take Buckingham's life. After following the duke for some days he finally managed to get within striking distance and inflicted a fatal stab with a knife. "The villain has killed me," said the great Buckingham as he tottered and fell down dead. The assassin was soon seized, tried, and executed.

The death of his favorite minister made it necessary for the king to find some other pillar of support. In casting about for one on whom to bestow his confidence he at length selected Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, a man of great talents, iron will, and despotic opinions. At the same time Charles took into his favor William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was in religion a fitting counterpart of Strafford in politics. It was one of the greatest banes of Charles Stuart's career that he chose these two arbitrary and arrogant lords as the main props of his throne at a time when the premonitory shocks of a political earthquake were already felt in England.

The conduct of Laud was from the first of a sort to excite suspicion, distrust, hostility. It could but be perceived by any wise statesman that the edges of the established Church were everywhere crumbling away; and yet in the face of this fact, in the very front of the rising power of Puritanism, the archbishop adopted a series of measures well calculated to offend the religionists and drive them into open insurrection. He introduced into the services of the Church a number of ceremonies peculiar to Romanism, and took no pains to conceal his preference for those forms of worship which lay nearest to the ancient establishment.

Another and more serious cause of disagreement between the king and his people was discovered in the refusal of Parliament to grant to the monarch such supplies as he claimed for the support of the government. James I. had been notorious for his want of skill in managing the revenues of the kingdom. Charles had inherited a bankrupt treasury along with the crown of England, and though frugal himself, and in no wise disposed to excess in the expenditure of the public funds, he found himself constantly embarrassed for the want of money. Nor could he without frequent appeals to Parliament procure the necessary means for defraying the ordinary expenses of the government. This circumstance gave great advantage to the House of Commons in its contention with the king relative to his prerogatives. The sturdy and already half-republican members of that body refused to vote the needed supplies, or else granted them in so scanty a measure and so grudgingly as to taunt, menace, and provoke the king on each successive appeal. In this condition of affairs he chose to step beyond the well-established bounds of precedent, and attempted to do as if by his own right what was clearly within the province of Parliament.

It is appropriate in this connection to notice briefly an institution which for several centuries played a not unimportant part in the political history of England—that half-secret royal tribunal known as the Court of the Star Chamber. This body, from which so



MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

many abuses proceeded and to which history and popular tradition alike have given so bad a fame, dated back as far as the times of Edward III. It was at the first a kind of king's council, not identical, however, with the privy council or ordinary deliberative court upon which the English kings were wont to depend for advice. The Star Chamber—so-called from the gilded stars on the ceiling of the room in the palace of Westminster where the court was wont to sit—was a more private or personal court, to which the reigning sovereign was wont to look for a decision which was needed in an emergency to bolster up some royal act which had no other sanction.

In course of time this court, whose sittings were secret, became odious, and many statutes were passed abridging and restraining its actions. In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., when Parliament was at the lowest ebb of its influence, the Star Chamber was revived, and became, under the arbitrary management of the Tudors, an instrument most hateful for overthrowing the rising political liberties of England. Its scope seems to have been to inquire into every alleged misdemeanor for which the statute law had provided no adequate punishment. Such questions as corruption, breach of trust, malfeasance in office, attempts to commit felony, violations of royal edicts, and the like were heard and decided in the chamber, and its prerogative was soon extended to acts of disrespect to the state and persons in authority. Such an instrument was well suited to the dispositions of the Stuarts, and Charles I. made haste to avail himself of his secret court, and more than ever before to stretch its jurisdiction to new matters which he desired to control independently of Parliament. And such decisions as were rendered and exactions as were made were enforced with a rigor never before known in England.

In order to make up for deficiencies in the revenue the king also resorted to certain duties called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. The means derived from these sources had been hitherto granted, when granted at all, by special act of Parliament. Such an act, however, was now precisely what Charles could not obtain, and he undertook to collect the duties on his own authority, In the next place, he imposed a new tax known as *Ship-money*, by means of which he proposed to maintain the navy. Nor could it be denied that in the expenditure of the revenues thus illegally derived the king made some atonement—if such were possible—for the infraction of the laws. The English navy became more efficient than at any time since the high noon of Elizabeth. Nevertheless, the fact of the illegality remained, and it was certain that the Commons would not long endure the arbitrary government to which they were subjected.

History presents few examples of a change more complete from a mother to her son than that of James I. in his abandonment of the religious system for which Mary Stuart gave her life. He was, as we have already seen, a thorough devotee of the Church of England. Like him Charles I. remained steadfastly attached to the established form. In his own paternal kingdom of Scotland, however, Presbyterianism had now swept every thing before it. To the sturdy zealots of the North the conservative doctrines and stately forms of Episcopalianism became almost as hateful as the Romish rite and ritual themselves. Notwithstanding this condition of affairs in the North, Charles resolved to undertake the extension of the English Church over Scotland and to enforce conformity with her doctrines and usages. Nothing could have surpassed in depth and strength the profound and universal revolt of the Scotch against this proceeding. The Presbyterians of the Northern kingdom bound themselves in a solemn League and Covenant to resist the proposed encroachment on their religious faith; and to this declaration and compact they required all the people of Scotland to affix their names. The movement in a short time assumed the most formidable proportions.

Those who entered into this religio-political league took the name of Covenanters. All classes joined the compact to defeat the purpose of the king. An army was formed and the command given to the Duke of Argyle. Several of the king's castles were seized, and the town of Leith was taken and fortified. Perceiving the storm which he had raised, Charles marched a large force to Berwick; but he durst not immediately undertake a war upon his subjects, and negotiations were

opened with the Covenanters. But the spirit of the Scots had now become so hot that the concessions offered by the king had little effect to allay the excitement. On the contrary, when the men of the North perceived that the king was unable to enforce compliance with his edict of conformity, they took advantage of his weakness, yielded nothing, and presently obliged him to disband his troops, for he had no means of supporting an army in the field. At length he succeeded in inducing the stubborn Scots to accept his overtures and return to their homes in peace.

It soon appeared, however, that the malcontents, having once been aroused, could not be so easily placated. In a short time they again rushed to arms, and it became evident that the king must subdue them by force or make a complete surrender to their demands. The latter he could not well do without a virtual abdication of his authority, and to succeed in the former he must have the support of Parliament.

That body had not been convened for nearly eleven years. During all this interval the king, by his tonnage and poundage and ship-money, had sought to replenish his revenues and keep the kingdom from bankruptcy. But to undertake a war involved expenses so great that he could not hope to meet them by such arbitrary measures as he might incidentally adopt. He accordingly determined to reconvene the Commons and ask for the needed supplies and revenues.

Charles accordingly issued his call, and in 1640 Parliament assembled. Perhaps no deliberative body ever convened in worse humor. The members, intent on righting the wrongs which they themselves had suffered through more than a decade of contemptuous neglect, gave no heed to the difficulties into which the king had been plunged, but began at once to devise such measures as looked to the restoration of the authority of the House of Commons. Charles, perceiving that his Parliament was against him rather than for him, and that the body was eagerly planning to deprive him of his prerogatives as well as his revenues, became irritated, and in a moment of ill-temper dissolved the assembly. The Commons had been in session only for a short time, and neither had the king procured any aid, nor had the Parliament succeeded in contriving further means of crippling the monarch.

Meanwhile the hostile Scots, after hovering for a brief season on the northern border, began an invasion. They advanced with an army almost to Newcastle, and the king was obliged to do something to resist their further progress. In his sore distress he resorted to personal loans. He borrowed from his ministers and courtiers until they had no more to lend, and with the money thus obtained raised and equipped a small army to oppose the Scots. The royalists advanced to Newburn, where a battle was fought, resulting in the rout of Charles's forces. So desperate were the straits to which he was thus reduced that he was compelled, however against his will, again to summon Parliament.

That body was now more irreconcilable than ever. It assembled in a spirit bordering on downright disloyalty. The House of Commons was pervaded in every part with Puritanism. It was clear that the king had more to fear than to hope from the assembly upon which his predecessors had been wont to lean for support. Nor were the lords and bishops, though very willing, able to render him any effective assistance in the face of so great popular hostility.

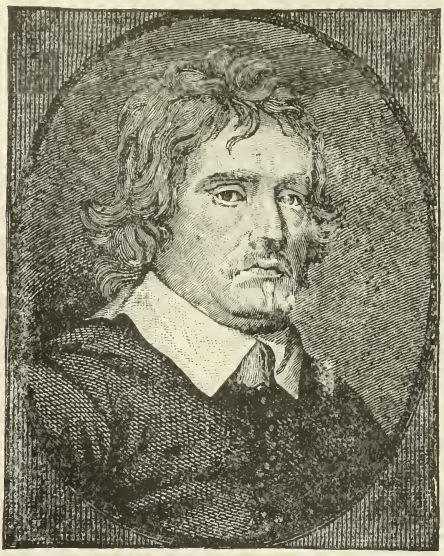
As might have been anticipated, under such conditions, the Commons again gave themselves to the redress of their own grievances. The king was left to take care of himself. The Puritan members of the House soon found a suitable object of their vengeance in him who was, as they were pleased to believe, the *bête noire* of the times, the Earl of Strafford. He had himself once been a Puritan, and his abandonment of that party had been greatly resented by the zealots whose leader, John Pym, had, on the occasion of Strafford's defection, said to him: "You have left us, but we will not leave you while your head is on your shoulders." The Puritans were now in a condition to enforce their threat.

Soon after the assembling of Parliament, namely, on the 11th of November, 1640, Pym, on behalf of the Commons, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords and presented

articles of impeachment against Strafford. He was charged with an attempt to subvert the liberties of the English people; nor can it be doubted, in the light of subsequent revelations, that he was guilty of the thing charged. But at the time of his trial the evidence was insufficient to convict. Besides, the earl conducted his own defense with such ability and eloquence that the Commons, foreseeing an acquittal, withdrew the articles of impeachment.

But the attack was immediately renewed under the form of a *Bill of Attainder*. This was passed by a great majority in the House of Commons, and the Lords, under pressure of public opinion, yielded their assent. It only remained for the king to affix his signature to the condemnation of his favorite minister and most powerful supporter. Never was monarch placed in a more embarrassing dilemma. How could he assent to the execution of his greatest councilor and most devoted friend? On the other hand, how could he resist the clamors of a Parliament in which even the conservative power of the House of Lords had been swept away? In the midst of his master's distress Strafford wrote him a letter advising him to sign the bill, and expressing his willingness to die in order to appease the anger of the people. Whether the earl was sincere, or whether he thought, by this magnanimous proposition, to strengthen the king's purpose *not* to let him be put to death, is not known. At any rate, when the wavering king did yield and affix his signature to the bill, Strafford was greatly surprised, and appeared for the moment completely overcome with the thought that Charles had abandoned him to his fate. The earl was condemned, taken from prison to Tower Hill, and there, on the 12th of May, 1641, was beheaded. He went to the block with great composure, and when surrendering himself to the mercies of the headsman, said calmly: "I lay down my head as cheerfully as ever I did when going to repose."—Such was the first sacrifice on the altar of a public vengeance, not easy to be appeased.

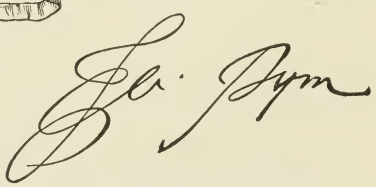
The next to feel the blow of popular fury was Archbishop Laud. Before the execution of Strafford it was resolved in the Commons to proceed with the impeachment of the powerful prelate. At the first Laud was seized and imprisoned on a charge of high treason. Three years elapsed before he was brought to trial; but Parliament in the mean time passed an act confiscating his property. The treatment, moreover, to which the aged archbishop was subjected was in other respects well suited to the age of barbarism. He was treated in



JOHN PYM.

prison as a common malefactor, and even the papers which he prepared for his defense were taken from him. So vindictively and cruelly does injured Freedom demean herself when after insult and contumely, she at length regains the power to trample on her enemies! It was in the interval between the condemnation and execution of Strafford, while the king's mind was driven and his spirit tossed by adverse winds, that the Commons availed themselves of their advantage to lay before the distracted monarch a bill wherein it was provided that henceforth the Parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or ad-





COAT OF ARMS AND SIGNATURE OF JOHN PYM.

journed without its own consent. To this he was induced to affix his signature; and thus that very prerogative which he had been wont to stretch beyond the constitutional limits was more curtailed than at any previous time in the history of England.

If all the measures adopted by the victorious Parliament had been as wise as the first the English people would have had cause of thankfulness to Charles Stuart for furnishing the occasion of so salutary a reform. The first act adopted after the king had given up his power of adjourning the Commons at his will was for the abolition of the Court of the Star Chamber. With the fall of that unsavory tribunal one powerful support of the arbitrary system of government was knocked away.

In the latter part of the year 1641 there was a lull in the popular excitement, and it appeared not impossible that the serious dissension between king and Parliament might be permanently healed. Charles found time and opportunity again to turn his attention to the condition of affairs in the North. He resolved to go into Scotland and endeavor by personal conferences and a conciliatory tone to win back the alienated affections of his subjects. While engaged in this work, however, he received the disheartening intelligence that the Irish had revolted against his government. A certain Irish gentleman, named Roger More, actuated by a patriotic desire to free his country from English domination, began to agitate the question of independence and the possible expulsion of foreign rulers from the Island. But the movement which he thus originated soon defied control, and like a spreading conflagration wrapped the greater part of Ireland in the flames of revolt. A terrible massacre of the English followed; nor did the infuriated insurgents spare any age, sex, or condition. A few of the foreign residents sought refuge in Dublin, but the rest were almost exterminated. It was greatly to the credit of More that, when he found himself unable to stop the carnage or in any wise direct the revolt of which he had been the chief promoter, he left the scene of horror to exhaust itself by its own bloody excesses, and went into Flanders.

The duty was thus devolved upon Charles of restoring the supremacy of England in the rebellious island or else of accepting the alternative of Irish independence. He at once called upon Parliament for the means of putting down the rebellion. That body showed little patriotism or duty in its response to the king's appeal. A vote was passed for raising money and collecting munitions of war, but at the same time the Commons took care that the supplies thus obtained for the Irish service should be kept in reserve with the manifest intent of using the same, should occasion offer, in a conflict with the king.

For by this time a large political party had arisen in England so antagonistic to the House of Stuart as to be ready for an attack on the monarchy itself. The intensity of this opposition to the existing order ranged all the way from moderation to madness. Some were in favor of mild reform; others of radical innovation; others still, of iconoclastic revolution. A great majority of the people of the kingdom were opposed to the arbitrary methods adopted by the reigning House, and were willing to see the dynasty humbled in some exemplary fashion. But as to method there was little agreement. In general the Puritans led the attack; for they, in addition to the common political grievances of the times, were still worse afflicted on the side of their religion. Since the days of Henry VIII. the religious hierarchy of England had been closely intertwined with the monarchy. The government of religion and that of the state were so bound together as virtually to constitute but one system. The prelate and the lord walked hand in hand. The state wore episcopacy as a garment. The crown of the king was double: he was the head of both the Kingdom and the Church. The revolt of Puritanism against the religious hierarchy brought on an inevitable conflict with the state; for the state had its arms around the hierarchy. The double currents of religious insurrection and political revolt became confluent and their united volume rolled on towards the near abyss of revolution.

From day to day, from week to week, the breach between the king and Parliament widened. The thoughtful could already discover on the horizon the clouds of civil war. On the one hand, republican principles were

openly advocated. On the other, the king and the large minority that still supported him stood firm in defense of the ancient monarchy and of the time-honored prerogatives of the monarch. Parliament became a scene. The king struggled to extricate himself from his embarrassments, but the specters of revolution rose from the earth and drew the complications around him until he was completely, hopelessly entangled in the net. Such was the condition of affairs in the early month of 1642.

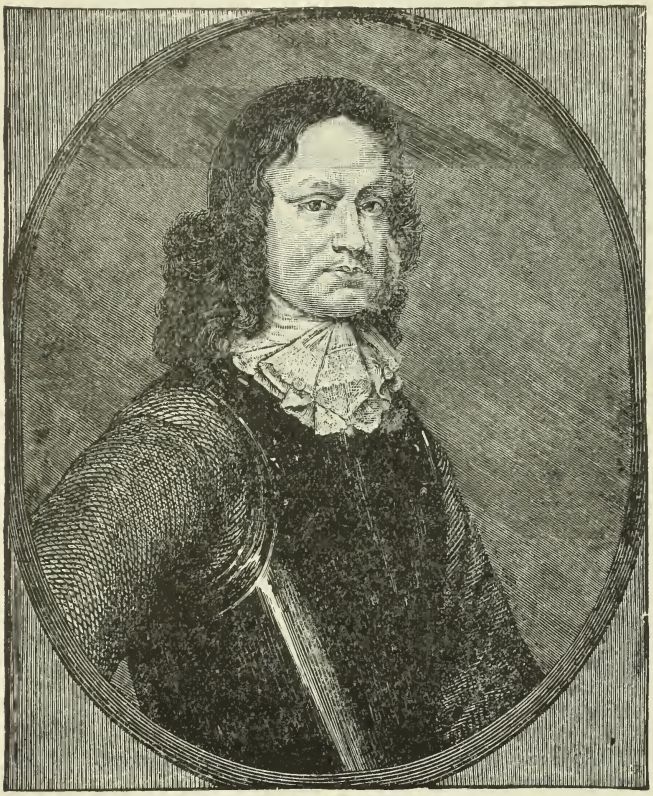
CHAPTER CVII.—CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH.

THE Long Parliament was now in the third year of its sitting. The body fell more and more under the influence of the Puritans. Though the royalists, or king's party, were not without strength, their enemies gained upon them, and it was evident that all the resources at Charles's command would be necessary to uphold the beleaguered throne. Popular leaders appeared and gained a great ascendency, not only in Parliament, but among the people.

Never before had so great and profound an agitation seized the public mind. Foremost among the revolutionists may be mentioned John Pym, to whom reference has already been made, and JOHN HAMPDEN, not less noted for his courage and radicalism. The latter was the son of an old parliamentarian of the age of Elizabeth, and entering early into public life became noted among those who set themselves in opposition to Strafford and Laud. Against him the anger of the king's council became so inflamed that he was in danger of losing not only his property but also his life. At one time, being discouraged at the condition of affairs in his own country, he determined to seek refuge in the wilds of America. It is said that he and his cousin Oliver Cromwell had already engaged their passage to the New World when a royal edict was issued forbidding shipmasters to carry English subjects out of the kingdom without a special permit. Hampden was thus prevented from sailing, and soon became more deeply involved than ever in the controversy with the king. On the assembling of the Long Parliament, in November of 1640, the Puritan opposition gathered around his standard, and he was recognized as the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was one of the committee of twelve who conducted the impeachment of Lord Strafford. Afterwards he was one of the five republican leaders who were accused of treason, and whose lives were demanded by the king. His hostility against the monarchy then became more pronounced than ever, and at the outbreak of actual hostilities the people of all England looked to him as a leader.

Now it was that the still more famous OLIVER CROMWELL made his appearance on that stage upon which he was to act so conspicuous a part. For him, rather than for Hampden or Pym, destiny had reserved the actual direction of the great conflict which was about to ensue. At the first his appearance in Parliament attracted but little attention, but he had within him an aggregation of those elements which are especially demanded in the stormy times of revolution. Nor was it long until the public mind perceived that he, more than any other man of the epoch, possessed the essential qualities of leadership. Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April, 1599. Of himself he says: "I was by birth a gentleman." But the respectable rank which fortune gave him in society was of far less importance than the remarkable bodily and mental vigor by which he was characterized even from boyhood. In his youth he applied himself to the study of law, but that vocation soon proved to be unsuited to his active disposition. In a later year he became

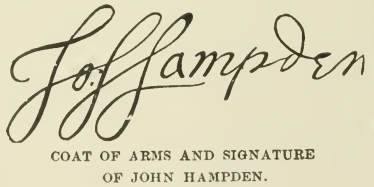
a farmer at St. Ives. There he adopted the doctrines of Puritanism, and became a preacher after the manner of the people with whom he had joined himself.



JOHN HAMPDEN.

In 1626 he entered Parliament, and soon afterwards was associated with Sir Arthur Hazelrig and John Hampden in their project of establishing a colony in America. Prevented by the king's edict from carrying out that purpose, he became one of the most resolute opponents of the royal policy, and when the Long Parliament assembled he was already marked as a leader. He is described at this time as being a red-faced, coarse, and slovenly man, ungraceful in his bearing and ungentle in dress. Of him Sir Philip Warwick thus speaks in his memoirs: "The first time that ever I took notice of him [Cromwell] was in November, 1640. When I came one morning to the House, I perceived a gentleman speaking, very ordinarily appareled; for it was a plain suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck of blood upon his hand; his stature was of a good size; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice harsh and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Such was the personal appearance of him who was soon to become the most powerful leader of the century.





COAT OF ARMS AND SIGNATURE OF JOHN HAMPDEN.

Next in influence in the republican ranks was Sir Henry Vane, son of that Sir Henry Vane who figured in political affairs in the times of the first two Stuarts. Born in 1612, carefully reared by his father, educated at Westminster and Magdalen College, he early gave his attention to those religious questions with which all England was at that time agitated. In intellectual brilliancy he was the equal, if not the superior, of any of the revolutionist leaders; but his nature was somewhat too refined for the fierce and bloody work which was now to be begun. He traveled in Holland, France, and Switzerland, true to the cause which he had espoused at home, but leaving the immediate support of that cause to others. Afterwards he joined the Puritans in Massachusetts, and in 1636 was elected governor of that colony. After one year he returned to England, and in 1640 became a member of the Long Parliament, where he distinguished himself as a conspicuous opponent of the royalist party. Many other prominent leaders came forth to take their part in the drama. Among these may be mentioned Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, a man of sterling parts and better judgment than most of his associates, and also Sir Hugh Peters, who, from being a dissenting clergy-

man in exile first at Rotterdam and afterwards in New England, returned to his own country in 1640 to become an influential leader of the parliamentary party.—Such was in brief the *personnel* of that popular and fanatical leadership which was now destined to shake the very foundations of the English monarchy.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak of hostilities between the king and the Parliament—that small fact which, like the match to the magazine, lighted the disastrous train of war—was the attempt of the king, in violation of a fundamental maxim of English law, to arrest five members of the House of Commons. Since the days of Magna Charta an act more flagrant had not been undertaken by any king of England. The Great Charter had directly declared that "we, the king, would not seize, imprison, or distress any freeman, except in accordance with the law of the land." None the less Charles, in a fit of madness, ventured upon the hazard, and soon found that he had flung himself against an immovable bulwark, only to be broken. London became an uproar. Perceiving that he must now maintain himself by the sword, he withdrew from the city, and on the 25th of August, 1642, set up the royal standard at Nottingham. Thither he was followed by the court and most of the peers of England. Only Lord Essex and a few others of the nobility remained behind to share the fortunes of the people.

Now it was that those fierce hatreds peculiar to party strife, and not yet raised to a higher level by the more noble struggles of war, sought to express themselves in opprobrious names and epithets. The royalist party gave to their opponents the nickname of *Roundheads;* for the Puritans, after their austere formalism, cropped closely their hair, thus exhibiting in full outline the burly heads peculiar to the middle and shop-keeping classes of Englishmen. On the other hand, the Puritans, despising the refined, half-French and stilted manners of the royalists, nicknamed them the *Cavaliers*, or sometimes the *Malignants.*

Another fact proper to be considered at the beginning of the story of the war was the character of the make-up and alignment of the two parties to the contest. Each of these consisted of a political and a religious element marching in close alliance. As for the Royalists, they were, of course, the nobility of England, of ancient, monarchical England, the conservative upholders of the ancient and the existing order, the lords by birth, the tories by education. In close union with these were the Episcopalians, or High Churchmen, believing, like their political confederates, in the past and in so much of the present as the past had bequeathed to the current time. It was clear that the destinies of the Episcopal Church and of the English monarchy were inseparably interwoven. At the head of this party stood the king.

Opposed to the Royalists were several elements, partly political and partly religious in their character. First of all, there was a class of politicians who advocated a legal reform of the monarchy. They believed that the old constitution and ancient statutes of England were sufficient for the emergency—that the only thing necessary to do was to use existing agencies in the correction of existing abuses. This party would gladly have put away the illegal imposts to which the king had resorted, and the arbitrary imprisonments of which he had been guilty, together with all other acts contrary to the ancient laws and usages of the kingdom. As for the rest, the leaders of this faction would fain have left the existing order undisturbed. The principal statesmen who acted with this *Legal-Reform Party*, and were responsible for its conduct, were Lords Clarendon, Colepepper, Capel, and Falkland.

Next in order came what may be called the *Political Revolutionary Party*, differing from the preceding in this—that the members of the same did not regard the existing constitution and statutes as sufficient, even when observed, for the present reform and future development of England. To use the language of Guizot, this party did not think the ancient legal barriers an adequate safeguard for the rights and liberties of Englishmen. The leaders of this faction perceived "that a great change, a genuine revolution was wanting, not only in the forms, but in the spirit and essence of the government; that it was necessary to deprive the king and his council of the unlimited power which they possessed,

and to place the preponderance in the House of Commons; so that the government should, in fact, be in the hands of this assembly and its leaders. This party made no such open and systematic profession of its principles and intentions as I have done: but this was the real character of its opinions and of its political tendencies. Instead of acknowledging the absolute sovereignty of the king, it contended for the sovereignty of the House of Commons as the representatives of the people. Under this principle was hid that of the sovereignty of the people; a notion which the party was as far from considering in its full extent as it was from desiring the consequences to which it might ultimately lead, but which they nevertheless admitted when it presented itself to them in the form of the sovereignty of the House of Commons.

"The religious party most closely allied to this political-revolutionary one was that of the Presbyterians. This sect wished to operate much the same revolution in the Church as their allies were endeavoring to effect in the state. They desired to erect a system of Church government emanating from the people, and composed of a series of assemblies dovetailed, as it were, into each other; and thus to give to their national assembly the same authority in ecclesiastical matters that their allies wished to give in political to the House of Commons: only that the revolution contemplated by the Presbyterians was more complete and daring than the other, forasmuch as it aimed at changing the form as well as the principles of the government of the Church; while the views of the political party went no further than to place the influence, the preponderence, in the body of the people, without meditating any great alteration in the form of their institutions.

"Hence the leaders of this political party were not all favorable to the Presbyterian organization of the Church. Hampden and Hollis, as well as some others, it appears, would have given the preference to a moderate episcopacy, confined strictly to ecclesiastical functions, with a greater extent of liberty of conscience. They were obliged, however, to give way, as they could do nothing without the assistance of their fanatical allies.

"The third party, going much beyond these two, declared that a change was required, not only in the form, but also in the foundation, of the government; that its constitution was radically vicious and bad. This party paid no respect to the past life of England; it renounced her institutions; it swept away all national remembrances; it threw down the whole fabric of English government, that it might build up another founded on pure theory, or at least, one that existed only in its own fancy. . . .

"Like the two preceding, this party was composed of a religious sect and a political sect. Its political portion were the genuine republicans, the theorists, Ludlow, Harrington, Milton, and the rest. To these may be added the republicans of circumstance, of interest, such as the principal officers of the army, Ireton, Cromwell, Lambert, and the rest, who were more or less sincere at the beginning of their career, but were soon controlled or guided by personal motives or force of circumstances. Under the banners of this party marched the religious republicans, all those religious sects which would acknowledge no power as legitimate but that of Jesus Christ, and who, awaiting his second coming, desired only the government of his elect. Finally, in the train of this party followed a mixed assemblage of subordinate freethinkers, fanatics, and levelers, some hoping for license, some for an equal distribution of property, and others for universal suffrage." No analysis of the elements which contributed their heterogeneous currents to the great Civil War in England more able and comprehensive than this by M. Guizot has been presented.

No sooner had actual hostilities begun than the splendid qualities of the Puritan soldiers began to appear. From the first, they exhibited undaunted courage and inflexible purpose. Nor were the officers who were chosen to command less able and valiant than the rank and file. On the other side, the king's generals, also, were men of approved valor and experience in war. First under the king himself was Prince Rupert, the monarch's nephew, son of that elector Palatine whom James I. was so often solicited to support in the early years of the Thirty Years' War. Next to the prince in command was the Marquis of Newcastle, whose high character and public and private

virtues did much to sustain the *morale* of the Royalist army. After him came Lord Hertford, whose influence induced many other noblemen to take a more active part in upholding the royal banner.

It was under inauspicious omens that the camp of Charles was established at Nottingham. On the first night after the king's standard was set up on Castle Hill, a storm prevailed and blew down the ensign of the monarchy. Superstition perceived in this circumstance the forecast shadow of a fallen throne. Nevertheless, the king's soldiers prepared to give the Parliamentarians a hot reception in the field. Charles himself was aroused to the exhibition of an energy of which his own most ardent admirers had not supposed him capable. In plan, purpose, and demeanor he revealed the elements of a new character, which, had it declared itself in the first years of his reign, might have steered the government safely through its perils and saved himself from ruin.

One of the great disadvantages under which the royal cause was now placed was the lack of money. It was a strange spectacle to see the second in succession from the great Elizabeth encamped on Nottingham Hill, and seeking by *voluntary contributions* to secure the means wherewith to defend the throne of England. But for the fact that a large percentage of the Royalists were themselves of ample fortune, it is certain that Charles's army must have been quickly disbanded for want of support.

Meanwhile, the queen, in order to escape from the impending perils of the situation, and at the same time to aid her husband's cause with such means as might be procured abroad, made her way to Holland, carrying with her the crown jewels of England. These she sold, and with the money thus obtained procured a supply of arms and ammunition, which were sent with all haste to the king.

By this time the parliamentary army had taken the field. The forces in the South were commanded by Lord Essex, and in the North by Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas. The tramp of armed men was heard in the streets of the towns. Garrisons were planted here and there, and before the close of 1642 England resembled a camp. The first battle was fought on the 3d of October, on Edgehill, in Warwickshire. In the beginning of the engagement the forces of Prince Rupert were victorious, but he failed to take advantage of what he had gained, and before nightfall the parliamentary army had fully recovered its ground. The action, however, was indecisive, and with the following morning neither of the combatants seemed willing to hazard a renewal of the battle. Both had suffered severe losses. On the royalist side Lord Lindsey, at that time commander-in-chief of the king's forces, was among the slain. Both armies drew off from the scene of conflict, and each awaited reïnforcements and the better development of its strength.

The first months of 1643 were occupied with the siege of Reading. This place had been garrisoned by royalists in the preceding year, and was now invested by Lord Essex with a large division of the republican army. The city was not taken, however, until April, for the royalists defended it with a persistency greater than the importance of the place would seem to have demanded. Later in the season a hard-fought battle took place at Landsdown, near Bath. Here the royalists won a decisive victory. In another conflict, which occurred at Devizes, the king's forces were again triumphant; but their victory was without important results. About the same time a minor engagement was had at a place called Chalgrave Field, near Oxford, and here the republicans had the great misfortune to lose their leader, John Hampden, who was mortally wounded in the fight. The loss to the nation was irreparable; for Hampden's virtues and equipoise of temper, as well as his powerful talents and influence, made him almost as much a necessity of his times as was Mirabeau at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

On the whole, the campaigns of the first year were favorable to the royal cause. The king's forces, though not a braver soldiery, were better disciplined than those of Parliament, and this fact told in the first battles of the war. But within a year from the outbreak of hostilities the republican soldiers had become the equals of their adversaries in discipline and more than their equals in valor and enthusiasm.

The general course of the war was further affected by the character of the recruits wherewith the two armies were replenished. The parliamentarians flocked to the standards of their generals from principle. Every man knew the motive of his action. Politically, he enlisted and drew his sword against the abuses of arbitrary power, and perhaps the

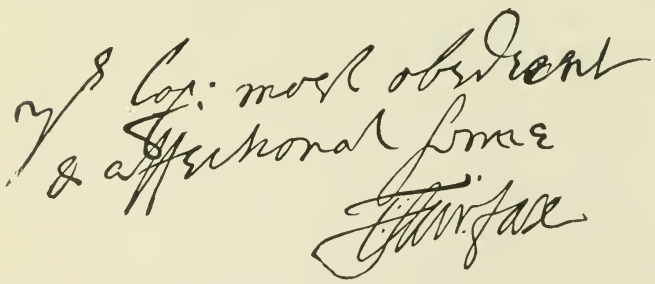


SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.
After the miniature by J. Hoskins.

fundamental maxims on which monarchy was established. Religiously, he fought the Episcopal organization, almost as hateful in his eyes as that Romanism which it had supplanted. His cause was the cause of the people, and the Puritan soldier and the common Englishman were and remained the best of friends. On the other side, the royalists were far removed from popular sympathy. The king's army was recruited from the two extremes of society. By a strange conjuncture the nobleman and the vagabond, the prelate and the pad, the lord and the thief, were brought side by side under the banner of the king.

Nor was there any element present in this mottled host that was or could be regardful of the rights and interests of the English people. The result was that wherever the royal army prevailed, there the country was trodden under foot; there the peasantry of England was crushed and mutilated without mercy. On the contrary, in those towns and districts where the forces of Parliament were victorious the rights of all were as well regarded as might be in a time of war. Consequent upon this difference, so marked in different parts of the country, the Puritan cause gained everywhere new accretions of strength, while the royalists lost every condition of sympathy and encouragement. Nor did the fact that Charles admitted into his service what Papists soever could be induced to join his standard tend to improve his prospects with the English people, cordial haters, as they were, of the Romish establishment.

The former difficulties of the king with his Scottish subjects, his vacillating policy respecting them and their new religious departure, now became the antecedents of an alliance between the Puritan party of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland. Though they had little actual sympathy with each other, in one thing they were agreed—hatred of Episcopacy and opposition to the king as its defender. A solemn League and Covenant was accordingly formed between Parliament and the Scots, the former hoping by this means to bring the royal cause to an inglorious end, and the latter to establish Presbyterianism on the ruins of the demolished Church of England.



LORD FAIRFAX'S SIGNATURE.

In the year 1643 several important battles were fought, and victory rested now on this banner and now on that. The result was favorable to the Royalists to this extent, that Parliament, which had believed itself capable of crushing the king in a single campaign, was disappointed, chagrined, angered. But the resolution of the popular party to triumph in the end was in no wise weakened.

The king, moreover, was greatly embarrassed by the fact that he had been, at the outset, obliged to fly from the capital and to leave the government and its resources in the hands of Parliament. It thus happened that the Commons, having under their control the well-regulated machinery of the kingdom, were able to levy taxes and keep a full treasury, make enlistments for the army, and direct the energies of the state against the king. The latter, on his part, had little beside voluntary contributions wherewith to support his troops; and when the fortune of war brought him defeat, he was ill able to repair the damage by the prompt reïnforcement of his army.

With the opening of the campaign of 1644, the forces of Parliament began to gain upon their adversaries. In the beginning of summer, Sir Thomas Fairfax cooped up and besieged the Marquis of Newcastle in York. The investment was pressed with great energy, and the defense conducted with equal courage. At length Prince Rupert, disengaging himself from other operations, marched to York with the purpose of raising the siege. He was advised by the Marquis of Newcastle not to hazard a battle with the forces of Fairfax; but confident of his own abilities and of the valor of his soldiers, the prince rejected the advice, and on the 2d of July offered fight to the republicans at a place called Marston Moor, about nine miles from the city. The forces engaged were about equal on either side. Each commander led about twenty-five thousand men into battle. Prince Rupert, in command of the right wing, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell on the republican left. The most dashing and determined cavalryman in all England soon found that he had rushed upon an antagonist who could not be moved.

The charge on the regiments of Cromwell was like a charge upon the stone bulwarks of a fortification. Rupert's horsemen were hurled back in confusion, and the royal infantry which stood in support was likewise borne down and put to flight. The regiment of the Marquis of Newcastle fought with great valor, and for a while the victory hung in equipoise. At one time the Royalist general, Lucas, by a sudden and audacious charge, threw the Parliamentary cavalry into disorder, and the rout of the whole right wing was imminent until what time Cromwell, returning from pursuit, fell with redoubled fury upon the enemy and presently swept the field. Prince Rupert's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army put to flight.

The progress of the war in other quarters of England, particularly in the West, where the king commanded in person, was somewhat more encouraging to him and his supporters. The qualities which he himself developed as a commander were the surprise of his times. He conducted a successful campaign against Lord Essex, and drove that able general into Cornwall. This success, however, could not compensate for the overwhelming disaster at Marston Moor. From that staggering blow the royal cause never recovered. Finally, on the 14th of June, 1645, the royal cause was buried under an overwhelming disaster, and



PRINCE RUPERT.

the king's army dispersed in the decisive battle of Naseby.

After her successful journey into Holland, the queen at length returned to England and joined her husband at Oxford. When the news came of the overthrow of Prince Ru-



BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.
Drawn by Emile Bayard

pert's army, it was perceived that the royal family was in danger, for their unpopularity was constantly increased, and their gathering misfortunes seemed to elicit no sympathy. Finding herself unsafe at Oxford the queen retired to Exeter, and thence, as soon as she was able to travel after the birth of the Princess Henrietta, she continued her flight into France.

The winter of 1644–45 was passed by the king at Oxford. At this epoch there was a lull in hostilities. For the moment a better spirit seemed to prevail, and negotiations were opened between the king and Parliament. The terms of a treaty—at least the outline of a treaty—were agreed upon at Uxbridge. It appeared, however, that Parliament would exact every thing and concede nothing. Nor is there any room to doubt that Charles was insincere in his concessions and pledges.

Like all other movements of the kind, the English Revolution had now advanced to a new position, had changed its ground, had increased its demands, had become arrogant, unreasonable, insatiable, even to the extent that it could not have been appeased with any thing however humiliating to English royalty, now fallen on its knees. The result was that the king arose from his proposals for peace determined to reclaim his forfeited prerogatives or die in the attempt; while Parliament—unconscious hypocrite—seemed to find in the king's insincerity and tergiversation new cause and ground for the destruction of both himself and his kingdom.

It is in the nature of such revolutions as that now progressing in England that they are agitated within by clashing opinions and interests almost as violent as the external foe. Parliament became a scene of storms and tempests. The winds of doctrine were loosed and blown together from every quarter, and the heart of England was shaken by the confluence of angry tides. Radicalism became dominant in the House of Commons, and the outcry of religious fanaticism was heard above the uproar of political revolution. A new faction of religionists known as the INDEPENDENTS appeared in the arena, and under the leadership and inspiration of Oliver Cromwell placed its iron foot on the breast of moderation, rejected with contempt all measures looking to the reëstablishment of the monarchy in *any* form, and openly declared that a religious republic on the foundation of the Gospel should be reared on the ruins of the demolished edifice.

From this day forth Cromwell was in the ascendant. Having first distinguished himself as a soldier he now distinguished himself still more as a political leader. His iron will became the prevailing force in England. Displeased with those who were still anxious to preserve even the semblance of the monarchy he urged on such measures as looked to the elimination of all such from the councils of the state. He procured the passage through Parliament of an act known as the Self-denying Ordinance, by which it was brought about that Lord Essex and several others of the more moderate parliamentary generals were forced to resign their commissions. He also induced the Commons to appoint Sir Thomas Fairfax to the command-in-chief of the army, while the post of lieutenant-general was reserved for himself.

At the opening of the campaign of 1645 an army of loyal Scots, led by the young Earl of Montrose, appeared on the scene and joined the forces of the king. For a while it seemed that the youthful general of the North was about to become an important factor in the current history, but it was not long until the now well disciplined forces of Parliament overthrew him in battle and forced him to retreat into the mountains of his own country. Meanwhile the towns which had been garrisoned and held by the royalists were taken one by one until the king could hardly any longer find a refuge within the borders of England. As his fortunes failed he fled into Wales, but was afterwards enabled to return and make his winter quarters at Oxford.

With the beginning of 1646 the cause had become so desperate that, dreading capture by the victorious parliamentarians, he adopted the resolution of retreating to his paternal kingdom and throwing himself upon the generosity of his Scottish subjects. He accordingly retired to the North, and on the 5th of May made his appearance before the camp of the Scots at Newark. Great was the surprise of the generals at the apparition of their fugitive sovereign. Some sparks of their old

loyalty were rekindled for the moment, but were presently quenched in the wet blanket of a most mercenary expediency. True, they treated the king with outward marks of respect, but at the same time they failed not to place about his person such a guard as would



DEFEAT OF KING CHARLES AT NASEBY.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

remind him of the fact that he was now their prisoner. The first exaction which they made of the captive monarch was an order directed to the royalist generals at Newark, Oxford, and other places where his banner was still upheld, requiring them to surrender to the armies of Parliament. This done, the war was at an end; but the victorious republicans, knowing that to stop with this achievement would be to invite a certain reäction in favor of the king and his possible restoration to the throne, undertook the work of gaining possession of the monarch's person, as the first step in the programme whereby the revolution was to be made permanent.

Well knowing the weak spot in the Scottish character, the Puritan authorities sent to the North a proposal to purchase possession of the king; and to this proposition the Scots assented. It was agreed that for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling the fallen Stuart should be given up to his mortal enemies. On the 30th of January, 1647, he was delivered over to the commissioners and taken to Holmby, in Northamptonshire, where for the time he was permitted to reside. The public opinion of England was not yet worked up to the pitch of downright regicide, and the radical leaders deemed it prudent to temporize with existing conditions. Negotiations were opened with the captive king, and the independent faction now in control of Parliament made such overtures as Charles might well have accepted. It appears, however, that the king, stimulated with the sudden hope of recovering his forfeited throne, lost all discretion, refused to concede any thing, broke off the negotiations, and again began a correspondence with the Presbyterians. About this time, moreover, a fatal letter which he had written to his wife was discovered, wherein he declared his purpose to reward the rogues Ireton and Cromwell, not with a silken garter, but with a hempen rope. It can scarcely be doubted that, under the cloak of an equanimity that could hardly be disturbed, Charles actually concealed such bloody purposes as that expressed in his letter.[1]

But the king was destined never more to present to any of his subjects either the garter or the rope. After a brief residence at Holmby, he was startled from his imagined security by the appearance of five hundred soldiers under command of an officer named Joyce. The latter came into the king's presence armed with pistols, and demanded that Charles should accompany him from the quarters. The king hesitated and demanded to know by what warrant the officer was acting. Joyce answered by pointing to his soldiers drawn up in the court-yard below. At this the monarch, again exhibiting his fearless equipoise and moiety of wit, replied: "Your warrant is indeed written in fair characters and legible." Hereupon he yielded himself to the conduct of his captors, and by them was taken to Triplow Heath, where the republican army was at that time stationed, under command of Lieutenant-general Cromwell.

In the mean time most serious difficulties had arisen between Parliament and the army. The latter was thoroughly republican and fanatic. Under the leadership of Cromwell and Fairfax, a discipline had been established by which the soldiers had become a unit. A spirit of religious enthusiasm had taken possession of the whole, and it was clear that either this powerful military organization must yield to civil authority and be disbanded or else the throne of England and the residue of moderation in the House of Commons must be together beaten into dust in the mortar of war. At the very time when the king was seized by Joyce, who had been commanded to that step by Cromwell himself, the army had renounced the authority of Parliament, and acknowledged only the command of the master spirit.

It could not be said, however, that for the time the captive king fared worse in the hands of the army than in the hands of Parliament. Indeed, his confinement was less rigorous than at any time since his surrender

[1] As indicative of the perfect self-possession which Charles had acquired by the discipline of misfortune, it may be narrated that, in the preceding summer, when the intelligence was communicated to him that the Scots upon whose generosity he had thrown himself had sold him to Parliament, he betrayed no emotion, showed no change of countenance, but continued the game of chess in which he was engaged without the slightest sign of displeasure or alarm.

to the Scots. Even in the matter of religious service his scruples were respected, and he and his friends were permitted to worship according to the forms of the Established Church. Later in the season, after he had been transferred to Hampton Court, he was allowed to move about at will, to have his children with him, and to converse with his friends without surveillance or insult. The Prince of Wales, however, remained abroad in Holland, and there, in the latter part of 1647, he was joined by his younger brother James, duke of York. Both were welcomed at the court of their sister Mary, who had been married to the Prince of Orange before the beginning of the war.

About the close of this year, 1647, hostilities having ceased, and many of the officers of the Puritan army having gone to preaching and expounding the Scripture, Charles became alarmed at rumors which were blown to him of designs upon his life. At least it is alleged by the royalist historians that the king was led to believe himself in danger. Whatever may have been his motive, he formed the design of escaping from Hampton Court and flying from the country. With this purpose he made good his exit from the place of his nominal confinement, and found his way to the coast of Hampshire. But the expected ship did not arrive to carry him abroad, and he was constrained to hide himself at Tichfield, where he found a protector in the person of Lady Southampton. Presently, however, he was induced by the three companions who accompanied his flight to give himself up to the governor of the Isle of Wight. The latter, though a humane man, was a thorough republican, and the king was placed in confinement at Carisbrook Castle. Only Herbert and Harrington were permitted to remain in attendance upon the fallen Stuart. Charles was now indeed a prisoner, and was obliged, after the manner of that unfortunate race, to devise such poor means as still remained to secure physical comfort and peace of mind. A part of the day he spent in religious devotions, another part in melancholy conversation with his two friends, and still another in writing alone in his bed-chamber.

For ten months the king remained thus in confinement. But in September of 1648 a new correspondence was begun between him and Parliament. It was agreed that commissioners should be appointed by that body to confer with the royal prisoner at Newport, and to that place Charles was accordingly transferred. It is narrated that when he came into the presence of the commissioners the latter were moved almost to the remorse of love by his changed and haggard countenance. His face was pale, his form emaciated, and his hair turned white. It is further to be recorded that when availing himself of the freedom which was granted to ride abroad in the island, and to make his escape by flight, he steadily refused to act on the suggestion, and returned in good faith to the conference.

Nor did it seem that the meeting of the humbled king and the commissioners would be barren of results. In most matters a satisfactory conclusion was reached. On two important points the existing differences seemed irreconcilable. Parliament demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, and to this the king would not accede. At length, however, he gave his consent that a modified form of worship should be instituted, somewhat more conformable to the notions of the Puritans. In the second point, requiring that all who had taken up arms in his cause should be declared traitors, he would yield nothing at all. His steadfast resistance to this infamous proposition was one of the best traits exhibited by the king during his captivity.

Before the negotiations at Newport were completed, an act had been performed on another part of the English stage whereby the whole course and character of the drama had been changed. The breach between Parliament and the army had become irreconcilable, and one party or the other of the opposition had to be put down by force. Nor was it doubtful whether it would be the civil or the military order which would succumb, when the latter was under the direction of Cromwell. That resolute and powerful leader now showed himself in a new rôle. Finding himself unable to control the opposing party in the House of Commons, he sent Colonel Pride with a troop of soldiers to surround the Parliament House, and expel all who would not accede to his terms. The officer accordingly stationed his forces before the hour of the sit-

ting of the House, and when the members arrived only the Independents were permitted to enter. Of these there were but fifty or sixty; and yet with unequaled arrogance they declared themselves the governors of the kingdom, and set about their work with as much assurance as though all England were a summer day. As for Cromwell, he justified his course on the ground that a purging of Parliament was necessary, and having made this declaration he immediately procured the passage of an act by which the negotiations with the king were broken off, and the treaty declared a nullity. From this it was evident that Cromwell and his adherents had determined to abolish the monarchy and destroy the king. This became still more manifest when it was known that two days before the "purging of Parliament," the lieutenant-general had issued orders that Charles should again be seized and imprisoned.

The unfortunate monarch was now carried from the Isle of Wight and deposited by his masters in Hurst Castle, on the coast of Hampshire. In a short time, however, he was aroused in the night by the lowering of the drawbridge and the clatter of horses' hoofs in the court-yard. On sending his attendant to inquire the cause, he was informed that Major Harrison had come with a troop to convey him hence. At this the king was much alarmed, for he had recently heard that Harrison was one of those who were planning his assassination. But at length he became composed, and accompanied the guard to Windsor, where he arrived after a journey of four days.

So closed the year 1648. Parliament—if Parliament that body of radicals might be called—had already, after its "purging," instituted a sort of high court with the purpose of passing, in a certain judicial way, upon the alleged crimes of the king. On the 6th of January, 1649, the monarch was formally impeached of high treason in this, that he had made war upon Parliament and the English people. After twelve days the prisoner was taken from Windsor to St. James's palace, and all those marks of respect with which he had thus far been treated were ordered to be omitted. He was attended even at the table by common soldiers, and was designated simply as *Charles Stuart*. The preparations for the trial were pressed forward, and on the 20th of the month the judges assembled in Westminster Hall to hear and decide the cause. Cromwell, in an opening speech, declared that if any one had before this time presumed to urge the trial and punishment of the king, he should have deemed such a one a traitor, but that now both Providence and necessity had devolved that duty upon Parliament and the court. Three times the king was brought before the tribunal, but each time refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction. On the 27th of the month he was declared guilty of the charges, and was condemned to be beheaded. Sentence having been passed, he was returned to his place in St. James's to await execution, which was set for the 30th, only three days after.

A scaffold was built in front of the palace of Whitehall, and on the coming of the fatal day the prisoner was led forth to his death. His last hours were marked with dignity and composure. He conversed briefly with Dr. Juxon and Mr. Herbert, and calmed his mind with religious devotions. On mounting the scaffold he spoke a few words to those who were present, and then gave himself to the executioner, whose face was hidden under a mask. The work was ended with a blow, and as the headsman held aloft the bloody trophy of his axe he exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." Such was the bloody fate of King Charles I., one of the best of men and one of the worst of rulers.

The body calling itself Parliament now began to lay about in a way that has been regarded as heroic by its friends and Quixotic by its enemies. The time-honored title of the kingdom was changed to THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. The House of Lords was abolished as an institution dangerous to public liberty—and so it was. A new Great Seal was made with this inscription: THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1651. Royal names and titles were forbidden, and it was declared high treason to call the Prince of Wales by any other name than Charles Stuart. All the forms of official business were changed and made to conform to the new republican order of things established in the state.

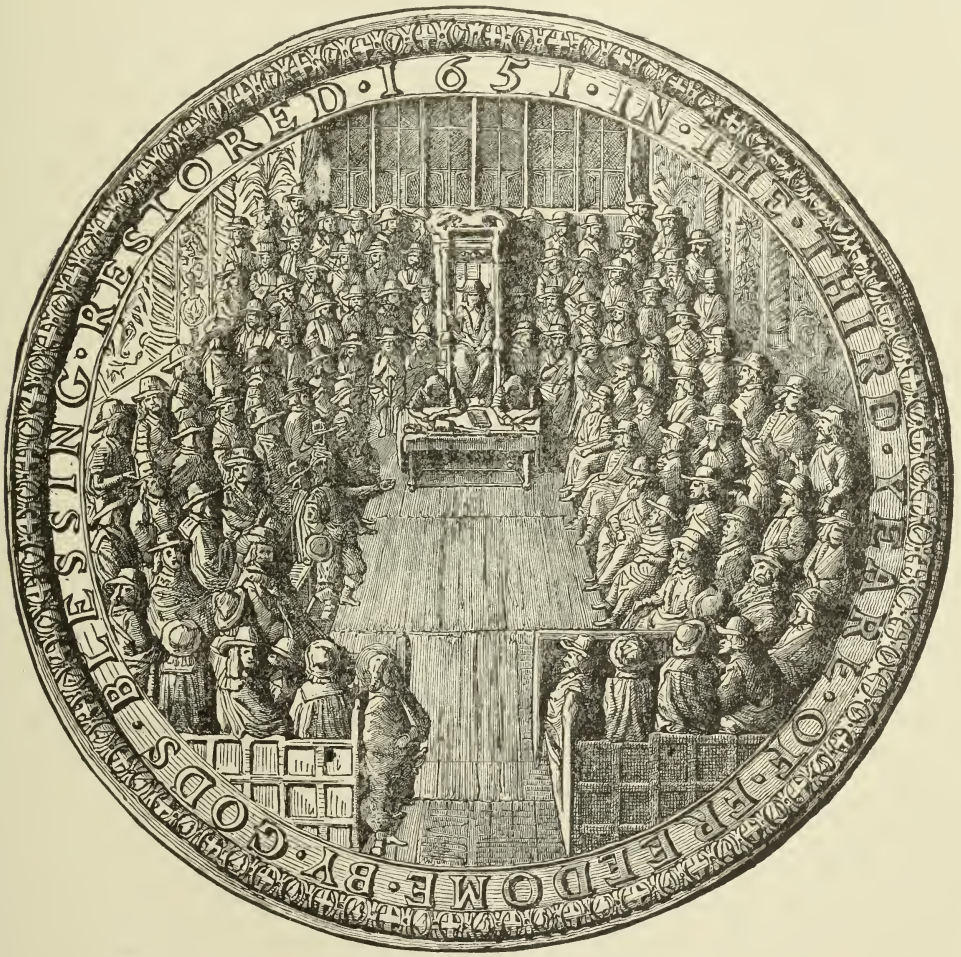
The execution of Charles I. created a profound sensation in all civilized countries. The act was regarded in different countries according to their varying prejudices. In the Catholic kingdoms it was held to be the crowning atrocity of history. Nor were such



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.
Drawn by D. Maillard.

powers, conscious of their own usurpations, slow to take the alarm on account of the example which had been set in England. In such countries it appeared wise to rush to the rescue lest the falling throne of the insular kingdom should carry down with it the not more firmly founded thrones of the continent. Ireland and Scotland, acting under such motives, made haste to proclaim the Prince of

multifarious hatreds and dislikes of the people of Ireland rose suddenly to the surface, bringing up from the sea-bottom of Irish life the oozy and dripping prejudices of a thousand years. The malcontents took arms. All the races and creeds known in the island rushed together under the banner of the Marquis of Ormond to fight the armies of Parliament and reverse the Revolution.



GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, 1651.
Cut by Thom. Simon.

Wales as Charles II. In this movement the Irish Catholics and the Scottish Covenanters, smitten as the latter were with a keen remorse for the base part which they had contributed to the king's destruction, joined hands across the chasm of religious prejudice for the support of political absolutism in favor of which they were strangely agreed. A foreign fleet gathered around the banner of Prince Rupert in the Irish Sea. All the

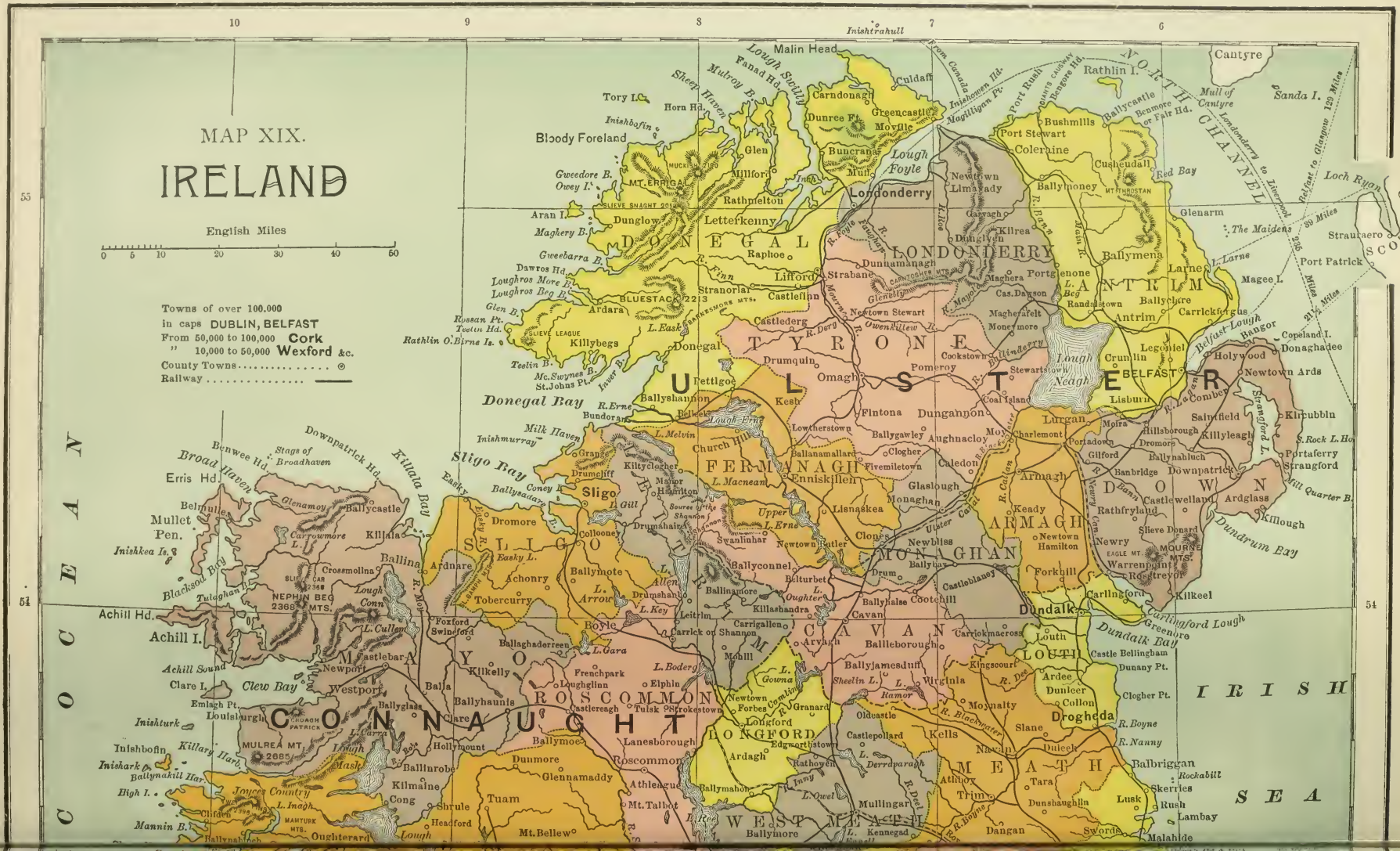
But the Irish then, as ever, were unable to face their English antagonists in the field. Their rash enthusiasm of rebellion could not stand against the stoical, fatalistic valor of Cromwell and his Puritans. The lieutenant-general was now in his glory. Such stormy scenes were well calculated to bring out the strongest, and for that reason the best, elements of his character. In an Irish campaign of a few months' duration he completely over-

awed the insurgents and brought the conflict to an end. His power was now such that he was able to settle the conditions of peace as he would. He adopted the policy of permitting the disaffected portion of the Irish population to leave the country; and acting under this license, about forty-five thousand of the malcontents, and they the most dangerous to English ascendency and the peace of the country, withdrew from the island and took service in the armies of France and Spain.

As soon as he had restored order in Ireland, the lieutenant-general left his son-in-law, General Ireton, as his deputy, and then turned his attention to the affairs of Scotland. By this time the Presbyterian party in that country had become heartily sick of the course which it had pursued in the revolution progressing in the South. They had conceived an intense dislike for the English Commonwealth with its radical republicanism, and especially for Cromwell and the Independents, as its chief promoters. After proclaiming Prince Charles as the rightful successor of the late king, the Scots sent to the young Stuart an invitation to come and possess himself of his father's throne. Albeit, the invitation, conceived as it was in all the narrowness of the Scotch character, was coupled with such conditions favorable to their own creed in religion and politics that the councilors of the prince earnestly advised him not to accept under such dictation the crown which he was entitled to wear by right. But the easy-going moral nature of the king saw no difficulty in accepting conditions which he had no intention of fulfilling. The Jesuitical education to which Mary Stuart had been subjected by the Guises in Paris a hundred years before now blossomed in the native duplicity of her great-grandson. He agreed to the terms proposed by the Scots, came over from the Hague to Scotland, and signed the covenant. The figure of this Second Charles, thoroughly double in his nature, hardly restraining a sneer at the zealous officiousness of the Scottish Covenanters crowding around him at Edinburgh, all busy explaining to his simple mind the beauties of Presbyterianism, to which they hoped to make him an easy convert, is one of the most amusing silhouettes of history.

So was he at the Scottish capital proclaimed king. But his position had little of kingly state, less of real power, and nothing at all of those circumstances in which the beneficiary took delight. He found himself in the hands of his Calvinistic masters, who were bent on one thing—the propagation of their opinions. What to them was the turbulence of kingdoms, the rise and fall of states, the overthrow or maintenance of the time-honored institutions of the English-speaking race, in comparison with the spread and establishment of the doctrines of John Knox? Charles had obtained the *name* of a king in the paternal dominions of the Stuarts, that and nothing more. His position became so uncomfortable that he would fain have risen and fled from the throne on which he had been placed and was now held by the Presbyterian managers with whom he had made a covenant.

Meanwhile the victorious Cromwell, after suppressing the Irish rebellion, came on to do as much for the Scotch. It can scarcely be doubted that the alleged King Charles was secretly pleased to hear of the approach of the great Independent, under whose foot the island trembled as he strode. For Charles could brook any thing as well as the ridiculous and unkingly restraint to which he was subjected by his Scottish keepers. The latter sent forth an army under General Leslie to oppose Cromwell's progress, and the two forces met at Dunbar. The defeat of the Covenanters was overwhelming, and but for a sudden illness which compelled his return to England, it is likely that Cromwell would have at once put down all resistance and ended the war. By the beginning of the following year, 1651, he was able to renew the invasion, nor could any force which the Scots were able to muster stay or seriously impede his course. He penetrated the country, put himself in the rear of the Scotch army, and made ready to deliver the final blow, when Charles suddenly changed the whole aspect of affairs by a reckless counter-invasion of England. He perceived that the fearless Cromwell had left the northern border unprotected; and hoping—doubtless, expecting—that the residue of English loyalty was but awaiting an opportunity to rise in favor of the over-


MAP XIX.
IRELAND
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Towns of over 100,000
in caps DUBLIN, BELFAST
From 50,000 to 100,000 Cork
" 10,000 to 50,000 Wexford &c.
County Towns
Railway
10 9 8 7 6
55 54
Inishtrahull
Malin Head
Lough Swilly
Fanad Hd.
Mulroy B.
Sheep Haven
Tory I.
Horn Hd.
Inishbofin
Bloody Foreland
Gweedore B.
Owey I.
Aran I.
Maghery B.
Gweebarra B.
Dawros Hd.
Loughros More B.
Loughros Beg B.
Glen B.
Rossan Pt.
Teelin Hd.
Rathlin O'Birne Is.
Slieve League
Teelin B.
Mc.Swynes B.
St.Johns Pt.
Donegal Bay
Erris Hd.
Broad Haven
Benwee Hd.
Stags of Broadhaven
Downpatrick Hd.
Killala Bay
Mullet Pen.
Belmullet
Glenamoy
Ballycastle
Carrowmore L.
Killala
Inishkea Is.
Blacksod Bay
Tullaghan B.
Achill Hd.
Achill I.
Achill Sound
Clare I.
Clew Bay
Inishturk
Inishbofin
Inishark
Ballynakill Har.
High I.
Killary Harb.
Joyce Country
Mannin B.
Milk Haven
Inishmurray
Sligo Bay
Easky
Coney I.
Ballysadare B.
Sligo
Dromore
Ballina
Ardnare
Achonry
Tobercurry
Crossmolina
Nephin Beg 2368 Mts.
Foxford
Swinford
Ballaghaderreen
Boyle
Kilkelly
Castlebar
Newport
Westport
Louisburgh
Croagh Patrick
Mulrea Mt. 2685
Ballycroy
Nephin 2306
Mantrk Mts.
Oughterard
Clifden
Cong
Shrule
Headford
Tuam
Kilmaine
Ballinrobe
Hollymount
Ballyhaunis
Castlerea
Tulsk
Strokestown
Roscommon
Glennamaddy
Dunmore
Ballymoe
Lanesborough
Athleague
Mt.Talbot
Mt.Bellew
Ballymore
Kennegad
Mullingar
Ballymahon
Longford
Edgeworthstown
Granard
Newtown Forbes
Elphin
Frenchpark
Loughglinn
Ardagh
Rathoven
Castlepollard
Oldcastle
Kells
Navan
Athboy
Trim
Tara
Dunshaughlin
Dangan
Swords
Malahide
Lambay
Rush
Lusk
Skerries
Balbriggan
Rockabill
Drogheda
Slane
Duleek
Dunany Pt.
Clogher Pt.
Ardee
Dunleer
Kingscourt
Carrickmacross
Castle Bellingham
Louth
Dundalk
Dundalk Bay
Carlingford
Carlingford Lough
Greenore
Kilkeel
Forkhill
Newry
Warrenpoint
Rostrevor
Mourne Mts.
Eagle Mt.
Slieve Donard
Newtownhamilton
Keady
Armagh
Castleblayney
Ballybay
Monaghan
Clones
Newbliss
Cootehill
Cavan
Belturbet
Ballyconnell
Enniskillen
Fivemiletown
Clogher
Caledon
Aughnacloy
Ballygawley
Omagh
Fintona
Dungannon
Coalisland
Lough Erne
Upper Lough Erne
Lower Lough Erne
Lough Melvin
Belleek
Pettigoe
Ballyshannon
Donegal
Killybegs
Bluestack 2213
Slieve Tooey 2219
Castlederg
Strabane
Lifford
Stranorlar
Castlefin
Raphoe
Letterkenny
Rathmelton
Millford
Glen
Buncrana
Muff
Carndonagh
Culdaff
Greencastle
Moville
Dunree Ft.
Inishowen Hd.
Magilligan Pt.
Lough Foyle
Londonderry
Newtownlimavady
Limavady
Ballykelly
Garvagh
Kilrea
Dungiven
Ballymoney
Mt.Stewart
Ballymena
Larne
Lough Larne
Glenarm
Cushendall
Red Bay
Ballycastle
Bushmills
Port Stewart
Coleraine
Portrush
Rathlin I.
Mull of Cantyre
Cantyre
Sanda I.
Port Patrick
Strangaer
Loch Ryan
Scotland
Belfast Lough
Bangor
Copeland I.
Donaghadee
Holywood
Newtownards
Comber
Saintfield
Killyleagh
Strangford L.
Portaferry
Kirkubbin
Ardglass
Downpatrick
Banbridge
Castlewellan
Rathfryland
Killough
Dundrum Bay
Hillsborough
Dromore
Gilford
Portadown
Lurgan
Moira
Charlemont
Lisburn
Belfast
Carrickfergus
Antrim
Randalstown
Ballyclare
Magherafelt
Cookstown
Stewartstown
Pomeroy
Newtownstewart
Strabane


ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRELAND
Galway
Galway Bay
Aran Is.
Inishmore
Inishmaan
Inisheer
Black Hd.
Kilkieran B.
Connaught
Clare
Monivea
Ballinasloe
Athenry
Aughrim
Oranmore
Loughrea
Clonfert
Eyrecourt
Kinvarra
Kilmor
Portumna
Woodford
Gort
Slieve Aughty Mts.
Lough Derg
L. Graney
Ardrahan
Kilfenora
Corrofin
Ennistimon
Liscanoe Bay
Milltown Malbay
Mal Bay
Mutton I.
Doonbeg B.
Doo L.
Dougal Pt.
Moore B.
Kilkee
Carrigaholt
Ross
Scattery I.
Loop Head
Mouth of the Shannon
Kerry Hd.
Tarbert
Glin
Foynes
Askeaton
Adare
Rathkeale
Newcastle
Listowel
Ballyheige
Ardfert
Brandon Bay
Tralee Bay
Tralee
Castle Island
Smerwick Har.
Sybil Hd.
Dunmore Hd.
Gt. Blasquet I.
Dingle
Dingle Bay
Vickillane I.
Inch
Castlemaine
Milltown
Killorglin
Killarney
Lakes of Killarney
Carnfua 3404
Valentia Har.
Valentia I.
Puffin I.
St. Finans B.
Bolus Hd.
Skellig Balinskelling L.H.
Scariff I.
Kenmare
Kenmare River
Sneem
Derrynane
Coulagh B.
Cods Hd.
Ballydonegan B.
Dursey I.
Dursey Hd.
Crow Hd.
Bear I.
Bantry Bay
Whiddy I.
Bantry
Castletown
Glengariff
Caha Mts.
Sheeps Hd.
Dunmanus Bay
Skibbereen
Leap
Roaringwater B.
Mizen Head
Crookhaven
Long Island Bay
Cape Clear
Cape Clear I.
Fastnet Rk.
Sherkin I.
Baltimore
Toe Hd.
Castletownsend
Glandore B.
Rosscarbery
Galley Hd.
Clonakilty B.
Clonakilty
Timoleague
Bandon
Kinsale
Ballyneen
Dunnanaway
Macroom
Roughty R.
Blackwater R.
Lee R.
Bride R.
Cork
Blarney
Middleton
Youghal
Youghal Har.
Ardmore
Knockadoon Hd.
Ballycottin L.Ho.
Cloyne
Passage West
Queenboro
Spike I.
Rocky Pt.
Cork Harbor
Oyster Haven
Kinsale Harbor
Old Hd. of Kinsale
Courtmacsherry B.
Cork to Liverpool 283 Miles
Cork to London 605 Miles
From New York 2795 Miles
St. George's Channel
St. Johns (Newfoundland) 2165 Miles
New York 2700 Miles
Garomna I.
Limerick
Shannon
R. Fergus
R. Maigue
R. Deel
R. Feale
Mulkear R.
Newport R.
Nenagh
Borrisokane
Roscrea
Borrisoleigh
Templemore
Thurles
Holycross
Cappamore
Killaloe
Six Mile Br.
Newmarket
Scarriff
Tulla
L. O'Grady
Corrofin
Silvermines
Devils Bit Mts.
Keeper Mt.
Arra Mts.
Tipperary
Golden
Bruff
Emly
Kilmallock
Pallaskenry
Caherconlish
Croom
Pallas Green
Kilfinane
Clareville
Abbeyfeale
Ballingarry
Rathkeale
Adare
Cashel
Fethard
Mullinahone
Clonmel
Carrick on Suir
Ardfinnan
Clogheen
Cahir
Golden Bridge
Slievenaman
Knocktopher
Thomastown
Callan
Kilkenny
Graiguenamanagh
Freshford
Urlingford
Johnstown
Durrow
Abbeyleix
Queens County
Roscrea
Ard Erin
Slieve Bloom Mts.
Portarlington
Mountmellick
Maryborough
Mountrath
Athy
Kildare
Naas
Newbridge
Kilcullen
Blessington
Donard
Seven Churches
Glendalough
Baltinglass
Lugnaquilla 3039
Rathdrum
Aughrim
Wicklow
Wicklow Hd.
Mizen Hd.
Arklow
Tinahely
Shillelagh
Carnew
Gorey
Courtown Har.
Carlow
Tullow
Leighlin Br.
Bagenalstown
Clonegall
Borris
Newtownbarry
Camolin
Ferns
Enniscorthy
Cahore Pt.
Wexford
Blackwater
Castlebridge
New Ross
Mullinavat
Inistioge
Graiguenamanagh
Waterford
Tramore
Dungarvan
Dungarvan B.
Helvick Hd.
Mine Hd.
Clashmore
Lismore
Tallow
Fermoy
Rathcormack
Mitchelstown
Kilworth
Cappoquin
Knockmahon
Stradbally
Portlaw
Carrickbeg
Clonmines
Duncannon
Passage
Broadway
Taghmon
Wexford Harbor
Greenore Pt.
Tuskar Rock L.Ho.
Carnsore Pt.
Tramore B.
Waterford Harbor
Hook Pt.
Dublin
Dublin Bay
Howth
Black Rock
Kingston
Donnybrook
Rathcoole
Tallaght
Lucan
Celtbridge
Leixlip
Edenderry
Grand Canal
Tullamore
Philipstown
Kings County
Kildare
Killiney
Bray
Dalkey I.
To Holyhead 64 Miles
138 Miles
Dargle R.
Newtown Mt. Kennedy
Wicklow
Wicklow Hd.
Mizen Hd.
Arklow
Courtown Har.
Cahore Pt.
Wexford Harbor
Greenore Pt.
Tuskar Rock L.Ho.
Carnsore Pt.
St. Davids Hd.
St. Brides Bay
Grassholm
Saltees Lt. Ship
Saltee Is.
Coningbeg
Tacumshin I.
Lady Island L.
Ballyteige B.
Bannow B.
Longitude West of Greenwich
10
9
8
7
6
53
52
Fisk & See, N.Y.

turned monarchy, he put himself at the head of fourteen thousand royalists and crossed the boundary into England. It was the sally of a fox into the territories of a lion temporarily absent from home.

The fox soon found that the expectation of an uprising in his favor was a spectral chimera. Not every one who was opposed to the scandalous conduct of Parliament and the arbitrary measures of Cromwell was ready to take up arms for the House of Stuart. The two preceding sovereigns of that name had so little distinguished themselves as the friends of English liberty that the matter-of-fact people of the South had no confidence in the third. Accordingly, when Charles had penetrated as far as Worcester, he found himself with no more than the fourteen thousand men whom he had brought out of Scotland.

Cromwell, on learning the movement and purpose of the prince, left the larger part of his army under command of General Monk, and with the rest pursued Charles on his course to the South. The royalist army was overtaken at Worcester. The town was immediately surrounded, and on the 4th of September, 1651, was taken by storm. Nearly all of Charles's forces were cut down in the streets. He himself escaped with great difficulty, accompanied by about sixty grenadiers, and even these were presently dismissed as being more dangerous than serviceable to the fugitive.

On the bleak borders of Staffordshire Charles sought refuge with some wood-choppers of the forest of Boscobel. Although a reward was offered for his capture, and the penalty of treason denounced against those who should give him protection, the men of the wood proved true to their prince and careless to themselves by concealing him from his enemies. For a while, however, he was in imminent danger of capture. At one time the soldiers who were searching for him came so near that he hid himself in a hollow tree and heard them conversing as they passed. Six weeks elapsed after the battle of Worcester before he could extricate himself from the nets which were set for his capture. At last, however, he made his way to Shoreham, in Sussex, and thence embarked for France.

The royalist party was now completely prostrated. There appeared no longer any hope of its recuperation. In Scotland General Monk had overawed all opposition. The Irish insurgents were held down with a master's hand by Ireton, and in England the powerful mind of Cromwell, expressing itself through the body which persisted in being called Parliament, directed all things according to his will. The lieutenant-general found time to turn his attention to foreign affairs, and his strong hand began to be felt in almost every part of Europe.

First in importance were the relations of the Commonwealth with the state of Holland. Judged by the standard of more recent times, there was little cause of complaint on the part of the English against the Dutch or of the Dutch against them. But the arrogance of the Cromwellian party was sufficient to give offense to the authorities of Holland, and the supremacy of the Dutch on the sea aroused all the jealousy of republican England. From small beginnings the difficulties between the two states increased until 1652, when war against the Dutch was formally declared by Parliament. Both peoples were by national preference sailors and merchants. A great rivalry in shipbuilding had sprung up, and the relative skill of the Dutch and English seamen was hotly discussed in the seaport towns of both countries. As a matter of fact, the fleets of Holland had gained upon those of England from the times of the destruction of the Spanish armada; but in recent years a disposition had been shown on the part of the English to reclaim the dominion of the sea. While Admiral Blake and others of like daring upheld the banner of St. George, the Dutch commanders, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt maintained the maritime fame of Holland.

By this time the event had proved that concord between the army and the turbulent remnant still known as Parliament was as difficult to maintain as in the times before that body was "purged" by Colonel Pride and his soldiers. About the time of the outbreak of the war with the Dutch the conviction took root in Cromwell's mind that a second and more effective parliamentary purification would be necessary before the affairs of the Commonwealth could be prosperously con-

ducted. It was in April of 1653 that this conviction of the lieutenant-general ripened into a purpose. With him to resolve was to do. On the 20th of the month just named he went to the House of Parliament, where the body was in session, and placing a file of soldiers at each of the entrance ways, strode into the hall. As he entered he said that he had come with a purpose of doing what it grieved him to the very soul to do, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity for it. He then sat down, and for a while listened to the debates, or wrangles rather, in which the members were engaged. It was noticed that his florid face became more livid as he sat and listened.

At last the irate Cromwell sprang to his feet, and exclaimed: "This is the time; now I must do it!" Thereupon he turned fiercely on the members, poured upon them a torrent of reproaches, branded them as tyrants and robbers, and ended by stamping furiously with his foot on the floor. This was the signal for the entrance of the soldiers. They rushed into the hall, and Cromwell ordered them to drive the members out. Resistance was useless. The Roundheads arose to go. Cromwell thundering after them his bitter anathemas. "You are," cried he, "no longer a Parliament! The Lord is done with you! He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work!" As the last of the members escaped from the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and then putting the keys into his pocket went away quietly to the palace of Whitehall, where he had now taken his residence.

In all England there was no longer any to dispute his will. But since he could not himself without the aid of other agencies govern the Commonwealth, he concluded to summon another Parliament. The character of the body may be deduced from the nature of the measures which were debated by it. In the first place, it was proposed that since the clerical offices in the religious administration were but an abridged remnant of popery, the clergy should be abolished. In the next place, the same reasoning was applied to the Common Law of England; for that law was declared to be nothing but a relic of the political and social slavery established by the Normans. In the third place, the body made a declaration that learning—education—was the agent whereby the anti-Christian powers were giving back the world to heathenism, and that the universities of England, as the chief seats of this heathen culture, should be destroyed. Bigotry could go no further. But it should not be forgotten that the abuses of the Episcopal system, the legal outrages perpetrated in the name of the Common Law, and the owlish conservatism of Oxford, sitting with big-eyed self-conceit on a dead limb of the Past, furnished at least a good occasion for the absurd radicalism of the so-called Parliament.

The character of Cromwell's assembly, which consisted of a hundred and fifty-four members, may be further inferred from that of its principal leader, whose somewhat exclamatory name was Praise-God Barebone. This remarkable statesman had prepared himself for the management of the state by selling leather in a shop in London. But this pent-up Utica seemed to contract his powers, and he would fain go forth as an orator, reformer, and statesman. Strange must have been the sentiments with which Cromwell looked on the performances of this ignorant, radical bigot in the House of Commons![1] History has preserved the record of the mountebank's temporary ascendency by giving to the Parliament of which he was the chief ornament the name of Barebone's Parliament.

The master soon wearied of the ridiculous farce. He clearly perceived the impracticability of the measures which were proposed in the House; and of all of the acts of that body he gave his approval to but a single one. This related to the theory and ceremony of marriage.. It was declared that marriage, instead of being a sacrament of the Church, was simply a civil compact, and that its ratification should henceforth be acknowledged before a magistrate in a private room, and not before a priest in a church.

But the most important thing done at this

[1] The absurdity of the Puritanical *régime* now dominant in England is well illustrated in the names which the elder Barebone had given to his sons. One of Praise-God's brothers was called *Christ-Came-Into-the-World-to-Save*, and another, *If-Christ-Had-Not-Died-Thou-Hadst-Been-Damned Barebone!*

time was the conferring on Cromwell of the title and office of LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND. The substitution of the will of one for the clashing wills of many was a joyous relief, and the Protectorate was hailed by the people as a happy deliverance from the distractions of parliamentary government. Nor could it be denied that a great and salutary change was now visible in the affairs of the Commonwealth. Such were the vigor and wisdom with which the Protector entered upon his administration that few in his own country or abroad durst make a mock at his republican scepter. The date of his accession to unlimited authority was December 16, 1653; and from that time to his death, nearly five years afterwards, he ruled England with a power and success rarely equaled in her history.

The constitution of the Protectorate provided for a Parliament of four hundred members and a Council of State. Cromwell was to be Protector for life, and at his death the Council was to name his successor. The latter provision, however, was subsequently changed, and the choice of a successor given to Oliver himself. The latter entered upon his duties by attempting to conciliate the royalists, but the effort was in vain. Their inveterate and well-grounded hatred could not be appeased. As necessary to the stability of the Commonwealth many of the old monarchical forms were revived, and this gave offense to the republicans. But all parties were obliged to recognize the Protector as a necessity, and all were constrained to yield to his arbitrary rule. Nor could any fail to see that the dignity and glory of England were safe in his hands. Woe to the foreign power that attempted to take advantage of the supposed weakness of the Commonwealth! The English army became the best soldiery in Europe, and the English fleets soon brought down the pennon of the Dutch. To the latter a peace was dictated on conditions highly favorable to the Protector's government and people. The Spaniards, also, were made to fly before the navy of England, and to surrender Jamaica as the price of their folly in provoking a war.



OLIVER CROMWELL.

In the midst of this triumph and renown the enemies of Oliver were ever busy. In

1654 they formed a plan to end him and his reign by assassination. But the conspiracy was detected, and the two ringleaders caught and hanged. In the following year a more general plan was adopted by the royalists for an insurrection against the government. Nothing, however, could escape the vigilance of the Protector. His secretary, Lord John Thurloe, was equally watchful of the movements of the reäctionists. Full information of the plot was obtained, and before the day appointed for the uprising the soldiers of the Protector swooped down on the conspirators, and they were annihilated. Some were executed and others sold as slaves into the Barbadoes.



ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE.
After an engraving by R. Young.

The government now established over England surpassed in merciless rigor any thing ever before witnessed in the Island. The whole country, including Wales, was divided into twelve military districts, and over each was set a major-general of the army. These were under the immediate command of Cromwell himself, and his strong will was thus enabled to let down its grappling-irons to the very bottom of the social and political sea. Still, it is the verdict of history that the tremendous tyranny established by Oliver Cromwell on the ruins of both monarchy and freedom was a necessity of the situation, and that that necessity was precipitated by the actions, schemes, and purposes of the adherents of the overthrown House of Stuart. Such were the swift evolutions of the flaming sword which the Protector set over the gate of the palace of Whitehall that Treachery fled in terror and Rebellion hid in his cave.

Meanwhile the affairs of Ireland had demanded constant attention. General Ireton, the Protector's son-in-law, to whom the government of the western island had been committed, had held the reins with a master's hand until his death in the camp before Limerick, in November of 1651. After that event the widow was presently married to Charles Fleetwood, and to him the government of Ireland was transferred. For a while he followed the policy of his predecessor and was then superseded by Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector. This young man is represented as one of the most amiable and virtuous of his times. Nor could his amiability, as is so often the case, be attributed to weakness; for his talents were as conspicuous as his policy was humane. Certain it is that he did all in his power to alleviate the distresses of the Irish and to institute good government in their distracted island.

Foreign powers now competed for the honor of an alliance with England. The English name took on its pristine brightness. Admiral Robert Blake, most distinguished seaman of his times, with his English fleet in the Mediterranean, humbled the Barbary States and dictated a peace to Tuscany. The massacre of the Waldenses ended under the Protector's frown. The rich spoils of Spanish treasure-ships were poured into the coffers of the Commonwealth; and the poet John Milton, sitting at Oliver's council-board as Latin Secretary of State, indited the most elegant and able foreign correspondence of the seventeenth century.

It was now in the nature of things that Cromwell should feel the opposition of the republican leaders. They saw him refusing any longer—grown wise by political experience—to promote those chimerical reforms to which they were so deeply devoted. They suspected him of monarchical intentions. What must have been their chagrin, their mortification, their rage, to see him, even Oliver, their old hero and warrior, the victor of Dunbar and Worcester, sitting like an Egyptian sphinx on a throne of his own, quite as high

and many times more heavy than that of the Stuarts, heeding not their appeals and putting aside their favorite measures as so much chaff! To this, however, they were compelled to submit. But at each succeeding election of members of Parliament there was a scene of almost revolutionary turbulence in which the voice of the old half-quenched republicanism of 1647 was heard above the din.

In the course of time, when Cromwell perceived that the majority elected were nearly always against him—that on the one hand the remnant of the ancient royalty asserted itself more and more, and that on the other the disappointed radicalism of the realm persisted in sending up to the House the most irreconcilable of the republican leaders, he deemed it prudent to relax somewhat in order that his administration might catch the breezes of popularity. To this end he assented to a proposition by which civil authority was substituted for that of his major-generals in the military districts. Other concessions were made, and Parliament on its part began to agitate the question of making the Protector king.

It can hardly be doubted that Cromwell himself was consenting to the scheme. No doubt he had persuaded himself that the monarchy was a necessity—which may be questioned—and that he was a necessity to the monarchy—which was true. So far as the civil powers of England were concerned, they could have been managed without much difficulty. The radical republicans and the old adherents of the Stuart dynasty could have been suppressed, and all the moderate middle elements would have aggregated themselves around the new House of Cromwell. But the shadow of the army fell ominously across the table where the schemers were perfecting their plans. The soldiers were as thoroughly Puritan as ever, and the generals set themselves like iron against the project of conferring the crown on Oliver. Though he himself longed to take that symbol of power, he stood like Cæsar, fearing to touch it; for he clearly foresaw that another Cromwell like unto himself might arise—probably would arise—in the army, and that he in his turn might be led to the block where Charles I. had perished. The motive sufficed. He refused the offer of the crown which was presently made by Parliament, and continued in his office as Protector of the Commonwealth. The business, however, proceeded so far that he was reïnaugurated with great pomp and solemnity.

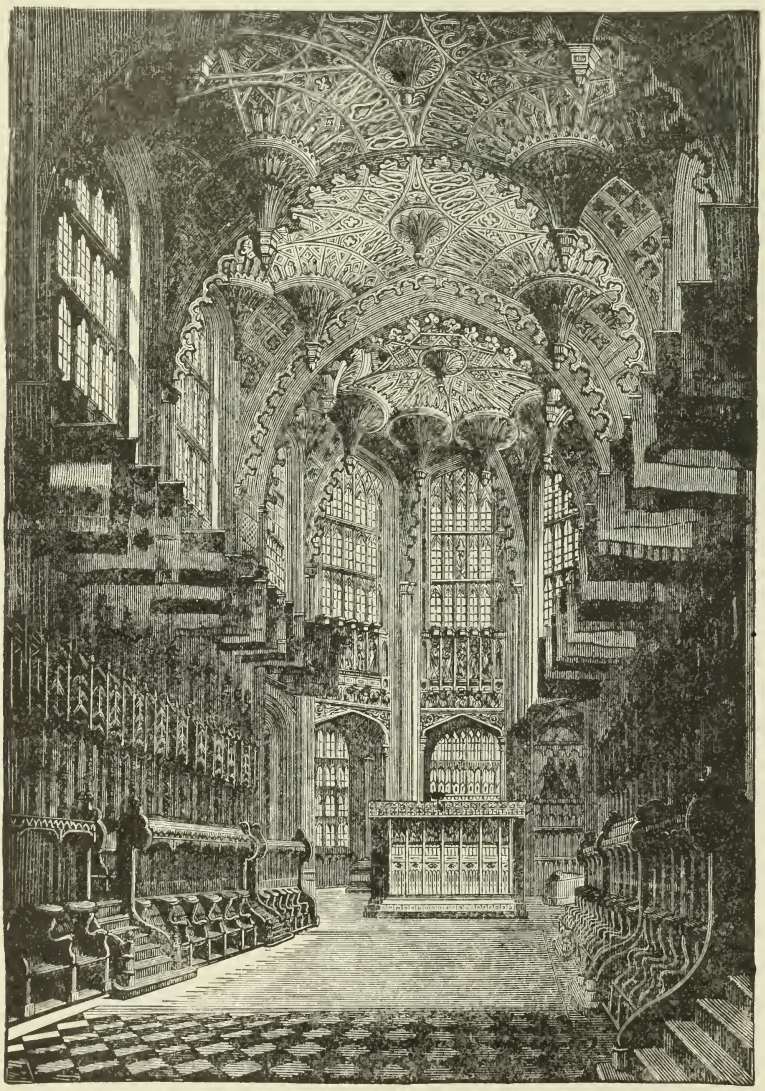
The rest of his life was gall and wormwood. Nothing but the most humiliating precautions saved him from assassination. Time and again plots were formed against his life, but his vigilance thwarted every conspiracy. Nevertheless, the specter stood ever at his door, and he who held in his right hand the destinies of England trembled and quaked with ever-increasing dread. His family gave him little hope or sympathy. His daughters, except her who had been the wife of Ireton and Fleetwood, were royalists. His oldest son Robert had died in 1639. Oliver was killed in battle. James died in infancy. Only Richard and Henry survived their father, and it was an open secret that the latter did not hold the Protector's principles. Thus, out of the necessity of things, the choice for the succession fell on Richard—a man of small talents and less ambition.

The drama drew to a close. The Parliament of 1656 adjourned, in order that the Protector might revive the House of Lords. But when that body was restored and the Commons again convened, the Lower would not acknowledge the coördinate authority of the Upper House. Thereupon the old spirit of Cromwell blazed forth, and going to the Commons he dismissed them with his usual ferocity, exclaiming, "Let God judge between me and you!" It added to the significance of the scene that the republican members cried out, "Amen!"

It is a strange part of the exciting history of these years that, hampered and impeded by these embarrassments at home, the Protector was able to show to all foreign states a front of polished metal, without a dint or flaw. He maintained his alliance with Louis XIV., in league with whom he made successful war on Spain; and such were his abilities and energy in the management of affairs that both the French king, then regarded as the greatest monarch in christendom, and his famous minister, Cardinal Mazarin, remained attached to the Protector's interest to the last day of his life.

In the summer of 1658 Cromwell's daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, died, and the event so darkened the already gloomy mind of the father that he is said never to have smiled afterwards. In the latter part of August a tertian fever came on and confined him to his room. He grew steadily worse until his Protector was laid to rest in the chapel of Henry VII.

Hardly had RICHARD CROMWELL been raised to the seat of the Protectorate until the nation perceived how great was the change from father to son. It was evident that, in place of the strong, and withal *just*, hand by which the domestic tranquillity and foreign equipoise of England had been maintained for so many stormy years, a feeble hand had been lifted, from whose palm flashed forth no ray of power. From the first the Commonwealth showed unmistakable signs of restiveness under the new Lord Protector. Nor could the thoughtful fail to discover that the time was at hand when the counter-revolution might be expected to begin. Richard himself foresaw the storm. For a few months he continued in nominal authority. In 1659 he summoned a Parliament, and at the opening made to that body a sensible speech. But nothing was devised of a nature calculated to uphold the tottering Commonwealth. On the 22d of April the assembly was dismissed; but after a few days, a ridiculous remnant of the body came together and pretended to reörganize. It was to this absurd fagend of parliamentary greatness that the wit of the age applied the derisive epithet of the RUMP PARLIAMENT, by which name the body has ever since been designated. At last, like the prudent, weak man that Richard was, he resigned the dignity which he could not sustain. About the same time his brother Henry gave up the government of Ireland and retired to privacy.



CHAPEL AND MAUSOLEUM OF HENRY VII., WESTMINISTER.

"Fortunate Day," which was the 3d of September, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester; and on that day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, while one of the most terrific storms of modern times was making London quiver as a reed, the spirit of Oliver Cromwell took its flight. A magnificent funeral followed, and the body of the

On every hand were now seen the unmistakable symptoms of a great collapse. The country was without a ruler, and the warring factions in the Parliament beat at each other like the Blues and the Greens in the old circus at Constantinople. The republican Gog grappled the monarchic Magog in the arena, and sought to strangle him amid the uproar; and the great Milton, now almost blind, went to his closet and wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth.* And his Utopia had this merit, that it was to have no sovereign and no House of Lords.

But neither the tempest of parliamentary winds nor the Miltonic pamphlet could avail against the inevitable; and that inevitable was the restoration of the House of Stuart. Prince Charles, now in Holland, scented the movement from afar, and breaking up an exile which he had devoted to the pleasures of wit and a sort of genteel libertinism, he came as far as Calais, where, for a while, he stood looking wistfully across the Channel.

For a time, however, the movements in his favor were feeble and sporadic. But while he awaited the issue a secret correspondence was opened between him and General Monk, who still commanded the army in Scotland. General Lambert, at this time in command of the parliamentary forces in England, was now endeavoring to secure for himself the vacant office of Protector, and this fact, added to other causes of jealousy, had produced an intense dislike, even hatred, between him and Monk. It is probable that these motives rather than any pronounced preference for the House of Stuart, induced the general to signify to Charles his intention to aid him in recovering the throne of his father. At any rate, Monk undertook that task, and, concealing his real purpose, set out with his Scottish regiments for London, declaring his mission to be the restoration of Parliament. Lambert, on his part, divining that his rival's march was directed against himself, set out with the southern army to oppose Monk's progress; but Lambert had no hold upon the affections and confidence of his own men. The force melted out of his hand, and the greater part flowed into the camp of Monk. The deserted general was seized and imprisoned in the Tower, and the man of the North marched his army into London.

For a brief period he pretended to be carrying out his purpose of supporting Parliament; but it was not long until he dismissed that body, and issued a call for the reassembling of all the surviving members of the Long Parliament, which had been broken up by Colonel Pride in 1648. The call was answered, and on the 21st of February, 1660, the assembly was convened. The nation was quick to perceive that the men thus evoked from an obscurity of twelve years' duration were the real parliamentarians of England.

But the session only lasted for a few days. The members, perceiving that the authority by which they were called had no constitutional basis, made haste to dissolve, but took care before doing so to issue writs for a new Parliament, to be chosen according to the time-honored usages of the country. The election was held at once, and on the 25th of April the first legal House which had been chosen since the death of Charles I. convened and was organized. Within five days of the opening of the session Monk proposed to the assembly the restoration of the Stuarts. The reaction was tremendous. The news of the proceedings spread into the city, and all London took fire. The cry was taken up from street to street, and was echoed by the country populations everywhere. The old peers of the kingdom came forth from their retreats, and hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient seats. On the 8th of May an act was passed proclaiming Charles II. king of England, and a committee was appointed to wait upon that gentleman and to conduct him to London.

Then the tide rose higher. The nation roared as with the voice of waters. Loyal acclamations were heard on every hand. Charles landed at Dover, and was met by General Monk, who led him to the capital. The journey thither was a continued triumph. No such scenes of abject loyalty had ever before been witnessed in England. It was as though a savior had come. The people put on their best apparel, and thronged the route by which the king was to pass, and made the welkin ring with their shouts. Men doffed their manhood and women their womanhood

as the pageant passed into the city. As for the king, he was in high delight. His well-practiced wit expressed the situation. "I can not understand," said he, "why I have stayed away so long, since every body is so rejoiced to see me!" On his thirtieth birthday, the 29th of May, he entered London, and was led to the royal seat amid the acclamations of his subjects. Thus, after the storms of twenty years, England returned to a calm under the scepter of her hereditary sovereign.

If from the turbulence of public affairs we turn for a moment to the private and social condition of the people in the times of the Commonwealth, we shall find many matters of interest, and some unexpected signs of progress. During the reign of Charles I. a postal system was established between London and Edinburgh. At the first the mails were carried once a week, but soon the facilities were improved and the transit made with greater frequency. The publication of newspapers, which had been suspended since the days of Elizabeth, was revived in 1642, from which time forth periodicals became not only a chronicle of passing events, but also, in some degree, an organ of public opinion. It was at this time, too, that banking, in the modern sense of that term, was established in England. Hitherto the Mint in the Tower had been the principal place of deposit for the money of the wealthy; but with the coming of the Revolution, that stronghold was regarded as no longer a place of security, and the goldsmiths of the city began to be employed as the depositaries of the rich. After the restoration of Charles II. this usage continued, and banks were founded on the basis of such deposits. Thus, while civil war was raging without, while the Stuart dynasty was breaking into fragments under the sledge of a tremendous insurrection, while the nasal and lugubrious oratory of the Puritan preachers was substituted for the stately but hollow forms of the Established Church, the slow and painful progress of human society, groping to find the light, was still discoverable in the half-darkness of the age.

CHAPTER CVIII.—RESTORATION AND SECOND REVOLUTION.



SO great was the enthusiasm with which the Second Charles was welcomed back to the throne of his ancestors that no pledges or guarantees were required at his hands. He was permitted to go up to the royal seat with no fetters of restraint besides those which were imposed by any deference he still retained for the constitutional forms of the English monarchy. It can not be denied, however, that a certain element of prudence in the character of Charles, manifested in the first days of his recall to power, seemed to promise a fairly liberal policy in the government; and the long abuses to which the country had been subject during the Commonwealth made the free-handed absolutism of the new king appear a blessing.

KING CHARLES II. was now in the early years of his perfected manhood. His bearing was elegant; his manners, affable. Not handsome in feature, having still in his face the reflected harshness of Lord Darnley's visage, he made up what he lacked in this regard by wit, suavity, and a most graceful deportment. His talents were of a higher order than nature is often pleased to bestow on a king; but his really great abilities were obscured and made useless by a certain stoical indifference, a kind of cheerful pessimism combined with an inordinate love of pleasure. With him indulgence was the principal thing, and gayety a means thereto.

In the construction of his ministry Charles looked to compromise and conciliation. The first place was given to Lord Clarendon, who had accompanied the prince during his sixteen years of exile, and who was now made chan-

cellor of the kingdom. But after this first preference to his own adherents, the king admitted to his council some of the best men of the opposition—a course the effect of which was by no means lost on his own popularity.

Following this came the general indemnity for political offenses. An act was passed granting a full pardon to all those who had taken part in the rebellion against the House of Stuart, *except* those who had presided as judges at the trial of Charles I., or had been in other ways immediately responsible for the condemnation and death of that monarch. Nor could it well be expected that the Second Charles could so easily forget and forgive the murder of his father as to include in the amnesty those who might be properly held to account for that deed. The number of those whom the king considered to be thus personally responsible for the execution of Charles I. was about sixty. Many of these, however, were already dead, and others were esteemed less guilty.



CHARLES II.

Of the twenty so-called regicides now brought to trial and condemned, only ten were executed. The rest were saved either by reprieve or commutation of sentence. Of those who were put to death, the most noted were Sir Hugh Peters, who was alleged to have been one of the masked executioners who stood at the block when Charles was beheaded; Sir Henry Vane, who was executed for his defiance rather than for his participancy in the regicide; and John Harrison, who had conducted the captive king from Hurst Castle to Windsor. General Lambert, who had commanded the last Parliamentary army, was condemned to die, but was reprieved and exiled to the island Guernsey. As to the great Cromwell, he had passed beyond the reach of any earthly revenge. Nevertheless, condemnation was passed upon him. His body was dragged from its royal resting-place, hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows. To complete the mockery, the head was cut off and set up on the gateway of Westminster. Thus was the shade of Charles I. appeased by the posthumous insults done to the body of his greatest enemy.

One of the first cares of the king was to destroy the military power, or so much as remained, of the old republican party. The standing army, which least of all had rejoiced at the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, was disbanded, and most of the forts established under the Cromwellian *régime* were dismantled. The whole military forces of the kingdom were reduced to a few guards and garrisons.

In the next place the counter revolution was carried into the realm of religion. The Episcopal order was restored throughout the kingdom. The nine surviving bishops of the old Church were reïnstated in authority, and as many of the ejected clergy as were still alive came back and took their livings. This movement was of course resisted to the utmost of their strength by the Presbyterians, but they could not avail to check the reäction. The ministry soon found an excuse for pressing matters to a finality, which was reached in the passage of the *Act of Uniformity*, by which the assent of all the clergy to certain articles of faith and practice was demanded. The Presbyterians refused to sign, and to the number of two thousand were ejected.



EARL OF CLARENDON.

In England the restoration of the old religion was effected without much difficulty; but in Scotland the task was far more serious. Though the people of the latter country had hailed the return of Charles to the throne, they were greatly displeased when they discovered his purpose to establish Episcopacy in the North. To them it seemed the worst of all calamities that the half-papal hierarchy of the Church of Elizabeth should be set again in authority. So complete had been the demolition of the Episcopal system in Scotland that the king could hardly find a footing for his project. At length, however, he succeeded in winning over a distinguished Presbyterian leader named James Sharp, upon whom, as a reward for his defection, he conferred the archbishopric of St. Andrews. But his example was not imitated, and when the prelate began a series of persecutions against the Presbyterians, the popular rage against him rose to the pitch of assassination. He was waylaid by a company of men under the lead of a fanatic named Balfour, and by them was dragged from his carriage and murdered. Such was the shock thus given to the project of the king that the attempt to replant the Episcopal Church in Scotland was abandoned.

One of the most important, and at the same time one of the most disgraceful, acts of Charles II. was his sale of the fortress of Dunkirk to the French. This stronghold of England, on the continental side of the Strait of Dover, had been a place of much importance since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Charles V. had fortified it with a castle. Afterwards it was captured by the English, and was lost by them in 1558. After having been held by the Spaniards and French, it was finally secured by Cromwell in the times of the Commonwealth. It became a matter of sound policy and national pride on the part of the English to retain the fortress as their foothold; but neither motive had much weight with Charles, who, when he found himself short of means, and in such ill repute with Parliament that he could not by any fair method obtain a revenue, opened

negotiations with Louis XIV., and, in September of 1662, sold him Dunkirk for four hundred thousand pounds. No transaction of his long and inglorious reign created greater odium in his own kingdom or has been more harshly judged by posterity.

Within two years after the Restoration a reign of profligacy was established in the court the like of which had never before been known in England. The king himself was the center and his influence the circumference of the shocking moral depravity which pervaded first the courtly society and then the whole kingdom. For this it is just that Charles II. should be held to a rigid account at the bar of history. The condition suited him precisely. But it is also true that the temper of the age was as well pleased with his moral abandonment as he was pleased with it. The true cause of the collapse of public and private virtue in the times of the Restoration is to be sought and found in the inevitable reäction which had taken place against the reign of the Roundheads. That body of religionists had, during their political supremacy, done as much as they could to destroy the happiness of the human race. They had planted themselves squarely in the way of every natural pleasure of which men are capable. To them the innocent joys of childhood, the ringing laughter of youth, the inspiring excitements and recreations of middle life, as well as the casual smiles still flitting at intervals across the wrinkled face of age, were all alike odious, hateful, damnable. They seemed to take a strange inward satisfaction in clothing the whole world in the anguish of dreariness and the dolor of despair. There never was in the history of mankind any other epoch in which the sour-visaged and Scythic giant of Bigotry so beat down with his bludgeon every budding hope, tender love, and blossoming joy of the human heart as when the lugubrious fanatics of 1650 sat on the breast of prostrate England.

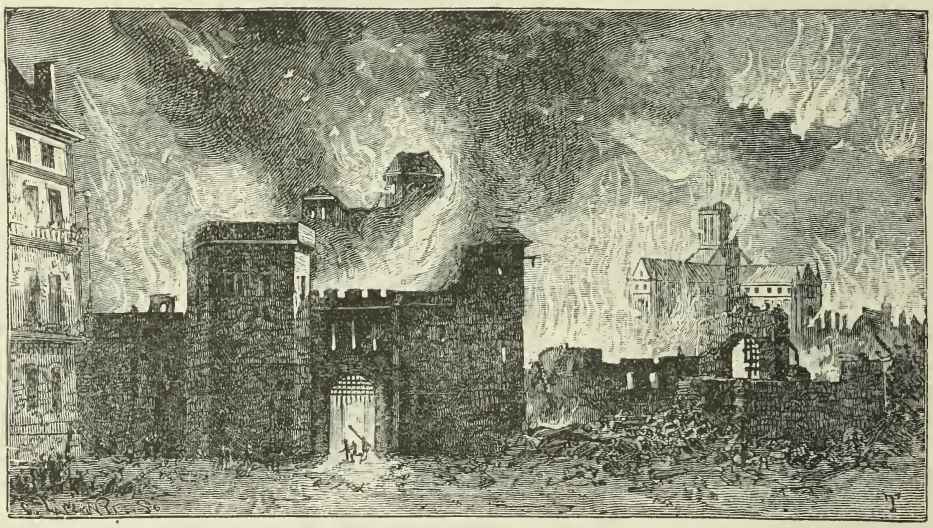
Against all this the nature of man at last revolted, and rushed to the opposite extreme. The age of indulgence followed the age of suppression, and the hilarious shouts of drunken rioters were heard instead of the artificial groans and grunts of the Puritans. The jaunty plumes and perfumed locks of the Cavaliers, in whom the last sparks of moral obligation had gone out, were the fitting counterparts of the shaven faces and carefully cultivated ugliness of the Puritans, in whom a factitious discipline had begotten death, and cant had murdered culture.

Charles II. was the fitting exemplar of his age. The reign of rigor gave place to the reign of riot. And it were difficult to say which was the worse! Certain it is that no more scandalous court has been seen in modern Christendom than that of the Second Charles. He had taken in marriage the Princess Catharine of Braganza, daughter of the king of Portugal, by nature and education as much a prude as he was a profligate. Happy pair! She chose for her maids a bevy of ancient and stately duennas in whom a Jesuitical training had frozen over the rippling river of life and made impossible the heinous sacrilege of laughter. To him this business was intolerable. He flew from it, and gathered around him a company of men and women who sat down to his banquets, and turned all the virtues of the world into ridicule and mockery.

In the fifth year of his reign Charles declared war with Holland. The question between the two powers was the long-standing rivalry of the Dutch and the English for the mastery of the sea. In the struggle which now ensued the land forces of the combatants were not engaged, but the sea-fights were many and severe. The navy of England was under command of the king's brother, James, duke of York, who was one of the ablest captains of his times; and the army was commanded by Prince Rupert and General Monk, who had now been made Duke of Albemarle. The Dutch fleets were under the great admirals De Ruyter and the younger Van Tromp. The crisis of the war was reached in the great naval battle fought in the Downs in June of 1666. For four days the conflict was renewed, and even at the end of the struggle neither fleet had conquered the other. At one time the Dutch squadron sailed up the Thames, and the roar of Van Tromp's cannon was heard by the king, who was, as usual, at a banquet with the ladies of his court. It was the first and last time that the sound of foreign guns has been heard in London. In a second engagement, in the summer of 1666,

fought at the mouth of the Thames, the English gained a decisive victory, and De Ruyter had good cause to cry out, as he did, for one of the shower of bullets to end his life made miserable by defeat.

Their great victory, however, could but poorly compensate the English for the accumulated sorrows of this year 1666—a year which tradition, reïnforced by the pen of De Foe and the muse of Dryden, has made forever famous in the annals of calamity. For now it was that the great Plague or Black Death broke out in London and swept the city with its horrid train. The tremendous life of the metropolis was paralyzed by the presence of the specter. Whole streets were deserted, and the steps



THE GREAT LONDON FIRE.

of the few courageous, who still went forth, sounded like the footfalls of them that walk in the city of the dead. It is estimated that at least ninety thousand persons were swept off before the scourge was stayed.

While this dark pestilence still hovered in the air, another calamity almost as dire fell upon the city. On the 3d of September, 1666, a fire broke out near London Bridge, and soon grew into a roaring conflagration. Further and further on every hand spread the flames until it seemed that the whole city was about to be swallowed in the consuming maelstrom. Nor was the devastation ended until thirteen thousand houses had been reduced to ashes. Such was the dreadful condition to which London was brought by these accumulated horrors that even Charles II. was affected! He became serious for several days, and actually gave some thought to the measures proposed for the relief of the suffering people. It is said that he laid in his chamber, *where he kept several sluts with their pups*, a flimsy mosaic of good intentions; but the Ethiopian could not change his skin or the leopard his spots. The king relapsed in a week.

The sorrows of the state of England, particularly the disgrace of having a Dutch fleet discharging its insolent cannon in the harbor at Chatham, became the occasion of the overthrow of the Clarendon ministry. That nobleman had thus far been to Charles a kind of master, very necessary to the success of the government, but very disagreeable to the passions and preferences of the dissolute prince. More congenial by far to him was the audacious and profoundly immoral Duke of Buckingham. The latter long plotted and planned how he might compass the downfall of Clarendon. At length peace was made with the Dutch on such terms as appeared to the nation—and were—less favorable than were demanded by a strict regard to the honor of England. This circumstance gave Buckingham the desired opportunity to turn the public dislike and mortification against Clarendon as the responsible cause. Nor did Charles himself, thorough ingrate as he was, do any thing to shore up the fortunes of his falling minister.

He willingly let him fall. Clarendon was impeached, removed from office, and sentenced to banishment. Such was—and is—the gratitude of princes. It was doubtless some consolation to the fallen that his daughter, Anne Hyde, was married to the Duke of York, and that the offspring of this union were likely to succeed the childless Charles on the throne of England.

After the overthrow of Clarendon the king did not dare to throw himself at once into the arms of Buckingham. There followed an intermediate stage of semi-respectability in the ministry. Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir Orlando Bridgman were called to conduct the government; and they, with a few others of good character, upheld for a season the tottering honor of the state. But after three years this element of half-virtue in the administration expired under the displeasure of the king and Buckingham. In 1670 a new ministry was formed, which, by its lack of all moral restraint, has obtained an easy preëminence over all the corrupt councils known to history. The body was composed of five men almost equally notorious for their profligacy and ill-repute. These were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, whose initials in the order named formed the appropriate word *Cabal*, by which title the ministry was known.

To this infamous clique the entire management of the kingdom was given over; and for four years the reign of disgrace continued. Nor did the Cabal—so confident was that body of its lease of power—take any care to secure even the semblance of popular approval. On the contrary, the ministers projected one measure after another in the very face of the people's displeasure; and the king laughed! By one decree the Cabal shut up the exchequer of the kingdom, thus virtually confiscating all the money which had been deposited therein. Another measure was the renewal of the war with Holland, a policy which was doubly distasteful to the English from the fact that the same had been adopted at the suggestion of Louis XIV. of France. As in the former struggle, the war was carried on by sea, the Duke of York commanding the English and De Ruyter the Dutch fleets. In 1671, while the two squadrons were at anchor in Solebay, an action was brought on which proved to be one of the most severe sea-fights of the century. The ship of the Duke of York was so shattered that he was obliged to transfer his flag to another. De Ruyter confessed that of the thirty-two naval battles in which he had participated he had never witnessed one so terrible. Both fleets were torn, rent, scattered, but neither could compel the other to yield. On the 11th of August, 1673, a second great battle was fought between the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, now lying at the mouth of the Texel, and the English squadron, now commanded by Prince Rupert. But again the result was indecisive, and each of the crippled armaments withdrew, dragging its bloody length across the sea.

In 1674 a reäction occurred against the Cabal by which that corrupt body was broken up. Clifford died, and Ashley, who had now been made Lord Shaftesbury, fell into disgrace. A new ministry was formed under the Earl of Danby, and for a brief period there was at least a show of reform. But the government of Charles II. was founded on principles essentially vicious, and nothing could make that virtuous and strong which had neither virtue nor strength in itself. In the later years of the reign, however, there was less popular complaint than in the beginning; for the ministry had learned to temporize and trifle with the nation, cajoling and deceiving by turns that English people whom they despised and derided in secret. Whenever occasion seemed to require, the ministers became as servile as they were corrupt, and utterly contemptuous of the rights and honor of the kingdom; they still made a show before Parliament and the people of upholding the ancient renown of England. The real character and dispositions of the several ministries of Charles II., and the final reäction against them, has been expressed by Guizot with his usual clearness and philosophic insight:

"But this corruption," says he, "this servility, this contempt of public rights and public honor [on the part of the ministry], were at last carried to such a pitch as to be no longer supportable. A general outcry was raised against this government of profligates.

A patriotic party, supported by the nation, became gradually formed in the House of Commons, and the king was obliged to take the leaders of it into his council. Lord Essex, the son of him who had commanded the first parliamentary armies in the civil war, Lord Russell, and Lord Shaftesbury, who, without any of the virtues of the other two, was much their superior in political abilities, were now called to the management of affairs.

The national party, to whom the direction of the government was now committed, proved itself unequal to the task: it could not gain possession of the moral force of the country; it could neither manage the interests, the habits, nor the prejudices of the king, of the court, nor of any with whom it had to do. It inspired no party, either king or people, with any confidence in its energy or ability; and after holding power for a short time, this national ministry completely failed. The virtues of its leaders, their generous courage, the beauty of their death, have raised them to a distinguished niche in the temple of fame, and entitled them to honorable mention in the page of history; but their political capacities in no way corresponded to their virtues: they could not wield power, though they could withstand its corrupting influence, nor could they achieve a triumph for that glorious cause for which they could so nobly die."

Before proceeding, however, to narrate the immediate causes of the Second Revolution in England, a few remaining details of the reign of Charles may well be given. The relations between himself and Parliament were never—after the first inglorious gush of enthusiasm—of a sort to inspire confidence or respect. In vain did the House of Commons wait for some signs of political virtue on the part of the king, and in vain did the king wait for that body—to adjourn! At last, in 1678, after sitting for seventeen years, the Parliament which had hailed his accession with such absurd demonstrations of loyalty was dissolved, and in the following year a new assembly was summoned. But the House now became a scene of turmoil almost as fierce as that which had preceded the downfall of the monarchy. Religious animosity came in to intensify political agitation. Charles was suspected of being secretly in sympathy with the papists. Moreover, he had no children—at least his queen had none—and it was clear that the succession would, in the event of the king's death, fall to his brother, the Duke of York. But James was an open adherent of the Romish Church; and the English people, who, since the early years of the Tudor dynasty, had been ruled by Protestants, were brought face to face with the near prospect of another Catholic king. The outlook was highly displeasing. The Commons proposed and passed an act for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, and for settling the crown on James's eldest daughter, Mary, who had been married to the Prince of Orange.

While this measure was still agitated in Parliament, another was brought forward entitled the Habeas Corpus Bill, which, as the name implies, was intended to throw a still greater security around the English citizen in the matter of illegal and arbitrary arrest and detention without trial in prison. Thus, while the king and his court were spending their afternoons in witnessing the obscene plays which the prostituted muses of Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar were defiling the English stage withal, and their evenings in revels and debauches, the Parliament was struggling to preserve the crown for Protestantism, and to throw additional safeguards around the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

It was at this juncture that the celebrated Titus Oates appeared on the scene, and by his magnificent scheme of falsehood and perversion turned the sober brain of England into a whirlpool. Oates, having been dismissed from a chaplaincy in the navy, went abroad and became a Jesuit at Valladolid. But he was soon expelled from the college of that Order, and came back to England. Hereupon he drew up an ornate and circumstantial account of a great conspiracy which he alleged to have been formed by the Jesuits for the murder of the king of England and the subversion of the Protestant religion. Then he enlarged the story and made an affidavit of its truth. An excitement broke out in London, the like of which had rarely, if ever, been witnessed in that metropolis. Catholics were

arrested and thrown into prison. Oates was lodged in Whitehall, a guard was appointed for his protection, and Parliament, losing its senses, voted him a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum. After a scene of indescribable turmoil, the insane excitement at length subsided, and subsequent judicial investigations proved conclusively that there had been *no "Popish Plot" at all!*

Meanwhile the popular discontent with the king waxed hot. Charles and his brother James became the objects of intense dislike. Public meetings were held, and schemes were debated for the reform of the kingdom. Among other projects, a plot was formed for placing on the throne the popular and accomlished James Scott, duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles. It was openly alleged that the king and Lucy Walters, the mother of Monmouth, had been secretly married, and that therefore the duke was virtually legitimate. But the king vehemently denied the story of the marriage, though not the paternity of Monmouth. The latter was ambitious to gain the throne, and was so far involved in the plots which were formed in his interest that he was presently obliged to retire into Holland.

It was now the turn of the Catholics to make conspiracies in behalf of their favorite, the Duke of York. This prince, who had so long distinguished himself as commander of the English fleet, returned to court and became dominant in the affairs of the state. His temper was far more severe than that of the easy-going king, and perceiving the dislike against himself and that the cause thereof was his religion, he urged on his brother to adopt measures of great harshness towards those who were, or were supposed to be, in conspiracy relative to the succession.

In the Parliament of 1680, Lord William Russell was one of those who had endeavored to procure the passage of the act excluding the Duke of York from the throne. In the course of time a band of plotters, under the lead of a certain Rumbold, assembled at a place called the Rye House, near Newmarket, and there debated the question how the king might be overthrown and the duke excluded. It was charged that Lord Russell was privy to this business, and on this charge—which was false—he was arrested, imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded on the 21st of July, 1683. In like manner, the accomplished Algernon Sidney was seized, sentenced, and executed, his trial being a mockery and the judgment of the court a slander.

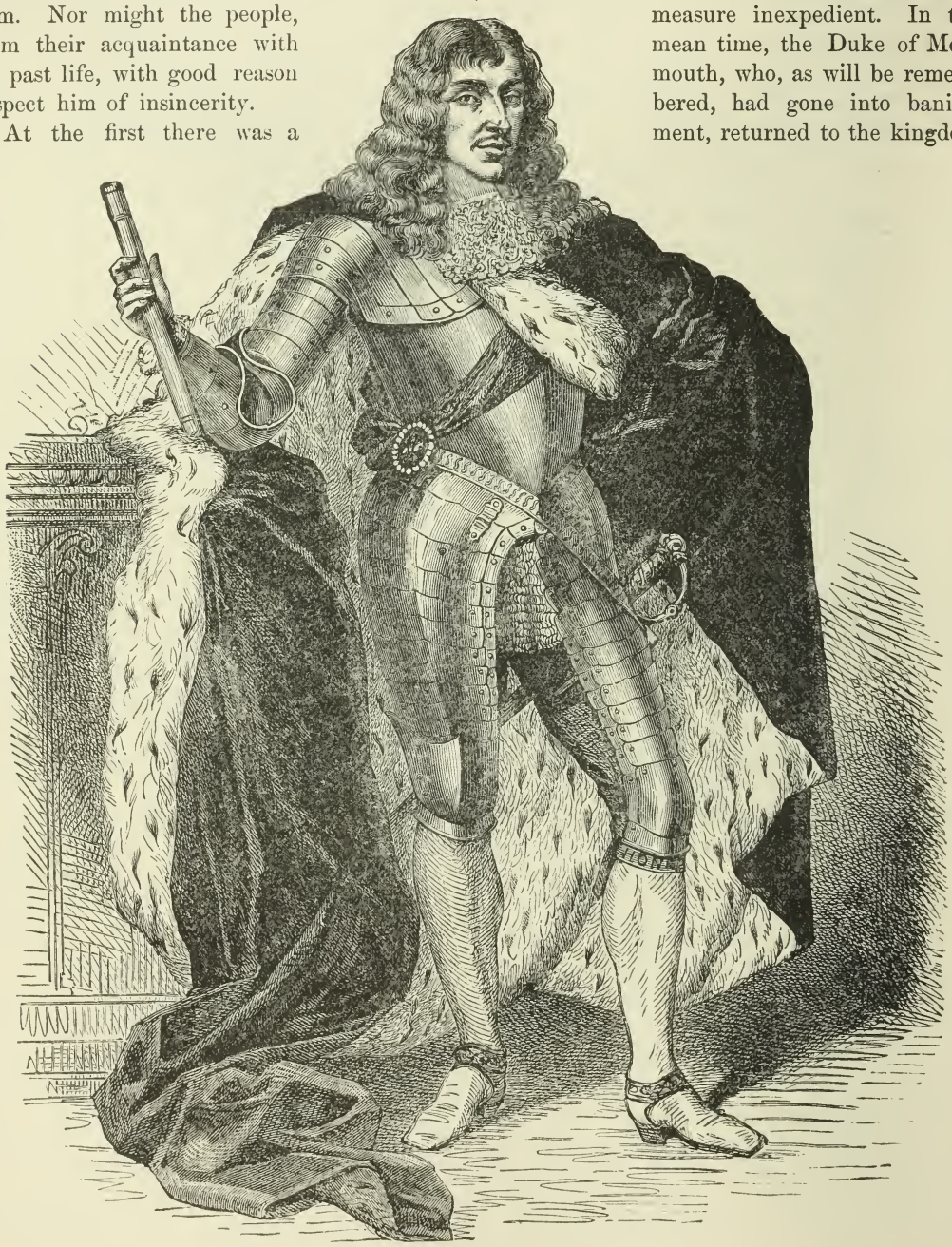
The scandalous reign of Charles II. continued for almost twenty-five years. At the beginning of February, 1685, still banqueting and carousing with his boon companions, he was struck with apoplexy and brought to a pause. He lingered in a half-conscious state for a few days, and died on the 6th of the month, being in the fifty-fifth year of his age.[1]

Notwithstanding the extreme dislike of the English people, there was but little open opposition to the accession of the Duke of York, who at once assumed the crown with the title of James II. His character was strongly contrasted with that of his brother. He had neither the vices nor the virtues of the late king. His naturally serious and cold disposition had been sunk to a still lower temperature by the influence of his Catholic mother and the hard discipline of his early years. In his religion he was a thorough papist, and to the faith which he had imbibed he added a harshness and bigotry of his own. Neverthe-

[1] The following estimate of Charles is from the quaint *Diary* of his partial friend and admirer, Sir John Evelyn: "Thus died King Charles II., of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues and many greate imperfections; debonnaire, easy of accesse, not bloudy nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice greate, proper of person, every motion became him; a lover of the sea and skillful in shipping. . . . He had a peculiar talent in telling a story, and facetious passages of which he had innumerable; this made some buffoons and vitious wretches too presumtuous and familiar. . . . He tooke delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where . . . which rendered it very offensive, and indeede made the whole Court nasty and stinking. . . . He frequently and easily chang'd favorites, to his greate prejudice. As to other publiq transactions and unhappy miscarriages, 't is not here I intend to number them. . . . His too easy nature resigned to be manag'd by crafty men and some abandoned and profane wretches, who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts. . . . He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I can not, without ingratitude, but deplore his losse."

less, he spread the footstool of the throne with good intentions, and was no doubt sincere in his purpose to rule according to the constitution and established laws of the kingdom. Nor might the people, from their acquaintance with his past life, with good reason suspect him of insincerity.

At the first there was a quiet acceptance of the situation. In a short time, however, it became known that James had sent a Catholic legate to Rome to open with Pope Innocent XI. such negotiations as looked to the religious reunion of England with the Holy Church. Nor is it likely that the king would have forborne to press his project to immediate fulfillment but for the counsels of the Pope himself, who deemed the measure inexpedient. In the mean time, the Duke of Monmouth, who, as will be remembered, had gone into banishment, returned to the kingdom and laid claim to the crown. On the 11th of June, 1685, he landed with a hundred followers at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and relying upon his popularity invited the people to his standard. In a short time a force of



JAMES II.

six thousand men had been mustered and equipped, and many more asked to be given arms but could not be supplied. Monmouth again gave out the story that his mother had been married to the late king, and in this, as well as in the Exclusion Act which had been passed by the House of Commons against James, the adherents of the duke found an excuse and ground of their insurrection.

The movement became formidable, and it is likely that had Monmouth marched at once on London he might have succeeded in driving James from the kingdom. But the rebellious duke stopped here and there to be proclaimed, and thus gave the king time to organize for defense. Continuing his course toward the capital, Monmouth met the royal army at Sedgemoor, on the 5th of July, and was there totally defea'ed. The duke fled from the field, changed clothes with a peasant, and hid himself in a ditch, but all to no avail. He was hunted down, captured, and taken to London. Great was the grief of the people to know that their favorite was in the toils. Vainly did Monmouth seek to gain an interview with the king in the hope of moving his sympathies or pity. The occupant of the throne was a very different personage from Charles II., and no commiseration was to be expected. Monmouth was hastily tried, condemned, and beheaded. His followers were hunted with merciless severity.

Now it was that Lord George Jeffreys, through whose agency Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney had been unjustly put to death, and who for that nefarious work had been made chief-justice of England, appeared on the scene as a judicial exterminator of the king's enemies. He was placed at the head of a special commission, empowered to deal with those who had been concerned in Monmouth's rebellion. He went into the infected district and instituted his courts in the spirit of an executioner. Never before since the days of Alva in the Netherlands had there been under the seeming sanction of law such a judicial destruction of men. Of those brought before Jeffreys's tribunal three hundred and twenty were hanged, eight hundred and forty-one were sold as slaves into the tropics, and multitudes of others were scourged and imprisoned. The judicial ghoul even made a boast that he had hanged more traitors than all the other judges in England since the Norman conquest. Doubtless the boast was true. At any rate, James had good reason to designate the work of Jeffreys as "the chief-justice's *campaign* in the West," and to reward him with the office of High Chancellor of England.

On the 30th of June of this first year of James's reign another atrocity was perpetrated in the execution of Sir Archibald Campbell, duke of Argyll. This nobleman had during the whole time of the Commonwealth remained faithful to the House of Stuart, and after the return of Charles II. had been restored to his earldom. When, however, at the accession of James he was required to take the test oath, he refused to do so, except with the added clause, "as far as is consistent with the Protestant faith." For this he was charged with high treason and convicted. Under sentence of death he succeeded in making his escape to Holland, where he gathered an army, and then came back. Defeat and capture followed, and then execution.

The king thus swept the field of open opposition. But there still remained the deep-seated discontent, distrust, and unrest of the people. Most of all, the hand of the English nation was lifted against James because of his covert purpose everywhere cropping out to restore Catholicism in England. He had, after the death of his first wife, the daughter of Lord Clarendon, married the Princess Maria Beatrice of Modena, who, twenty-five years his junior, used all the blandishments and arts known to the woman of Italy to intensify James's preference for the ancient Church.

In this business she was aided and abetted by the king's confessor, Father Peters, who urged the monarch forward in the work of installing Catholics in places of trust and honor. The chaplaincies of the army and navy were turned over to Catholic priests. The Episcopal bishop of London was suspended from his office, and in order still further to favor the papal party an EDICT OF TOLERATION was issued to all religionists of every hue and fashion who dissented from the Church of England. Under this sweeping license of worship it was intended to give a wide champaign in which Catholicism might expatiate on soaring wing.

Of course the adherents of the Established Church made a prodigious effort to put a stop to these reäctionary proceedings. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other great prelates of the kingdom drew up a remonstrance and presented it to the king; and for this action so simple, so just, so constitutional the remonstrants were seized and imprisoned in the Tower. On being brought to trial, however, they were triumphantly acquitted—a result which showed conclusively the temper of the people and their determination to resent and resist the further encroachments of the king.

At this juncture both the Papal and the Protestant party scanned most eagerly the question of the succession, and from the probabilities in that regard the king and his enemies alike drew hope and comfort. For as yet the king had no son, and his eldest daughter Mary was the wife of no less a personage than William Henry, prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands. That prince was now at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe, and his wife was in hearty accord with her husband. To this fact the Protestants in England looked with intense satisfaction, perceiving that in the event of James's death they should have a queen after their own heart, with a powerful prince-consort able to defend her. But while the Protestants thus waited and took comfort, the Italian queen of King James presented him a son. Great was the joy of the king and the Catholic party at this event, and equally keen was the mortification of those who had hoped that nature had put her everlasting interdict against a Catholic succession. When the unpleasant news was carried to William of Orange he clenched his fist and scowled at the paper, as though it were a letter from his evil genius.

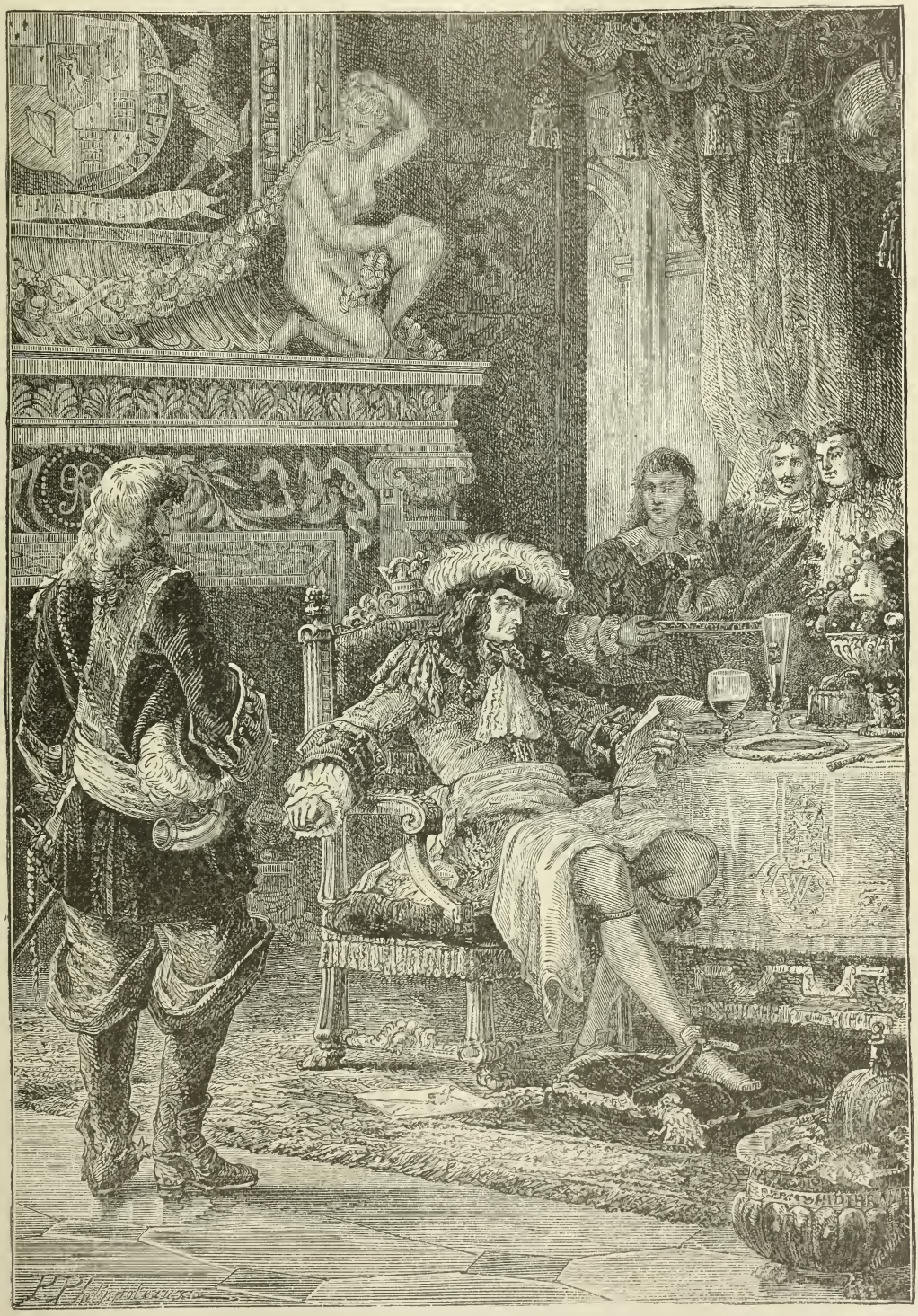
The prince thus given to the king of England was born on the 10th of June, 1688, and was destined, under the title of the Pretender, to become an important factor in the subsequent history of the country. Though his birth was regarded by his father as the most auspicious of events, it was in reality to him the most disastrous. For the Protestants, disappointed in their hope that the crown would, after James's death, fall to the wife of the Prince of Orange, now formed the resolve of compelling what nature had denied. Many of the leading men of the kingdom entered into a correspondence with Prince William, with the ulterior design of offering him the crown.

The king in the meantime was so absorbed with his project of reëstablishing popery in England that he seemed not to perceive the premonitory shiver of the earthquake in which he was about to be engulfed. He went straight ahead with his proscriptive policy; nor was he aroused to the peril of the situation until his minister at the Hague sent him a letter in which he was warned that he might at any moment expect a Dutch invasion. Things had now gone so far that, when in his alarm he suddenly reversed his methods and undertook by various concessions to put back the rising storm, he merely gained for himself the reputation of being a political coward as well as a tyrant. His retractions and conciliations did no good, but rather encouraged the revolutionists to go forward with their work. Their design at this time was simply to expel forever the Stuart dynasty from England.

In the summer of 1688 the Prince of Orange issued a declaration that he would presently come into the Island and redress the grievances of the English people. This announcement was received with delight by the Protestant party and with dismay by the king. To the latter it was the handwriting on the wall; nor was the express purpose of Prince William by any means an idle boast. He meant what he said, and having made up his mind to interfere in the affairs of England, he hastened to carry out his design. Having already well in hand the military resources of Holland, he organized a powerful army and fleet, and sailing from Helvoetsluys, in the last of October, 1688, landed on the 5th of the following month at Torbay.

He came partly in his own right, partly in the right of his wife, partly by the invitation of the English people, and partly as the defender of Protestantism. At the first his reception was less cordial, or at any rate less enthusiastic, than he had been led to expect. For the people of the West were still smarting under the punishments which the king and Jeffreys had inflicted upon them for their

participancy in Monmouth's rebellion. For this reason they feared at first to hazard their lives and fortunes in a new adventure. But they soon perceived that William of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth were two very different personages, and that he who now led



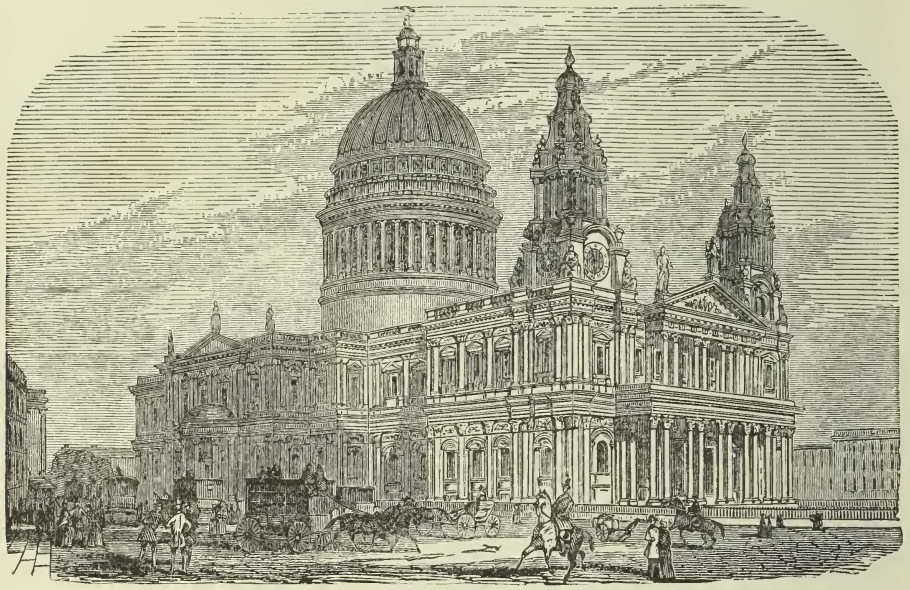
WILLIAM III. OF ORANGE RECEIVES THE NEWS OF THE BIRTH OF THE PRETENDER.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

the insurrection against the crown might be safely followed. In a short time the gentry of Devon and Somerset began to gather to his standard, and then the invasion rolled on with ever increasing volume. It was surprising to note what a mere moiety of the English people remained devoted to the king.

The little clique of Jesuits who still surrounded the throne formed but a ridiculous panoply about the quaking monarch. Perceiving with that sense of shrewdness by which the Order has ever been characterized, that their game was up in England, they advised James to quit the country until what time, by foreign alliances and a hoped-for reaction at home, he might so strengthen himself as to reclaim the crown. The queen and the ministers likewise admonished him to fly before the storm which he had no means of resisting. This policy he accordingly adopted. Sending the queen and her infant son before him, he himself on the night of the 12th of December, 1688, slipped out of London, and accompanied only by Sir Edward Hale, fled to Feversham.

As soon as it was known in the capital that the king had taken flight, all the winds were loosed. The London mob rose and howled through the streets. The work of destruction was begun. Upon the papists the insurgents let loose all their fury. The mass-houses were torn down and the priests obliged to fly for their lives. The ministers of the fugitive king were glad to get out of sight; and they who had abetted him in his work escaped as best they could. Lord Jeffreys, having disguised himself, attempted to get away, but was caught, recognized, and so terribly maltreated by the mob that he died from his injuries.

In the mean time, Lord Feversham, who commanded the royal army, believing that resistance was hopeless, disbanded the troops and set them loose without pay upon the country. A new element was thus added to the general confusion and lawlessness. The country was in an uproar until those peers and bishops who could be assembled in London sent an invitation to Prince William to take upon himself the work of restoring order to the kingdom.



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—Built by Christopher Wren.

As to the fugitive James, he was presently found at Feversham, and greatly against the wish of the Prince of Orange was brought back to London. It had been the intention of William to permit, even to encourage, the escape of his father-in-law from England; for he had promised Mary that her father should suffer no personal harm. Accordingly the Prince connived at a second escape of the discrowned king from the city; and on the evening of Christmas, 1688, James, having

made his way without discovery to the coast and taken ship, was landed at Ambletus in Picardy. Thence he continued his course to St. Germains, near Paris, where he was awaited and cordially received by Louis XIV., very glad to gain such an accession to his list of dependents.

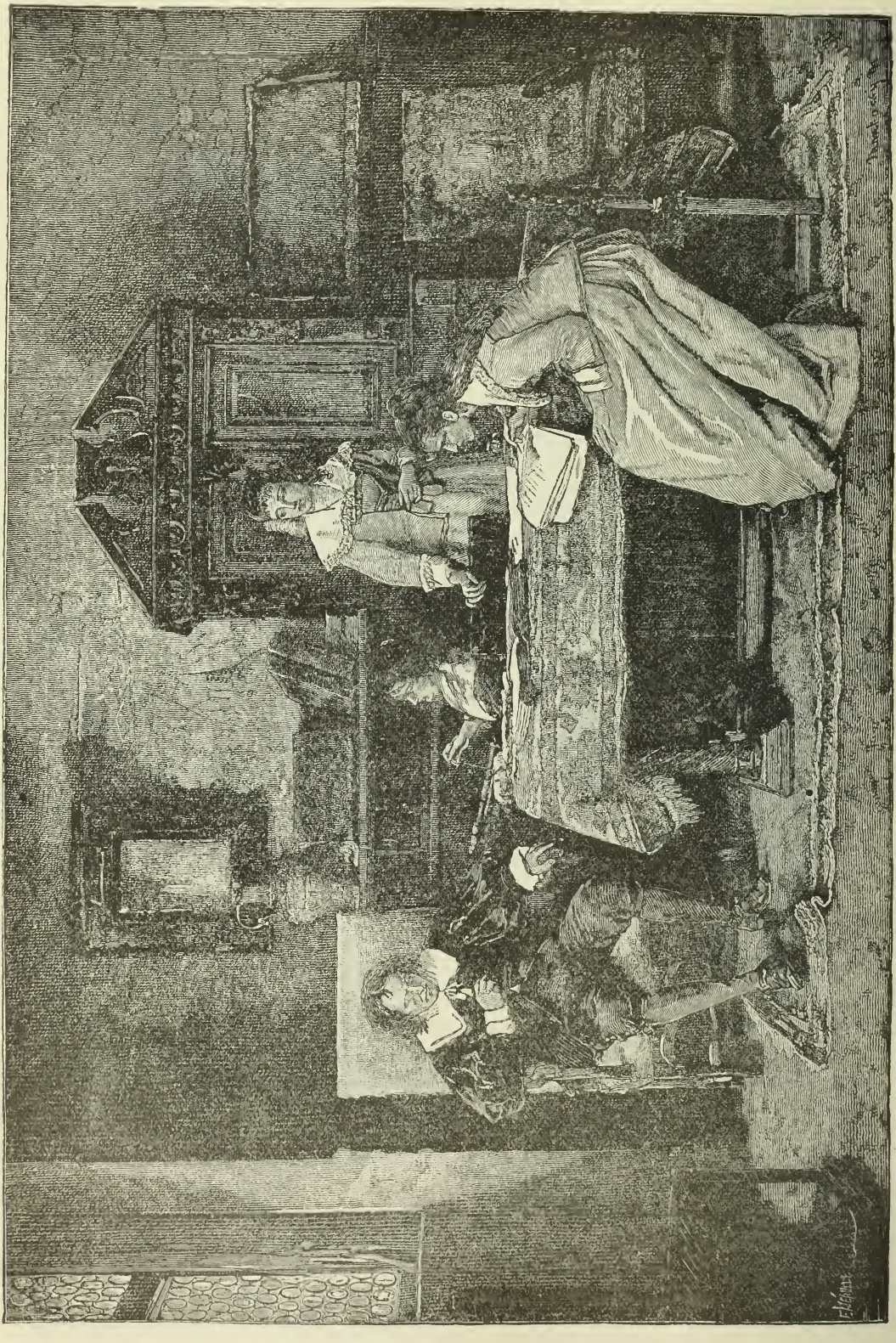
Thus, without bloodshed, was the House of Stuart, which had been dominant in England, except during the epoch of the Revolution and the Commonwealth, for a period of eighty-five years, quietly but forcibly expelled from the government of a people between whom and itself there had never been any thing but misunderstanding, distrust, hostility. The dynasty was simply cast off as no longer tolerable; and while the loyalty of the realm contented itself with the fact that the daughter of the exiled king was still to be queen of England, the popular spirit found comfort and a sense of relief in hurling contempt after the fugitive House.

In the midst of the narrative of these exciting and revolutionary events it is a pleasure to turn for a moment to some of the victories of peace. Among these may be mentioned the revival of London, rising like a phœnix from her ashes and from the horrors of the plague. The city was rapidly rebuilt, and the new structures gave unmistakable evidence of the greatness of the England of the future. In the work of reconstruction the genius of the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, shone out with peculiar brightness. He was as indefatigable in the task to which he devoted himself as he was preëminent in architecture. No fewer than fifty-four of the new churches of the city sprang into being under his hand. Among these, first of all, was the great Cathedral of St. Paul's—a structure which, in its magnificence and durability, stands second only to the masterpiece of Michael Angelo, the unrivaled St. Peter's at Rome. It was the good fortune of Sir Christopher to live to see the completion of the sublime edifice to which he had devoted the thought of thirty-five years. To him London is indebted for her commodious quays along the Thames, her frequent squares and piazzas in the district ravaged by the fire of 1666, the Royal Exchange and Custom House, the Monument Temple Bar, and the College of Physicians; and in many other parts of England the trophies of his genius still attest his greatness as a builder.

Nor did literature, at this epoch, fail to produce some of her greatest achievements. Milton is generally considered as belonging to the Commonwealth, and so far as his political life was concerned, his activities were referable to that stormy period. But his greatest works were produced after the Restoration. There, in his humble house at Chalfont, whither he had retired after the downfall of the Commonwealth, he sat down—old, blind, deserted—and dictated from the double fountains of pagan lore and Puritan melancholy the dolorous and glorious strophes of *Paradise Lost*. Old John Bunyan also came with his allegorical and realistic genius, and, sitting in Bedford Jail, wrought out that *Pilgrim's Progress* in whose simple page the conscience of the English-speaking race has found itself a glass for more than two hundred years. Nor should failure be made to mention the great satirist of the Cavaliers, that quaint



MILTON.



MILTON DICTATING TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Samuel Butler, whose *Hudibras*, stinging and deserved burlesque on the Puritans, has immortalized the cant and fanaticism of its victims. And time would fail to speak of Evelyn and Pepys, whose two private *Diaries* were held up like the sensitive plates of a photographer to catch and retain forever the scandals and gossip of the age; or to note the career of the brilliant and time-serving Dryden; or to speak of Congreve and Collier and Otway; or to praise the magnificent work of Robert Boyle, one of the founders of the Royal Society.—These things belong to the history of English Letters.

CHAPTER CIX.—WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.

IN the beginning of the present Book it was said that the English Revolution was a general movement of political society to overthrow the absolutism of secular authority, just as the religious insurrection of the preceding century had destroyed the absolutism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As the Reformation spread from country to country until nearly all Europe was affected by its influence, so the politico-revolutionary movement begun in England, leaped the Channel, became confluent with a similar current in the Netherlands, combined therewith and dashed high against the imposing monarchy of France. In that country, since the accession of Henry of Navarre, the institution of royalty had become more and more consolidated. The French kings had adopted systematic methods, and had reared a monarchical structure which appeared to them to be imperishable. The Bourbons became in spirit, if not in fact, the most absolute princes of Western Europe; and when, in 1643, Louis XIII. died, leaving the crown to his son, then but five years of age, and the regency to the queen and the great minister, Cardinal Mazarin, there were present in France the precise antecedents for the erection of a colossal civil despotism.

During the childhood of Louis XIV., he was neglected and purposely kept in ignorance of affairs by Mazarin, who, scarcely less ambitious than Richelieu himself, desired to rule France, and, through France, Europe. Not until the royal lad was thirteen years of age did he assert himself and begin to make his keepers understand that their master was coming. By that time the disorders of the French kingdom, and the still more violent disorders in England, a knowledge of which was borne to the prince, had profoundly impressed his mind with the idea that to govern is to govern; that so-called popular influenec in the affairs of state is a delusion and a snare; and that a really great monarch is the embodiment of the kingdom over which he is called to reign. All this chimed in in perfect harmony with the natural instincts and predispositions of Louis, whose religion and maternal descent from the House of Austria had combined to make him one of the most profound autocrats of modern times.

From the date of his assumption of the royal dignity, this young devotee of absolutism manifested such remarkable discernment as to compensate for that lack of information for which he was indebted to his mother and Mazarin. In 1653 he accompanied the army under Turenne in a campaign against the rebellious Prince of Condé, who at that time was engaged in the siege of Arras. By the defeat of Condé and the breaking up of the siege, an end was put to that great civil disturbance which, under the name of the *War of the Fronde*, had distracted France for fifteen years.

After having joined with Cromwell in a war on Spain, Louis, in the year 1659, concluded with that country a peace known as the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and in the following year—according to one of the provisions of the treaty—he took in marriage the Princess Maria Theresa, daughter of the Spanish king Philip IV.

In 1661 the Cardinal Mazarin died, after having managed the affairs of the kingdom with great success for a period of eighteen years. Louis thereupon gave notice that henceforth *he would be his own minister*. When the functionaries of the state came in inquiring to know, after the manner of their kind, to whom they should thereafter address their communications on public business, he answered them, "To myself." Here at last was a king indeed.

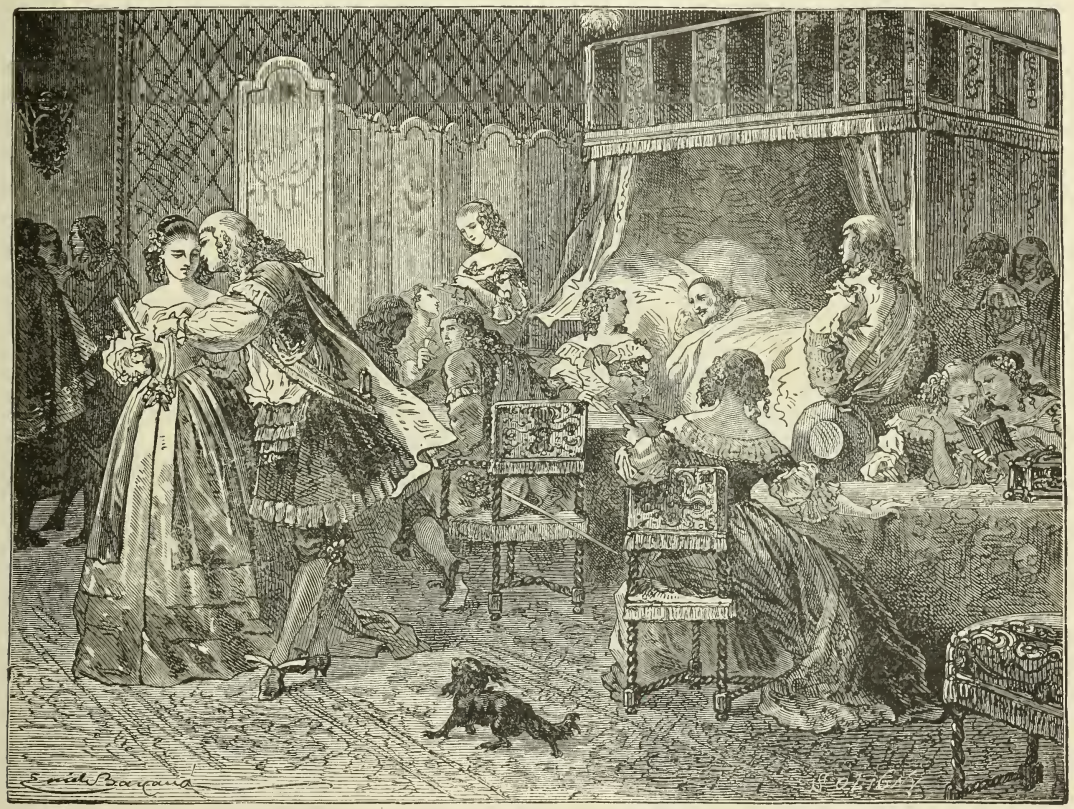


CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Having thus taken upon himself the immediate responsibility for the government, Louis turned his attention first of all to the finances of the kingdom. He called to his aid the banker-statesman, Jean Baptiste Colbert, a man of great financial genius, and with him instituted a radical reform in the monetary affairs of the kingdom. Fouquet, the former minister of finance, was arrested, tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment for his peculations while in office. The new administration under Colbert quickly restored the public credit, and the French financial system became a model for surrounding nations.

The king next asserted his will in foreign affairs, and in this department of statecraft soon proved himself a master. An occasion was not long wanting for the display of his power. In the year 1661, just after the Restoration of Charles II., a difficulty occurred between the ambassadors of France and Spain at the English court, which gave Louis an opportunity to play the king in a grand style. In that age of formal and ridiculous pomp the question of precedence among ambassadors was considered of the utmost im-

portance. Who should stand first and who second in a court procession was a matter of the gravest concern. Until this time, Spain, owing to her relations with the German Empire, had outranked France; and so, when, on a given occasion, Vatteville, the Spanish ambassador in London, attempted to take his place in a diplomatic procession, he found the place occupied by the Count D'Estrades, the ambassador of France. An altercation ensued, and then a riot. The French representative



DEATH OF MAZARIN.

was beaten from his place. His carriage was broken to pieces, his horses hamstrung, and his son and attendants wounded in the *mêlée.*

On receiving the news of what had been done to his ambassador Louis at once ordered the Spanish ambassador at his own court to quit France. He also recalled the French representative from Madrid, and notified the king of Spain that if he did not immediately disavow the outrage which had been done, withdraw all claim to precedence, and make ample apology, he might prepare for war. Such was the terror inspired by this menace that Philip IV. sent a special messenger to Paris, and there, in the presence of Louis and the ministers of foreign powers assembled at Fontainebleau, the humble retraction and apology were made. All claim of Spain to ambassadorial precedence over France was renounced in a manner sufficiently humiliating to satisfy the offended king. Soon afterwards a difficulty of like nature occurred in Rome, in which some of the servants of the Duke of Créqui, the French minister, were injured by the papal guards. For this offense Louis compelled the Pope to disband his guard, to exile his brother, to send a cardinal to Paris with a formal apology, and to build a monument in Rome, on the side of which was recorded the insult to French dignity, together with the reparation which had been made therefor. Thus did the haughty monarch vindicate his claim to be a king in fact. Not without good reason did he adopt for his motto *L'État c'est Moi*—"I am the State."

Great was the popularity obtained by

Louis on account of the reforms which he instituted, the return of prosperity to the kingdom, and his imperious bearing, so well suited to the French people in that age. They gloried in their sovereign and accepted his motto.

It thus happened that Louis XIV. of France became the recognized head of absolutism in Western Europe at the same time that William of Orange became the recognized exponent of the opposite theory of government. Catholic France, with her Grand Monarch, was set over against Protestant England and Holland, with their dauntless defender, the Prince of Nassau. Thus it was that the larger forces of historical causation, operating independently of the wills of the actors, brought about a crisis at the close of the seventeenth century, and set against each other, in necessary and inveterate antagonism, the king of France and William of Orange.



COLBERT.

It was considerations such as these that influenced the most thoughtful men of England in inviting William to pass over to the Island and become their king and leader. They foresaw the conflict, and anxious to prepare therefor, the expulsion of the House of Stuart became an antecedent necessity of the situation. The liberty which had been at the first wrested from Catholic absolutism in the times of Elizabeth, and again taken by force from Charles I., was now imperiled to the extent that united England and Holland must draw the sword in its defense.

Not without a certain hereditary claim to the crown of England did William appear on the stage, where he was now destined to act so conspicuous a part. He was the grandson of Charles I., his mother being the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of that sovereign. He had, as already stated, taken in marriage his cousin Mary, daughter of James II., and she, until the birth of the Pretender, had been regarded as the true successor to her father's crown. The claims of the prince and princess were thus mutually strengthened. If William's title was imperfect, being deduced through the female line, that of Mary was also uncertain in that she was a woman, her half-brother, James Francis Stuart, having been born in the very year of the Revolution.

It thus happened that though James was unequivocally expelled from the kingdom, Parliament had a serious question to deal with in settling the succession. After a long and excited discussion, an act was finally passed by which the English crown was conferred on William and Mary in jointure. It was agreed that the two royal personages should reign together as king and queen of England. The immediate administration of affairs, however, was given to the king alone. It was further provided that in case William and Mary should die without children, the crown should descend to the Princess Anne, remaining daughter of James II.

The new prince, thus called to the throne of England, was at the time of his accession in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was in all respects one of the most remarkable men of the century. Such had been the vicis-

situdes through which he had passed and the trials to which he had been subjected that he was prematurely old. Not that his strength of will or power of endurance was broken; but both his visage, which was pale and thin, and his person, which was emaciated, gave token that natural elasticity had been destroyed by care and exuberance of feeling expelled by anxiety. He had a severe and solemn aspect, and his temper was not altogether free from peevishness; but the native vigor of his understanding, his strong sense of justice, and the real greatness of his character shone out clear and bright over all his drawbacks and imperfections, and gave him an easy preëminence among the rulers of his times. Nor was Queen Mary unworthy of her consort. To great dignity of bearing she added a winning face and affability of manners; and the genuine virtues of her character were more consonant with the reputation of her husband than with the narrowness and bigotry of her father.

The transition from the House of Stuart to the House of Nassau furnished to the English Parliament a fine opportunity to assert its power in laying certain constitutional limitations on the prerogatives of the king. With this purpose in view a measure was brought forward and passed under the name of the BILL OF RIGHTS, by which the king's authority was abridged in many particulars and defined in others. Certain safeguards were at the same time thrown around English citizenship by which that somewhat vague but yet most real thing called the liberty of the people was better than ever before secured.

The new king of England could not complain of any want of a cordial reception by his subjects. They, on their part, were sufficiently pleased that they had had their way in the expulsion of the Stuarts, and did not at first scan with a critical eye the temper and purposes of the sovereign whom they had chosen in place of James. In the course of time, however, many elements of discord were discovered between William and his people. He was in all things a soldier, bred to the camp, utterly indifferent to the pleasures and excitement of the court. The English nation preferred a king capable of magnificence, such as Henry VIII., who could sit on a real throne with a real plume in his hat and a real scepter in his hand. For all this William had no liking. He was a man of business, a



WILLIAM III.

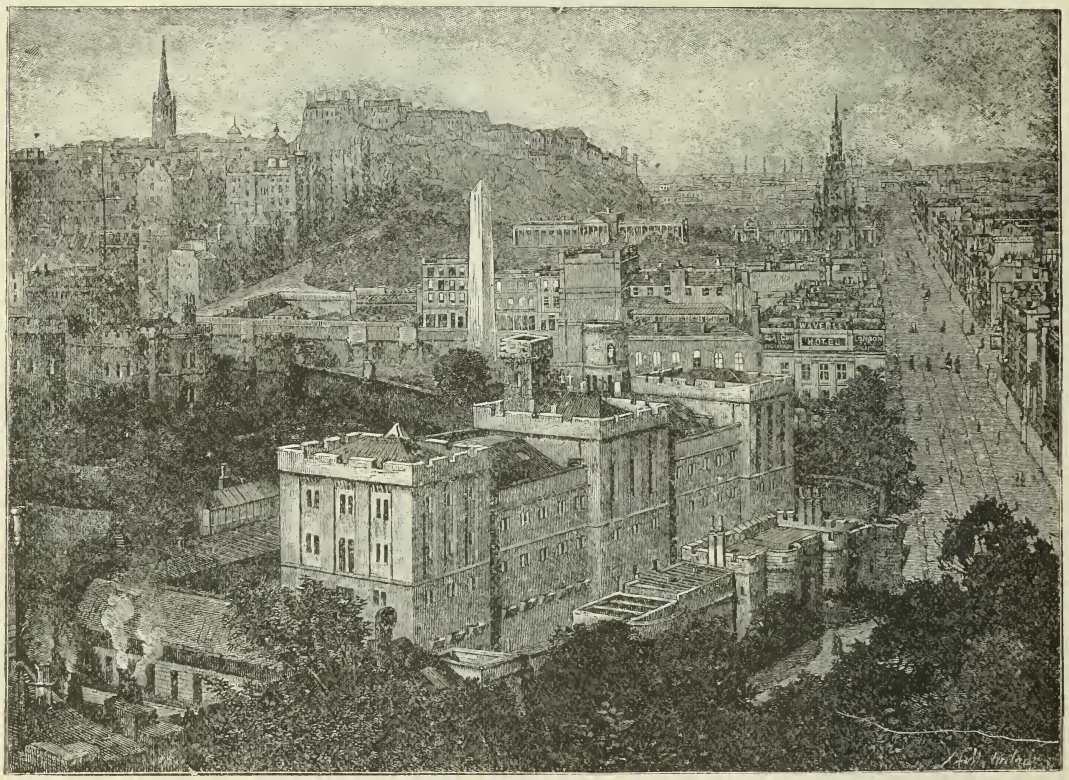
warrior, not copious in speech or courtly in manners. Besides his ideas of government were more monarchic than liberal. Though he kept all his pledges with scrupulous fidelity, he made no new ones unless compelled by the exigencies of the situation. For the most part he confined himself to his military camp at Hounslow, where he busied himself in laying plans to thwart the machinations of his great adversary, the Grand Monarch of France, little heeding the wishes or answering to the expectations of the people of the court.

But this natural and acquired indifference to the public desire did not blind William to

the danger of giving serious offense to his subjects. At length he made an honest effort to appear at court and to shine as an English king; but the result showed that he was more capable of being dazzled than of dazzling. The ceremonial and pageant of the palace suited not his severe and penetrating genius. He escaped as quickly as possible from the thralldom of royal fashion, preferring the soldier's harness, the sober talk of his Dutch councilors and the profound problems of state-craft, in which he became an adept and a master.

The action of Parliament by which the crown was conferred on William and Mary extended only to the sovereignty of England. It was doubtful whether the Scots, among whom a strong sentiment of loyalty to the House of Stuart still existed, would follow the lead of the Southern kingdom in bestowing the crown on the Prince of Orange. The event soon proved, however, that the apprehension was not well grounded. A short time after the revolution at London was accomplished, the Scottish Parliament convened and passed an act by which the sovereignty of the country was given to William and Mary. At Edinburgh and generally throughout the Lowlands the change of dynasty was as cordially endorsed as it had been in the south. Among the Highlanders, however, the expulsion of the House of Stuart produced a sullen discontent. A large number of clansmen gathered around the standard of Lord Dundee, who headed a revolt against the king.

A strong force was sent out by William to put down the revolt; but his troops were met and defeated by the Highlanders in the pass of Killicrankie. But Lord Dundee was slain in the battle, and the rebellion fell to pieces. Instead of following the example of his father-in-law in his course with the Duke of Monmouth, William adopted a liberal policy towards those who had participated in the revolt. All were pardoned on condition of becoming loyal subjects of the king.



EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

In the mean time a critical condition of affairs had come about in Ireland. The Catholic population of that island had strongly sympathized with James II. in his misfortunes;

nor was it doubtful that, had opportunity offered, they would have openly espoused his cause. As for James himself, now resident at the court of Louis XIV., he still cherished the design of recovering the crown of which the revolution of 1688 had deprived him. His hopes were fed with assiduity by the politic king of France, who, being fully conscious that a great struggle was impending between himself and King William, was very willing to render assistance to any who might embarrass that monarch or confuse his plans. Louis accordingly furnished James with arms and money necessary for the organization of a great rebellion in Ireland. Early in 1689 the exiled king landed at Kinsale, and was welcomed with great joy by the Catholic population. In March he made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and accepting the popular enthusiasm in his favor as an omen of success, he laid siege to Londonderry.

But the people of this town were loyal to William of Orange, and the place was defended with great obstinacy. At length relief arrived from England, and the siege was raised. In the latter part of summer the Duke of Schomberg, the most trusted general of King William, landed in Ireland with an army of ten thousand men. The opposition, however, proved to be much stronger than was anticipated, and after a ten months' campaign, the veteran duke, now eighty-two years of age, was obliged to confess himself unable to put down the rebellion. But this emergency was precisely of the kind to bring out all the reserved force of which the Prince of Orange possessed such an abundant store. He resolved to undertake the Irish war in person, and having organized an army of about twenty-five thousand men, he went over to the insurgent island and joined his forces with those of the Duke of Schomberg.

On the 1st of July, 1690, the two armies came face to face on the opposite banks of the river Boyne. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Jacobites*—a name now given to the adherents of the House of Stuart[1]—were completely defeated. James himself, who watched the action from the neighboring hill of Dunmore, regarded the battle as decisive of his fate. Going at once to Dublin, he announced to the magistrates his determination to give over the contest and retire from the kingdom. It was a doleful day for the papal party in England, and, indeed, in all Europe. For they clearly perceived that their hopes of recovering the English crown, and of thus regaining their lost ascendency in the political affairs of Europe, were doomed to disappointment.

The Protestants, on the other hand, were equally jubilant. True, the old Duke of Schomberg had been killed in the battle of the Boyne. William himself had been wounded, and other serious losses sustained; but all these calamities were courageously borne by the victors; and the Society of Orangemen, composed of those who made oath to uphold the Protestant throne of Great Britain and oppose the policy of the papal Church, still bears witness to William's honor and perpetuates the great victories which he achieved over his enemies.

A few days after the battle, James took ship and sailed for France. He again put himself under protection of Louis XIV., at whose court he passed the remaining ten years of his life. Deeming it no longer necessary for him to conduct the Irish war in person, William now returned to England, leaving the command of the army to the Duke of Marlborough, who, together with the Earl of Athlone, brought hostilities to a successful conclusion before the end of the year 1691. When the rebellion was finally at an end, William followed the example which had been set by Cromwell of permitting the malcontents to leave the country. About twelve thousand of the leading Catholics—so ardently were they attached to the cause of James II.—availed themselves of the license thus given and followed their master to France. In that country they were cordially received by Louis XIV., always willing to behold the depopulation of any kingdom but his own, and were admitted into the military service of France under the name of the *Irish Brigade.*

One of the greatest mistakes in the early years of the reign of William was his attempt to establish the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The Presbyterians, who had long and successfully resisted the Stuarts in a similar project,

[1] The word Jacobites is from *Jacobus*, the Latin word for James.

were now equally stubborn in their opposition to William. Insurrections occurred here and there in Scotland, but did not gather sufficient head to become formidable. After some desultory movements the various uprisings subsided, and William issued a proclamation of pardon to all who on a certain day would renew their oath of allegiance.



JAMES II. AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.
Drawn by F. Lix.

At this juncture one of those historical incidents occurred by which, though insignificant in themselves, the course of history is frequently modified. The chief Macdonald of the clan of Glencoe mistook the day on which the oath of allegiance to the English king was to be renewed. Between him and the Earl of Breadalbane a bitter enmity such as the Highland chieftains often bore to one another existed, and the earl, in order to be avenged on his foeman, sent information to the king that Macdonald had refused to take the oath. Believing that the chieftain was in rebellion, William sent orders to the North that the Clan Macdonald should be exterminated, and the Campbell clan was directed to carry the order into execution. The Campbells accordingly repaired to Glencoe, fell upon the unsuspecting Macdonalds, and butchered them without mercy. About forty of the clan were massacred, and the remainder escaped only to perish by famine and exposure to the cold. Such was the shock produced by this horror in Scotland that no explanation could remove the distrust or check the rising hatred of the people against William and his government. Even the king's official statement that he had signed the warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds through mistake and in the hurry of his business, did not suffice to quiet the Highlanders, and henceforth they lost no opportunity to trouble and resist the king.



THE GREAT CONDÉ.

At this point let us turn for a brief space to the affairs of the continent. France and Holland had long been at war. It will be remembered that, while the Stuarts still held the throne of England, that monarchy was arrayed against the Dutch and kept in alliance with the French. It was evident that this position of England was constrained and unnatural. The false attitude which she was made to assume in joining Catholic France in attempting to subvert the Protestant liberties of Holland was exceedingly distasteful to England, and became one of the leading causes of the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty. Even before the final expulsion of that House, public sentiment had obliged Charles II. to renounce the alliance with Louis. But that monarch had now become so powerful and aggressive that he was not dismayed by the defection of his ally, and the war upon the Dutch was continued with as much vigor as ever. In 1675 Louis, at the head of a large army, made an invasion of Franche Comté, and reduced the whole province to submission in a single campaign. Alsace was in like manner overrun by Marshal Turenne. The Prince of Condé gained some advantages over Prince William in Flanders, and the borders of France were everywhere defended against the assaults of her enemies. In the operations of the next year, Turenne and General Montecuculi confronted each other on the Rhine until what time Turenne was killed in the battle of Sasbach. He was succeeded in command by the Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great. But he, after continuing the war for a year, retired from the service to pass the rest of his life at Chantilly. On the other side, Montecuculi also left the service, and in the following year, 1676, the great De Ruyter

was killed in a sea fight in the Mediterranean. Then the conflict lagged for want of leaders.

But it was the exhaustion of their resources which led the powers at length to conclude a peace. In 1677 Charles II. had shown what was for him unusual energy in attempting to mediate between France and Holland. He gave his niece Mary to the Prince of Orange, and



DEATH OF TURENNE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

thus paved the way for the accession of the House of Nassau to the throne of England. His mediations were at length successful, and in the summer of 1679 a general treaty was concluded at Nimeguen. The Prince of Orange had already made a separate peace with Louis in the preceding year. Either learning the unsatisfactory conditions which had been agreed upon at Nimeguen, or else, as he pretended, being ignorant that any settlement at all had been reached, he attacked Marshal Luxembourg within four days after the Nimeguen treaty, and in the great battle of Mons gained a bloody victory over the French. Nevertheless, the peace was allowed to stand, at least for a time, and Louis XIV. found opportunity to look around him and enjoy with complacency the great glory which he had achieved.

It can not be doubted that at this epoch the French king was by far the grandest figure on the stage of Europe. The palace of Versailles outshone any other court in christendom. Not that the king's character possessed so many elements of real strength and greatness as did that of William of Orange, but Louis displayed himself as the Grand Monarch, and augmented, by every fictitious means at his command, the artificial splendor of his throne. Among other measures adopted to spread the halo of glory around his royal seat, the king took care to retain as members of his court the most brilliant women and dazzling wits of the kingdom. Among those who were thus induced to add their brightness to the social glory of Paris, perhaps the most noted was Madame de Maintenon, whom the king in vain endeavored to bring into the same relations with himself as were held by the Duchess de la Valliere and the Marchioness de Montespan, and whom, after the death of the queen in 1683, he privately married.



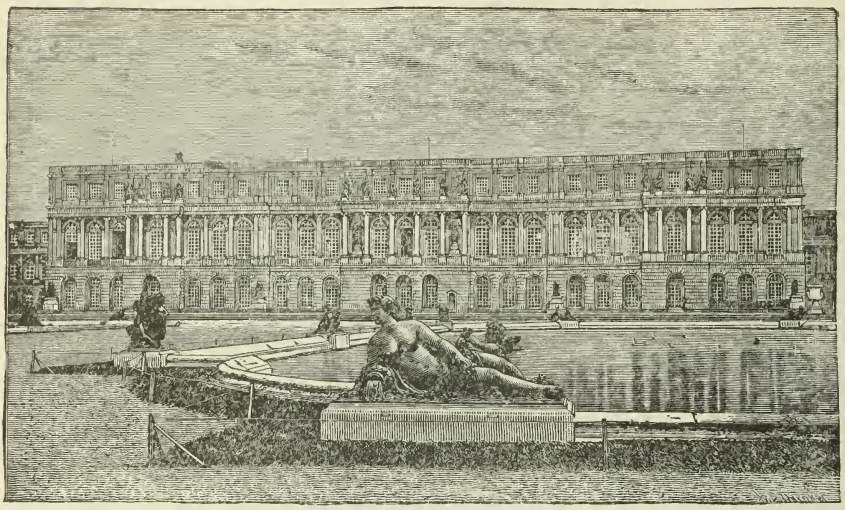
LOUIS XIV. AT THE AGE OF 41.



MADAME DE MAINTENON.

Notwithstanding the treaty of peace, Louis continued to prepare for war. By every means at his disposal he augmented the naval and military power of the kingdom. He extended his lines of defense in Flanders, in Italy, and on the Rhine. He seized the free city of Strasburg, and, converting it into a fortified town, made it his stronghold on the frontier looking towards Germany. He entered into numberless intrigues to sap the foundations of neighboring kingdoms. Setting up a vain pretension to the town of Alost, in the Spanish Netherlands, and finding that claim resisted by the Spaniards, he

made such resistance an excuse for laying siege to Luxembourg. He then instigated the Turks to make an attack on the German Empire, and in the next place made the Turkish invasion a pretext for suspending the war with Spain. Then when the Ottomans, by the arrival of John Sobieski on the scene, were repulsed from Vienna, he renewed hostilities, besieged and took Courtray, Dixmude, and Luxembourg, and seized and demolished the fortifications of Treves. In all these movements he pretended to be carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty of Nimeguen! The Empire and Spain, however, grew weary at length of his *peaceful* methods, and summoned him to a negotiation at Ratisbon, where, in August of 1684, it was agreed that the peace of Nimeguen should be construed as a truce and made effective for a period of twenty years. By this means another temporary adjustment was secured, and Louis again found time to pose as the grandest monarch of christendom.



THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES.

The year 1685 is noted in the history of France for the great folly and crime known as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. With all his greatness of intellect, Louis XIV. was an intense bigot. His hatred of Protestantism was as profound as his pride was unbounded. During the life of the shrewd and somewhat gentle Mazarin the antipathy of the king was abated by the influence of his minister. After the death of the cardinal, Colbert also had checked and restrained the disposition of Louis whenever the same was seen to tend to persecution. But Colbert also passed away in 1683, and was succeeded by François Michel Louvois, who was made chancellor of the kingdom, and



JOHN SOBIESKI.

gained an ascendency over the king as complete as that which had been held by Mazarin and Colbert. Louvois, indeed, was a man after Louis's own heart—a schemer by nature, great in abilities, a bitter enemy of the Huguenots. Between him and his



READING THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

master it was now agreed that the whole scheme of toleration, which had been devised and proclaimed in April of 1598 by Henry of Navarre as the fundamental condition of the religious peace of France, should be reversed and abrogated, to the end that Catholic absolutism might be reëstablished throughout the kingdom.



TORTURE OF THE HUGUENOTS.

After certain preparatory steps, such as local persecutions of the Huguenots, the shutting up of their churches in various places, and their expulsion from public offices, an edict was finally prepared for the purpose of destroying French Protestantism at a single stroke. All Protestants were ordered to abjure their religion and return to the communion of Rome under penalty of having their property confiscated and themselves put beyond the protection of the law. Nor was the measure coupled with the poor provision for voluntary exile. Instead of permitting the Huguenots to go into self-banishment in foreign lands the most stringent orders were given to prevent their escape from France. It was decreed that any who should be caught in such an attempt should be sent to the galleys. Troops of dragoons were then sent into the districts where the Huguenots lived and a persecution was organized against them which has been made perpetually infamous in history under the name of the *Dragonade*. The minister Louvois declared the will of the king to be that the greatest rigor should be visited on those who would not adopt his religion, and that such stupid vanity on the part of the Huguenots should be pursued to the last extremity.

The king's dragoons were accordingly ordered to quarter at will in the houses of those who refused to give up the religion in which they had been nurtured. One cruelty succeeded another. Menace was followed by imprisonment, imprisonment by isolated murders, and these by general and brutal massacres. The Huguenot peasants were hunted into the woods like wild beasts and were shot down or tortured at the caprice of

their persecutors. Neither the decrepitude of old age nor the pleading weakness of infancy stirred any remorse in the breasts of the bloody butchers who went about cutting down all ages, sexes, and conditions. Many of the Huguenot women were dragged into convents and given over to the nuns, by whom they were not suffered to sleep until they had con-



WORK OF THE DRAGONADE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

sented to go to mass. The regions where the Huguenot population predominated were reduced to a desolation, and it is estimated that France by her frightful barbarity to her own people lost fully half a million of her most industrious inhabitants before the folly of the king and the cruelty of his minister worked their own cure by reducing the revocation to a dead letter. This in the year 1685! This in the most polite and refined kingdom of Christendom! This at the hands of him who delighted to be styled the Grand Monarch!

Two years before his accession to the English crown, the Prince of Orange succeeded in uniting Germany, Holland, and Spain in a league against France. But the movement did not escape the vigilance of Louis, who resolved to anticipate the purposes of his enemies. Accordingly, in 1688, he struck a vigorous blow at the Empire, capturing Philipsburg, Mansheim, and several other towns in a single campaign. Just at this juncture, however, his attention was suddenly drawn from the affairs of the continent to those of England, where, by a bloodless revolution, the House of Stuart had been expelled from the kingdom and the Prince of Orange summoned to the English throne. Then followed the project of restoring James to his lost dominion; the Irish rebellion; the going over of the exiled king to that island; the battle of the Boyne; the final collapse of the Stuart dynasty, and the setting over against each other for a decisive struggle of the two champions of their respective causes, William of Orange and Louis XIV. of France.

Thus, after a long digression, we come back to the year 1691, at which time, after his return from Ireland, the English king went over to Holland to direct in person the preparations of the Dutch for the impending war. Flanders became the chief scene of the conflict. The great generals now opposed to France were—besides King William himself—Prince Eugene of Savoy and the dukes of Marlborough and Schomberg, the latter being a son of the old duke slain in Ireland. On the side of the French, Marshals Luxembourg and Catinat became almost as renowned as Condé and Turenne had been before them. One of the principal engagements in the first year of the war was the great naval battle of La Hogue, which took place off the cape of that name on the 29th of May, 1692. The French armament, commanded by De Tourville, was met in this water and totally defeated by the combined fleets of England and Holland. Only a shattered remnant of Tourville's squadron escaped to the French coast to be overtaken there and destroyed by the English and Dutch. The exiled James II. himself beheld from a neighboring hill the defeat and destruction of the armament on the success of which his last hopes depended. And it is said that the darkness which gathered around him was lighted up with a few gleams of pride when he saw that the victory was resting on that same pennon of St. George under which his own renown as a sea-captain had been achieved in the days of his youth.

In the following summer, however, Tourville retrieved in some measure the disaster of La Hogue by inflicting a severe defeat on the squadron of Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean. This success he followed up by making attempts on Cadiz and Gibraltar. But from both places he was repelled by the Spaniards and English. The allied fleets then retaliated by making descents on St. Malo and other places on the coast of France. On the land the war was in general favorable to France. In the great battle of Neerwinden the English were disastrously defeated. Namur was besieged and taken before King William could bring an army to its relief. Then followed the hard fought battle of Steinkirk, in which each side inflicted a tremendous loss on the other; but the victory remained with the French. In the following year it seemed at one time that the whole issue would be decided in the field, for the kings of France and England commanding in person brought their two armies face to face near Louvain, and it was thought that the most decisive struggle of the century was about to ensue. But though the forces of Louis were more than double those of his antagonist he forbore to hazard a battle in which every thing, including his glory as king and warrior, was involved. At length he disbanded a part of his army and thus brought upon himself the ridicule of his generals and the satire of the wits. It is said that the

humiliation to which he thus exposed himself was the first shaft which penetrated the armor of his vainglorious arrogance. At any rate, he never more presumed to command the army in the field, but confined himself to matters of administration and diplomacy. Soon after this episode Marshal Catinat gained a great victory in the battle of Marsaglia, and



BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

this was followed by the capture of Rosas, in Catalonia, by the Duke of Noailles.

But notwithstanding these triumphs of the French arms the condition of the kingdom was such as to impress upon the royal mind the necessity of peace. It was said that the French people were perishing to the sound of *Te Deums*. The farms and vineyards of France were going to decay through neglect; for the peasants had been drafted into the army or massacred in the Dragonade. Besides all this the debt of the kingdom had become enormous, and the ever-increasing taxes were still insufficient to support the government and carry on a never-ending war. Even these strong motives did not act so powerfully on Louis's mind as others which existed in the political situation of surrounding kingdoms.



BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.

In Spain the childless Charles II. was on his death-bed. He was a brother-in-law of Louis XIV., and also of the Emperor Leopold of Austria. Each of these sovereigns had married a sister of the Spanish king, and each was a grandson on the mother's side of Philip III., of Spain. There was, therefore, some ground for a plot between Louis and Leopold looking to a seizure of the dominions of the Spanish king as soon as the latter should pay the debt of nature. Such a plot at one time existed; but neither of the royal conspirators could hope to be successful in his designs upon the kingdom of the peninsular brother-in-law while one half of Europe was at war with the other. Louis especially became anxious that the powers should be pacified to the end that he might have an open field for his operations against Spain. He accordingly solicited the aid of Pope Innocent XII. and urged that potentate to take upon himself the office of mediator between the states at war. He also appealed to the kings of Denmark and Sweden to use their influence in favor of peace; but at this juncture the Emperor perceiving that the pacific Louis was actuated by motives wholly selfish set himself resolutely against the schemes of the French king, and united most cordially with William III. to prevent the making of peace. The king of England knew full well that his great adversary had exhausted his resources and must soon humble himself by proposing more favorable terms as the price of a settlement.

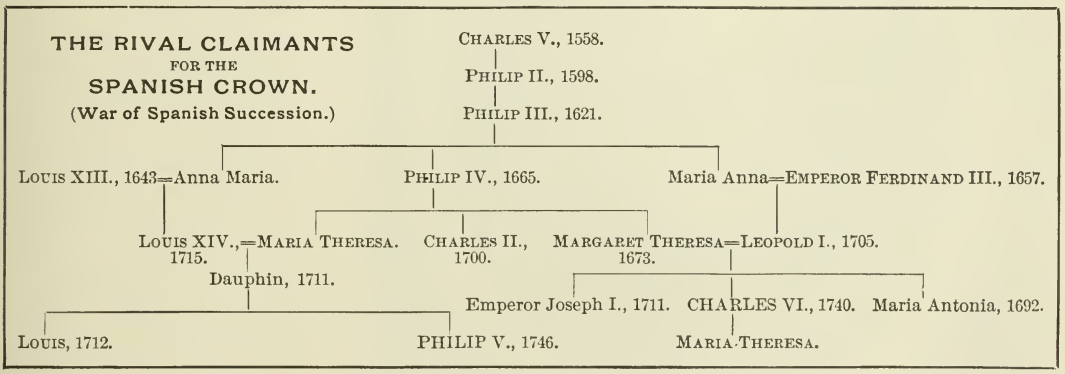
So the war dragged on. A French army was sent into the valley of the Rhine, and that region was again wasted as in the Thirty Years' War. On the sea, also, the privateers of France did great damage to the commerce of the Dutch and the English. On the other side, King William besieged and took Namur, which had been the first conquest made by Louis at the beginning of the war. This circumstance gave great encouragement to the allies; but their spirits were presently dampened by the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who withdrew from the league and went over

to France. Thus were passed the years 1695–96.

William, as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, now conceived that the time had come for peace. The Emperor still resisted the project, but was at length overborne, and negotiations were opened. Commissioners from most of the states of Europe met at Ryswick, near the Hague, and in September of 1697 a treaty was concluded. The French ministers effected a three-fold settlement: one with England, another with Holland, and a third with Spain. In the first Louis acknowledged William III. as the rightful occupant of the English throne, and bound himself to give no further aid or encouragement to James II. or to other members of the Stuart dynasty. The independence of the Netherlands was again acknowledged, and a restoration promised of the conquests made from the Dutch during the war. Spain also was to receive back the towns of which she had been deprived in Catalonia and the Spanish Netherlands. Another month, however, elapsed before a settlement could be reached between Louis and the Emperor. At last the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were taken as a basis, and to these certain clauses were added by which it was agreed that Leopold, duke of Lorraine, should be restored to his electorate; that Joseph Clement of Bavaria should receive Cologne; that the Duchess of Orleans should renounce her claim to the Rhine palatinate, and that Alsace should remain to France.

Against all expectation, Charles II. of Spain still lingered among the living. But he was evidently in a dying condition. Never was a kingdom more distressed. It seemed that all the elements of discord and commotion were loosed at once in the peninsula. Politically, the Spanish treasury was bankrupt, the army virtually disorganized, the officers of the government unpaid. The social state was also distracted. A terrible famine supervened. Then came physical disturbances. Earthquakes and floods prevailed, and hurricanes of violence completed the devastation.

The Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV. watched with inner satisfaction this rapid disintegration of the Spanish kingdom. But such was the sentiment of Europe that each monarch in his turn was obliged to disclaim his purpose. The Emperor presently assigned his claims to his second son, the Archduke Charles of Austria; and Louis in like manner named his grandson, Philip of Anjou, as his candidate for the Spanish crown. It soon became evident, however, that Leopold meant to secure a complete union of Spain and the Empire. He assumed to direct Spanish affairs in the manner of a sovereign. His encroachments became so manifest and his methods so open that the powers, perceiving his intentions, and bitterly jealous of his growing influence at the court of Madrid, began to ally themselves against him. Even William III. entered into a league with the Grand Monarch to prevent the accomplishment of Leopold's purpose respecting the Spanish kingdom. In 1698 Holland, England, and France made a secret compact, by which it was agreed that on the death of the king of Spain the crown of that country should be given to the Duke of Bavaria. But the possessions of Spain in Italy were to be divided between the Dauphin of France and the Archduke of Austria.



While the invalid Charles II. still hung to life, a knowledge of these proceedings was borne to him at the Spanish capital, whereat he was fired with just anger. Turning upon his couch, he dictated a will by which his whole dominions were bequeathed to the Prince of Bavaria. Thus would he thwart the machinations of those who were plotting to dismember his kingdom. Within a year, however, the heir whom he had appointed to his royal estates died, and by this event both the king's will and the secret treaty made by William and Louis were rendered of no effect.



FREDERICK I., KING OF PRUSSIA.

But the rulers of France and England were not to be easily defeated in their designs. In the year 1700 they entered into a new agreement for the spoliation of Spain. It was decided that Lorraine and all the Spanish possessions in Italy, except Milan, should, after the death of Charles II., go to the Dauphin of France; and that the Spanish kingdom, thus stripped of its dependencies, should be given to the Archduke Charles; but it was stipulated that Spain and the Empire should never be united in one sovereignty. It was also agreed that in case the Emperor would not accede to this arrangement, then the Spanish dominions should descend to some third party, not yet publicly mentioned in connection with the succession, perhaps the Duke of Savoy.

It is highly illustrative of the character of Louis XIV. that, at the very time when he was engaged in making this settlement and compact with King William, he was also, by means of his secret agents in Madrid, some of whom were the Spanish ministers themselves, exerting himself to the utmost to procure from Charles a declaration in favor of his own candidate and grandson, Philip of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. Duplicity could go no further. And the scheme succeeded; for, just before the death of the Spanish king, he was induced to make a new will bequeathing all of his dominions to the Duke of Anjou. Then all Europe saw the adroit game which the Grand Monarch had played, and most of the rulers knew not whether to admire or be angry.

Of all the beaten monarchs the Emperor was most displeased. But just at this moment a Hungarian insurrection broke out, and the attention of the indignant Leopold was, by

necessity, withdrawn to his own affairs. As for King William, he concealed whatever chagrin he may have felt, and made the most of the situation by recognizing Philip of Anjou as the rightful sovereign of Spain. Doubtless he had a sense of profound disgust as he gulped down the enormous bolus of deceit which Louis had so carefully prepared.

Most of the other European rulers acknowledged Philip V. as king of Spain. That prince repaired to Madrid, and was duly proclaimed. For the time it appeared that the stroke of Louis had been completely successful. Perhaps, if his subsequent course had been marked with as much prudence as his previous programme had been carried out by subtlety, his ultimate purpose of a vast French empire in the West might have been attained. But he soon lost his advantage by indiscretion. Instead of cajoling the Spanish authorities and bringing them over to the cordial support of his grandson, he offended the nation by his arroganee. To England he behaved in like manner; and to the Dutch he gave a mortal offense by expelling their garrisons from the fortified places which they had established on the frontiers as a defense against France.

Meanwhile Prince Eugene of Savoy appeared on the scene and urged upon the Emperor the necessity of immediate war as the only means of saving the Imperial dominions. Just at this juncture, Leopold also discovered a powerful ally in the person of Frederick III. of Brandenburg. This prince, who was ambitious to become a king, was very willing to join in a war with France, that he might procure from the Emperor a recognition of sovereignty. In order to forward this project a diet was convened in November of 1700; the royalty of Frederick was recognized, and he, hastening back to Königsberg, assumed the title of King of Prussia. Thus, on the broad military foundation which had been laid by the genius of the Great Elector—father of him who now became a sovereign—was reared the solid superstructure of the Prussian monarchy; and so began that great conflict with which the eighteenth century was ushered in, and which is known in history as the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

The struggle was begun by the Imperialists under Prince Eugene in Italy. That great general, in the spring of 1701, gathered his forces at Trent, and thence made a descent into Lombardy. Catinat, who commanded the French army in Northern Italy, was defeated, and the Imperialists overran the country. So serious was the reverse of the French that Catinat was displaced and the command given to Marshal Villeroy; but the latter was no more able than his predecessor to meet Prince Eugene in the field. In the two battles of Chiari and Cremona the French were disastrously defeated, and the Italian campaign ended by the restitution of Imperial authority south of the Alps.

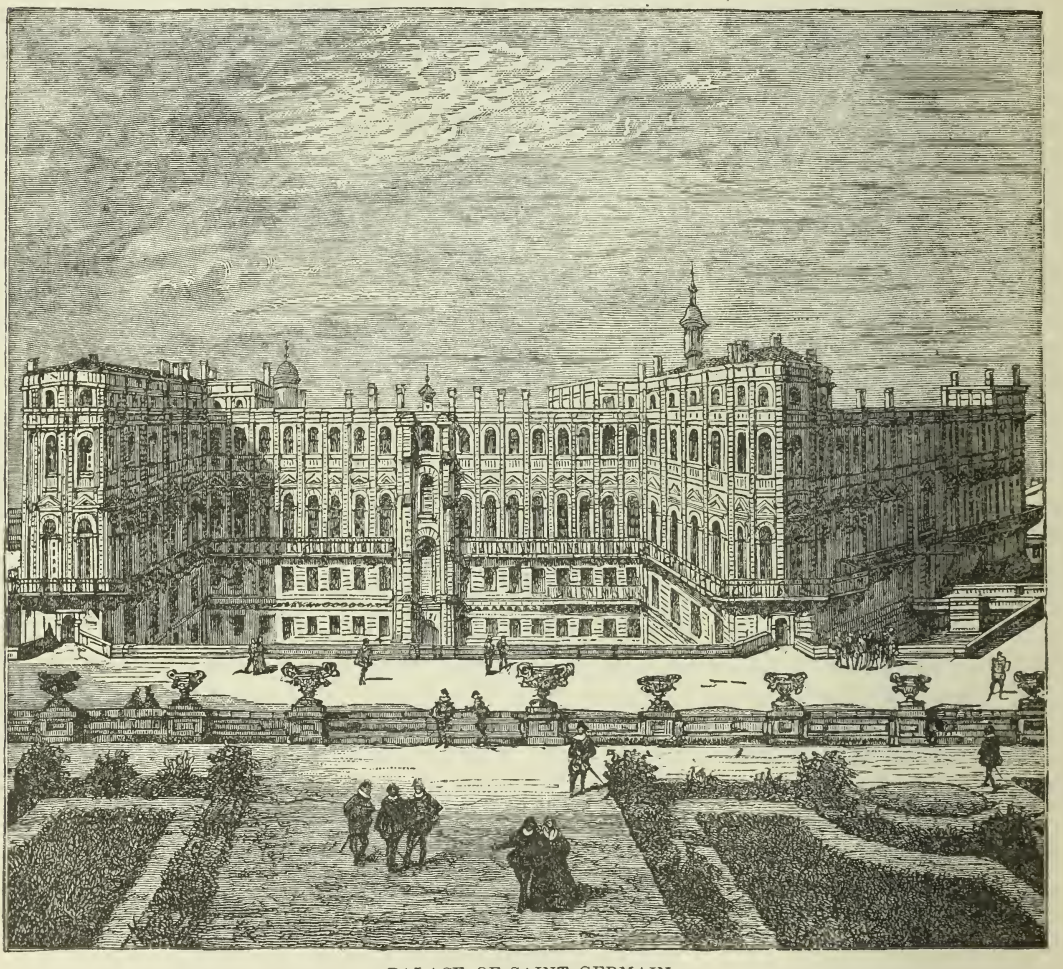
In the mean time a Grand Alliance had been concluded by the kings of England and Prussia, the states of Holland, and the elector of the Palatinate. It was resolved to bring the greater part of the power of Europe to bear in the work of humbling the overweening pride of Louis. At the head of the league stood King William of England, and all the energies of that prince were now evoked by his powerful will and made subservient to the great work which he had taken in hand.

But Louis was by no means appalled at the array against him. He even added insult to injury. For when, in September of 1701, the exiled James II., who for more than twelve years had had his residence in the palace of St. Germain, died, the Grand Monarch made haste to recognize his son, the Pretender, as king of England. The conduct of King William had of late been very distasteful to the English nation, but this act of the French king in recognizing the hated scion of the House of Stuart roused all the slumbering loyalty of William's subjects, and he suddenly regained by the reäction more than he had lost in the public esteem. Parliament fired with the insult. Supplies for the prosecution of the war were voted without stint, and the king was petitioned never to make peace with Louis of France until the latter had made full reparation for the affront which he had offered to the English people.

While this great drama was enacting on the continent the home government had been for the most part intrusted to Queen Mary. During her husband's long absences in the

Netherlands she managed the affairs of state with so much prudence and ability as greatly to endear herself to Parliament and the people. It was, therefore, to the profound grief of the nation, as well as to the king, when, in 1694, the queen contracted small-pox and died.

With this event William became more



PALACE OF SAINT GERMAIN.
Time of Louis XIV.

than ever a soldier. But after seven years of service, mostly on the continent, his own career was now, at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, destined to close. In February of 1702, while riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, the king's horse stumbled and threw the rider with so much violence as to break his collar-bone. While still confined to his couch by this accident he was attacked with malarial fever and died on the 8th of March, being then in the fifty-second year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. Though he and the queen had lived happily and loyally together, they were not blessed with children; and thus the very emergency which Parliament had foreseen and provided for when the crown was first offered to William, had arrived. By the provisions of that settlement the scepter now passed to the Princess ANNE, sister of the late queen and daughter of James II.

The new sovereign was in her thirty-ninth year at the time of her accession to power. She had been married in 1683 to George of Denmark, brother of Christian V. By him she had seventeen children, of whom only a single one, the feeble George, duke of Gloucester, lived beyond infancy; and he died at the age of eleven. It thus appeared even at the date of her coming to the throne that the

last member of the House of Stuart, which the Parliament was willing to recognize as having royal claims in England, was doomed to perish childless.

Anne, however, possessed a full measure of ability; and as for the succession she left that matter to be decided by parliamentary discussion. It was at length enacted that at her death the crown should descend to the Protestant offspring of Sophia, duchess of Brunswick, niece of Charles I., granddaughter of James Stuart. This royal lady was married to the Duke of Hanover-Brunswick, and thus was paved the way for the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of England.

Great was the discouragement of the allies when it was known that William III. was dead. But there was no receding from the position which they had taken with respect to the policy of France. They must either succeed in humbling the pride of Louis, or else consent that their respective territories should be subjugated and perhaps absorbed in the widening boundaries of France. But the news also came that Queen Anne had adopted the same policy which had been pursued by the late king of England, and that she was loyally upheld in this course by the English Parliament and people. Moreover, the illustrious John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, greatest of English generals since the days of the Black Prince, still stood at the head of the Protestant armies in the Netherlands, and by his military genius added glory to the conflict. To him the reputation of England was intrusted by the queen. She made him her ambassador at the Hague, and to such an extent did he gain upon the confidence of the Dutch that he was presently appointed by the States-general to command the forces of Holland. His chief abettors in the prosecution of the war were the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, who was now uppermost in the civil affairs of the Netherlands, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who, after Marlborough himself, was perhaps the greatest general of his time. These three, known as the Triumvirate, now assumed the responsibilty of the conduct of the war with France.



QUEEN ANNE.

In May of 1702 hostilities were formally

declared by England, Holland, and the Empire. The first campaign of the allies was against the territory of Cologne. During this invasion the towns of Kaiserswerth, Veuloo, Stephanswerth, Ruremond, and Liege were wrested from the French. On the Upper Rhine, Prince Louis of Baden had better fortune, and succeeded in the capture of Landau. In the following year the whole electorate of Cologne was overrun by Marlborough. On the other hand, the French, under Marshal Villars, made a successful invasion of Germany, seized Ratisbon, and defeated the Imperial army at Höchstädt. Breisach on the Rhine was also taken, and the Emperor's



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
After the painting by Kneller.

army suffered a second defeat at Spirebach. At this juncture the Duke of Savoy abandoned the cause of the French and went over to the Grand Alliance. In like manner Pedro II. of Portugal cast in his fortunes with the allies, and entered into a perpetual league with England and Holland.

By these successes and accessions of strength the allied powers were so much emboldened that they openly declared their purpose of unseating Philip V. from the throne of Spain, and of conferring the crown of that country upon the Archduke Charles of Austria.

In the beginning of the campaigns of 1704 the Duke of Marlborough captured the heights of Schellenberg, and thus gained control of the river Danube. He and Prince Eugene then formed a junction of their forces, and on the 13th of August confronted the combined army of French and Bavarians, under Marshal Tallard and the elector Marsin, on the ever-memorable field of Blenheim, near Höchstädt. The Anglo-Austrian army numbered about fifty-two thousand men, and that of the French and Bavarians was fifty-six thousand strong. The battle which ensued was among the fiercest and most bloody of the century. More than ten thousand of the French and Bavarians were killed or wounded, and others innumerable were driven into the river and drowned. The English loss was also enormous, amounting to about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded. At the close of the bloody struggle Marshal Tallard, with eighteen thousand Frenchmen, was obliged to surrender to Marlborough, while Prince Eugene drove the Bavarians in utter rout from the field. So decisive was the victory of the English and Imperialists that the prestige of Louis XIV. was destroyed forever. The rejoicings in England knew no bounds. Queen Anne bestowed upon Marlborough a tract of nearly three thousand acres near Woodstock, and here in the park was erected for the duke the magnificent palace known as Blenheim House; and Parliament voted to the conqueror a gift of five hundred thousand pounds.

On the side of Germany the power of the French was now completely broken. But in Italy the allies were less fortunate. In that country the French overran the northern part of Piedmont, and reëstablished their communications with Milan. At this juncture the Archduke Charles, candidate of the allies for the Spanish throne, was proclaimed as Charles III. Supported by a Dutch and English army, he landed at Lisbon, and undertook to make his way to Madrid. But he was checked in his progress by the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., in command of the French forces in the peninsula. About the same time Sir George Rooke, with an English fleet, bore down upon Gibraltar, and, taking advantage of a holiday, when the garrison was off its guard, scaled the acclivity and took the place by storm. By the conclusion of 1704 the allies had established themselves almost as firmly on the side of Spain as previously on the side of Germany.

In the year 1706 the Emperor Leopold was succeeded by his son Joseph I. More energetic measures were now adopted against the insurgent Hungarians and also against the electorate of Bavaria, at this time in revolt. In the preceding year the French, under the Duke of Vendôme, had gained a decisive victory over Prince Eugene in the battle of Cassano. They also attempted, but unsuccessfully, to retake Gibraltar. In the same year the Earl of Peterborough captured Barcelona, gained over Catalonia and a part of Valencia, and had Charles III. proclaimed as sovereign. This action on the part of the Catalonians was in the next year followed by the people of Aragon. The allied armies then marched upon Madrid. Philip V. and his court took to flight. The triumphant Charles took possession of the capital.

But now it was that the innate preference of the Spaniards for the House of Bourbon, and their inveterate dislike of the House of Austria, were manifested. Revolts broke out against the allies, who were regarded as invaders, and the insurrectionary movement gained such headway that the garrisons which the supporters of Charles established in various parts of Aragon were expelled from the fortresses, and the allied forces were obliged to fall back into Valencia. Before the close of the year the English rallied again, and captured Alicant and Carthagena; but later in the season the latter place was retaken by the Duke of Berwick. In September of this year Prince Eugene won a great victory over the French at Turin; but his triumph was not as brilliant as that already gained in the preceding May by the Duke of Marlborough in the bloody battle of Ramillies. By these two great successes all Lombardy and Brabant and the greater part of Flanders were won by the allies, and Charles III. was joyfully proclaimed at Milan.



CAPTURE OF AUSTRIAN BATTERIES AT LANDAU.
Drawn by Vierge.

So tremendous were the blows which Louis had received that he now made overtures for peace. He offered to give up the Spanish Netherlands to Holland and to recognize

Charles III. as king of Spain and the Indies, if the allies on their part would concede to Philip of Anjou the French possessions in Italy. But the allied powers had now become as arrogant as the Grand Monarch himself. They would have all or nothing. So the war was continued with as much vigor as ever. The French seemed to rouse themselves with unwonted energy, and the fortune of war began to incline to their standard. In 1707, they fought and gained the great battle of Almanza, in which the English forces were scattered and their standards and baggage-trains captured by the victors. All Valencia and Aragon were recovered by Philip V. Even Lerida and Ciudad Rodrigo were taken by the French. The allied campaigns in Italy were also attended with ill-success. Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, assisted by an English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, laid siege to Toulon. But the coming of a French squadron obliged them to retire. Only in the south of Italy did Marshal Daun successfully uphold the cause of Charles III.

Soon after the raising of the siege of Toulon, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was shipwrecked on the rocks of Sicily. He himself perished, and of four ship's crews only one captain and twenty-four seamen were rescued. At this time an old factor reäppeared in the contest in the person of the Pretender. In 1707, the union of England and Scotland, deferred for more than a century, was finally effected, and this event gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the people of the Northern Kingdom. Louis XIV. attempted to take advantage of this discontent by sending a fleet and army to conduct the Pretender to the country, which was supposed to be waiting to receive him. But the English admiral, Byng, was on the alert, and the squadron of escort was met and put to flight before it could reach the Frith of Forth.

In the vicissitudes of the struggle the French were, in 1708, enabled to gain some decided advantage in the Netherlands. The cities of Ghent and Bruges were taken and occupied by the forces of Louis. On the other hand, the combined armies of Marlborough and Eugene won a decisive victory in the battle of Oudenarde. The fortress of Lille was taken by the allies, and Brussels was wrested from the elector of Bavaria. In the Mediterranean the cause of Charles III. was well sustained by the English armament under Admiral Leake, who effected the conquest of Sardinia.

To the distresses which a long-continued war had brought upon the people of France were now added the disasters of the severest winter which had ever been known in the country. Such rigors had hardly been imagined as possible in that latitude. The swift and arrowy Rhone was converted into a glacier. For a month or more the Mediterranean resembled the Arctic Ocean. It was only by the most strenuous exertions that the peasants, even of Southern France, saved themselves from being frozen to death. The vineyards and orchards upon which the French people so largely relied for support were totally destroyed, and even the grain-crop was well-nigh ruined. During the summer of 1709 France hovered on the confines of famine, and Louis was driven again to make proposals for peace. His overtures were of the same general character as those which he had previously made; but the allies, now more haughty than ever, demanded that the French armies should be used in the expulsion of Philip V. from Spain. This tyrannical exaction a second time brought on a reäction; and, notwithstanding her extreme distress, France returned to the conflict and fought with the fury of despair.

In 1709, the English and Imperialists under Marlborough and Eugene, won a victory in the battle of Malplaquet and captured Tournay. Mons was also obliged to surrender to the allies. Hereupon Charles III. was recognized by the Pope, and the campaign closed with his success almost assured. Again in 1710 Louis sought peace, and even offered a million livres as the price of a reconciliation; but nothing short of the actual turning of the French arms against Philip would satisfy the allied powers; so the war continued with more bitterness than ever. "If I must fight," said the enraged Louis, "I will war against my enemies, not my children." His generals returned to the conflict, and in conjunction with the Spainards gained at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa two victories so de-

cisive as to establish Philip V. on the throne of Spain.

In the mean time a political revolution was effected in England. The Whig ascendency was broken by the Tories, and a new ministry was formed in opposition to the Duke of Marlborough. The latter was, on the 1st of January, 1712, removed from all his offices and virtually driven into exile on the continent, where he remained until the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne.

In April of 1711 Joseph I. died, and this event suddenly changed the whole character of the conflict. For the Archduke Charles, on whose head for so many bloody years the allies had been trying to place the crown of Spain, now claimed the Empire, and the specter of universal monarchy suddenly strode over from France to Germany. The allied powers at once perceived that by his accession to the Imperial dignity Charles would become as great a terror as Philip of Anjou had been before him. The same policy which had leagued all Europe against Louis XIV. and his seeming purpose to combine the kingdoms of France and Spain, now demanded a similar alliance to prevent the union of Spain and Austria. In England the movement in favor of peace was accelerated by the Tory ministry, headed by Harley, earl of Oxford; and when, in December of 1711, Charles was crowned at Frankfort as the Emperor CHARLES VI., the continental powers wheeled into line, and the peace became assured.

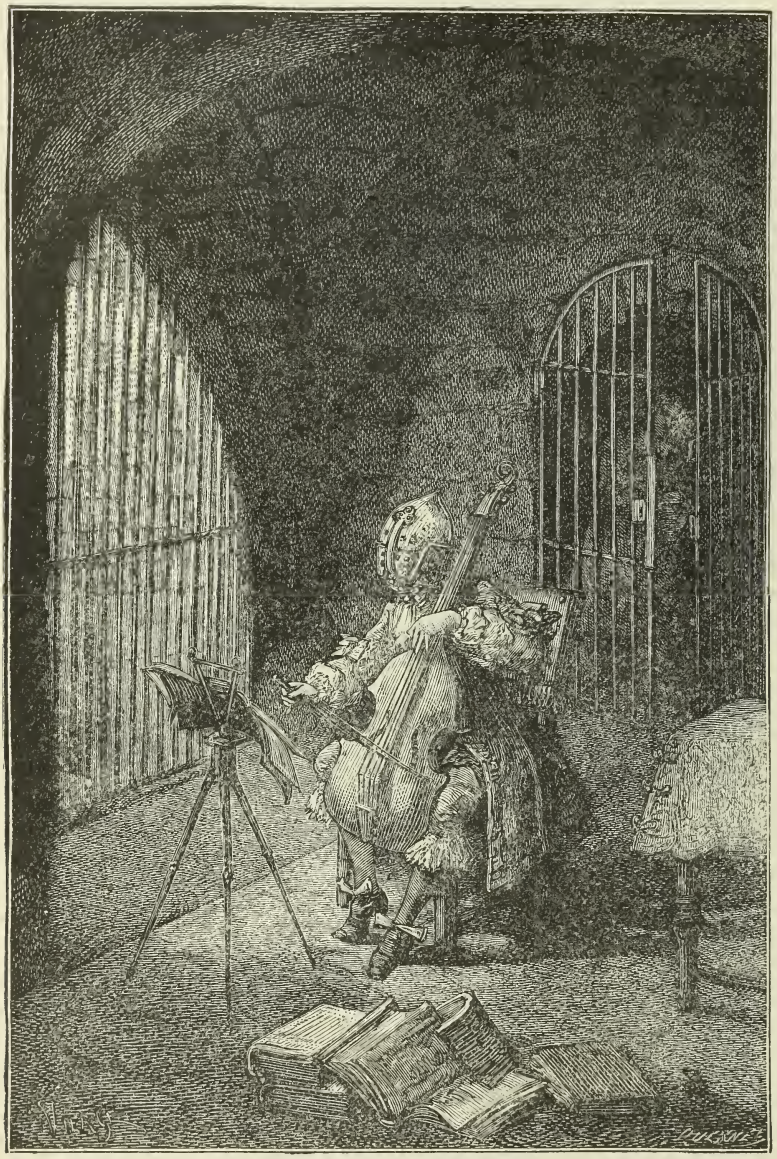
Two months before the coronation of the new Emperor, the preliminary articles of a treaty had been agreed upon between France and England. A general congress, composed of representatives of all the states which had been at war, was convened at UTRECHT, in Holland, in January of 1712. The allies were represented by eighty ambassadors and France by *three!* It was agreed, first of all, that Philip V. should be recognized as king of Spain; but this agreement was well-nigh annulled by a strange fatality which now overtook the family of Louis XIV. The Dauphin died in 1711, and his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, became heir expectant to the French crown. As for that alleged twin-brother, the famous Man in the Iron Mask, who had been a close prisoner for more than a quarter of a century, first in the Island of Ste. Marguerite and afterwards in the Bastile, he too had died in 1703, and had carried his mystery to the grave with him. While the negotiations were going on at Utrecht, the new Dauphin, who was a great favorite with the French nation, also died. His wife had already perished of the same malady a few days before. His two sons were now attacked, and the elder, the Duke of Bretagne, died, while the younger, greatly enfeebled, barely survived. The life of this young prince became the only barrier between Philip V. and the French crown. For he was next in order of succession, according to laws of France. On this account the ambassadors, especially the representatives of England, insisted that Philip of Anjou should, before his recognition as king of Spain, cede all of his claims to the French throne to his younger brother, the Duke of Berri—which he accordingly did.

When the conference at Utrecht was begun, the Emperor refused to participate in the proceedings; for he still hoped to obtain the Spanish crown for the House of Austria. But in attempting to carry on the war alone, he met with one reverse after another and soon became willing for peace. He and the king of France appointed Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars to negotiate a separate treaty, which they quickly concluded in 1714, at Rastadt. By this settlement it was agreed that all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine should be restored to the Empire, and that Charles VI. should also receive the entire Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. The new electorate of Hanover was permanently established, and the electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to authority.

Meanwhile the general questions under discussion by the ambassadors at Utrecht were finally decided, and the treaty signed in April of 1713. As to England, the Hanoverian succession was recognized, and it was agreed that, after the death of Queen Anne, the crown should pass without controversy to the Electress Sophia of Hanover-Brunswick. In the way of a cession England received from France all of her North American possessions in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's

Bay, together with the island of St. Christopher's. The king of France also engaged to dismantle Dunkirk and to abandon forever the cause of the Pretender. By another clause it was agreed that the royal rank of nor Jews should be tolerated in the places ceded. To *this* England consented! The fangs of the Middle Ages were still displayed at the council-board of Utrecht.

Thus was ended the War of the Spanish Succession. In the same year of the treaty the Electress Sophia, to whom and her descendants the crown of England was soon to pass, died, and the succession rested on her son, George Louis. Soon afterwards Queen Anne herself fell sick, and it became evident that she could not recover. Messengers were accordingly sent to bring over Duke George as far as Holland, where he was to await the issue. The queen lingered until the 1st of August, 1714, when she expired, being then in the fifty-first year of her age. She was the last of the House of Stuart to occupy the throne of England. The elector of Hanover was at once proclaimed, and was given the crown with the title of GEORGE I.



THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK.
Drawn by Vierge.

The life of Louis XIV. was prolonged for another year. But he was now in his decrepitude, and the system of absolute government to which he had devoted the energies of the longest reign known to history was as decrepit and miserable as himself. Domestic calamity had come to add to the dolor of his last days. His son was dead. His grandson was dead. His great-grandson stood ready to succeed him. All his visions of glory sank into the shadows. For seventy-two years he had occupied the throne of the most polite and refined kingdom of christendom; and now

Frederick III. of Prussia should be recognized. The Duke of Savoy became king of Sicily, and was granted the reversion of the Spanish crown in case Philip V. should die without an heir. Spain, on her part, ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to England, but this was done on the condition that neither Moors

this! He had indeed been the Grand Monarch; but his grandeur was artificial, factitious. In vain in his last days did he call in the Jesuit Le Tellier, and to him commit the keeping of his soul. Out of the hollowness of the past the knell sounded in his ears, and on the 1st of September, 1715, he was called to pay the debt of nature. To his great-grandson, who stood by his bedside, he said, as if in perfect mockery of all those schemes to which he had devoted his own life: "You will soon be king of a great kingdom. What I most strongly recommend to you is, never to forget the obligations you are under to God. Remember that to him you owe all that you possess. Endeavor to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war. Do not you follow my example in that, or in my too lavish expenditure. Take advice in all things, and endeavor to find out the best, that you may invariably adhere to it. Ease your people as soon as you can, and do that which I have had the misfortune of not being able to do."

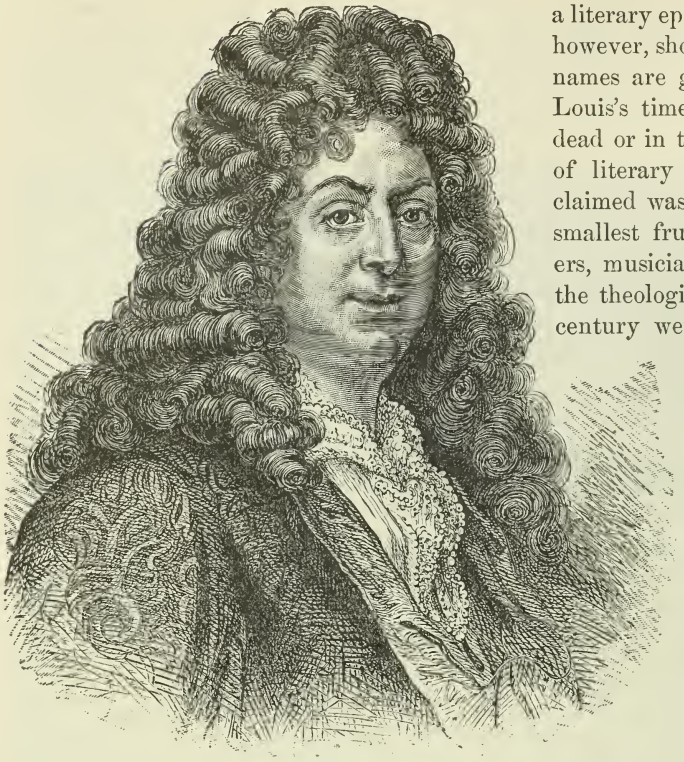


LOUIS XIV. IN HIS OLD AGE.

It has been—and is—the custom to speak of the Age of Louis XIV. as an epoch of great industrial, literary, and artistic progress. By this method certain writers have hoped to establish and perpetuate the belief that literature, art, and general prosperity—all, indeed, that constitutes the greatness and glory of a state—can be, and frequently are, produced by *the patronage of the great.* Not knowing, or unwilling to believe, that *freedom* is the one antecedent of the true intellectual greatness of mankind, such writers would fain attribute to rulers, kings, princes, patrons, those brilliant achievements of which free men are



JAQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET.

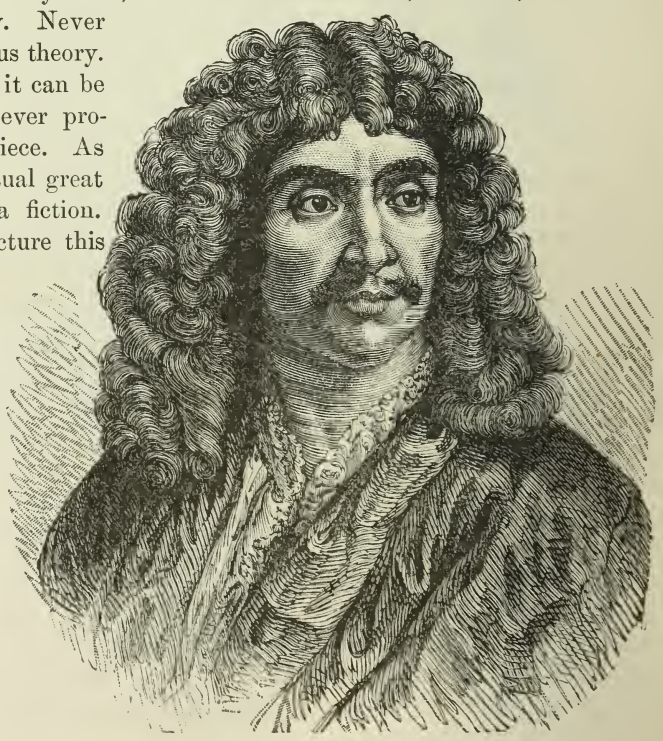


RACINE.

capable when left to themselves. We are thus asked to admit that the *paternal* system of government is better than liberty. Never was there a more false and pernicious theory. The mind must first be free before it can be great. No artificial stimulus has ever produced—can ever produce—a masterpiece. As a matter of fact, the alleged intellectual greatness of the Age of Louis XIV. is a fiction. It has remained for Buckle to puncture this bubble, and to destroy forever the cant of the historians and encyclopædists who would perpetuate the idea that intellectual grandeur is caught by reflection from the smiles of kings and princes.

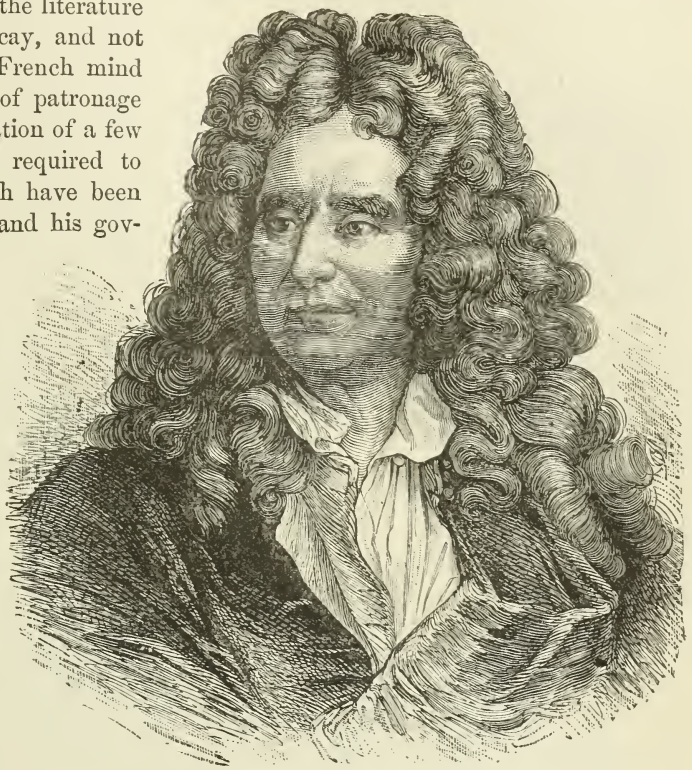
It has been claimed that a great group of illustrious men—poets, orators, scholars, statesmen—flourished in the sunshine of the court of Louis XIV. His reign has been styled the Augustan Age of France, and the encyclopædias give long lists of illustrious names in art and letters to substantiate the Grand Monarch's claim to be the father of a literary epoch. An examination of the facts, however, shows that, of the men of genius whose names are generally paraded as the glory of Louis's times, the great majority were either dead or in their dotage long before the system of literary patronage for which so much is claimed was adopted or could have borne the smallest fruit. The poets, dramatists, painters, musicians, sculptors, and architects, even the theologians, of France in the seventeenth century were nearly all born and educated under the free policy which prevailed while the great Louis was still in his swaddling-clothes. It will be remembered that he did not assume the government of France until 1661. His reign extended from this time until his death in 1715, a period of fifty-four years. But it was not until as late as 1680 or 1690 that his policy of patronizing literature and art was systematically adopted. Nor could it reasonably be supposed that any effect of that system could be expected to appear before the close of the century.

As a matter of fact, however, the end of



JEAN BAPTISTE POQUELIN MOLIERE.

the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century mark an epoch of intellectual decay and of imitation in the literature and art of France; and this decay, and not any previous splendor, of the French mind was the real fruit of the system of patronage established by the king. The citation of a few names and dates is all that is required to brush away the pretensions which have been made by the flatterers of Louis and his government. Nearly all of the great men of France were in their graves more than a quarter of a century before the king was called to his account. Of the great divines, Bossuet died in 1704; Bourdaloue in the same year; Mascaron in 1703. So that neither of these can be said to have been the fruit of Louis's system. Of the great artists, Le Brun died in 1690; the elder Mignard in 1668; the younger in 1695; Claude Lorraine in 1682; Lesueur in 1655; Poussin in 1665. Of great architects, Claude Perrault died in 1688, and Francis Mansart in 1666. Of the great sculptors, Puget died in 1694. Lulli, the founder of French music, died in 1687. So that in the domain of art, also, we should look in vain for a single prominent example which might truthfully be cited as belonging exclusively to Louis's much vaunted reign.



NICOLAS BOILEAU-DESPREAUX.



JEAN DE LA FONTAINE.

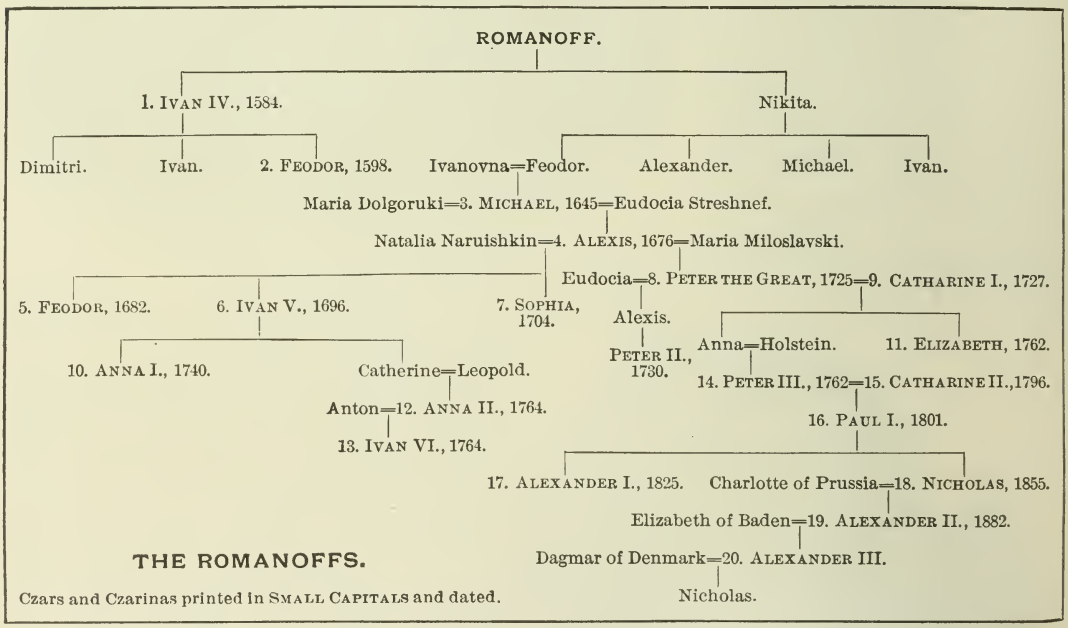
Turning to the dramatists the same thing may be noticed. All of the great works of Racine were produced before the year 1691, and those of Molière before the year 1668. Likewise the masterpieces of Boileau were all published before 1674. The Fables of La Fontaine were given to the world in 1678; the Essays of La Bruyère in 1687; the Letters of Pascal in 1656. So that from beginning to end the claim that the reign of Louis XIV., and the system which he adopted of patronizing literature and art, were productive of great men and great works, is utterly and forever exploded.

The system of arbitrary government, of which he was the great exemplar, grew old with himself, and both together went down in a general decay of the French mind as pitiable as his own claims to glory had been magnificent and unfounded.

CHAPTER CX.—CZAR PETER AND CHARLES XII.

ALTOGETHER full account has now been given of that great movement for political liberty which, beginning in England and Holland, spread into every part of Western Europe, and which, if not everywhere successful, was at least triumphant in the lands of its origin. True it is that not all of Europe was involved in this contest. Many portions were not yet sufficiently advanced in civilization to sympathize with the movement and share in its destinies. In general the Northern and Eastern states took but little part and felt but little interest in this contest going on in the West. It will be appropriate, therefore, before concluding the present Book, to turn briefly from the consideration of this struggle of liberty with political absolutism, to which the four preceding chapters have been devoted, and to note the progress of events in the more remote and less civilized parts of Europe. In so doing the principal drama to which our attention will be drawn is the contest between Czar Peter I. of Russia and Charles XII. of Sweden, for the mastery of the North.

In entering upon this subject it will at once strike the reader that the conflict in question belongs rather to the Middle Ages than to modern times. The events to be narrated are set chronologically at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but logically they are associated with those movements which in the more enlightened parts of Europe had long subsided. By the story to be narrated in the present chapter one must needs be reminded rather of the Crusades than of the conflict of the English and Dutch peoples with political absolutism at home and abroad.



THE ROMANOFFS.

Czars and Czarinas printed in SMALL CAPITALS and dated.

The House of Romanoff was raised to the throne of Russia in 1533. In that year IVAN IV., surnamed the Terrible, came to the throne and held it for fifty-one years. He was one of those barbaric reformers whose savage swords cleave a pathway for civilization. In 1545 he organized a Russian standing army, and seven years afterwards reconquered Kazan, which had revolted during his minority. The people of the outlying provinces, often in rebellion, were as often reduced

to submission. In his war with Livonia, however, he was unsuccessful, and was obliged, in 1582, to cede that country to Sweden. Two years afterwards he was succeeded by his nephew FEODOR, who by some is regarded as the founder of the Romanoff dynasty. The third czar of this name was MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH, son of the Archbishop of Rostov. The first years of the seventeenth century had been marked by civil commotions and foreign wars. In the fourth year of his reign, Czar Michael concluded a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus and also with the Poles. Russia for the first time in several generations became sufficiently pacified to enter upon a career of industrial and commercial progress.

Other treaties were made with England, France, Persia, and China, and the confines of Russia were stretched eastward even to the Pacific. In 1645 Michael was succeeded by his son ALEXIS, by whom, nine years after his accesion, the Cossacks were humbled and made to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Czar. Then followed a war with Poland, which resulted in the annexation or restoration to Russia of several important provinces, including Kiev and the Ukraine. Then from 1676 to 1682 came the reign of FEODOR III., by whom several important reforms were introduced into the polity of the Empire. In his will he excluded his imbecile brother Ivan, who was the heir apparent, from the throne, and bequeathed the crown to his half-brother Peter, whose conspicuous talents and sterling character had already attracted the attention of the people. He it was who, in 1682, came to the throne with the title of PETER I., destined erelong to win for himself the surname of the Great.



THE PEOPLE OF KASAN SUBMITTING TO IVAN.

Peter was born on the 10th of June, 1672 and was, therefore, but ten years of age when Feodor died, leaving him the crown of Russia. His accession was marked by an insurrection fomented by his sister Sophia. After several bloody conflicts between the partisans the breach was healed by the joint coronation of Peter and Ivan under the regency of Sophia. This status was maintained for seven years; but in 1689 Peter suddenly asserted himself, married Eudoxia Feodorovna, con-

trary to his sister's wishes, and assumed the government in his own exclusive right.



IVAN IV. (THE TERRIBLE.)

He banished Sophia's minister Gallitzin and shut her up in prison, where she remained until her death in 1704. Ivan retired from public view, "lagging superfluous on the stage" until his death, in 1696.

Peter, thus left alone in the sovereignty of Russia, at once devoted himself to the duties of his station in a manner as energetic as it was novel. He reörganized the army, and himself entered the ranks as a soldier. He rose through each grade of the service, just as any other might do, by promotion, and this example of subordination and discipline he obliged his nobles to follow. He next laid the foundations of a navy, employing shipwrights from Holland and Venice to ply their vocation on the shore of Lake Peipus. He then entered the naval service on board the Dutch and English ships in the harbor of Archangel, and became expert as a seaman. Many young, adventurous Russians were sent abroad to Venice, Leghorn, and Amsterdam to familiarize themselves with the building and management of ships.

At this time Archangel was the only seaport belonging to Russia. But in 1696 Peter besieged and captured the Turkish town of Azov on the sea of that name, this being the first of his aggressive movements in the direction of the warmer waters of the South. By this time the young and ambitious Czar had learned by comparison the half-barbarous character of his people. He was seized with a passion to bring them into the civilized state; and appreciating his own inferiority in refinement to the rulers of Western Europe, he now resolved to take up his residence abroad, with a view to acquainting himself with the manners and customs of other nations, and of acquiring by foreign residence and study a culture which he could not hope to obtain in Russia. Accordingly, in 1697, he went with a few attendants first to Saardam and thence to Amsterdam. At the latter place he disguised himself and became a ship-carpenter.



MICHAEL I.

Peter also devoted himself with assiduity to the study of geography, anatomy, natural philosophy, and astronomy. In the beginning of the next year he went to London, where he was received with distinguished consideration, and where his savage manners and passionate behavior were met with as much forbearance as the people and Parliament could summon for the occasion. For some time he was given a residence with Sir John Evelyn, at Deptford, whose fine gardens and home Peter and his barbarians well-nigh ruined before their departure. In April, of 1698, the Czar returned to Holland, and thence made his transit across the continent to his own dominions. He had intended to pause at Vienna and make a brief study of military science as the same was then illustrated in the organization and tactics of the Imperial army; but an insurrection had already broken out in Russia, and Peter was obliged to hurry home, where he arrived after an absence of seventeen months. He found that the revolt had already been suppressed by his Scotch general, Gordon, whom he had left in command during his journey abroad.

The Czar now broke up the old military organization of the Empire and instituted a new, based on the German model. He established schools strongly inclining towards military and naval studies. He reversed the old-time policy of Russia, which forbade foreign trade under penalty of death, and required his subjects to enter into commerce with other nations. He reformed the calendar, making the year begin on the 1st of January instead of the 1st of September, a measure which horrified the priests. At the same time, and in order to encourage a national spirit, he instituted the order of St. Andrew, in honor of the patron saint of the Russians.

Having thus prepared himself for the duties of government, and cleared the field by instituting salutary reforms in his own country, Peter next turned his attention to the foreign relations of the Empire. He adopted the policy of recovering all the territories which had at any time belonged to Russia. To this end he undertook to regain the provinces of Ingria and Karelia, and as preliminary to his purpose he entered into an alliance with the kings of Poland and Denmark against Charles XII., the young king of Sweden. This movement brought upon the stage the second actor in the drama with which, in Northern Europe, the eighteenth century was to be ushered in.

Let us turn then to Sweden. In that country the crown had passed, after the death



ALEXIS.

of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, to his daughter CHRISTINA, who reigned until 1654, when she abdicated in favor of her cousin, CHARLES X. The latter held the throne for six years, and then bequeathed it to his infant son, CHARLES XI., whose long reign of thirty-seven years was marked by few important events. But not so with the reign of his son and successor. CHARLES XII. was born in 1682, the same year in which Czar Peter, then at the age of ten, came to the throne of Russia. The Swedish prince, unlike his rival, was carefully educated under the care of his father, and at

an early age became familiar with several languages—French, German, Latin, beside his mother tongue. He was also an adept in such sciences as geography, history, and mathematics. His youthful imagination is said to have been fired with the story of the victories and conquests of Alexander the Great.

At the time when Peter was setting out on his journey to learn ship-building in the docks of Amsterdam, Charles XII., then fifteen years of age, was declared by the estates of Sweden to have attained his majority, and to be capable of ruling. On his accession to power he at first displayed little aptitude for his kingly duties. For about two years his chief vocation was bear-hunting, and in this royal pastime he was engaged when the news came that Czar Peter had, as already narrated, formed a treaty with Poland and Denmark, preparatory to the reconquest of the provinces of Ingria and Karelia. It was this news that roused the Swedish king to a sense of his responsibility, and suddenly converted him into a great warrior.

The particular thing which had weaned Denmark from her natural affiliation with Sweden and carried her over to an alliance with Russia was the annexation of her dependency of Schleswig-Holstein to the Swedish dominions. In the beginning of the war, the Danes invaded the territories of Frederick, duke of Holstein, who was a brother-in-law of Charles. Frederick hereupon repaired to the court of the Swedish monarch and claimed his aid against the Danish invaders.



POLISH WINGED CAVALRY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
Drawn by W. Camphausen.

Charles willingly espoused the cause of his kinsman, and having by the treaty of the Hague obtained the countenance of England and Holland, entered upon hostilities with all the energy of which he was capable.

In May of 1700 Charles embarked from Carlscrona with thirty ships of the line and made a descent on the island of Zealand. From the very first he showed that impetuous courage for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. On coming to the place of debarkation he leaped into the water and was the first man to gain the shore. Having suc-

ceeded in his first attack on Zealand, the king then prepared to bombard Copenhagen, and was only prevented from doing so by the opening of negotiations which, in the following August, resulted in the conclusion of a peace between Denmark and Sweden. Frederick IV., the Danish king, saved himself by withdrawing from the alliance with Poland and Russia, and by giving up Schleswig-Holstein to the House of Gottorp.

But while these movements were taking place at the western extremity of the Baltic, the Polish army had overrun Swedish Livonia and invested Riga. Peter himself had taken the field and laid siege to Narva, eighty miles south-west of where St. Petersburg, the new Russian capital, was presently to be founded. By this time Charles had freed himself from all complications in the West, and now he drew his sword against the Czar, in whom he recognized, with the quick instincts of a soldier, a foeman worthy of his blade.

It appears, moreover, that the Swedish king fully appreciated the nature of the task which he had assumed. He immediately cast off all superfluity and took up the discipline of a veteran. He put on the soldier's cloak, banished wine from his table, ate coarse bread, and slept on the ground from preference. Never was there a more daring campaign than that which he now undertook in the depth of winter. With a force of eight thousand five hundred men he marched across Livonia into Esthonia, and made his way directly to Narva, where Peter was conducting his siege with an army fully fifty thousand strong. On the 30th of November, 1700, he fell upon the Russians in an assault wherein it were difficult to say whether the recklessness were greater or the fury. But the Swede's audacity was rewarded by an overwhelming victory. The siege of Narva was broken up, and the discomfited Peter was left to gather up, as best he might, the fragments of his routed army.

Had Charles now followed up his advantage with as much wisdom as he had shown of genius in the field, he might, perhaps, have driven Peter to the wall, and changed the course of history. But instead of pursuing the Czar he turned aside to make war on the Poles and Saxons. The latter were posted in a strong position on the river Düna, and when Charles hurled his forces against them he was at first repulsed. But he reformed his veterans *in the channel of the river*,



PETER THE GREAT.
After the painting of G. Kneller, Hampton Court.

renewed the charge, and gained another decisive victory. From this time his name became a terror to his enemies.

The allies now undertook to circumvent the victor by an intrigue. Augustus II. of Poland, finding himself overmatched, sent his mistress, Aurora von Königsmark, reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Europe, to try the effect of her seductive charms upon the heart of the Swedish lion. The lion refused to see her, and the Polish Venus was dismissed from the camp. Augustus then sent out a new army under General Riese, but the latter was unable to stand against his antagonist. At Kliszow Charles gained, on the 19th of July, 1702, a victory so decisive as to lay all Poland at his feet; but a broken limb impeded the movements of the king until the enemy was able to recover from the blow.



CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.

In the mean time Czar Peter, rallying from the disaster at Narva, again entered the field and invaded Finland. At this epoch Charles was absorbed with his project of driving Augustus II. from Poland and conferring the crown of that country on the rival candidate, Stanislas Leszcynski. At length, however, the Swede was obliged to give over this ignoble broil in Poland and turn his attention to the Czar. For General Rehnsköld with an army of Poles was now *en route* to join Peter, whom Charles, as soon as he turned against him, began to force back through Lithuania. In so doing he intercepted Rehnsköld at Fraustadt, and there in February of 1706, gained another complete victory. Augustus took the alarm and fled to Russia. Soon afterwards he sent his two principal ministers to negotiate with Charles, with whom terms were agreed upon and a treaty signed; but just as a conclusion was reached, intelligence came that the Czar had gained a victory at Kalisz. At this Augustus was so much elated that he declared he had made no peace at all. Charles, however, held Saxony with a firm grip, and it was not long until Augustus renewed the negotiations, and in September of 1706 gave his consent to a treaty by which he resigned the crown of Poland.

The Swedish king now took up his residence in Saxony and ruled as sovereign. He recruited his army with Saxon conscripts, and in the next place compelled the Emperor Joseph I. to restore to the Protestants a hundred and twenty-five churches which he had taken from them and given to the Jesuits. It was at this juncture that the Emperor, fearing lest the kingdom of Sweden should be added to his enemies and foreseeing that in that

event the German Empire and the House of Austria with it might be ground between the upper and the nether millstone, sent the accomplished Duke of Marlborough to dissuade Charles XII. from his designs on Germany and to turn his antagonism against the Czar. The duke was successful in his mission, and the remainder of the military career of the Swede was devoted to the struggle with Russia.

In September of 1707 Charles, with an army of forty-three thousand men, began an invasion of Peter's dominions. The Swedes took almost the identical route chosen by Napoleon in the Russian campaign of 1812; nor does the analogy of the two great expeditions end with the identity of the lines of march. Almost the same fate awaited the Swede as destiny had reserved for Bonaparte a hundred and five years afterwards. Charles crossed the Beresina, stormed the Russian lines at Golovtchin, and followed the flying enemy with such recklessness that his army became almost hopelessly involved in the Russian forests and swamps. The Swedish artillery was abandoned in a morass, and Charles's veterans began to sink down and die of hunger. Meanwhile General Löwenhaupt, who had followed with another army of Swedes to reinforce the king, was intercepted and defeated by the Russians, led by the Czar in person. Nevertheles Löwenhaupt succeeded in breaking through, and reached the king with a body of six thousand men.

On reaching Smolensk, Charles, whose march up to this time had been directed against Moscow, was persuaded by Prince Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks, to change his course and carry the campaign into the Ukraine. It was represented to the Swede that the tribes of this region had never been reconciled to the rule of the Czar, and that they were ready and anxious to follow the standard of any who would direct them in a struggle with the Empire. The event proved, however, that Mazeppa, like many another ambitious chieftain, had represented things as he wished them to be rather than as they were. The people of the Ukraine rose not at his approach. He himself was proscribed by the Czar; and it was only after a terrible struggle that Mazeppa succeeded in fighting his way back through the desolations of the winter of 1708–9 as far as the Dnieper, where he established his camp. Here he remained till the opening of spring; but his forces were greatly reduced and were on the brink of starvation. Meanwhile, Peter carefully reörganized his army, which was now augmented to seventy thousand men, and advancing with the opening of the year he took up his position at Poltava, a strong town on the river Vorskla. Here he awaited the movement of his antagonist.

Notwithstanding the fearful odds against him Charles was by no means appalled. With the opening of the summer he prepared to attack Poltava. On the 8th of July, 1709, the two armies met before that town, and a battle ensued which has taken rank among the great conflicts of history. Before the beginning of the struggle Charles, while reconnoitering the position of the Russians, received a dangerous wound in the thigh, by which he was so far disabled that he was constrained to dismount. But he ordered himself to be placed on a litter and borne about the field, that he might direct the movements of his veterans. If courage and resolution could have prevailed over almost overwhelming numbers and almost equal discipline on the part of the Russians, then perhaps Charles might have saved himself and his army from destruction. But the disparity was too great, and the heroic Swede had the mortification of seeing his ragged and half-starved soldiers driven like a whirlwind by the discharges of the Russian artillery until only a handful of his followers remained to bear him from the field. The Czar pursued his fallen antagonist, and overtook him in the territories of old Mazeppa, who still remained faithful to the Swedes.

After the victory the Czar pursued the division of Löwenhaupt, and overtaking that general on the Dnieper, compelled him to surrender. Charles himself made good his escape to Bender, on the river Dniester. This place, within the Turkish territory, was strongly fortified, and here for the present the fugitive king was safe. He was cordially received by the Turks, and permitted to fit up a residence somewhat befitting his royal rank. Having thus established himself, he immediately turned his whole energies to the work of

persuading the Ottoman Porte to undertake a war with Russia. The year 1710 was spent by him in these solicitations, and the Sultan was finally induced to take up arms. In the following year the grand vizier took the field with a powerful army of two hundred thousand men. Peter drew back before this formidable array, and was shut up in a most perilous position on the Pruth. For the time it appeared that his star was about to set forever; but in his extremity he adopted the same expedient which Augustus of Poland had tried without success on Charles. The Czar sent his wife—her who was afterwards the Empress Catherine I.—to the vizier's camp to try the effect of her gems upon the eyes of the Oriental. The Turk was dazzled, and Catharine succeeded in bribing him with her jewels to permit her husband's escape. The Czar made haste to extricate himself from his position, and Russia emerged with him. From that day it was certain that Charles would be driven to complete overthrow. The Swede had heard of the intrigue which the future Empress was conducting, and rode at full speed to the vizier's camp in the hope of thwarting the scheme. But his coming was too late; the woman had prevailed.

Great was the mortification of Charles to see coming to naught the grand project of humbling his enemy by means of the Turks. Vainly he struggled to prevent the miscarriage of his ambitious scheme. For two years longer he lingered at Bender, constantly engaged in edging on the Ottoman power against Russia. His influence at Constantinople was so great that he effected the overthrow of four successive grand viziers, because they were not sufficiently devoted to his interests. His plan was to induce the Sultan to intrust to him the command of a powerful Turkish army, with which he would invade the Czar's dominions and drive him from the throne. But one delay followed another, and



CHARLES XII. BORNE ON A LITTER AT POLTAVA.

in the mean time Peter exerted himself to the utmost to establish his power and consolidate the Empire. The provinces of Livonia and Esthonia were overrun and merged in his dominions. Riga also was taken, and then Courland was added to the Imperial territory. The duke of the last-named province was first induced to marry the Czar's niece, the Princess Anna, and then to drink himself to death. A successful invasion was then made into Pomerania, and the Saxons, influenced by the Czar, seized all Poland, putting Stanislas to flight and compelling him to seek refuge with Charles in Turkey. The



PETER THE GREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA.

Saxons and Russians, thus brought into alliance, overran Swedish Pomerania, burned the cities of Stade, Altona, Garz, and Wolgast, and hung threateningly on the borders of Prussia. That kingdom was induced, by the promise of the cession of Stettin, to enter the league against Sweden.

Meanwhile the agents of Czar Peter at Constantinople exerted themselves to the utmost to secure the expulsion of Charles from the Turkish dominions. It was urged upon the Sultan that the presence of the Swede was dangerous to the peace and welfare of Turkey. These representations at length prevailed to the extent that Charles was notified to take his departure from Bender. This he refused to do. Whereupon the governor of that place was ordered to seize him and bring him, alive or dead, to Adrianople. Learning the edict which had been issued against him, Charles gathered a band of two or three hundred desperate men, barricaded his house, and defended it with great courage until, the roof taking fire, he was obliged to fly. Mounting his horse, he dashed away and was about to escape when, his spurs becoming entangled, he was thrown to the ground and captured. In February of 1713 he was taken to Demotika, where he feigned sickness and for ten months remained abed, all the while revolving in his mind the same ambitious and now visionary schemes which he had so long cherished for the conquest of Russia and the destruction of the Czar. At length, however, he became convinced that the Ottoman Court could not any more be induced to espouse his cause. When this conviction settled upon him, his thoughts began to revert to his own kingdom. He resolved to make his escape and find his way back to Sweden. In order to conceal his purpose he sent off a last embassy to Constantinople, and then, disguising himself and taking horse by night, he fled into Hungary. Thence he traveled through Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg; for by this route he must go in order to avoid the Poles and the Saxons, who were on the alert for his capture. On the 22d of November of 1714, he reached Stralsund and was safe from pursuit.

But the moment it was known that the Swedish king was again in his own dominions a combined army of Danes, Saxons, Russians, and Prussians bore down upon him. For nearly a year he defended Stralsund with all the skill and bravery for which he had become renowned. While Louis XIV. lay dying on his magnificent couch at Versailles; while the House of Hanover was becoming comfortably seated on the throne of England; and while the new Emperor Charles VI. was preparing the celebrated "Pragmatic Sanction," establishing the future order of succession to the throne of the German Empire, the guns of the courageous Charles were still thundering defiance from the walls of Stralsund.

But no kind of heroism could prevail against the numbers and resources of his foes. In December of 1715 he was obliged to abandon his stronghold and retire to Lund, in Scania. Here again he made a stand, and for a while maintained his footing. At this juncture, however, the war was transferred to the sea. In general the results were unfavorable to Sweden, though on several occasions Charles, by his unconquerable will and daring, became a terror to his foes. Notably in his efforts against Norway he succeeded for a time in distracting the attention and exciting the alarm of the allied forces.

In this extremity of his fortunes Charles found a powerful friend and supporter in Baron Görtz, minister of Holstein. This able diplomatist, who, under more favorable circumstances, would have shone among the illustrious statesmen of his times, exerted all his influence to break up the anti-Swedish alliance. His plan embraced the winning over of Czar Peter at any price which might be necessary to induce his withdrawal from the league; then to gain the French influence by espousing the cause of the Pretender, whom it was proposed to lead back through the agitations of a Scotch rebellion to the throne of England, thereby unseating George I., who, with unbecoming haste, had allied himself with the enemies of Sweden. So successful were the schemes of Görtz that the terms of a treaty were actually agreed upon, by which peace was to be made between Sweden and Russia. It was stipulated that the Czar should retain all his conquests on the Gulf of Finland; that Stanislas should be restored to the throne

of Poland; that Anna Petrovna, widow of the Duke of Courland and niece of the Czar, should be given to Charles XII. in marriage, and a royal bond be thus established between the two great powers of the North.

But the far-reaching plans of the Holstein minister were destined to miscarry by an accident. A Swedish dispatch, containing an outline of the proposed treaty, was captured by the Danes and communicated to the allied powers. Great was their alarm and great their wrath. Denmark perceived that she was about to be crushed between the closing icebergs of Russia and Sweden. Saxony saw Poland about to be wrested from her dominion. To Prussia it was clear that her coveted prize of Stettin would never be delivered. Hanover perceived that her grip upon Bremen and Verdun would be broken; while Frederick of Hesse, at this time the heir expectant to the Swedish crown, saw that if the treaty should succeed, his hopes of royalty would be forever blasted. Among all the allies there was deep-seated alarm, agitation, resistance to the programme of Görtz.

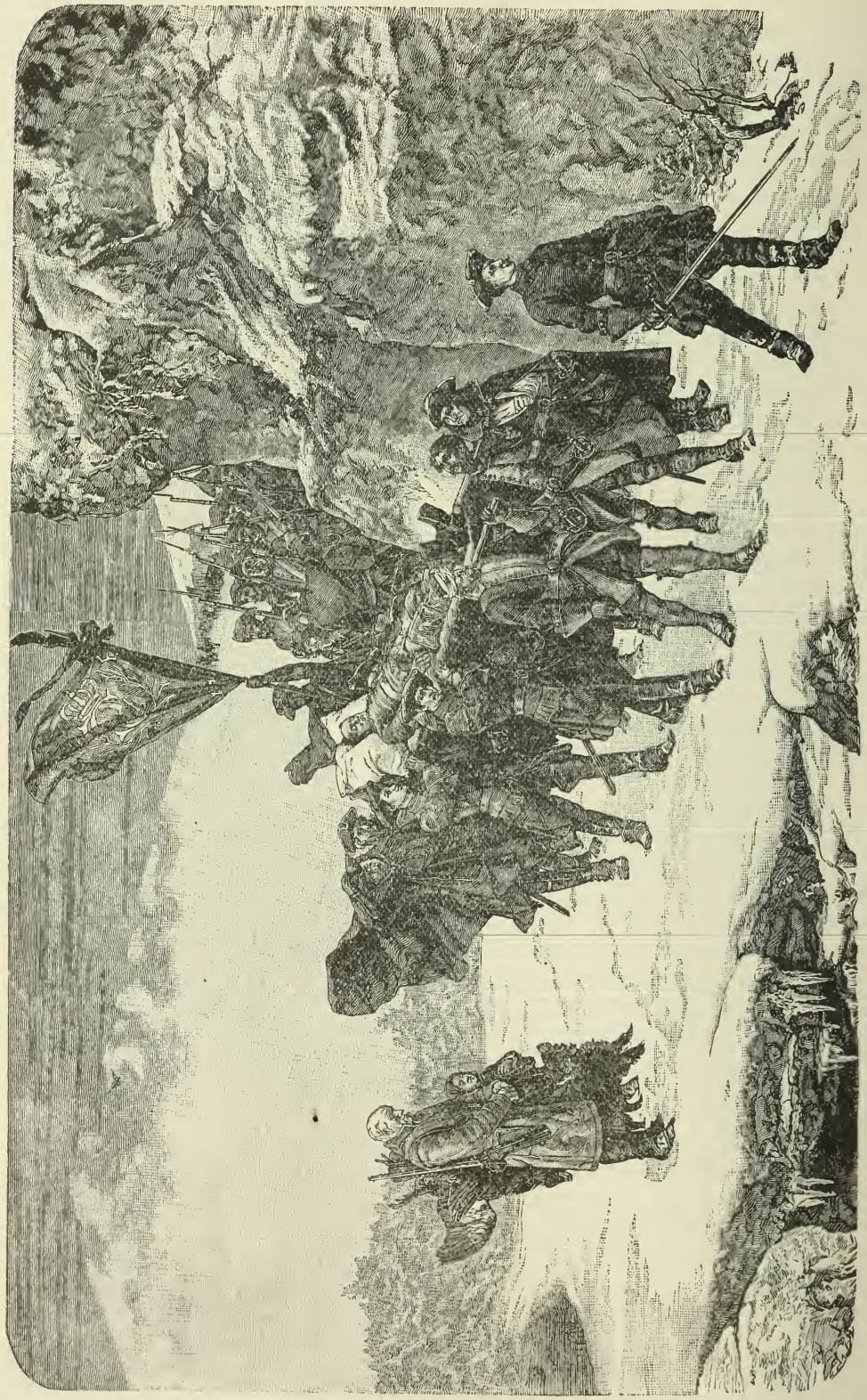
While affairs stood thus the complication was suddenly dissolved by the death of Charles. The king at this time was still prosecuting the war with Norway. A Swedish force under Annfeldt had been sent to cross the mountains, and had perished of cold and starvation. Another division, commanded by Charles in person, had laid siege to the Norwegian fortress of Frederikshall, and in this enterprise the king was engaged at the beginning of winter, 1718. In the conduct of the siege he behaved with his wonted audacity and recklessness. While standing under the enemy's fire in the trenches at night he was struck by a random shot and killed.[1]

[1] A great controversy arose as to the manner of Charles's death. His friends maintained that he had been shot by an emissary of that party, which, alarmed at the projects of Görtz, had determined that the king must die. Others held that he was killed in the manner stated in the text. More than two hundred books and pamphlets were published on the subject. In 1859 the Swedish government ordered a formal inquest to determine the manner of the king's death. The skull of Charles was carefully examined by three eminent physicians, and it was decided that the fatal shot was from a musket, and had been fired from the besieged fortress.

Thus closed in an obscure and inglorious manner the career of one of the most noted men of the eighteenth century. Considered merely as a warrior and general, he stands among the foremost heroes of history. In the field few have been his equals. It was on the side of his civil abilities that he was commonplace or even weak. He was in some measure visionary and always reckless. His mind became fired, while he was yet in his youth, with the passion of conquest, and to this passion he devoted the whole energies of his life. His wars were waged without a rational plan. He fought to conquer. Having conquered, he knew not what to do with his conquest, and being conquered, he knew not what to do except to conquer again. His career furnished to history the last example of a king leaving his own dominions, leading his army into foreign and distant parts, and warring after the mediæval style, with no ulterior political object to be attained. The random shot from the walls of Frederikshall was a fitting conclusion and comment upon that method of warfare which, regardless alike of human joy and sorrow, is waged merely to gratify the malevolent ambition and add to the dubious glory of a conqueror![1]

[1] Not without excellent discernment did Dr. Samuel Johnson select the career of Charles XII. to illustrate the folly and vainglory of war:

"On what foundations stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide:
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquered lord of pleasure and of pain.
No joys to him pacific scepters yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field;
Behold surrounding kings their power combine
And one capitulate and one resign;
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;
'Think nothing gained,' he cries, 'till naught remain,
On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'
. . . . . .
But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound,
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale."



THE SWEDES CARRYING THE DEAD BODY OF CHARLES XII. FROM FREDERICKSHALL.
After the painting by G. Cederstrœm.

In the genius requisite to a great ruler Czar Peter was much superior to his Swedish rival. Recognizing the fact that his people were still half-barbarians, and that he himself was by no means disengaged from savagery, he set himself assiduously to the work of civilizing the Slavic race. Of course, his methods were arbitrary and severe. He was a reformer of the heroic type. But the exertions which he put forth in the endeavor to lift the Russians to the plane of civilization were worthy of the praise of his own and succeeding ages.

One of his earliest schemes was the removal of the capital of the Empire from the ancient inland city of Moscow to some maritime situation, from which the Czars might give personal encouragement to the developing of Russian commerce. With this end in view he finally chose the marshes at the mouth of the river Neva, on the Gulf of Finland, and there, in 1703, he laid the foundation of ST. PETERSBURG. He gave himself with great zeal to the work of constructing dockyards and wharves and building ships, by which enterprises employment was furnished to thousands of laborers and the foundations laid for the commercial greatness of Russia. Ten years after the founding of the new capital the Senate was removed from Moscow, and in 1715 the summer and winter palaces of the Czars were completed at St. Petersburg. After discarding his first wife Eudoxia, he married his mistress, Catharine, and made her Empress. In 1716 he made a second tour of Western Europe, accompanied by his queen, with whom he was enthusiastically received at Paris. His son Alexis, child of Eudoxia, was soon afterwards detected in a treasonable conspiracy, was sentenced to death, but died in prison while awaiting execution.

After the death of Charles XII., the differences between Sweden and Russia were finally adjusted by the treaty of NYSTAD, which was concluded in 1721. By the terms of this settlement Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Karelia, the province of Viborg, the island of Oesel, and all the other islands in the Baltic between Courland and Viborg, were ceded by Sweden to Russia. In return for these large concessions the Czar agreed to give up the greater part of Finland, which he had conquered, and to pay the Swedes two millions of dollars. He also granted the free exportation of corn to the annual value of fifty thousand rubles from the ports of Riga, Revel, and Arensburg.

Having concluded this treaty, Peter found time to take up other enterprises for the improvement of the Empire. He encouraged the construction of canals and factories; introduced a new system of weights and measures; ordered the paving of the streets of the principal Russian cities; framed new statutes; organized courts; built hospitals; sent numbers of the young nobles with their wives to acquire culture by travel in Western Europe; and founded the academy of sciences in his capital.



CATHARINE I.

In the midst of all these arduous and enlightened labors, the Czar himself remained

what nature had made him—an inspired savage. He had sufficient power of introspection to perceive the essential and persistent barbarity of his own mind. This fact was to him, when not under the influence of passion, a source of great grief, which found utterance in his oft-repeated aphorism that he could civilize others but could not civilize himself. He lived until the 8th of February, 1725, and unto his dying day, or at least until he was prostrated by the fatal malady which caused his death, devoted all the energies of his great mind to the improvement of the people of Russia and the consolidation of that powerful Empire with which his name and fame will be forever associated.

CHAPTER CXI.—PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.



HE present Book will be concluded with a sketch of the progress of the American Colonies from the time of their planting to the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Beginning at the extreme North, we find that the colonies of France, established on the St. Lawrence by James Cartier and his fellow adventurers, had had a stunted growth, a precarious existence. Quebec and Montreal survived and became the centers of French influence west of Newfoundland. The country known as NEW FRANCE, or CANADA, spread around to the west from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, embraced the larger part of North America east of the Mississippi, and reaching the Atlantic coast at Cape Fear, extended southward to Spanish Florida. The French settlements within this vast area, however, were few and feeble, being limited to the banks of the St. Lawrence and to the shores and islands about the debouçhure of that great stream.

Coming to the English colonies in what is now the north-eastern portion of the United States, we note a more rapid development. The settlement planted by the Pilgrims in 1620 at Plymouth, on Massachusetts Bay, struggled for a season for existence. But for the early opening of the spring of 1621, perhaps the whole company would have perished. But with the return of the sun came a renewal of hope, and never was the song of the spring birds more welcome to the weary heart of man.

The fatal winter had swept off one-half of the colonists. The son of the benevolent Carver was among the first victims of the terrible climate. The governor himself sickened and died, and the broken-hearted wife found rest in the same grave with her husband. But now with the approach of warm weather the destroying pestilence was stayed, and the spirits of the survivors revived with the season.

For a while the colonists were apprehensive of the Indians. In February, Miles Standish was sent out with his soldiers to gather information of the numbers and disposition of the natives. The army of New England consisted of six men besides the general. Deserted wigwams were found here and there; the smoke of camp-fires arose in the distance; savages were occasionally seen in the forest. These fled, however, at the approach of the English, and Standish returned to Plymouth.

A month later the colonists were astonished by the sudden appearance in their midst of a Wampanoag Indian named Samoset. He ran into the village, offered his hand in token of friendship, and bade the strangers welcome. He gave an account of the numbers and strength of the neighboring tribes, and recited the story of a great plague by which, a few years before, the country had been swept of its inhabitants. The present feebleness and desolate condition of the natives had resulted from the fatal malady. Another Indian, by the name of Squanto, who had been carried away by Hunt, in 1614, and had learned to

speak English, came also to Plymouth, and confirmed what Samoset had said.

In the early spring a treaty was made with Massasoit, the great Sachem of the tribe of Wampanoags. The compact which remained inviolate for fifty years provided that no injury should be done by the White men to the Indians, or by the Indians to the Whites, and that all offenders and criminals should be given up for punishment.

Other chiefs followed the example of Massasoit, and entered into friendly relations with the colony. Nine of the leading tribes acknowledged the sovereignty of the English king. One chieftain threatened hostilities, but Standish's army obliged him to beg for mercy. Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts, sent to William Bradford, who had been chosen governor after the death of Carver, a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake; but the undaunted governor stuffed the skin with powder and balls, and sent it back to the chief, who did not dare to accept the dangerous challenge. The hostile emblem was borne about from tribe to tribe, until finally it was returned to Plymouth.



TREATY OF THE PILGRIMS WITH MASSASOIT.

The summer of 1621 was unfruitful, and the Pilgrims were brought to the point of starvation. To make their condition still more grievous, a new company of immigrants, without provisions or stores, arrived, and were quartered on the colonists during the fall and winter.

The newcomers just mentioned had been sent to America by Thomas Weston, of London, one of the projectors of the colony. They remained with the people of Plymouth until the summer of 1622, then removed to the south side of Boston Harbor, and began a new settlement called Weymouth. Instead of working with their might to provide against starvation, they wasted the fall in idleness, and attempted to keep up their stock of provisions by defrauding the Indians.

In the following spring most of the Weymouth settlers abandoned the place and returned to England. The summer of 1623 brought a plentiful harvest to the people of the older colony, and there was no longer any danger of starvation. The natives, preferring the chase, became dependent on the settlement for corn, and furnished in exchange an abundance of game. The main body of Pilgrims still tarried at Leyden. John Robinson, their leader, made unwearied efforts to bring his people to America, but the adventurers of London who had managed the enterprise would provide no further means, either of money or transportation; and now, at the end of the fourth year, there were only a hundred and eighty persons in New England.

The year 1624 was marked by the founding of a settlement at Cape Ann. John White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, England, collected a small company of emigrants and sent them to America. The colony was established, but after two years of discouragement the cape was abandoned as a place unsuitable, and the company moved farther south to Naumkeag, afterwards called Salem. Here

a settlement was begun, and in 1628 was made permanent by the arrival of a second colony, in charge of John Endicott, who was chosen governor. In March of the same year the colonists obtained a patent from the Council of Plymouth; and in 1629 Charles I. issued a charter by which the proprietors were incorporated under the name of THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND. In July two hundred additional immigrants arrived, half of whom settled at Plymouth, while the other half removed to a peninsula on the north side of



JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston Harbor and laid the foundation of Charlestown. In the tenth year from the founding of the colony about three hundred of the best Puritan families in the kingdom came to New England. They had the discretion and good fortune to choose John Winthrop for their governor. Never was a man more worthy of his station. Born a royalist, he cherished the principles of republicanism. Himself an Episcopalian, he chose affliction with the Puritans. Surrounded with affluence and comfort, he left all to share the destiny of the persecuted Pilgrims. Calm, prudent, and peaceable, he joined the zeal of an enthusiast with the sublime faith of a martyr.

A part of the new immigrants settled at Salem; others at Cambridge and Watertown, on Charles River; while others, going farther south, founded Roxbury and Dorchester. The governor, with a few of the leading families, resided for a while at Charlestown, but soon crossed the harbor to the peninsula of Shawmut, and laid the foundation of BOSTON, which became henceforth the capital of the colony and the metropolis of New England.

In 1634 a representative form of government was established against the opposition of the clergy. On election day the voters, now numbering between three and four hundred, were called together, and the learned Cotton preached powerfully and long against the proposed change. The assembly listened attentively, and then went on with the election. To make the reform complete, a BALLOT-BOX was substituted for the old method of public voting. The restriction on the right of suffrage was the only remaining bar to a perfect system of self-government in New England.

During the next year three thousand new immigrants arrived. It was worth while—so thought the people of England—to come to a country where the principles of freedom were spreading with such rapidity. The newcomers were under the leadership of Hugh Peters and Sir Henry Vane, already mentioned in a former chapter. The settlements around Massachusetts Bay became thickly clustered. Until new homes should be found there was no room for the immigrants who were constantly coming. To enlarge the frontier, to plunge into the wilderness, and find new places of abode, became a necessity. One little company of twelve families, led by Simon Willard and Peter Bulkeley, marched through the woods until they came to some open meadows sixteen miles from Boston, and there laid the foundations of Concord. A little later in the same year another colony of sixty persons left the older settlements, pressed their way westward as far as the Connecticut River, and in the following spring founded Windsor, HARTFORD, and Wethersfield, the oldest towns in the Connecticut valley.

The banishment of Roger Williams, instead of bringing peace, brought strife and dissension to the people of Massachusetts. Religious debates became the order of the day. Every sermon had to pass the ordeal of review and criticism.

Most prominent among those who were said to be "as bad as Roger Williams, or worse," was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of genius who had come over in the ship with Sir Henry Vane. She desired the privilege of speaking at the weekly debates, and was refused. Women had no business at these assemblies, said the elders. Indignant at this, she became the champion of her sex, and declared that the ministers who were defrauding women of the Gospel were no better than Pharisees. At length Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends were declared unfit for the society of Christians, and banished from the territory of Massachusetts. With a large number of friends the exiles wended their way towards the home of Roger Williams. Miantonomoh, a Narragansett chieftain, made them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island; there, in the month of March, 1641, a little republic was established, in whose constitution freedom of conscience was guaranteed and persecution for opinion's sake forbidden.

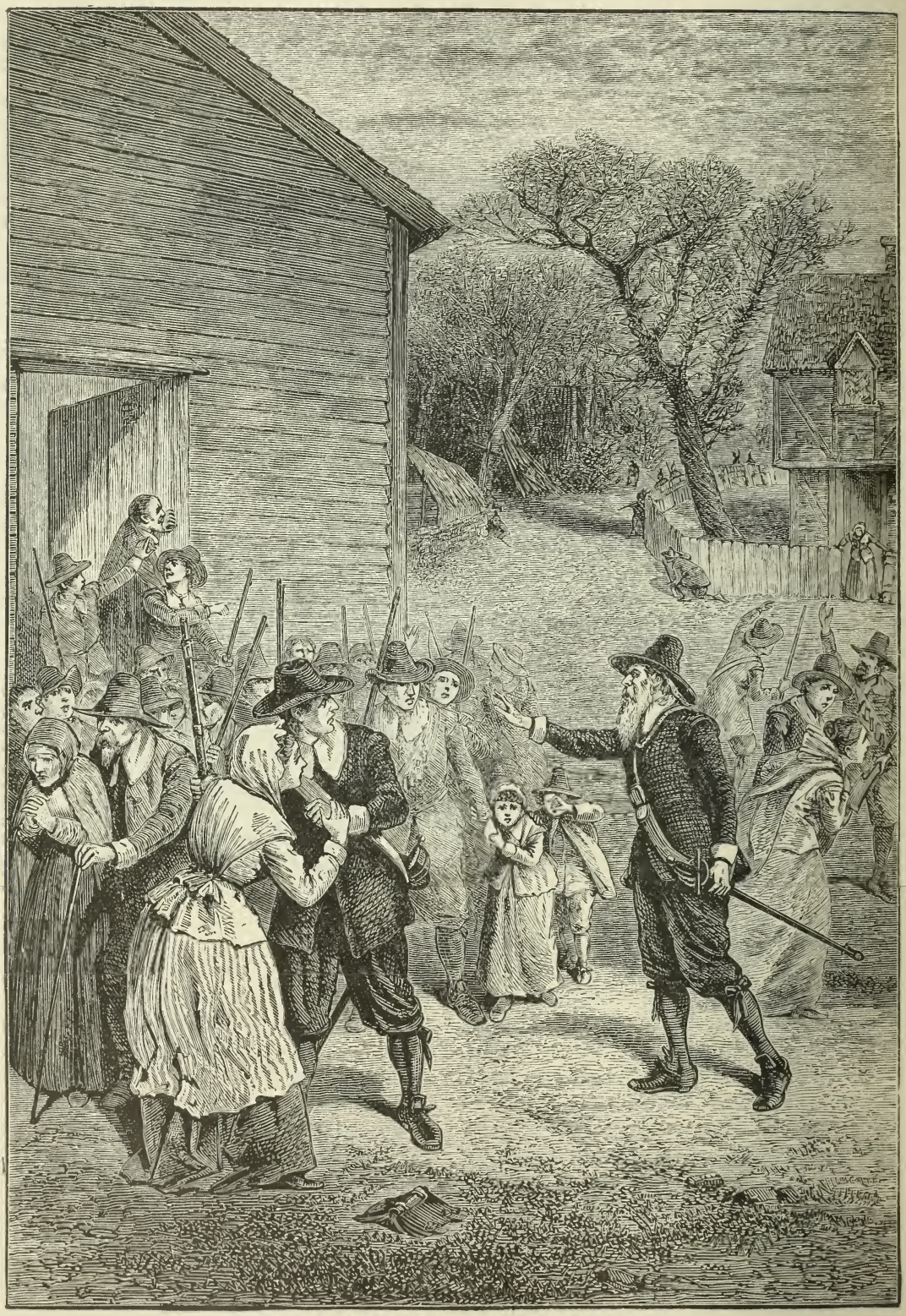
In 1636 the general court of the colony passed an act appropriating between one and two thousand dollars to found and endow a college. The measure met with popular favor; the Puritans were an educated people, and were quick to appreciate the advantages of learning. Newtown was selected as the site of the proposed school. Plymouth and Salem gave gifts to help the enterprise; and from villages in the Connecticut valley came contributions of corn and wampum. In 1638 John Harvard, a young minister of Charlestown, died, bequeathing his library and nearly five thousand dollars to the school. To perpetuate the memory of the noble benefactor the new institution was named HARVARD COLLEGE; and in honor of the place where the leading men of Massachusetts had been educated, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge.

The PRINTING-PRESS came also. In 1638 Stephen Daye, an English printer, arrived at Boston, bringing a font of types, and in the following year set up a press at Cambridge. The first American publication was an almanac calculated for New England, and bearing date of 1639. During the next year Thomas Welde and John Eliot, two ministers of Roxbury, and Richard Mather, of Dorchester, translated the Hebrew Psalms into English verse, and published their rude work in a volume of three hundred pages—the first book printed on this side of the Atlantic.

New England was now fast becoming a nation. Well-nigh fifty towns and villages dotted the face of the country. Nearly a million of dollars had been spent in settling and developing the new State. Enterprises of all kinds were rife. Manufactures, commerce, and the arts were rapidly introduced. William Stephens, a shipbuilder, who came with Governor Winthrop to Boston, had already built and launched an American vessel of four hundred tons burden. Before 1640 two hundred and ninety-eight emigrant ships had anchored in Massachusetts Bay. Twenty-one thousand two hundred people, escaping from English intolerance of Church or State, had found home and rest between Plymouth Rock and the Connecticut valley.

An effort was now made to form a union of the New England colonies; but at first the movement was unsuccessful. In 1639 and again in 1643 the measure was brought forward and finally adopted. By the terms of this compact Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were joined in a loose confederacy, called THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND. The chief authority was conferred upon a general assembly or congress, composed of two representatives from each colony. These delegates were chosen annually at an election where all the freemen voted by ballot. There was no president other than the speaker of the assembly, and he had no executive powers. Each community retained, as before, its separate local existence; and all subordinate questions of legislation were reserved to the respective colonies.

The people of Massachusetts were little grieved on account of the English Revolution. It was for them a vindication and a victory. The triumph of Parliament over King Charles was the triumph of Puritanism both in Eng-



THE REGICIDE GOFFE AT HADLEY VILLAGE.

land and America. Massachusetts had no cause to fear so long as the House of Commons was crowded with her friends and patrons. But in the hour of victory the American Puritans showed themselves more magnanimous than those of the mother country. When Charles I., the enemy of all colonial liberties, was brought to the block, the people of New England, whose fathers had been exiled by *his* father, lamented his tragic fate and preserved the memory of his virtues.

The Protector was the constant friend of the American colonies. Even Virginia, though slighting his authority, found him just as well as severe. The people of New England were his special favorites. To them he was bound by every tie of political and religious sympathy. For more than ten years, when he might have been an oppressor, he continued the benefactor, of the English in America.

In July of 1656, the QUAKERS began to arrive at Boston. The first who came were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher. The introduction of the plague would have occasioned less alarm. The two women were caught and searched for marks of witchcraft, their trunks were broken open, their books were burnt by the hangman, and they themselves thrown into prison. After several week's confinement, they were brought forth and banished from the colony. Others came, were whipped and exiled. As the law became more cruel and proscriptive, fresh victims rushed forward to brave its terrors. The assembly of the four colonies again convened, and advised the authorities of Massachusetts to pronounce the penalty of death against the fanatical disturbers of the public peace. In 1659 four persons were arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and hanged without mercy. Nor did the fact that one of these was a woman move the stony hearts of the persecuting judges.

The tidings of the Restoration in England reached Boston on the 27th of July, 1660. In the same vessel that bore the news came Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges who had passed sentence of death on Charles I. It was now their turn to save their lives by flight. Governor Endicott received them with courtesy; the agents from the British government came in hot pursuit with orders to arrest them. For a while the fugitives, aided by the people of Boston, baffled the officers, and then escaped to New Haven. Here for many weeks they lay in concealment; not even the Indians would accept the reward which was offered for their apprehension. At last the exiles reached the valley of the Connecticut and found refuge at the village of Hadley, where they passed the remainder of their lives. When, during King Philip's war, the village was attacked by the savages, the venerable Goffe came forth from his hiding-place, rallied the flying people, and directed the defense. Then he went back to his covert and was seen no more.

With the outbreak of the war between England and Holland, in 1664, it became a part of the English military plans to reduce the Dutch settlements on the Hudson; and for this purpose a fleet was sent to America. But there was another purpose also. Charles II. was anxious to obtain control of the New England colonies, that he might govern them according to the principles of arbitrary power.

With this end in view, four commissioners were appointed with instructions to go to America, to sit in judgment upon all matters of complaint that might arise in New England, to settle colonial disputes, and to take such other measures as might seem most likely to establish peace and good order in the country. The royal commissioners embarked in the British fleet, and in July arrived at Boston. Such, however, was the reception given to the king's grand judges by the people of the New England colonies, that they were soon glad to leave the country for some other where their services would be better appreciated.

In 1675 a war broke out between the people of Massachusetts and the Wampanoag Indians, under the lead of their great chief, KING PHILIP. The struggle continued for some time, and was attended with great loss of life and destruction of property. But at last the Indians were subdued, and Philip himself hunted down and killed near his old home at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island.

On the accession of James II. the charter of Massachusetts was formally revoked; all the colonies between Nova Scotia and Narragansett Bay were consolidated, and Joseph Dudley appointed President. New England was not prepared for open resistance; the

colonial assembly was dissolved by its own act, and the members returned sullenly to their homes. In the winter following, Dudley was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed royal governor of all New England. Under his administration Massachusetts and her sister colonies lost their liberties. The governor and his rule became extremely odious, and when the news came of the expulsion of James from the throne of England, Andros met a like fate at the hands of the American colonists. On the 18th of April, 1689, the citizens of Charlestown and Boston rose in open rebellion. Andros and his minions, attempting to escape, were seized and marched to prison. The insurrection spread through the country; and before the 10th of May every colony in New England had restored its former liberties.



DEATH OF KING PHILIP.

The various European wars of England, France, and Holland spread into the respective colonies of those states in America. That conflict which was concluded by the treaty of Ryswick involved the English possessions in New England and those of France in Nova Scotia in a serious war, which lasted for nearly

eight years. The results, however, were indecisive, and in 1697 the boundary lines between the respective colonies of England and France were established as before.

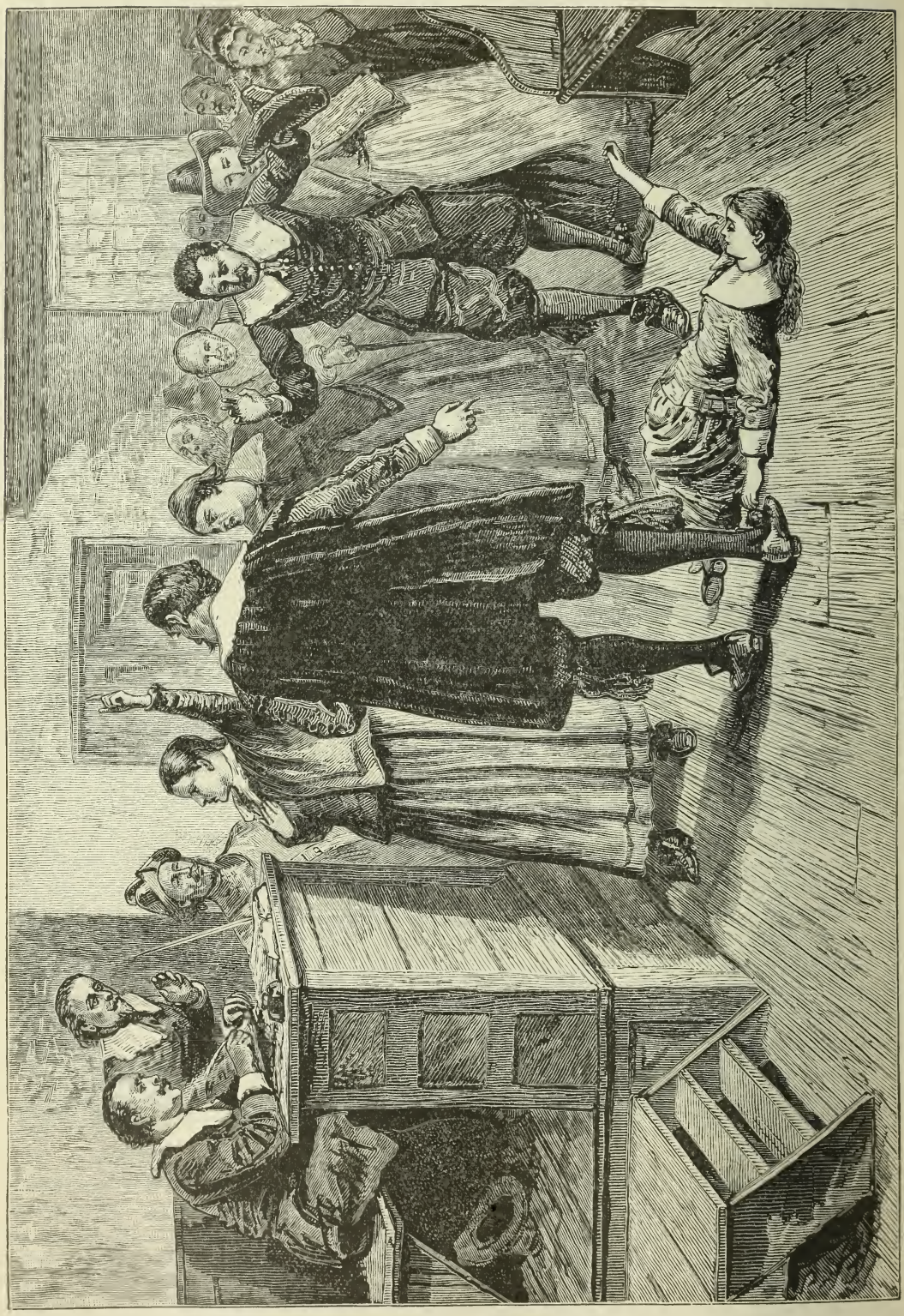
Meanwhile New England had been afflicted with the great delusion known as the SALEM WITCHCRAFT. The excitement broke out in that part of Salem village afterwards called Danvers, as was traceable to the animosity of the minister, Samuel Parris, against George Burroughs, a former pastor. By Parris the charge of witchcraft was brought against several of the adherents of Burroughs, who were imprisoned and brought to trial before Stoughton, deputy governor of the colony, and the celebrated Cotton Mather, of Boston, who was the person chiefly responsible for the condemnation of the witches. Twenty innocent persons, including several women, were condemned and put to death. Fifty-five others were tortured into the confession of abominable falsehoods. A hundred and fifty lay in prison awaiting their fate. Two hundred were accused or suspected, and ruin seemed to impend over New England. But a reäction at last set in among the people. Notwithstanding the vociferous clamor and denunciations of Mather, the witch tribunals were overthrown. The representative assembly convened early in October, and the hated court which Governor Phipps had appointed to sit at Salem was at once dismissed. The spell was dissolved. The thralldom of the popular mind was broken. Reason shook off the terror that had oppressed it. The prison doors were opened, and the victims of malice and superstition went forth free.

With the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession the American colonies became again involved in the conflict. The Canadian Jesuits instigated the Indians to rise against the English settlements, and during the years 1703–4 great havoc was wrought by the savages along the desolated frontiers of Connecticut and New York.

In 1707 the reduction of Port Royal was undertaken by Massachusetts. A fleet, bearing a thousand soldiers, was equipped and sent against the town. But Baron Castin, who commanded the French garrison, conducted the defense with so much skill that the English were obliged to abandon the undertaking. From this costly and disastrous expedition Massachusetts gained nothing but discouragement and debt. Nevertheless, after two years of preparation, the enterprise was renewed; and in 1710 an English and American fleet of thirty-six vessels, having on board four regiments of troops, anchored before Port Royal. The garrison was weak; Subercase, the French commander, had neither talents nor courage; famine came; and after a feeble defense of eleven days the place surrendered at discretion. By this conquest all of Nova Scotia passed under the dominion of the English. The flag of Great Britain was hoisted over the conquered fortress, and the name of Port Royal gave place to ANNAPOLIS, in honor of Queen Anne.

For more than a quarter of a century after the treaty of Utrecht, Massachusetts was free from hostile invasion. This was not, however, a period of public tranquillity. The people were dissatisfied with the royal government which King William had established, and were at constant variance with their governors. Phipps and his administration had been heartily disliked. Governor Shute was equally unpopular. Burnett, who succeeded him, and Belcher afterward, were only tolerated because they could not be shaken off. The opposition to the royal officers took the form of a controversy about their salaries. The general assembly insisted that the governor and his councilors should be paid in proportion to the importance of their several offices, and for actual service only. But the royal commissions gave to each officer a fixed salary, which was frequently out of all proportion to the services required. After many years of antagonism, the difficulty was finally adjusted with a compromise in which the advantage was wholly on the side of the people.

Passing over the details of the early history of the minor Eastern colonies, we note the growth of the Dutch settlements in New Netherland. For ten years after the founding of the colony on Manhattan Island, New Amsterdam was governed by a board of directors appointed by the Dutch East India Company. In 1623 the ship *New Netherland*, having on board a colony of thirty families, arrived at New Amsterdam. The colonists,



WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM VILLAGE.

called WALLOONS, were Dutch Protestant refugees from Flanders, in Belgium. They were of the same religious faith with the Huguenots of France, and came to America to find repose from the persecutions of their own country. Cornelius May was the leader of the company. The greater number of the new immigrants settled with their friends on Manhattan Island; but the captain, with a party of fifty, passing down the coast of New Jersey, entered and explored the Bay of Delaware.

In the following year civil government began in New Netherland. Cornelius May was first governor of the colony. His official duties, however, were only such as belonged to the superintendent of a trading-post. In the next year William Verhulst became director of the settlement. Herds of cattle, swine, and sheep were brought over from Holland and distributed among the settlers. In January of 1626, Peter Minuit, of Wesel, was regularly appointed by the Dutch West India Company as governor of New Netherland.

In 1628 the population of Manhattan numbered two hundred and seventy. The settlers devoted their whole energies to the fur-trade. Every bay, inlet, and river between Rhode Island and the Delaware was visited by their vessels. The colony gave promise of rapid development and of great profit to the proprietors. The West India Company now came forward with a new and peculiar scheme of colonization. In 1629 the corporation created a CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES, under which a class of proprietors called patroons were authorized to possess and colonize the country. Each patroon might select anywhere in New Netherland a tract of land not more than sixteen miles in length, and of a breadth to be determined by the location.

Under the provisions of this instrument five estates were immediately established. Three of them, lying contiguous, embraced a district of twenty-four miles in the valley of the Hudson above and below Fort Orange. The fourth manor was laid out by Michael Pauw on Staten Island; and the fifth, and most important, included the southern half of the present State of Delaware.

Four of the leading European nations had now established permanent colonies in America. The fifth to plant an American state was Sweden. As early as 1626 GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS formed the design of establishing settlements in the West. For this purpose a company of merchants was organized, to whose capital the king himself contributed four hundred thousand dollars. After the death of Gustavus, Oxenstiern, the great Swedish minister, took up the work which his master had left unfinished. The charter of the company was renewed, and after four years of preparation the enterprise was brought to a successful issue. Late in the year 1637, a company of Swedes and Finns left the harbor of Stockholm, and in the following February arrived in Delaware Bay. Never before had the Northerners beheld so beautiful a land. They called Cape Henlopen the Point of Paradise. The whole country, sweeping around the west side of the bay and up the river to the falls at Trenton, was honorably purchased of the Indians. In memory of native land, the name of NEW SWEDEN was given to this fine territory.

But difficulties soon arose between the Dutch and the Swedes, and in 1651 the colony of the latter was extinguished by an expedition sent out by the governor of New Netherland.

After several Dutch governors had been despatched to their colony by the West India Company, the soldierly PETER STUYVESANT was commissioned, and in 1647 arrived at New Amsterdam. Under his administration the colony began to improve; but the progress was slow, and as late as the middle of the century the better parts of Manhattan Island were still divided among the farmers. Central Park was a forest of oaks and chestnuts.

It was during the administration of Stuyvesant that the little state of New Sweden was invaded, conquered, and incorporated with New Netherland. The nature and extent of the various American possessions and territorial claims of France, England, Holland, Sweden, and Spain will be best understood from an examination of the accompanying map, drawn for the year 1655.

On the 12th of March, 1664, the Duke of York received at the hands of his brother, Charles II., two extensive patents for American territory. The first grant included the district reaching from the Kennebec to the

St. Croix River, and the second embraced the whole country between the Connecticut and the Delaware. Without regard to the rights of Holland, in utter contempt of the West India Company, through whose exertions the valley of the Hudson had been peopled, with no respect for the wishes of the Dutch, or even for the voice of his own Parliament, the English monarch in one rash hour despoiled a sister kingdom of a well-earned province.

Governor Stuyvesant resisted as best he might the arbitrary claims of the English; but resistance was in vain. An armament was sent out under command of RICHARD



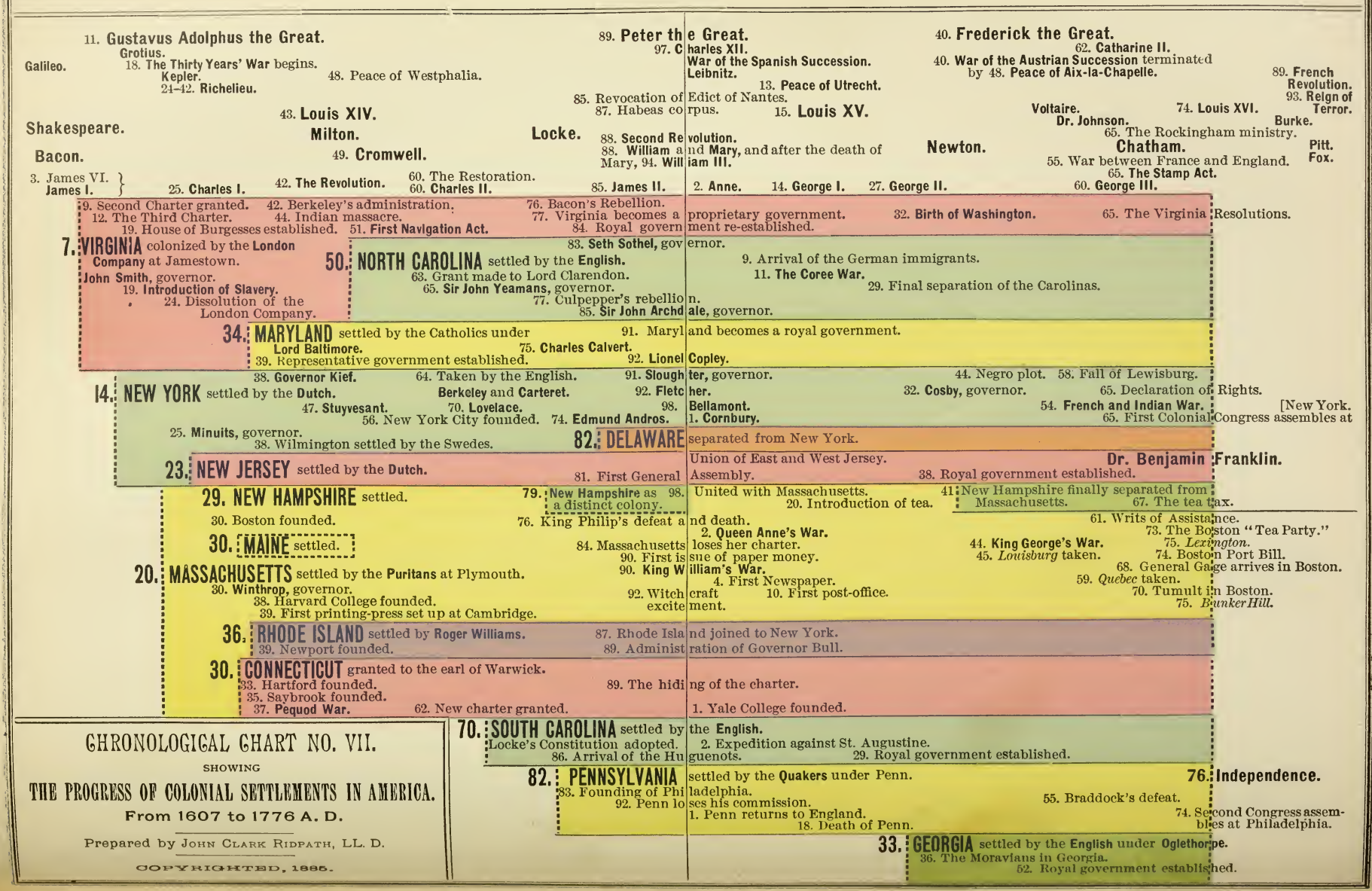
PETER STUYVESANT.

NICOLLS, whom the Duke of York had appointed governor. Arriving at New Amsterdam, Nicolls demanded a surrender. Stuyvesant tried to induce the Dutch to fight, but they would not. On the 8th of September, 1664, New Netherlands ceased to exist. The English flag was hoisted over the fort and town, and the name of NEW YORK was substituted for New Amsterdam. The surrender of Fort Orange, now named Albany, followed on the 24th; and on the 1st of October the Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware capitulated. The conquest was complete. The supremacy of Great Britain in America was finally established. From the north-east corner of Maine to the southern limits of Georgia, every mile of the American coast was under the flag of England.

From 1664 to the close of the century the colony of New Netherland was ruled by English governors. Of these, Nicolls remained in office for three years, and was then superseded by the tyrannical LORD LOVELACE. The latter held authority until 1673, when a Dutch squadron, sent out by Holland, bore down on New York, and the town was taken. The supremacy of the Dutch was restored for a brief season in all the territory between Connecticut and Maryland. But in the following year Charles II. was obliged by his Parliament to conclude a treaty of peace with Holland. There was the usual clause requiring the restoration of all conquests made during the war. New York reverted to the English government, and the rights of the Duke of York were again recognized in the province. To make his authority doubly secure for the future, he obtained from his brother, the king, a new patent confirming the provisions of the former charter.

It was at this juncture that SIR EDMUND ANDROS was sent out as governor of New York. The same troubles which had been witnessed in Massachusetts were brought upon the people of the Middle Colonies. The citizens of New York were constantly embroiled with their governor until 1683, when he was superseded by THOMAS DONGAN, a Catholic. Under his administration the form of the government was changed. An assembly of the people was called to aid in the management of affairs. All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established; taxes should no more be levied except by consent of the assembly; soldiers should not be quartered on the people; martial law should not exist; no person accepting the general doctrines of religion should be in any wise distressed or persecuted. All the rights and privileges of Massachusetts and Virginia were carefully written by the zealous law-makers of New York in their first charter of liberties.

In July of 1684 an important treaty was concluded at Albany. The governors of New York and Virginia were met in convention by the sachems of the Iroquois, and the terms of a lasting peace were settled. In 1685, when the Duke of York became king of England,



CHRONOLOGICAL CHART NO. VII.

SHOWING

THE PROGRESS OF COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

From 1607 to 1776 A. D.

Prepared by JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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it was found that even the monarch of a great nation could violate his pledges. King James became the open antagonist of the government which had been established under his own directions. The popular legislature of New York was abrogated. An odious tax was levied by an arbitrary decree. Printing-presses were forbidden in the province. All the old abuses were revived and made a public boast.

In December of 1686 Edmund Andros became governor of all New England. It was a part of his plan to extend his dominion over New York and New Jersey. To the former province Francis Nicholson, the lieutenant-general of Andros, was sent as deputy. Dongan was superseded, and until the English Revolution of 1688, New York was ruled as a dependency of New England. When the news of that event and of the accession of William of Orange reached the province there was a general tumult of rejoicing. The people rose in rebellion against the government of Nicholson, who was glad enough to escape from New York and return to England.

The leaders of this insurrection were Jacob Leisler and his son-in-law, Milborne. Both were subsequently arrested and hanged by Colonel Sloughter, who came out as deputy-governor in 1691. Then came the government of Benjamin Fletcher, who remained in office until the invasion of New York by the French under Frontenac, governor of Canada, in 1696.

In the year following the treaty of Ryswick the Earl of Bellomont, an Irish nobleman of excellent character and popular sympathies, succeeded Fletcher in the government of New York. His administration of less than four years was the happiest era in the history of the colony. His authority, like that of his predecessor, extended over a part of New England. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were under his jurisdiction, but Connecticut and Rhode Island remained independent. To this period belong the exploits of the famous pirate, Captain William Kidd.

In striking contrast with the virtues and wisdom of Bellomont were the vices and folly of Lord Cornbury, who succeeded him. He arrived at New York in the beginning of May, 1702. From that time for a period of six years the province was a scene of turmoil and civil dissension. Each succeeding assembly resisted more stubbornly the measures of the governor. Time and again the people petitioned for his removal. The councilors selected their own treasurer, refused to vote appropriations, and curtailed Cornbury's revenues until he was impoverished and ruined. Then came Lord Lovelace with a commission from Queen Anne, and the passionate, wretched governor was unceremoniously turned out of office. Left to the mercy of his injured subjects, they arrested him for debt and threw him into prison, where he lay until, by his father's death, he became a peer of England, and could be no longer held in confinement.

During the progress of the War of the Spanish Succession the troops of New York coöperated with the army and navy of New England. Eighteen hundred volunteers from the Hudson and the Delaware composed the land forces in the unsuccessful expedition against Montreal in the winter of 1709–10. The provincial army proceeded as far as South River, east of Lake George. Here information was received that the English fleet which was expected to coöperate in the reduction of Quebec had been sent to Portugal; the armament of New England was insufficient of itself to attempt the conquest of the Canadian stronghold; and the troops of New York and New Jersey were obliged to retreat. Again, in 1711, when the incompetent Sir Hovenden Walker was pretending to conduct his fleet up the St. Lawrence, and was in reality only anxious to get away, the army which was to invade Canada by land was furnished by New York. A second time the provincial forces reached Lake George; but the dispiriting news of the disaster to Walker's fleet destroyed all hope of success, and the discouraged soldiers returned to their homes.

Passing again to the south, we come to the colonies planted on the Chesapeake and the James. The settlement at Jamestown was for a while badly managed; but the fortunes of the colonists were at length restored by the valor, industry, and enterprise of the great adventurer, Captain John Smith. The other members of the corporation proved to be either incompetent or dishonest; but under

Smith the settlement soon began to show signs of vitality and progress. His first care, after the settlers were in a measure restored to health, was to improve the buildings of the plantation. Then he began a series of explorations and adventures, now in the Chesapeake and now a prisoner among the Indians, until, escaping from captivity, he came back to Jamestown to find only thirty-eight of the settlers alive. But just as despair seemed to be settling on the colony Captain Newport arrived from England, bringing supplies and new immigrants.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

Captain Smith remained in office for for nearly two years, and his heroism saved the colony from destruction. Finally, on his way down the James, while asleep in a boat, a bag of gunpowder lying near by exploded, burning and tearing his flesh so terribly that in his agony he leaped overboard. Being rescued from the river, he was carried to the fort, where he lay for some time racked with fever and tortured with his wounds. Finally, despairing of relief under the imperfect medical treatment which the colony afforded, he decided to return to England. He accordingly delegated his authority to Sir George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and about the middle of September, 1609, left the scene of his heroic toils and sufferings, never to return.

After the departure of Captain Smith the Jamestown colony suffered great hardships. The following winter was known as the "Starving Time." Even the return of spring did not bring comfort, and in June Jamestown was abandoned. The disheartened settlers, now grown resentful, were anxious before leaving to burn the town; but Gates, the deputy of Lord Delaware, defeated this design, and was himself the last man to go on board. Four pinnaces lay at their moorings in the river; embarking in these, the colonists dropped down with the tide, and it seemed as though the enterprise of Raleigh and Gosnold had ended in failure and humiliation. But Lord Delaware was himself already on his way to America. Before the escaping settlers had passed out of the mouth of the river, the ships of the noble governor came in sight. Here were additional immigrants, plentiful supplies, and promise of better things to come. The colonists were persuaded to return and begin the struggle anew.

After Lord Delaware's return to England the colony was ruled by Sir Thomas Dale, and afterwards by Sir Thomas Gates. The latter remained in authority until 1614, when he again transferred the office to Dale, and returned to England. In 1617 Samuel Argall was elected governor and entered upon an administration chiefly noted for fraud and oppression.

In the spring of 1619 Argall was at last displaced through the influence of Sir Edwyn Sandys, and the excellent Sir George Yeardley appointed to succeed him. The latter, in accordance with instructions received from the company, divided the plantations along James River into eleven districts, called boroughs, and issued a proclamation to the citizens of each borough to elect two of their own number to take part in the government of the colony. The elections were duly held, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the delegates came together at Jamestown. Here was organized the Virginia House of Burgesses,

a colonial legislature, the first popular assembly held in the New World.

The year 1619 was also marked by the introduction of negro slavery into Virginia. The servants of the people of Jamestown had hitherto been persons of English or German descent, and their term of service had varied from a few months to many years. No perpetual servitude had thus far been recognized, nor is it likely that the English colonists would of themselves have instituted the system of slave labor. In the month of August a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the river to the plantations, and offered by auction twenty Africans. They were purchased by the wealthier class of planters and made slaves for life. It was, however, nearly a half century from this time before the system of negro slavery became well established in the English colonies.

The history of Virginia from this time until the outbreak of the English Revolution was marked by few events of importance. In the times of the Commonwealth Virginia shared in some degree the distractions of the mother-country, yet the evil done to the new State by the conflict in England was less than might have been expected. In the first year of the civil war Sir William Berkeley became governor of the colony, and, with the exception of a brief visit to England in 1645, remained in office for ten years. His administration, notwithstanding the commotions abroad, was noted as a time of rapid growth and development. The laws were greatly improved and made conformable to the English statutes. The old controversies about the lands were satisfactorily settled. Cruel punishments were abolished and the taxes equalized.

The Virginians adhered with great firmness to the cause of Charles I., and after the death of that ruler proclaimed his son, Charles II., king of England. Cromwell was offended, and determined to employ force against the colonists. A war-vessel called the *Guinea* was sent into the Chesapeake to compel submission, but in the last extreme the Protector showed himself to be just, as well as wrathful. There were commissioners on board the frigate authorized to make an offer of peace, and this was gladly accepted. It was seen that the cause of the Stuarts was hopeless. The people of Virginia, although refusing to yield to threats and violence, cheerfully entered into negotiations with Cromwell's delegates, and ended by acknowledging the supreme authority of Parliament.

On recovering his father's throne, Charles II. seemed to regard the British empire as personal property to be used for the benefit of himself and his courtiers. In order to reward the worthless profligates who thronged his court, he began to grant to them large tracts of land in Virginia. What did it matter that these lands had been redeemed from the wilderness and were covered with orchards and gardens? It was no uncommon thing for an American planter to find that his farm, which had been cultivated for a quarter of a century, was given away to some dissolute flatterer of the royal household. Great distress was occasioned by these iniquitous grants, until finally, in 1673, the king set a limit to his own recklessness by giving away *the whole State*. Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, two ignoble noblemen, received under the great seal a deed by which was granted to them for thirty-one years all the dominion of land and water called Virginia.

Sir William Berkeley continued in office as governor, and his administration became so odious that the people rose in rebellion. A war with the Susquehanna Indians furnished the occasion of an uprising of the militia under a young patriot, named Nathaniel Bacon, who drove the governor across the Chesapeake and for some time kept him at bay. At length, however, Bacon fell sick and died. It was an event full of grief and disaster. The patriot party, discouraged by the loss of the heroic chieftain, was easily dispersed. A few feeble efforts were made to revive the cause of the people, but the animating spirit which had controlled and directed until now was gone. The royalists found an able leader in Robert Beverly, and the authority of the governor was rapidly restored throughout the province. The cause of the people and the leader of the people had died together.

Berkeley's vindictive passions were now let loose upon the defeated insurgents. Fines and confiscations became the order of the day.

The governor seemed determined to drown the memory of his own wrongs in the woes of his subjects. Twenty-two of the leading patriots were seized and hanged with scarcely time to bid their friends farewell.

In 1675 Lord Culpepper, to whom, with Arlington, the province had been granted two years previously, obtained the appointment of governor for life. The new executive arrived in 1680, and assumed the duties of his office. His whole administration was characterized by avarice and dishonesty. Every species of extortion was resorted to, until the mutterings of rebellion were again heard throughout the impoverished colony. In 1683 Arlington surrendered his claim to Culpepper, who thus became sole proprietor as well as governor; but before he could proceed to further mischief, his official career was cut short by the act of the king. Charles II., repenting of his own rashness, found in Culpepper's vices and frauds a sufficient excuse to remove him from office and to revoke his patent. In 1684 Virginia, from being a Proprietary government, again became a Royal province, under the government of Lord Horward, of Effingham, who was succeeded by Francis Nicholson, formerly governor of New York. His administration was signalized by the founding of William and Mary College, so named in honor of the new sovereigns of England. This, next to Harvard, was the first institution of liberal learning planted in America. Here the boy Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, shall be educated! From these halls, in the famous summer of 1776, shall be sent forth young James Monroe, future President of the United States!

In the mean time the minor Middle Colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and the minor Southern Colonies of Maryland and Carolina, had also made considerable progress. No other had so greatly flourished as Pennsylvania. Nothing occurred to disturb the peace of that province until the secession of Delaware in 1691. The three lower counties, which, ever since the arrival of Penn, had been united on terms of equality with the six counties of Pennsylvania, became dissatisfied with some acts of the general assembly, and insisted on a separation. The proprietor gave a reluctant consent; Delaware withdrew from the union and received a separate deputy governor.—Such is in brief a sketch of the growth and development of the American colonies, from the date of the first permanent settlements on the Atlantic coast to the rise of the Hanoverian dynasty in England. At the middle of the eighteenth century these colonies will again claim our attention, when, united in a common cause, they become participants with the Mother country in that struggle with France by which the territorial possessions of the latter were torn away and transferred to Great Britain. Then we shall hear the echo of the rifle of the youthful Washington at Great Meadows, and awake to the realization of the birth of a New People in the prolific West.



Book Nineteenth.

Age of Frederick the Great.

Chapter CXII.—First Two Hanoverians.

CENTURY the eighteenth witnessed in Europe a striking social and political transformation. A change like the shadow of a cloud swept over the face of society, and the whole landscape took another outline and color. It was the age in which the old style of kingship and statecraft gave place to new methods of administration. That great fact, the European King, at length bowed down to that greater fact, the European People. It is the province of the present Book to narrate the last epoch of the Ancient *Régime*, and to bring the reader up to the verge of that cataclysm which, in the closing years of the century, rent the earth and swallowed up the Past. Since Frederick II. of Prussia was the last and one of the greatest of the old-style kings—by far the most conspicuous figure between the time of the Grand Monarch and the time of Washington and Bonaparte—it is appropriate that this, the nineteenth general division of the present Work, should be designated as the Age of Frederick the Great. As introductory to the more stirring parts of the drama, the present chapter may well be devoted to the reigns of the first two princes of the House of Hanover in England, and the following to the corresponding period in the history of France.

When it became evident that Anne Stuart, seventeen times a mother, was destined to die without an heir, the English Parliament made haste to reëstablish the succession. After not a little discussion the choice of the body rested on the Electress Sophia, granddaughter of James I., married to the Duke of Brunswick. This settlement was accepted in Scotland in 1707, was ratified in the conventions with Holland in 1706 and 1709, and was finally guaranteed in the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. On the 28th of May, in the succeeding year, the Electress Sophia died, and Queen Anne lived until the 1st of August following. By these two events the way was cleared for the unchallenged accession of Prince George Lewis, eldest son of Sophia and Duke Ernest.

He on whom the crown of England was thus devolved was born at Osnabrück on the

28th of May, 1660. He was already, therefore, in his fifty-fifth year at the time of his accession. He had been elector of Hanover since 1698; nor was he obliged, under the terms by which he accepted the crown, to give up his electoral office. Indeed, the relation which England was now destined to sustain to Hanover was almost identical with that which she had held to Holland during the reign of William III. It was agreed, in the act establishing the succession, that so long as the crown should be worn by a male descendant of George I. the kingdom and the electorate of Hanover should have a common



ST. JOHN VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

head; but if a woman of this line should become queen of England, then the electorate should revert to the princes of Hanover.

In September following the death of Queen Anne the king-elect arrived with his son at Greenwich, and was soon afterwards publicly crowned. Thus far there had been no open opposition to the change of dynasty; but the Jacobites were still in the shadows of the horizon, and now came forth in the old-time fashion to undo the settlement of the kingdom. In Scotland the opposition raised the standard of rebellion, and a considerable force was thrown into the field, but was defeated at Preston a month after the king's coronation. The Pretender himself came over to Scotland in the following year, and attempted to organize a revolution; but the movement failed, and James was obliged to save himself by flight.

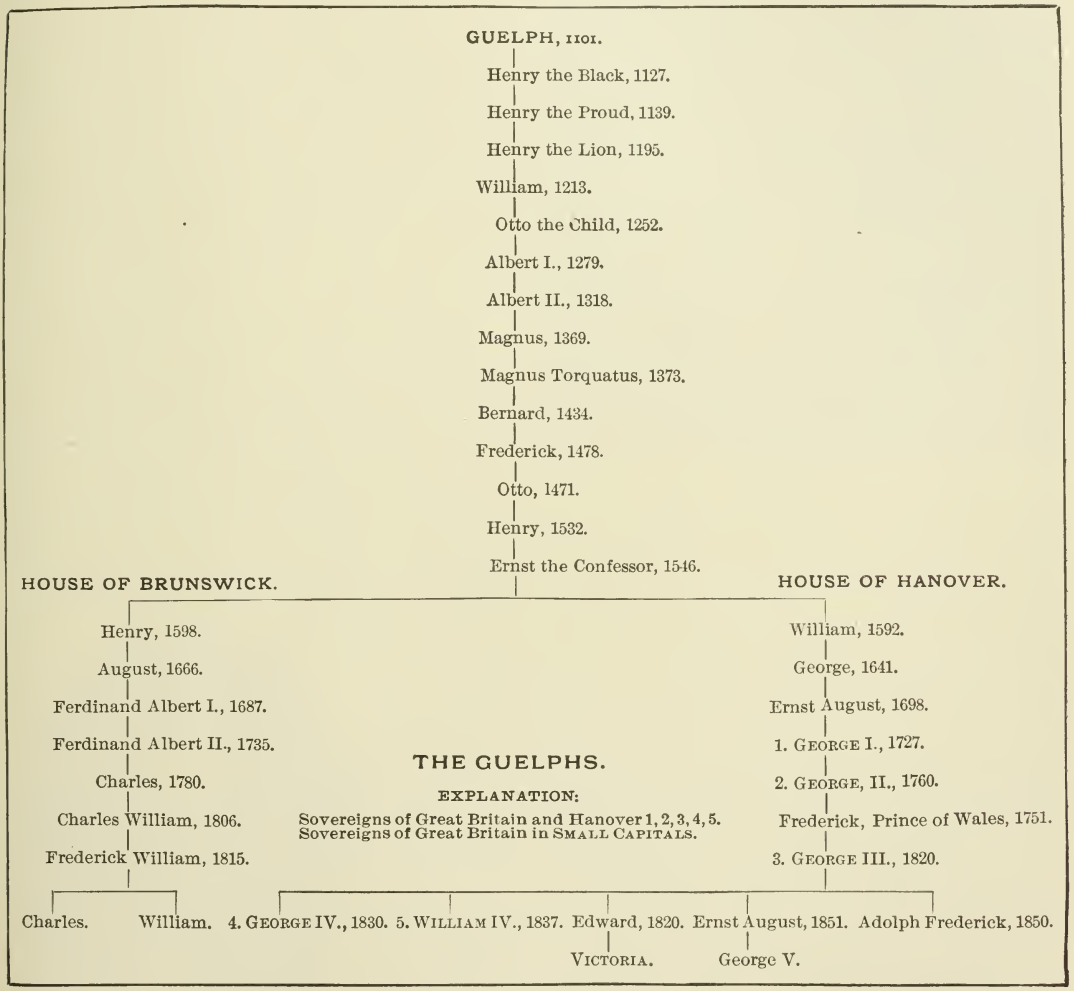
On the accession of George I. the Tory party was overthrown, and a new Whig ministry, with Viscount Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole at the head, was appointed. The Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke were impeached as well as put out of office. One of the first parliamentary acts of the new administration was that of removing the restriction upon the length of time during which the House of Commons might remain in session. After the Restoration the limit had been fixed at three years; but now the movements of the Jacobites, in threatening to overthrow the new dynasty, gave a good excuse for extending the period to seven years, which limit was accordingly adopted, subject only to an earlier dissolution by the crown.

It will be remembered that, just before the death of Charles I., Baron Görtz well-nigh succeeded in effecting a Russo-Swedish alliance, and that one of the objects of that distinguished diplomatist was to restore the House of Stuart in England. This movement led, in January of 1717, to the formation of a triple alliance of England, France, and Holland against Sweden and Russia. The Swedish ambassador in London was arrested, and among his papers were found indubitable proofs of the scheme which had been hatched in the fertile brain of Görtz. It had been coolly determined by the conspirators of the North to use the Swedish embassy as the head-center of an English insurrection; while, at the same time, Scotland was to be invaded by Charles XII. in person. Great excitement and animosity were produced by the discovery of this plot and by the arrest of the Swedish minister caught in such flagrant violation of international law. The dissension extended into the ministry itself, and that body was disrupted. A portion of the members, including Walpole, resigned, and the Earl of Stanhope became the responsible head of the government. In the following year the German Emperor was admitted to the triple al-

liance, while Spain became a party with Sweden and Russia. A short war ensued, which was brought to a climax by Admiral Byng, who, in August of 1718, fell upon and destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro.

The new royal family of England was at this time seriously affected with a domestic difficulty which threatened to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An unfriendliness before the accession of King George, Sophia had been suspected of an intrigue with Count Königsmark of Sweden, then resident at the court of Hanover. Before this time George had treated the duchess with great severity, and she now repaid him by flying to France.

She and Königsmark were placed under surveillance; their interviews were watched, and, on leaving her one evening, he was assassin-



arose between the king and his son George, the Prince of Wales. The latter was already thirty-one years of age when his father came to the throne. The wife of George I., mother of the Prince of Wales, was Sophia Dorothea, daughter of the Duke of Celle. For her the king had never entertained such affectionate regard as the situation demanded. But Prince George entertained for his mother the highest esteem and affection. Many years ated with the evident connivance of her husband. Sophia was divorced and imprisoned from 1694 until her death, thirty years afterwards. It was on this account that the quarrel between the Prince of Wales and his father grew in bitterness, and in 1717 led to the withdrawal of the younger George from St. James's palace and the establishment of his residence at Leicester House, where he kept a court in rivalry with that of his father.

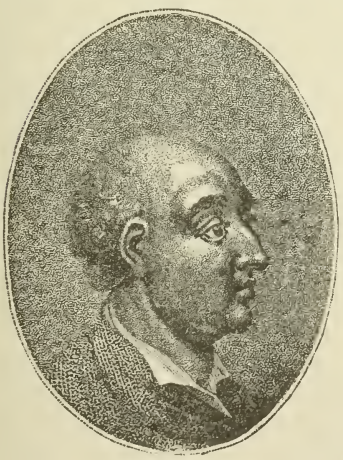
It was in the year 1720 that the attention of the English nation was turned to the vast speculative enterprise called the South Sea Scheme. The measure seems to have been originally contrived by Sir John Blunt, and to have contemplated the organization of a powerful syndicate of merchants to be called the South Sea Company, whose object should be to buy up all the forms of the national debt, and to fund the same in a single stock. The profits to be realized by the stockholders were figured up in advance by the adroit schemers who were managing the enterprise, and such were the representations made that many merchants and capitalists, induced by the prospect of large returns, came forward and subscribed liberally to the fund. At this time the floating debt of Great Britain was about thirty millions of pounds, the interest upon the same being eighteen hundred thousand pounds per annum. It was proposed that every purchaser of any part of the debt should become a shareholder in the company, which was to have a monopoly of the trade with Spanish South America. The speculators, following the successful example which had been set by John Law in France, succeeded in getting their views incorporated in an act of Parliament, passed by both Houses in April of 1720; this plan of paying off the national debt being adopted against the sound and business-like proposition presented by the Bank of England. The parliamentary act not only conferred on the company the exclusive right of trading with the South American states, but, by rendering permanent the duties on wine, tobacco, and silk, secured to the monopolists at least a prospect of such profits as would yield an exorbitant interest on their stock.

The shares soon became in great demand, and the company agreed to take the entire national debt. An unheard-of speculative mania seized the public mind. The excitement rose to a frenzy. The shares of the stock, which at the time of the passage of the act by Parliament were rated at three hundred pounds, soon obtained a fictitious value, and the continued competition of the buyers put the quotations higher and higher. Two-thirds of the holders of the public funds of England rushed forward and exchanged their certificates for those of the new company. Even the collapse of John Law's scheme in France did not seriously check the infatuation of the people. The stock continued to rise until it was quoted at a thousand pounds a share. But in September it was discovered that Sir John Blunt, president of the company, and several of the directors, had privately disposed of their stock! This circumstance pricked the bubble, and it became a struggle among the dupes of the scheme to sell out and escape from the ruins. Both the government and the Bank of England made strenuous efforts to prevent the wreck of the company and the consequent precipitation of a commercial panic. But the whole scheme ran its natural course. The company stopped payment, and thousands were reduced to beggary. Like every other measure having for its bottom motive the making of something out of nothing, the South Sea Scheme exploded and left an odor of fraud. Parliament came forward and ordered an investigation into the management of the company. The usual amount of corruption was uncovered. Nor did the schemers get away without deserved punishment. Several of the directors were imprisoned, and all were fined to an amount aggregating over two millions of pounds.

The valid assets of the company were seized, and the proceeds, amounting to about thirty-three per cent of the sum of which they had been defrauded, were distributed among the victims. It is said that the astute Sir Robert Walpole was about the only eminent man of England who had the discernment and courage to enter his protest against the proposed scheme of Sir John Blunt and his confederates. After the bubble burst the people laid the blame on the ministry, and the members were driven almost to distraction by the clamor that was raised against them. Lord Stanhope, in attempting to reply to an attack in the House of Lords, fell down in a fit of apoplexy, and died. Craggs, the secretary of state, also died, and Lord Sunderland left the treasury. It was even expected that the king would abdicate, but he held to the throne. Sir Robert Walpole, however, was recalled to the ministry, and the Whigs carried the House of Commons by a great majority.

In the year 1722 the Jacobites were detected in a plot for another insurrection, and Bishop Atterbury was arrested and banished for alleged complicity in the movement. These schemes, however, for the restoration of the House of Stuart had now become visionary and were no longer regarded with trepidation, except by the most timorous. The Jacobites dwindled to a handful of schemers in the North, whom few respected and none feared.

At this time the kingdom was considerably agitated by a second speculative enterprise, based upon the mining and coinage of copper. Through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, mistress of the king, a monopoly of the copper mines in England was secured by a capitalist named William Wood, who devoted his energies to the coinage of farthings and half-pence for Ireland. The new issue was debased below the standard weight, and though the measure had the sanction of both Walpole and Sir Isaac Newton, who was master of the mint, a great disturbance was produced. Dean Swift issued a pamphlet addressed particularly to the Irish, whose excitable nature was inflamed to the highest pitch by the appeal of the unscrupulous pamphleteer. Such was the fury of the storm that the patent granted to Wood had to be withdrawn.



JONATHAN SWIFT
After the engraving by Bolt.

The influence of the king was augmented by the fact that he never attempted to abridge the liberties of his subjects. Even in religious matters he was tolerant. One of his earliest measures was to extend the privileges of the dissenters. In 1723 another act was secured, by which the rights of Nonconformists, especially the Presbyterians, were still further enlarged and guaranteed. In general the government of George I. was little oppressive; nor does it appear that his animosity was ever seriously aroused against the people.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

The year 1724 was noted for the enlargement of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which institutions received a good share of royal favor. Chairs of Modern History were now endowed and added to the other departments of instruction. In the following year Lord Macclesfield, chancellor of the kingdom, was impeached and removed from office. Sir Robert Walpole, however, stood unscathed amid the assaults of the opposition. Neither private machination nor public assault could shake him from his base. His influence in the affairs of England was especially salutary. He promoted peace without the exhibition of weakness, and encouraged the accumulation of wealth by the old-fashioned methods of industry and economy. It was not, however, within the scope of his power to prevent the outbreak of a war with Spain. In 1725 an alliance was made between the Spanish king and the German Emperor, which called forth a counter-league on the part of England, France, Prussia, and Sweden. The whole movement of Spain looked to the recovery of Gibraltar from the English. In 1727 a Spanish squadron was put afloat for the retaking

of that fortress. At the same time an English fleet was sent into the West Indies; but the former armament had no success, and the latter but little. Before the end of the year the parties came to an understanding, and a treaty was concluded at Paris.

Queen Sophia still lingered in imprisonment, and the breach between the king and Prince George was never healed. In 1726 Sophia died, and the king's nature, not above superstition, was agitated by a prophecy that he would survive his wife only a year. His life in England had been any thing but happy. His preference had always been for Hanover. He could not acquire the English language or reconcile himself to English manners. He was essentially a foreign king, more so than James I. had been on his coming to the South, or William of Orange on his arrival from Holland.

As soon as King George was informed of the conclusion of the peace with Spain he hastened his preparations for a visit to Hanover. He departed under the apprehension of death before his return. Taking with him his minister Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal, he set out for Osnabrück, but he was destined never to reach the place of his birth. On the 10th of June, 1727, he was attacked with a fit in his carriage, and died before he could reach his castle-gate. He had attained the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign.

On the next day after the intelligence of his father's death reached London, George Augustus, prince of Wales, was proclaimed as George II. He was, at the date of his accession, in the forty-fifth year of his age. In abilities he was inferior to his father, but in other respects was like that prince, particularly in the hastiness of his temper and his preference for every thing Hanoverian over every thing English. His education had been neglected and himself abused by his father in childhood. In 1705 he had taken in marriage the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg, whose talents and character did much to redeem the standing of the English court. In the War of the Spanish Succession, George had distinguished himself, especially in the battle of Oudenarde, where his bravery was conspicuous. Coming with his father to England, he was proclaimed Prince of Wales, in September of 1714. Then followed the scandalous quarrels between him and the king. A proposition was made by the Earl of Berkeley to carry off Prince George to America, and to dispose of him in such a manner as would make it impossible for him ever to vex his father further; and it is said that the king heard the scheme with favor. But Walpole interfered, and after a reasonable retirement of the Prince of Wales from St. James's palace, succeeded in patching up a sort of reconciliation between vindictive father and stubborn son. During this epoch, however, the prince was much used by the opposition as a factor in the politics of the kingdom. It had been expected by the enemies of Sir Robert Walpole that the death of George I. would be the signal for the hurling of that great minister from power. The event, however, did not correspond to the expectation. The elections, after the accession of George II., showed that Walpole was more strongly intrenched than ever before in public confidence. To this should also be added the influence of the king, with whom Sir Robert became a favorite. The queen took a great pride in the statesman, and her power was added to his other elements of strength. The sight of the minister, thus surrounded as with a panoply, seemed to excite all the animosity of the opposing party, and the continuance of Walpole in power was only effected after a succession of the fiercest political struggles ever known in England. For more than fourteen years he held his grip against every storm which party rancor could evoke. He retained his office until 1742, and then retired after an unparalleled premiership of twenty-one years' duration.

The English people were greatly chagrined to find the passion for Hanover, which had so strongly marked the disposition of George I., perpetuated in his son. The king seemed to take a certain comfort in disgusting his subjects by frequent and prolonged absences in Germany. He also excited unfavorable criticism by the harsh and unfatherly treatment which he visited upon his son William Frederick, prince of Wales. It would have been supposed that the memory of his own youth would have prevented the repetition of the

course which George I. had pursued towards his successor. But not so. Even Queen Caroline, from whom better things might have been expected, joined her own dislike to that of her husband, and Prince Frederick—father of George III.—suffered all the ills consequent upon the hatred of his father's house.

The genius of Walpole never shone more conspicuously than in the treaty to which, in 1729, he induced Spain to assent in a convention of the powers at Seville. The terms obtained by this settlement were highly favorable to England. Even on the great question of the possession of Gibraltar, the existing status—which was that of English control—was allowed to stand, thus furnishing a precedent to be pleaded in subsequent treaties. In the first year after the peace the ministry was well-nigh disrupted by a quarrel between Sir Robert and Townshend, but the latter was obliged to retire, and the ascendency of Walpole became more pronounced than ever. He used his power to undertake the reform of certain abuses in the state, but his measures were hampered by the opposition, who conceded nothing to the premier's good intentions. In 1730 an investigation was ordered of the condition of the English prisons and prison-system—a movement which led to the correction of some serious abuses, and to the colonization of Georgia. In the following year a reform was carried by which the court-procedure of the kingdom, which until now, had been in Latin, was ordered to be henceforth in English—a great gain for common sense and nationality.

In one favorite measure, however, Sir Robert was forced to recede before the Tory opposition. Finding that the sinking fund, which he had helped to provide against the national debt, was falling low under the many drains made upon it, he conceived the project of replenishing the same by means of an excise laid upon such articles as wine and tobacco. A storm of opposition was provoked by the proposed measure, and every argument which prejudice and partisan ingenuity could invent was urged against it. The majority in the House of Commons wavered and fell from two hundred to sixty and finally to sixteen before the persistent Walpole could be induced to withdraw the bill. The king shared the mortification of his minister over the virtual defeat of the excise scheme, and both sought to comfort themselves by dismissing from office all the prominent personages who had presumed to side with the opposing party. Chief among those who were thus deprived of place for violating the principles of fealty to ministerial government was Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, who afterwards played so noted a part in the world of English politics, society, and letters.



ROBERT WALPOLE.
After the mezzotint by G. White.

It was in the year 1733 that Europe became disturbed by the dispute respecting the Polish succession. A faction in the interest of Russia had arisen among the nobility of Poland, and when Augustus II. died, his son was, by the influence of this party, raised to the throne in place of Leszcynski, who had been reëlected. The daughter of the latter had been married to Louis XV. of France, and that monarch now espoused the cause of his father-in-law against the Russian candidate. The French king began a war by a campaign be-

yond the Rhine, but the conflict was presently ended by the acknowledgment of Augustus and by the cession of Lorraine to France. The king of England was very anxious to take part in this war, but Walpole insisted upon neutrality, and George was at length won over to the views of his minister. The influence of England was thrown in favor of peace, and it was by this means that the treaty of 1735 was brought about.

Each succeeding election resulted in the return of a ministerial majority to the House of Commons, and Walpole continued to hold the reins. In 1735 the opposition made an effort to repeal the Test Act, but were beaten by a large majority. In the following year the Gin Act, by which it was sought to lessen the evils of drunkenness in the kingdom, was passed, but the effects were scarcely perceptible. It was in this year that the Prince of Wales took in marriage the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and the question of fixing his income again fired the animosity of the opposing parties in Parliament. The anger of the king was rekindled against his son, and when presently an heir was born to the latter, the mutual hatreds of the royal house burned more fiercely than ever. Prince Frederick left Hampton Court and established himself at Norfolk House.

A year after the marriage of the prince the queen died. The king forbade the admission to court of any who visited at the house of the Prince of Wales, and every effort was made to force that personage, with his infant son, out of sight. But the forces of the opposition rallied around Frederick, and several distinguished men, among others William Pitt, attended upon the prince, to the great disgust of the king and the ministry.

The next question to disturb the politics of the kingdom was in relation to the reduction of the standing army. The measure was projected by the opponents of Walpole, but was defeated by the usual ministerial majority. In the next place the government was assailed on account of its alleged indifference to certain outrages which had been perpetrated by the Spaniards on English traders in America. The feeling against Spain became so pronounced that Walpole was constrained to make a convention with that kingdom; but the terms agreed on were as repugnant as the outrages which they were intended to obviate. William Pitt made his first great speech against the proposed treaty, and it is not improbable that had the opposition in the House of Commons stood together in this crisis, the Walpole ministry might have been overthrown. But several members of the opposing party fell out of the ranks, and Walpole again triumphed, though with a greatly reduced majority.

After the lapse of another year war was finally declared against Spain in October of 1739. Admiral Anson was sent with one squadron to cruise in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Nor did the pennon of St. George flying at his mast-head lose any of its original luster. Admiral Vernon, in command of another fleet, besieged and took Portobello, the Spanish seaport of the United States of Colombia, and dismantled the fortress. But a similar effort at Carthagena and another at Santiago de Cuba ended in signal failure.

It was at this juncture that the premonitory agitation which led to the War of the Austrian Succession was felt in Western Europe. It will be recalled that the sonless Charles VI. had issued the celebrated *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which it was decreed that his daughter Maria Theresa should become the heiress of the Austrian monarchy. For the time—that is, during the life of Charles VI.—this settlement of the succession seemed to be accepted; but when, in 1740, the Emperor died, several claimants appeared to contest the right of Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria assumed the title of archduke and received the Imperial dignity with the name of Charles II. Now it was, too, that he whose fame and distinguished part in the drama of the century have given a caption to the present Book appeared on the scene and seized the province of Silesia, at that time a part of the Bohemian dominions of Austria. A fuller account of these events is reserved for its proper place in the chapter particularly devoted to the career of Frederick the Great.

The next parliamentary election in England showed that the policy of Walpole relative to the part which the kingdom should bear in the complications of the continental powers had not been sanctioned by the nation.

An adverse majority had been returned, and the opposition at last triumphed. Walpole, after a hard contest, gave way to his political enemies; but his own grief at the reverse of fortune was not as great as that of the king, who was thus deprived of his services. Certain attempts were made by the victorious party to prosecute the overthrown minister, but the movement ended in failure. The king conferred on Sir Robert the title of Earl of Orford, and posterity has conceded to him the reputation of being the most adroit leader that ever controlled the House of Commons.

In the formation of a new ministry the first place was given to Lord Wilmington. The Tories came into power with a flourish of trumpets, but the event soon showed that their capacity to govern was in inverse ratio to their pretensions. One of the chief outcries which they had raised against the Whigs was that the latter refused to repeal the Septennial Act, by the provisions of which a Parliament might—unless sooner dissolved by the crown—continue its sessions for seven years. It now appeared that the Tories *in* office and the Tories *out of* office held different views of what constituted statesmanship, for they permitted the Septennial Act to stand, to the great disgust of their supporters.

The downfall of Walpole made it certain that England would become an active participant in the War of the Austrian Succession, which was now fairly on. The king himself was very desirous of plunging into the contest. Though Holmes has described the Second George as a

"Snuffy old drone from the German hive,"

He nevertheless had the courage to fight—and liked it. In entering the Austrian conflict he espoused the cause of Maria Theresa, thus putting himself on the side of the Pragmatic Sanction and against Charles Albert of Bavaria, who had obtained the support of France and Spain. At the first an English army was sent into Flanders, where little was effected. On the sea, however, the British name was honored by the Mediterranean squadron, which compelled an observance of neutrality on the part of Naples. George himself fired somewhat with the noise of distant battle, and determined to enter the field in person. He took into his pay a large force of Germans—an act which again kindled the jealousy of the English nation. In June of 1743 the king joined the allied army, and a few days afterwards gave battle to the French at Dettingen. The allies were victorious, and George renewed the reputation for courage which he had gained in his youth. It is not intended, however, to give in this chapter the annals of his reign beyond that point at which Frederick II., appearing on the scene, drew the attention of all Europe to himself.



The present chapter will be concluded with an account of the last effort made by the Stuarts to repossess the throne of England. The event occurred in 1745. In the previous year an invasion of England had been attempted by a French army under convoy of a fleet of twenty sail. But the movement which had been undertaken in the interest of Charles Edward, grandson of James II.,

surnamed the Young Pretender, came to naught. In June of the following year, however, the Pretender embarked in a small frigate, intending to land in Scotland and head an insurrection. In the following month he landed in Lochaber, and was joined by a large number of Highlanders.

The time was specially opportune for such



RETURN OF CHARLES EDWARD TO SCOTLAND.

a movement. George II. was in Hanover. The better part of the English army was in Flanders. Parliament was rent with factious disputes. Such was the condition of affairs in the South that consternation took possession of all minds. Hasty dispatches were sent for the king to return. Thirty thousand pounds were offered for the apprehension of the Pretender. That prince, on the 16th of September, took Edinburgh. Four days afterwards he advanced to Preston Pans, where he inflicted a total defeat on the English army under Sir John Cope. A great part of Scotland yielded to his authority. His forces increased, and in November he advanced on London. Meanwhile the king reached home and went forth to meet the insurgents. The issue was decided in the battle of CULLODEN, on the 16th of April, 1746, at which time the forces of Charles Edward were routed and put to flight. The Pretender made his escape to France, but his supporters in Scotland were punished with merciless severity by the Duke of Cumberland. Thus were eclipsed forever the hopes of the princes of the House of Stuart to regain the English throne.

CHAPTER CXIII.—REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

IT has not often happened that a monarch about to die has given counsel to a great-grandson about to succeed him. Such a thing was witnessed in the case of Louis XIV. and the son of the Duke of Bretagne. The latter was at the time of the death of the Grand Monarch but five years of age, and it may well be granted that the advice given him by the dying king profited but little. It became at once apparent that a regency was a necessity of the situation, and for this important office two candidates appeared.

The first was Philip, duke of Orleans, nephew of the late king. Against him many things might justly be urged as disqualifying him for the position. He was reckless and profligate, indisposed, and perhaps incompetent, to impose on himself those salutary restraints which are reckoned essential in a sovereign. Besides, he was in ill favor with the French nation. He was suspected of having poisoned his wife, and the deaths of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy were also—albeit unjustly—charged to his account. The other candidate was the Duke of Maine, a natural son of Louis XIV., who, though weak in person and character and scarcely more popular than Philip of Orleans, had been elevated to a high rank, even superior to that of most of the peers of France, by the partiality of the late king. It happened, however, that the odium excited by the candidature of the Duke of Maine at length brought on a reäction in favor of Philip, and the latter was successful.

No sooner was he established in the regency than he was obliged to face a serious complication with Spain. In that kingdom the management of affairs, after the accession of Philip V., had been intrusted to the great minister, Cardinal Alberoni, a man almost as ambitious in disposition and subtle in method as Richelieu and Mazarin. By him the Spanish king was persuaded that in case of the death of the boy sovereign of France the crown of that country should be claimed by Philip himself as the grandson of Louis XIV. As to the solemn ccmpact to which all had agreed at the treaty of Utrecht—namely, that in case of the recognition of Philip V. as king of Spain he should renounce forever his claim to the throne of France—all that was to go for nothing. The perfidy of the thing was to be obscured in its brilliancy.

Of course this low, faith-breaking policy brought Alberoni and the Regent of France into direct antagonism. A war broke out. The Spanish minister excited insurrections in several parts of the French dominions, and sent a fleet to operate on the coast of Bretagne. In that province the partisans

of Spain took up arms, and the revolt assumed formidable proportions. It was soon found, however, that the Regent was master of the situation. He quickly sent an army into the revolted district, and the rebellion was suppressed. The Spanish squadron was driven away, and after a short struggle the French were completely victorious. Alberoni was disgraced and obliged to go into retirement. It was at this juncture that Spain was induced to accede to that quadruple alliance to which the parties were England, Holland, France, and Austria. Philip V. a second time renounced his claims to the French crown—a renunciation that was final; and the Spanish Bourbon dynasty became recognized as a distinct House among the sovereignties of Europe.

To this epoch in French history belongs the story of that celebrated financial scheme projected by John Law, and popularly known as the "Mississippi Bubble." Law was an adventurer. He was among the financiers of his times what Reynard the Fox was in the kingdom of the Beasts. By various speculations and by gambling he accumulated a fortune, and after varied experiences in Edinburgh, London, and Amsterdam, went to Paris just after the establishment of the Regency. He made the acquaintance and gained the confidence of the Regent, whom he persuaded to become his patron. He established a bank under royal favor, and was authorized to discount bills of exchange and issue currency.

At this time the credit of France was at so low an ebb that the public stocks were rated at eighty per cent discount. To the astonishment of all, Law began to redeem these securities at par. The very audacity of the act removed the necessity of his doing so; for the public credit came up, or seemed to come up, at a bound, and soon a competition arose among capitalists for the purchase of government securities. It was in this feverish condition of affairs that Law proposed the organization of the Mississippi Company, the general object being to draw profit from the French possessions in North America. It was the theory of the projector that credit is every thing, and that credit, even future and merely possible profits, may be safely used as the basis of a paper currency. This view found earnest advocates. The new company grew, expanded, absorbed the French East India Company, increased its capital stock to six hundred and twenty-four thousand shares, of five hundred and fifty livres each, and agreed to lend the government a billion six hundred million livres at three per cent.

Paris went wild with excitement under the stimulus of this scheme. The shares of stock in the Mississippi Company rose in value until they were quoted at forty times their par. Everybody seemed to grow rich. As the paper currency became inflated, all prices rose proportionally. Land was bought and sold at fabulous figures. Law was made comptroller general of the finances of the kingdom, and became by far the most important untitled personage in France. New issues of government notes were made until the aggregate reached the enormous sum of a billion nine hundred and twenty-five million livres. But all this while the specie of France was disappearing. At last the enormous fiction could be extended no further. The bubble burst, and every man looked at his neighbor in bewilderment. Perhaps no other such financial crash has ever been known. The whole scheme collapsed and tumbled into nonentity. Law became a fugitive, and the last estate of French finances was worse than the first.

Coïncident with the reign of Law in Paris was the great plague at Marseilles. Though the ravages of this pestilence were not equal in extent to that of London, in 1666, yet, considering the relative size of the two cities, the plague at Marseilles in 1720–21 was fully as fatal as the one at the English metropolis. It is narrated that the gloom and horror of the smitten city were greatly alleviated by the administrations of Bishop Belzunce, who, like a true father of a flock, faced the plague from beginning to end, and left behind a memory more precious than gold.

After the regency had continued for eight years, the Duke of Orleans, whose naturally weak constitution had been prematurely enfeebled by his excesses, fell sick and died. Louis XV., then in his fourteenth year, was now declared of royal age; but it was deemed expedient, if not necessary, still further to strengthen his boyhood by the appointment of a minister capable of taking the place of

the Regent. For this office the Duke of Bourbon was selected, a man of large talents, a great-grandson of the Prince of Condé. The first matter to which he turned his attention was the selection of a suitable bride for the young king. It may be remembered that when Stanislas Leszcynski, king of Poland, was driven from the throne, he sought refuge in France. Here at Weissemburg, in Alsace, he established himself, with his wife and daughter. The latter was finally chosen by the Duke of Bourbon as a princess suitable to become queen of France. In September of 1725 she was married to the king, who, being then at the ripe age of fifteen, seemed at first to be well pleased with the trophy which the prime minister had brought him.



LOUIS XV.

Bourbon, however, remained in office only

three years. In 1726 he was succeeded by Cardinal Fleury, who remained principal adviser of the crown until 1742. His administration was marked throughout for its moderation and pacific spirit. On him was devolved the duty of extricating France from the financial ruin into which she had been plunged by the wild scheme of John Law. In this work he succeeded by strict economy and prudent management in measurably restoring the shattered credit of the state. In the realm of foreign relations, however, he was less successful; for he had little of that cunning which a low international morality has caused to be one of the principal elements in diplomacy. Nor was he possessed of that warlike enterprise and audacity which can be gratified only with aggression and conquest. From these antecedents it followed naturally that France, now for the most part controlled by the influence of Fleury, was little glorified in war during his ascendency. It was in 1733 that an emergency arose which seemed to require an appeal to arms. In the beginning of that year Augustus II. of Poland died, whereupon the rulers of Austria and Prussia declared for his son. But the king of France, influenced perhaps by royal gallantry, took up the cause of his wife's father, and declared for Stanislas. The latter was better esteemed in Poland than was his rival. The Polish Diet declared in his favor. A Russian army, however, appeared on the scene, and Stanislas was obliged to shut himself up in the fortress of Dantzic. Here he awaited the arrival of the French army; but when the force came to hand it consisted of only fifteen hundred men. Stanislas was driven from Dantzic and compelled to seek safety in Prussia. His partisans in Poland gave up the contest, and Augustus III. was proclaimed king.

The movement in favor of Stanislas brought France into antagonism with Austria. At this time the German army on the Rhine was under command of Prince Eugene. In the latter part of 1733 the French, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, made an expedition into the Rhine provinces, and took the fortress of Kehl. In the following spring they laid siege to Philipsburg, and in July of that year compelled that place also to capitulate. At the same time an invasion of Italy was undertaken by Marshal Villars, who, with the combined force of French and Sardinians, conducted a successful campaign. But no decisive result was reached by the marshal on account of the opposition of the king of Sardinia, whose bad faith as an ally was conspicuous.

On the other side, Don Carlos, son of the Spanish king, led an army into Naples, and in a brief campaign reduced that kingdom to submission. Thus was laid the foundation of the Bourbon dynasty in Italy; for Don Carlos, who presently acceded to the throne of Spain with the title of Charles III., was the father of Ferdinand VI. of Naples, who received the crown in 1759, and reigned for nearly sixty-five years. The desultory war in which France was thus involved by the Polish complication continued until October of 1735, when it was concluded by a treaty. By the terms of the settlement Jean Gaston, the last of the Medici princes, was superseded as grand duke of Tuscany by the Duke of Lorraine. The paternal province of the latter, together with the duchy of Bar, was given to the expelled Stanislas of Poland; and it was agreed that, after the death of this ruler, the territories which he had received should become the marriage portion of the queen of France. Naples and Sicily went to Don Carlos of Spain. Kehl and Philipsburg were resurrendered by France to Germany, and the former kingdom acknowledged the validity of that Pragmatic Sanction which had been issued by Charles VI. in favor of his daughter, Maria Theresa. It was to secure this important acknowledgment that the German Emperor conceded the valuable and important province of Lorraine to the French king, thus laying the foundation for the many claims and counter claims which, even to the present day, have disturbed the two great powers east and west of the Rhine.

Notwithstanding all of the efforts which Charles VI. put forth to secure to his daughter, Maria Theresa, an undisturbed succession, the event showed how poorly the contrivances and schemes of men accomplish the results which are intended. As soon as Emperor Charles was dead rival claimants appeared for the German crown in the persons of Charles Albert of Bavaria and Augustus III. of Po-

land. Now it was, too, that Frederick II. of Prussia, in the first flush of his success as a warrior, dashed into Silesia, and with an audacity that astonished all Europe, laid claim to that large province for himself. It soon appeared, moreover, that his claim was no piece of idle vaunting, and his enemies in a short time were fain to stand out of reach of the circle of his sword.

Cardinal Fleury exerted himself as usual in favor of peace, and failing in that, still sought to keep France aloof from the conflict. But the effort was in vain. Charles of Bavaria appealed to the French for an alliance, and though to enter into such a league was in flagrant violation of the recent treaty with Austria, the proposal of Charles Albert was accepted, and a united army of French and Bavarians began an invasion of Austria. This force proceeded as far as the heart of Bohemia. Prague was taken and the Bavarian prince was there proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Charles VII. Maria Theresa fled from Vienna into Hungary, where she was received with open arms by the powerful and patriotic nobles of that country. She convened the Hungarian Diet, and putting on a mourning garb went before that body with her infant son Joseph in her arms. She presented the babe to the chivalrous nobles, whose fiery indignation and loyalty rose with the occasion, and drawing their swords they swore with unbounded enthusiasm to defend the lawful heir of the Empire with their last drop of blood. *Moriamur pro rege nostro*, they cried, "Let us die for our sovereign!" and on every side the Hungarians flew to arms.

In Austria also the counter revolution gained great headway. The example of the Hungarians was contagious, and Maria Theresa was soon the center of an enthusiastic revolt. An army of Croats rushed into Bavaria and laid waste the country. For a while the wave of war surged back and forth. In Silesia, Frederick of Prussia held his own, and was presently enabled to conclude a separate treaty, by which the possession of the contested province was conceded to him. On the side of Bohemia the French were driven back, and in the battle of Dettingen were defeated by the English under George II.



CHARLES ALEXANDER, PRINCE OF LORRAINE.

At this juncture the Cardinal Fleury died. He had vainly striven to prevent or stop the war, but was doomed to die without the sight. As to France, her attention was now diverted to the conquest of the Netherlands, and the

king was induced to take the field in person. Meanwhile, however, Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine, brother of the husband of Maria Theresa, made an invasion of Alsace, and King Louis was recalled from his project of a campaign in the Low Countries to defend his own dominions on the side of the Rhine. Nor is it certain that he would have been able to save his recently acquired province but for the reäppearance of Frederick II. The latter soon perceived that the recent treaty by which he had received Silesia was a mere bagatelle, to be tossed aside as soon as such an act might seem to be demanded by the interests of the House of Austria. He therefore deemed it prudent to enter into alliance with France, to the end that his own conquest might be made permanent. He accordingly reëntered the field, penetrated Bohemia, and captured Prague. The result of this startling diversion was that Charles of Lorraine was obliged to withdraw hastily from his proposed invasion of Alsace in order to save what he already possessed.

While Louis XV. was thus engaged in protecting and strengthening his eastern borders the renown of the French arms was well sustained in the Low Countries by Marshal Saxe. This able and brilliant general was a natural son of that Augustus II. who had figured as the successful competitor of Stanislas for the crown of Poland. From the first day of his command he exhibited those remarkable qualities of bravery and impetuosity, combined with penetration and prudence, which gained for him a rank with Eugene and Marlborough, among the greatest military chieftains of the century. His ascendency dates from May of 1745, when, on the field of Fontenoy, he met and defeated with great slaughter the combined army of England, Holland, and Spain, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland.

In the course of two years from this date France gained by conquest nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands. Meanwhile, on the 20th of January, 1745, Charles Albert of Bavaria died. As his ambition went out in the shadow of death the greatest cause of the War of the Austrian Succession ceased to operate. His son, less aggressive than himself, soon concluded a peace with Austria. The elements which had been arrayed against the Pragmatic Sanction, because thereby the German crown had been made to rest on the head of a woman, were quieted by the election of Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, to the Imperial dignity. The death of Philip V. of Spain, in July of the following year, still further simplified the condition of European politics. His son, Ferdinand VI., quietly succeeded to the Spanish crown, but did not venture to renew his father's pretensions to the crown of France.

So many of the causes of the war had now been removed that the way to peace was easily cleared. With the beginning of 1748 negotiations were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the 11th of May the work of pacification had proceeded so far as to secure a suspension of hostilities. The conference continued until the 18th of October, when a general treaty was concluded. As the first condition it was agreed by the powers that the Pragmatic Sanction should stand without further question. The settlement of the German succession was thus secured to Maria Theresa and her son, afterwards Joseph II. France gave up all her conquests in the Austrian Netherlands, and the island of Cape Breton, which England had taken three years before from the French, was restored. Thus just one hundred years from the treaty of Westphalia another peace was concluded by the leading states of Europe.

In the course of time Louis XV. tired of his Polish queen, and began to cultivate the habits of his great-grandfather. He made the acquaintance of Madame d'Etioles, and with her became so enamored that he virtually gave to her the control of both himself and the kingdom. He conferred on her the title of Marchioness de Pompadour, and loaded her with other honors numberless. From being a butcher's daughter she rose to be the most distinguished lady in Europe. She patronized the arts and sciences; beautified Paris; used Voltaire and Bernis in the establishment of those brilliant fêtes for which the French capital became so celebrated; and made herself a necessity of the state. The ministers did her bidding. Diplomates sought her favor. Political parties made and unmade their principles at her dictation. Even

Maria Theresa extended to her the favor of a correspondence. Only the satirical Frederick II. set at naught her glory and stigmatized her ascendency in French politics as *La Dynastie des Cotillons!* But for this insult she amply avenged herself by bringing about that



BATTLE OF FONTENOY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

alliance of France and Austria against Prussia which resulted in the Seven Years' War. Indeed, the next twenty years of the reign of Louis XV. was the reign of Pompadour. At this point, however, it is proper to turn from the affairs of France and England to those of Germany; to note more particularly the rise of Prussia, and to trace the career of Frederick the Great during his long and eventful reign.

CHAPTER CXIV.—RISE OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

PERHAPS the most important dynasty in Europe to-day is the House of Hohenzollern. The name of this powerful family is derived from the castle of Hohenzollern, in Sigmaringen, on the slope of the Zollerberg, a mountain of the Alps. The House is said to have been established by a certain Count Thassilo, about the beginning of the ninth century. It was not, however, until the close of the fourteenth that the princely rank of the family was recognized by the Emperor Charles IV. In 1415 Frederick VI. was made elector of Brandenburg by Sigismund, and took upon himself the title of Frederick I. From this time onward the influence of the Hohenzollerns began to be distinctly felt in the affairs of Europe. The eleventh successor of Frederick I. was that Frederick III., of whom in a preceding Chapter some account has been given as the founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

The real beginning of Prussian greatness is referable, however, to the ascendency of Frederick William, known as the Great Elector. He was born in 1620, and died in Potsdam in 1688. He came to the electoral office at the age of twenty, and began his reign by dismissing his father's council, reclaiming all the territories which had belonged to the electorate, and concluding important treaties with the surrounding states. The peculiarity of his character was its intense nationality. He hated the French manners and methods which at that time prevailed in almost all the courts of Europe. The etiquette of Versailles, which had been copied by nearly all the rulers of the age, was unceremoniously banished from Brandenburg. While neighboring princes were giving costly entertainments, and striving to make up with ostentation and flummery what they lacked in dignity and virtue, the Great Elector established at his court a rule of economy and rigid honesty that might well be cited as an example for any age or country. While the German Emperor was supporting a retinue of about forty thousand officials, Frederick was engaged in giving strict scrutiny to the receipts and expenditures, not only of the electoral treasury, but also of his own household. Though his manners were intolerably coarse, and his government arbitrary, yet there was so much virtue in his methods that his son, FREDERICK I., was able to take and retain the title of king.

From this time forth were laid the foundations of the intellectual and war-like greatness of Prussia. FREDERICK WILLIAM I., grandson of the Great Elector, saved from the expenses of his household a sufficient sum of money to establish four hundred schools among the people. It is well worth while to record that, while the German Empress was attended by several hundred maids of honor, while her parrots required two hogsheads of tokay each day, and while twelve barrels of wine were demanded for her bath, the wife of Frederick William was allowed a single waiting-woman by her inexorable lord. Such *was* Austria and such Prussia two hundred years ago.

In the midst of all this rigor, Frederick William I. lost no opportunity to arouse a German spirit among his people. He sought by means of high protective tariffs to build up the domestic industries of Prussia. He clad himself in garments of Prussian fabrication,

and made an edict forbidding his people to wear clothes of foreign make. He sought by every means in his power to encourage the agricultural enterprises of the Prussians; and when seventeen thousand of the Salzburger Protestants were driven from Upper Austria, Frederick opened wide his doors to receive them, gave them lands, and furnished them support until they were able to build new homes for themselves.

Meanwhile the organization of the Prussian army was intrusted to Prince Leopold of Dessau, called the Old Dessauer, a pupil of Prince Eugene. The forces of Brandenburg were gradually augmented to the number of eighty-four thousand men. One of the caprices of Frederick William I. was the organization of a body-guard of giants. The requirement was that each recruit should be seven feet in height; nor did the miserly Frederick spare expense when it came to procuring his military Goliaths. He ordered his agents to ransack Europe in the hunt for giants. In this work he forgot his national prejudices. Size was the desideratum, and not blood. He even resorted to kidnaping in order to fill his regiment of monsters. While Peter the Great was hungering for mechanics, Frederick reached out eagerly for new Titans for his body-guard. He and the Czar accordingly exchanged products, and both were happy. On one occasion the king paid nine thousand dollars for a Russian prodigy of unusual stature.—Such was the origin of the celebrated Potsdam Guards.

Finding the cares of state more heavy than might be borne by one man, Frederick William organized what he was pleased to call his "Tobacco Cabinet." His ministers and generals, the foreign ambassadors, and a few citizens without rank were invited by the king to meet him in the evening in a plain room furnished with a three-legged stool for himself and wooden benches for his counselors. Every person present was furnished with a clay tobacco-pipe and a mug of beer. Each must smoke, or at least appear to do so, and drink his



THE GREAT ELECTOR.
After the painting by W. von Camphausen.

quantum of beer. No formality was allowed. Frederick would permit no special mark of respect to himself, not even the rising of his guests when he entered. Around this beer-spattered council-table, under the dense cloud of smoke, hardly penetrated by the flickering light of lamps, the savage old German and his councilors discussed with foreign magnates the political affairs of Europe, of which they themselves were an important part.



THE OLD DESSAUER.
After the painting by Pesne.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty of Westphalia, the Great Elector had received the province of Pomerania, together with the island of Rügen and the county of Hohenstein. From this time forth he gave his attention to the work of organizing the Prussian army. In 1655 he made an alliance with Charles X. of Sweden, and engaged in a war with the Poles. The conflict resulted in the capture of Warsaw and the abrogation of those feudal rights which Poland had until now exercised over Prussia. At this time Frederick William was undoubtedly the most far-seeing ruler east of the Rhine. He was the most dangerous foeman with whom Louis XIV. had to contend on the Germanic side of his dominions. But for the incompetency of Leopold I. of Austria, the Great Elector would doubtless have thwarted the project of the Grand Monarch to make the Rhine the eastern boundary of France. In 1673 Frederick William was at war with the French, and lost the provinces of Wesel and Rees. Soon afterwards Louis XIV. procured an invasion of Prussia by the Swedes, and a large army of that hardy soldiery was led against Berlin. The Great Elector was at this juncture at Magdeburg; but leaving that city with only six thousand cavalry, he hurried across the Elbe, and without waiting to be joined by his infantry, fell upon the Swedish army on the field of Fehrbellin. Here, on the 18th of June, 1675, he fought and won a great battle, in which the Swedes were utterly routed and hurled in disorganized masses across the borders of Brandenburg. The victory was so decisive as to end the war and to make sure the elector's claim to Pomerania.

While this rude but vigorous germ of government was planted in Prussia, the Imperial power impersonated in the House of Hapsburg fell into decay. The German Empire was virtually narrowed to the limits of Austria. Bohemia and Hungary were almost independ-



THE GREAT ELECTOR IN THE BATTLE OF FEHRBELLIN.

ent kingdoms. During the reign of Charles VI. a general paralysis seemed to fall upon both government and people. Industry languished; commerce failed; Jesuitism had its fill. It should be observed, however, that this condition of affairs in Austria was precisely such a state as was most congenial to the German nobility. For the nobles were still, after the lapse of so many centuries, essentially feudal in their manners and tastes. To them the Middle Age was the ideal state of man, and Mediæval Rome the one religious



PRINCE EUGENE BEFORE BELGRADE.

Empire of the world. As a result of this preference, the nobility of Germany cherished a profound sympathy with the House of Austria, and was always found clustered around the Imperial banner.

Indeed, if at the beginning of the eighteenth century we look abroad into the "Empire Outside"—as those parts of Germany beyond the Austrian boundaries were designated—we find little but political destruction and disunion. Bavaria and the Palatinate were in a state of miserable dependency on France. So, also, were the three archbishoprics of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. In like relation stood Hanover to England, while Saxony was virtually dominated by Poland.[1] In Würtemberg the hard government of Duke Eberhard Ludwig drove the people to such desperation that many of them in order to escape from his tyranny fled to the coast, took ship for the New World, and found refuge in the virgin wilds of Pennsylvania. In the Danubian countries there was almost constant war. Here it was that the aggressive Turks threw themselves with audacity upon the borders of the Empire. In 1688 the Bavarians carried their arms into Servia, and secured a footing on the right bank of the Danube by the capture of Belgrade. Two years later the Turks returned in overwhelming force and retook the city. The Crescent remained in the ascendant until 1717, when the veteran Prince Eugene led an Imperial army across the

[1] As illustrative of the condition of government in these countries, the case of Hanover may well be cited. After George I. became king of England, the Hanoverian government was left in the hands of a council of nobles, who, when they assembled, were wont to set up in the president's chair a portrait of Elector George, and proceed with business as though he were present in person!

Danube and began a siege of Belgrade. The Sultan, perceiving the peril of the situation, sent a tremendous army to break the investment. Eugene was pressed against the city by the foe without, but turned upon his assailants, defeated them with prodigious slaughter, and compelled Belgrade to capitulate.

The circumstances antecedent to the War of the Polish Succession have been already referred to in the two preceding chapters. Great was the anxiety of Charles VI. that the Imperial scepter should not depart from his House. It was this eagerness to secure the crown to a member of his own family that led to the celebrated decree known as the Pragmatic Sanction. Even after the issuance of this edict the Emperor continued to show his apprehension lest the succession should be taken from his daughter Maria Theresa and conferred on some collateral representative of the House of Hapsburg, or perhaps on one who was not a Hapsburg at all. Charles, therefore, adopted the policy of hedging against the possible infraction of his will; and the measures which he adopted acted as a bane to the project which he sought to strengthen.

Thus when, in order to secure the favor of Russia, the Emperor espoused the cause of Augustus III. of Poland against his rival, Stanislas, the movement led immediately to a league between the latter and Louis XV. of France. Charles soon awoke to the realization that he had exchanged the friendship of France for the very dubious and equivocal sympathy of the Northern Bear. Nor did the Emperor prove an equal match in the contest with French diplomacy. The Polish Diet elected Stanislas, who, reaching Warsaw in the disguise of a merchant, was duly proclaimed as king—this, too, in the face of the fact that a Russian army was at that very time entering Poland. Charles VI. was left with Augustus III. on his hands and a French war looming up out of the western horizon.

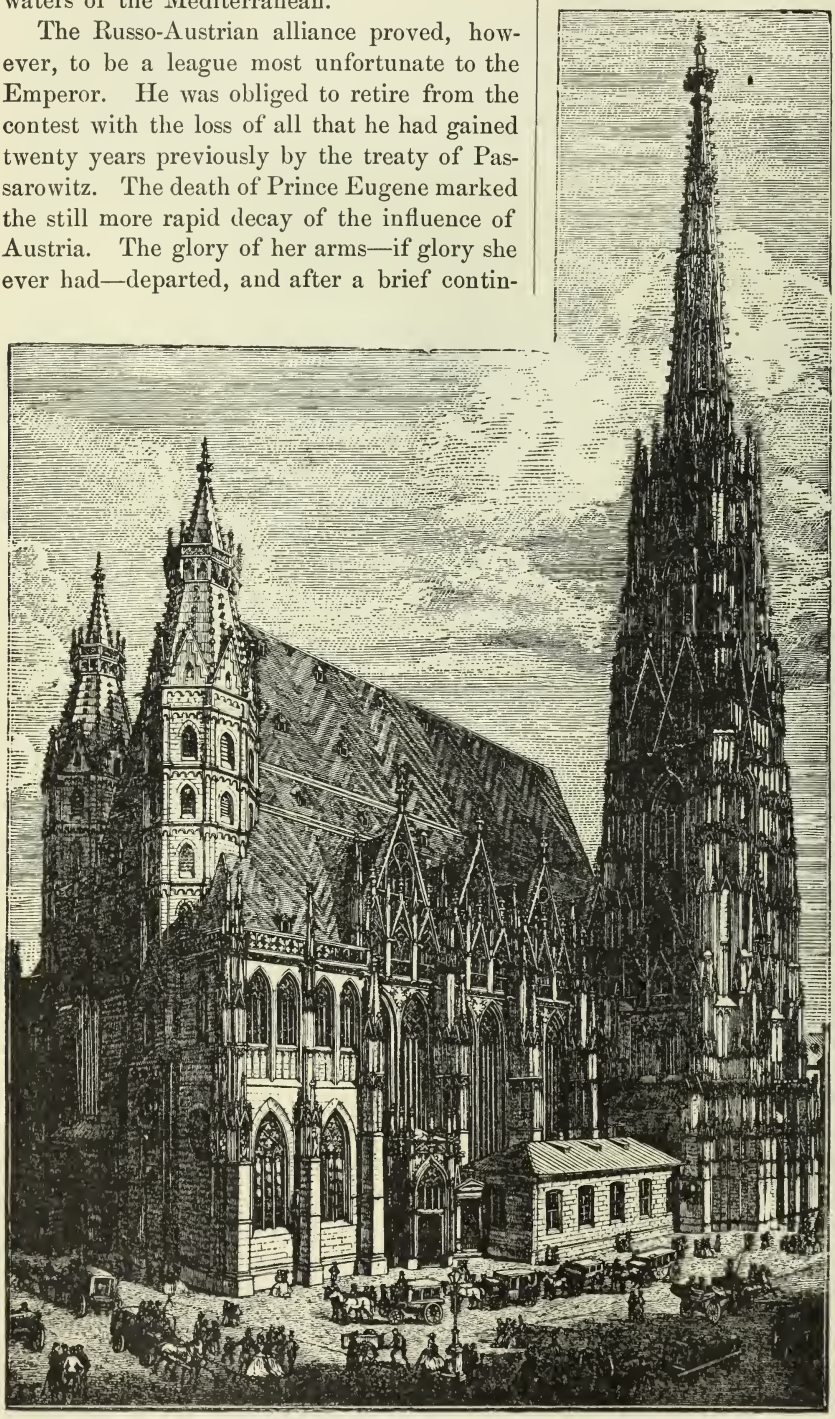
In the beginning of this preliminary conflict France was supported by Spain and Sardinia. The event soon showed that France was prepared for the war and that Austria was not. Three French armies at once took the field. The first occupied the province of Lorraine; the second crossed the Rhine and captured the fortress of Kehl; and the third, commanded by Marshal Villars, made a successful irruption into Lombardy. Spain also bore down upon Naples and Sicily, and both countries yielded to her arms. Meanwhile the Austrians, rallying from their surprise, were led to the Rhine by the veteran Prince Eugene, now more than seventy years of age. Frederick William I., who had now acceded to the throne of Prussia, sent a contingent of ten thousand troops to aid Eugene in expelling the French from Lorraine; but the effort was unsuccessful. In the Polish campaign, however, the French were completely beaten. Stanislas disguised himself as a cattle trader, and fled from the country. He was followed by an army of ten thousand Russians, who, advancing as far as the Rhine, were joined with the forces of Austria.

Notwithstanding the successes of the French arms in the campaigns of 1733, Louis XV. found it expedient to enter into negotiations for peace. This War of the Polish Succession was concluded in 1735 by the treaty of Vienna. The conditions of the settlement have already been narrated in the preceding chapter. It is only necessary to add that Frederick William I. of Prussia, who had expected to receive as his reward the cities of Zülich and Berg, was disappointed. So much was he exasperated by the terms which were agreed upon at Vienna that he entered into a correspondence with France, with a view to securing thereby what he had failed to gain in alliance with the Empire. These circumstances may be cited as the basis and beginning of that deep-seated political enmity which unto the present day has existed between the Houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern.

In the interval between the treaty of Vienna and the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession several events occurred worthy of record. In 1736 Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose name will ever be associated with that of Marlborough as one of the greatest generals of the century, died. In the same year Francis of Lorraine took in marriage Maria Theresa, thus paving the way for his own ultimate elevation to the Imperial dignity. In 1737 the Empress Anna of Russia induced Charles VI. to join her in a war with the Turks. It had already become the cardinal principle in Russian politics to obtain

possession of the sea of Azov, and thus ultimately to gain an entrance into the warm waters of the Mediterranean.

The Russo-Austrian alliance proved, however, to be a league most unfortunate to the Emperor. He was obliged to retire from the contest with the loss of all that he had gained twenty years previously by the treaty of Passarowitz. The death of Prince Eugene marked the still more rapid decay of the influence of Austria. The glory of her arms—if glory she ever had—departed, and after a brief continuance of irregular and ill-directed warfare, the Emperor was constrained to purchase peace by giving up to the Turks the province of Belgrade and all the conquests which he had made in Servia and Wallachia.



ST. STEPHEN'S CATHEDRAL, VIENNA.

In May of 1740 Frederick William I., second king of Prussia, died, being then in his fifty-third year. The policy adopted by the Great Elector, and followed by his son and grandson, had now begun to tell upon the prosperity of the new kingdom. The territory of Prussia embraced at this time somewhat more than fifty thousand square miles, and her population numbered two million five hundred thousand. The revenues of the state had increased to seven and a half million thalers annually, and the surplus in the treasury amounted to 'over nine millions. Several great cities had arisen. Berlin had nearly a hundred thousand inhabitants. Stettin, Magdeburg, and Memel had become among the strongest fortresses in Europe. The army well equipped and well disciplined, numbered eighty thousand men. The system of public education was already bearing fruit, and the institutions of feudalism withered away in the light and heat of progress. Finally the early

Prussian kings set themselves against the debasing superstition which the Middle Age and the Romish Church had spawned all over Europe. The alleged crime of witchcraft, for which the benign gospel of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had caused the execution of several hundred thousand innocent persons, was struck from the statute books of Prussia. Religious toleration was the law of the state.

Five months after the death of Frederick William, Charles VI. also died. Quite different was the condition of ancient Austria from that of the kingdom so recently established by the Hohenzollerns. The military organization of the Empire was demoralized. On every side the Imperial borders had been narrowed. Worse than physical decay was the spiritless condition into which the Austrian people had sunk under the despotic sway of the Hapsburgs. The outward splendor and inner death of the court of Vienna at the middle of the eighteenth century may well remind the thoughtful student of the similar condition which supervened in Constantinople in the last days of the Eastern Empire.



IMPERIALISTS IN BATTLE WITH THE TURKS.

The crown of Prussia descended after the death of Frederick William I. to his eldest son, Frederick II., better known as FREDERICK THE GREAT. On the maternal side his lineage was from the House of Hanover-Brunswick, his mother being the Princess Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George I. of England. At the time of his accession Frederick was in his twenty-ninth year. His early life had been peculiarly unhappy. His father had imbibed the domestic principles of the Great Elector; that is, he was a tyrant in his family. This was precisely the kind of discipline most unsuited to the disposition of young Frederick. It chanced that the boy's education was intrusted, for the most part, to certain French refugees, who, fleeing from their own country, had carried with them to Berlin the culture and refinement of Paris. From his childhood Frederick became infatuated with the literature, manners, and beliefs of France. As for classical learning, that was strictly forbidden

by our father Frederick William. For a season the brain of the prince ran riot with a certain class of accomplishments, the contagion of which he caught from his French teachers. He exhibited a great passion for music; became a skillful player on the flute; gave concerts at which his own compositions were rendered to the delight of *connoisseurs;* pleased himself in all particulars and gratified his father in none. The king would fain make a soldier of his effeminate son; but he found that "idiot and puppy" in no wise disposed to adopt the profession of arms.



PRINCE FREDERICK.

At the age of sixteen the distempered

youth was taken by his severe father to Dresden and was there thrown for a season into the corrupt society which flourished around the court of Augustus the Strong. At this time it was the mother's purpose to have her unpromising son wedded to his cousin, the Princess Amelia, daughter of George II. of England. But the father hated England and his royal kinsman so heartily that the proposed marriage was broken off. Frederick was accompanied in these travels by a young officer named Von Katte, and with him he laid a plot to run away from Germany and leave the king to his reflections. Perhaps the prince did not much consider that the carrying out of his purpose would involve a desertion from the Prussian army, of which he was a member, or that the penalty for so doing was death. At any rate the plan was perfected and Frederick went on board a vessel at Frankfort with a view to escaping down the Rhine.



ELIZABETH CHRISTINA.

In the meantime, however, one of the about-to-be fugitive prince's letters, written to Katte, fell into the hands of *another* officer of the same name, and was by him delivered to the king. The wrath of Frederick William surpassed all bounds. He hastened in person to the vessel on which his son had embarked, discovered him, beat him with a stick until his face was covered with blood, and then hurried him to prison. Katte also was seized, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to imprisonment. But the furious king immediately annulled the sentence, and ordered the culprit to be forthwith led to execution. The horror of the thing was increased by having the scaffold built directly before the window of the cell where Frederick was imprisoned. He was thus forced to witness the hanging of his bosom friend. He fainted at the awful spectacle, and lay so long unconscious that it was believed he would never recover.

For some time the Prince was kept in his dungeon. He was not permitted to see even his keeper. The king insisted that he should be condemned by court-martial; but the officers who were summoned for that duty decided that they could not pass sentence on the Crown Prince of Prussia. Hereupon Frederick William took the cause into his own hands, and condemned his son to death. This action, however, created such a storm among the officers of the army that the merciless father was obliged to yield to the general demand and issue a pardon to the Prince. But

the latter was still kept in prison. At last his spirits were completely broken, and he accepted the hard condition of absolute obedience to his father. The king put him into a clerk's office in the lowest grade of the service, and he was obliged to work his way up as a common apprentice. It was not until November of 1731 that he was permitted again to appear at court. When his sister Wilhelmina was married to the Margrave of Baireuth, a slender young man, clad in a suit of gray, was seen standing among the servants. When the ceremonies were over, the king approached him, pulled him forth, and said



MONTESQUIEU.

to the queen: "Here, madam, our Fritz is back again."

In the following year Frederick was forced against his will to take in marriage the Princess Elizabeth Christina, of Brunswick-Bevern, niece of the Empress of Germany, for whom his repugnance was extreme. His father then gave him the castle of Rheinsberg, near Potsdam, where he lived for a while in a kind of independence which he had not previously enjoyed. He again gave himself up to the study of literature. He renewed his correspondence with Voltaire, became an admirer and student of Montesquieu, and made the acquaintance of many other eminent authors of France. When the War of the Polish Succession broke out, he was called into the field and given a subordinate office under Prince Eugene. But his opportunities were not such as to evoke his military talents, and at the end of the campaign he returned to his residence at Rheinsberg. His reputation at this time was that of a poet and philosopher. The dreamers and lovers of peace looked forward to his accession as an event which would end the wars and conflicts in which Prussia had thus far been engaged, while the military element felt that the glory of the state would depart with the coming of such a king.

At length, in May of 1740, Frederick William died. The ministers of the kingdom were somewhat surprised at the speech which the supposed poet made to them when they came to take the oath of allegiance. He told them that henceforth the interests of Prussia and of the king would be regarded as identical, and that in case of any possible conflict the wishes and welfare of the ruler would have to give way to those of the state. Still greater was the surprise when from the very first the new sovereign, in manifest contempt of all ceremony and formality, began to lay about him with great vigor in correcting the abuses which existed in the government. One of his earliest acts was to abolish torture as a part of criminal procedure. He then proceeded to reform the marriage laws of Prussia. He dismissed his father's body-guard of giants, and instituted improved methods in tactics and discipline. He appointed ministers for Commerce and Manufactures, and strove in every way to encourage the industrial energies of the people. In so far as adopting the pompous style of the kings of France, it was noticed that, when the new king went to his coronation at Königsberg, his whole court traveled in three carriages, and that the actual ceremony of receiving the crown was dispensed with altogether. It was evident that a new will had appeared as a directing force in the political affairs of Europe.

It was an important circumstance in the drama of the age that the deaths of Frederick William and Emperor Charles VI. were so nearly coïncident. Only a few months elapsed from the accession of Frederick II. to the time when the Pragmatic Sanction was to be tested by the facts. The daughter of the late

Emperor was now left to claim and take that ancestral crown which had never before rested on woman.

It was fortunate that the princess who thus became a claimant for the crown of the German Cæsar was in every way worthy of so high a distinction. MARIA THERESA was a woman born to be great. She had the strength of Elizabeth Tudor, the beauty of Aurora von Königsmark, and the magnetism and virtue of Joan of Arc. Her force of character was well understood, even before her father's death; but none had supposed that her luster and power would shine forth with such brilliancy as was displayed from the time of her coronation. The old ministers of Charles VI. flattered themselves that they would easily sway the *woman* who swayed the Empire; and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, would fain believe himself the real ruler of Austria. But all were as much mistaken as they were surprised. The Empress heard all counsels and received all advice with serene dignity, and then decided for herself.



MARIA THERESA, EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA.

Now it was that two noted rival claimants appeared to the dominions and crown of Maria Theresa. First of these was the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria. The grandmother of this prince was a Hapsburg, and upon that somewhat slender thread of distinction his claims to the Empire were suspended. His candidature, however, was made quite formidable by the support which he received from Louis XV. of France, who, though he had repeatedly pledged himself to the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, was now willing to incur the guilt of perfidy if thereby he might weaken and distract the German Empire. The second claimant was Augustus III., king of Poland and Saxony, who was supported in his pretensions by the Czar of Russia. So it was that swords were drawn on every side, and the WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION was begun.

The former history of his kingdom now furnished to Frederick II. a ready and plausible pretext for taking a part in the impending conflict. It had happened in former times that Brandenburg had been obliged in an emergency to surrender to the Empire four principalities which she possessed in Silesia. Perceiving that the Austrian Empress would be hard pressed by Charles Albert and Augustus III., backed as they were on the one side by France and on the other by Russia, Fred-

erick conceived the design of laying claim to the whole of Silesia, and of making the same an integral part of Prussia. With him to conceive was to act. His purpose, however, was for the time concealed in his own breast. He secretly and hastily increased his army to a hundred thousand men; and before his enemies could conjecture his design, he made a forced march into Silesia and planted himself defiantly in the territory which he meant to conquer.

As soon as the Austrians perceived the brilliant stroke of their antagonist, they sent a powerful army to drive him out. In the mean time the prudent Frederick had conciliated the Silesians, whose rights he carefully observed, enforcing strict discipline upon his soldiers, and removing all restrictions in the matter of religion. Breslau, the Silesian capital, soon opened her gates, and Frederick took peaceable possession. Several fortresses held by Austrian garrisons were captured during the winter, and in April of 1741 the Austrians were defeated in the decisive but hard-fought battle of Mollwitz. Frederick was outnumbered by the enemy, and in the beginning of the engagement the advantage was on the side of the Austrians. Even the veteran Marshal Schwerin believed that Frederick was doomed to defeat. He accordingly persuaded the king to retire from the field, and then, collecting his shattered forces, made so desperate a charge on the Austrian lines that the latter were broken and turned into a rout. The result of the victory was to place all of Lower Silesia in the hands of Frederick.

For the moment it appeared that all Europe was combined against Maria Theresa. France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony took the field. A French army crossed the Rhine, united with the Bavarians, penetrated as far as Linz, on the Danube, and there proclaimed Charles Albert king of Austria. Maria Theresa and her court escaped from Vienna and fled to Presburg, where the nobles of Hungary had already convened to reclaim from the Empire the rights of which they had been deprived by Leopold I. The queen was constrained, partly by the emergency and partly by her half-liberal disposition, to concede to them most of the things demanded. This being done, she was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen, after which she mounted a steed and galloped up the King's Hill, waving her sword to the four quarters of the earth after the manner of the Hungarian kings on such occasions, and manifesting such Imperial grace and enthusiasm as to fire the spirits of the nobles with loyalty and delight. She afterwards clad herself in the national costume of the Hungarians, took her infant son Joseph in her arms, went before the Diet, and delivered before them an eloquent and forcible address in Latin. She depicted the dangers with which she was beset, the wrongs committed by her enemies, the manifest purpose of the powers to deprive her of the crown, and then appealed to their sympathies and patriotism for protection. Then it was that the swords of the enthusiastic nobles flashed in the air and the resounding cry of "*Moriamur pro rege nostro*"[1] was heard on every hand. Hungary arose like a giant for the defense of her who had so inflamed their national pride. Austria, also, touched with emulation, rallied around the queen, and the combined armies of the two kingdoms planted themselves between Vienna and the advancing French. The latter were constrained to turn aside into Bohemia, whose capital they entered and then proclaimed Charles Albert king. In February of 1742 he received the Imperial crown at Frankfort and took the title of Charles VII.

In the mean time Frederick had so firmly established himself in Silesia that Austria was constrained to enter into a secret treaty with him, by the terms of which the greater part of his demands were granted. In a few months, however, the king discovered that in some minor points Austria had failed to keep her compact. With this pretext he at once renewed the war, and in the spring of 1742 entered Bohemia, where, on the 17th of May, he gained a great victory in the battle of Chotusitz. At this juncture England appeared as a mediator between the combatants, and Maria Theresa was induced to make peace with Prussia by ceding to that kingdom the whole of Upper and Lower Silesia, together with the principality of Glatz. The immense territory which was thus yielded up to Frederick contained a hundred and fifty cities, five

[1] "Let us die for our sovereign."

thousand villages, and a million two hundred thousand inhabitants.

Notwithstanding this great loss of territory the interference of England proved to be of the highest advantage to Maria Theresa, whose fortunes now rapidly revived. George II.



MARIA THERESA WITH THE INFANT JOSEPH BEFORE THE DIET OF PRESBURG.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

made with her an alliance, agreeing to support her against Charles Albert of Bavaria. Holland and Hanover also took sides with Austria against France. The English king entered the field in person and gained a decisive victory over the French in the battle of DETTINGEN. Saxony entered the alliance. The Landgrave of Hesse, thinking to profit by the situation, sold one body of troops to France and another to England! Of a sudden the Austrian league became so powerful as to preponderate over the opposing alliance.

Estimating at its true value the treaty by which Silesia had been gained, and divining that Austria would adhere to that compact no longer than was demanded by her interest, Frederick withdrew from the alliance and made a treaty with Louis XV. and Charles VII. In 1744 a Prussian army, numbering eighty thousand, and commanded by the king in person, invaded Bohemia and captured Prague. The Bohemians, however, did not, like the Silesians, accept the invader as a rightful ruler. On the contrary, they rose against him on every side. The Hungarians, also, again took up arms in behalf of Austria. Charles of Lorraine, who had been facing the French in Alsace, was withdrawn to confront Frederick in Bohemia. So powerful was the array suddenly brought against him that the Prussian was obliged to retreat in midwinter, losing a large number of his soldiers and many of his cannon.

In January of 1745 an unexpected turn was given to affairs by the death of Charles VII. His unambitious son, Maximilian Joseph, at once gave up his pretensions to the Imperial crown on the simple condition that Bavaria, which had been subjugated by the Austrians, should be restored to him as sovereign. France, having no longer any Imperial candidate to support against Maria Theresa, now stood aloof from the conflict, while Frederick suddenly found himself left alone with Austria, Saxony, and Poland in actual, and England and Russia in probable, hostility against him. Never was a situation better calculated to inspire alarm. The forlorn prospects of Maria Theresa at the beginning of the conflict were not so dark as those of Frederick in the beginning of 1745.

Now it was, however, that the slumbering genius of Frederick the *Great* began to shine. His figure was seen under the somber horizon, grim as a wrinkled statue of iron. His enemies made haste to crowd him to the precipice, but found that work one of the most desperate enterprises in the whole annals of war. In May of 1745 a combined army of Austrians and Saxons, numbering a hundred thousand men, poured into Silesia. Frederick, who had openly confessed that his Bohemian campaign of the preceding year had been nothing but a blunder, now appeared at his full stature. With a force greatly inferior to the enemy he marched to HOHENFRIEDBERG, and there, on the 4th of June, gave battle. In the early morning, with the Prussian cavalry he swept down like a whirlwind on the Austrians, and by nine o'clock achieved one of the great victories of the century. Sixty-six of the Austrian and Saxon standards were taken. The allied army was turned into an utter rout. Five thousand dead and wounded strewed the held, and seven thousand prisoners remained in Frederick's hand. All Europe was agitated with the news of the battle; for it was evident that the sentimental stripling of Hohenzollern, who had spent his youth in playing the flute and reading French novels, was now come as a conqueror, making the tragic stage of war tremble as he strode.

In this condition of affairs England again sought to mediate between the powers of war. Frederick readily declared that his only purpose was to gain and to keep Silesia. That he would do at every hazard. Maria Theresa fairly flamed with indignation. She chafed like an angry lioness as she strode about the palace of Vienna, and answered to England's proposal that sooner would she have her royal robes torn off, and her Imperial body exposed to the vulgar winds, than give up one foot of Silesia to the perfidious, unkingly scoundrel, Frederick. The case was made up, and further debate was useless.

In his next campaign Frederick, with a division of eighteen thousand of his men, made a dash into Bohemia, and posted himself at the village of Sorr. Here, on the 30th of September, he was attacked by an army of forty thousand Austrians. Notwithstanding the disparity in numbers, he came out of the battle victorious. Soon afterwards the news

CAPTURE OF THE AUSTRIANS BY FREDERICK'S DRAGOONS AT HOHENFRIEDBERG.

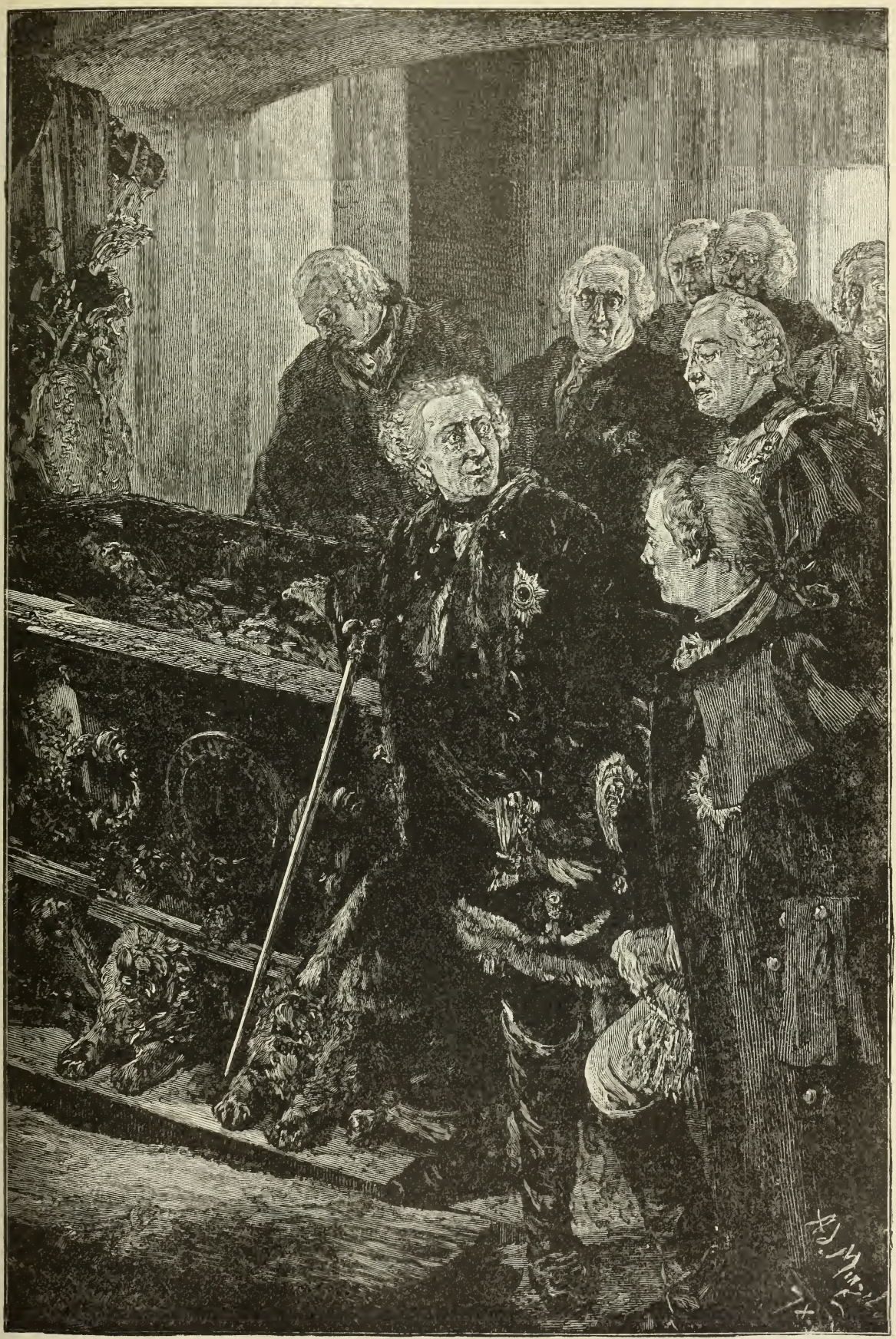
was brought to him that the Saxons were making ready for an invasion of Prussia. The king at once established garrisons in the passes between Bohemia and Silesia, turned about and hastened into Saxony. Leipsic was taken, and on the 15th of December a great victory was gained over the Saxons in the battle of KESSELSDORF, the Prussians being commanded by Prince Leopold. Frederick now entered Dresden, and within ten days Austria consented to make peace by confirming Silesia and Glatz to Prussia. The king, on his part, acknowledged as Emperor Francis of Lorraine, who had already received the Imperial crown at Frankfort. Prussia thus emerged from the Second Silesian War with every circumstance of honor, and Frederick, on his return to Berlin, was received with all the enthusiasm of which the German nature is capable.

In other parts of Europe the war was continued for three years longer. In Flanders Marshal Saxe led the French to many victories. Before the close of 1747 nearly all of the so-called Austrian Netherlands had been transferred to France. In Northern Italy, however, the arms of Austria were generally successful, and the authority of the Empire was restored. At this time the Empress Elizabeth of Russia was induced by Maria Theresa and her husband to enter into an alliance and to furnish an army of forty thousand men. On looking about him Louis XV. found an exhausted treasury and a discouraged people. Such were the circumstances which led to the opening of negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle, and finally to the conclusion at that place, in October of 1748, of the treaty of peace by which the War of the Austrian Succession was ended on the terms already defined in the preceding chapter.

Thus closed the first great struggle in which the strength of Prussia and the valor of her king were fully displayed. Frederick now threw his whole energies into the work of healing the wounds and bruises of his people. Never was a more vigorous and salutary activity displayed by the ruler of a state. He toiled incessantly at his official duties, giving himself barely time to sleep and eat until the work of restoration should be accomplished. He required that all the affairs of state, proposed modifications in the methods of government, and infractions of the laws should be submitted to himself for approval or rejection. In all things he was absolute, assuming the responsibility for the measures which he proposed, and accepting with equanimity the blame of miscarriage and failure.

In his personal habits the king was studious and industrious to the last degree. He rose before daybreak, and went at once to his tasks. Every petition and complaint he read carefully, and sat brooding for hours over the tedious and troublesome complications which were referred to him for solution. The papers which he passed upon are still in existence, with his own indorsements of approval or disapproval; and nowhere does the character of Frederick more clearly appear than in these notes upon the backs of documents which came before him. A certain merchant named Simon of Stettin petitioned to be allowed to invest forty thousand thalers in a piece of real estate. The king's indorsement ran thus: "Forty thousand thalers invested in commerce will yield eight per cent, in landed property only four per cent; so this man does not understand his own business!" So, when the city of Frankfort-on-Oder remonstrated against the quartering of troops upon her citizens, Frederick wrote upon the document: "Why, it can not be otherwise. Do they think I can put the regiment into my pocket? But the barracks shall be rebuilt." In like manner, on the petition of the Chamberlain, Baron Müller, who prayed for leave of absence to visit the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle, this indorsement was entered: "What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back like a beggar." In this intensely practical and peculiarly German method of governing one may well discover the natural result of the style adopted by old Frederick Barbarossa, who, on his way to the Crusades, was wont to hang up his shield by his tent-door with this proclamation: "Ho, every one who has suffered injustice! Come hither and you shall find a king who will avenge you on the wrong-doer."

In matters of religion Frederick adopted the maxims of freedom and toleration. He declared his purpose in these words: "I mean that every man in my kingdom shall have the



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT THE COFFIN OF THE GREAT ELECTOR. (535)

After the Painting by A. Mentzel.

right to be saved in his own way." And he kept his word against every influence which bigots and simpletons could bring forward to induce him to change. He aimed at being in all respects the exemplar of his people. He reduced the expenses of his court to a minimum, and saved the rest to pay off the debt of the state. It is said that during the seven years of peace which followed the treaty of 1748 the king's expenditure in the administration of the state did not exceed a hundred thousand dollars a year—this, too, when every petty prince around him, with not a tenth part of his vast responsibilities, was squandering many times that sum in the maintenance of a court after the manner of great kings.

A volume might well be filled with stories and reminiscences of the manners and methods of Frederick's government. For an hour or two each evening, after his day's work was done, he was accustomed to walk abroad among the people, conversing with them familiarly and ordering their affairs after the manner of a father. He gave public superintendence to the works of the city, and, indeed, of the whole kingdom. In one or two matters, however, his conduct was subject to severe criticism. In general he was indifferent to the education of the masses; nor did he give to science that encouragement which might have been expected of one of his temper and attainments. Instead of patronizing the Academy of Berlin, he neglected that institution, giving his favor to another, in which the French language and philosophy had been substituted for those of Germany. The king even issued an interdict forbidding the students of Prussia to attend foreign universities.

But in the midst of this general disfavor of learning, Frederick was ever zealous in promoting the industrial interests of the kingdom. Agriculture was the favored pursuit. He bent his whole energies to the reclaiming of the marsh-lands in which Prussia abounded and the conversion of the same into farms. Due regard was had for the internal improvements of the state. Canals and roads were constructed; bridges built; public buildings erected; and commercial facilities in every way improved.

All through life Frederick continued to cherish the example and fame of his grandfather, the Great Elector. It is evident that the work of that distinguished personage made an early and lasting impression on the mind of his erratic grandson. Frederick never tired of praising the deeds and heroism of Frederick William. He made him in many things his example in both peace and war, and omitted no mark of respect and esteem which he could render to the Great Elector's memory.[1]

The people could but see and appreciate the many advantages diffused by the king in his personal and administrative capacity. As a matter of fact, they could very well afford to bear the heavy taxes which Frederick imposed upon them, as the same were a necessary part of his system of government. First of all, it was a clear necessity that the Prussian army should, in the existing condition of Europe, be kept at a maximum of strength and efficiency. Frederick was astute enough to perceive that the lull which followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would soon be broken, and that he must be prepared at a moment's warning to face the most powerful combination which the neighboring powers could bring against him. To meet the expected emergency he was constantly on the alert. Nor was it long until the peace of Europe was broken in a way to test to the utmost the endurance and heroism of Prussia and her king. The many enemies whom Frederick's words and deeds and purposes had raised in the neighboring kingdoms were still alive, and but awaited the opportunity and pretext of again renewing the contest by which they hoped to humble, if not to ruin, the House of Hohenzollern.

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[1] It happened that in January of 1750, when a new cathedral was finished in Berlin, the ancestral bones of the Hohenzollerns had to be moved from the vaults of the old edifice to the crypt of the new. Frederick took great interest in the occasion, and gave personal supervision to the transfer. When the workmen came to the sarcophagus of the Great Elector, the king ordered them to open the casket, that he might gaze on the illustrious dead. He looked long and intently upon his great-grandfather's face. He seized the crumbling hands in his own, and turning with a look of inspiration to his companions, said in French: *Ah, Messieurs, celui-ci a fait de grandes choses*—"Ah, gentlemen, this is the one who did the great works."

CHAPTER CXV.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

THE great conflict, upon the history of which we are now to enter, originated in disputes and quarrels between the colonies of France and England in the New World. Hostilities began in America and there continued for two years, attended with much animosity and bloodshed, before war was declared in Europe. A chronological order would require that an account be first given of the outbreak between the French and English colonists on this side of the Atlantic; but the unity of the narrative will be best preserved by recounting first the course of the war in Europe and afterwards the American phase of the conflict.

Deep-seated and lasting was the hatred of Maria Theresa and her minister, Baron Kaunitz, for Frederick II. Her anger had in it the indignation of the Empress and the pique of the woman. Her methods were drawn from both the fountains of her hostility. So, when the news was borne to Europe that the colonies of France and England had gone to war in America; when it was known that George II. would back his American frontiersmen, and Louis XV. his; when Hanover, at that time an appanage of the crown of England and drawn along with that country into the war with France, appealed to Austria for an alliance; and when the Empress and her minister came to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages of such a league—Maria Theresa, having ever in her memory the loss of Silesia, and ever before her mind's eye the ungallant apparition of him by whom she had been despoiled, conceived that her real interest would be better subserved by a French alliance than by a union with England. She accordingly rejected the proposal of Hanover, wrote a flattering epistle to Madame de Pompadour, at that time all-powerful at the court of France, and solicited the influence of that lady in securing a Franco-Austrian league against England. All the while her covert purpose was to gain the aid of France, when the opportunity should arrive, for renewing the war with Prussia. Another woman now appeared on the scene—Elizabeth of Russia. She, too, was mortally offended at Frederick on account of certain disparaging comments which he had offered respecting her person and character. Here, then,



MARQUISE POMPADOUR.
After the painting by M. Q. de la Tour.

was a complication indeed. Frederick had stigmatized Pompadour's influence at the French court as *la dynastie des cotillons.*[1] He had robbed Maria Theresa of a great province—a very real and tangible offense. He had said of Elizabeth, daughter of the Great Peter, that "she was too fat and orthodox," and that "she did not have an ounce of nun in her composition." True, these strictures had been offered twenty years ago, but the time had arrived when the sarcasm should cost him dearly—him and his subjects also.



ELIZABETH I. OF RUSSIA.

As to the Czarina, she hesitated not at all to accept the proposals of Maria Theresa; but Pompadour could not at first succeed in bringing Louis to her wishes. At length, however, the Austrian Empress offered him as the price of his support that portion of the Netherlands which had belonged to the Empire. This bait was sufficient. The negotiations at Vienna, Paris, and St. Petersburg were quietly completed, and every thing was arranged to begin the war on Prussia in the spring of 1757.

It was one of the tacit maxims of Frederick the Great not to be caught asleep. He was the catcher of slumberers rather than the caught. One of his rules was to keep himself informed of all that happened in the courts and councils of neighboring rulers. In St. Petersburg he had at this time as his agent no less a personage than the Crown Prince Peter himself, who had conceived for Frederick an ardent friendship, and was willing to serve him against the machinations of the Czarina.

Having thus thoroughly acquainted himself with the designs of his enemies, and perceiving his inability to break up their coälition by any diplomatic measures which he might propose, he resolved—indeed, could but resolve—to take the alternative of war, even if all Europe should combine against him. For

[1] That is, the "*Petticoat Dynasty.*"

a moment he scanned the horizon to see if any friendly power might be discovered, and in the search his eye naturally rested on England. Since she was already at war with France, and since Frederick was about to draw the sword against the same power, it was almost inevitable that an Anglo-Prussian alliance should be formed. Frederick's overtures were accepted by Parliament, and in January of 1756 a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the two kingdoms. The little principalities of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxe-Gotha were drawn by their affiliation with Hanover into the same compact. But all of the assistance and promise of assistance which Frederick thus obtained abroad was as nothing in comparison with the powerful array which human passion and the statecraft of Europe had brought against him.

As soon as the king had thoroughly informed himself of the plans of Austria, France, and Russia, he adopted his usual policy of anticipating the movements of his enemies. Having carefully organized his forces and set his house in order, he began THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR by entering Saxony. In the beginning of September, 1756, he took Dresden, and soon afterwards laid siege to a Saxon army of seventeen thousand men in a fortified camp on the Elbe. One division of the Prussians was at the same time sent forward to occupy Bohemia.

Maria Theresa now quickly collected her forces to the number of seventy thousand, and sent them to confront Frederick in the field. The latter was in no wise disposed to decline the challenge to battle. Within less than a month after his entrance into Dresden he met the Austrians on the field of LOBOSITZ. He was able to bring into the fight only twenty thousand men, being less than one-third of the force of the enemy. But the battle resulted in a complete victory. Frederick had good reason to boast, in a letter to General Schwerin, of the splendid valor and discipline of his Prussians, by whose invincible heroism he had triumphed over such fearful odds.

The effect of the battle of Lobositz was to give Frederick a breathing-time during the winter of 1756–57. Never did a ruler and his people more need a respite. It was evident that the allies were merely stunned by the blow which they had received, and that on recovering from the initial shock of the conflict they would renew the fight with all their banded powers. It showed some discernment on their part that they used the interval to secure additional alliances. Sweden was persuaded to become a member of the league, and the Imperial Diet was evoked from the shadows to declare war against Prussia.

By the opening of spring, 1757, it was estimated that the armies ready to take the field against Frederick numbered four hundred and thirty thousand men. To oppose this tremendous force the king could succeed in raising an army of not quite two hundred thousand. The English Parliament sent him the Duke of Cumberland and voted him a subsidy; but the latter was small, and the former would better have been kept at home.



COUNT SCHWERIN.

In beginning the campaign, Frederick at the head of one division pressed forward through Bohemia, and on the 6th of May met the Austrians before the walls of Prague. Here, after a hard-fought battle he won the second victory of the war; but the triumph was purchased with the lives of thousands, among whom was the veteran General

Schwerin, an irreparable loss to Frederick and the Prussian people.[1]

Following up his success, Frederick immediately laid siege to Prague, which in the course of five weeks he reduced to the point of capitulation. But before this result could be reached the king received information that Marshal Daun was coming with another Austrian army of fifty-four thousand men to rescue the city. It was at this point that Frederick's genius for striking a superior enemy in detail began to be conspicuous. Hastily raising the siege of Prague, he set out to confront Daun, and on the 18th of June, met him at Kollin, on the Elbe. The Prussians were about thirty-one thousand strong; the Austrians nearly twice that number. In conjunction with General Zieten who, after Schwerin's death, became Frederick's chief reliance, the king formed a careful plan of battle, and then—lost his wits.[1] In beginning the fight he threw away his plan and adopted another. Then, when this change, the merit of which consisted in its caprice, began to portend defeat, Frederick strove by personal exposure and unwonted audacity to retrieve his error. He led his soldiers in the very face of the Austrian batteries, and beat against them until he had lost fourteen thousand men. Maria Theresa might have looked with complacency on the scene.



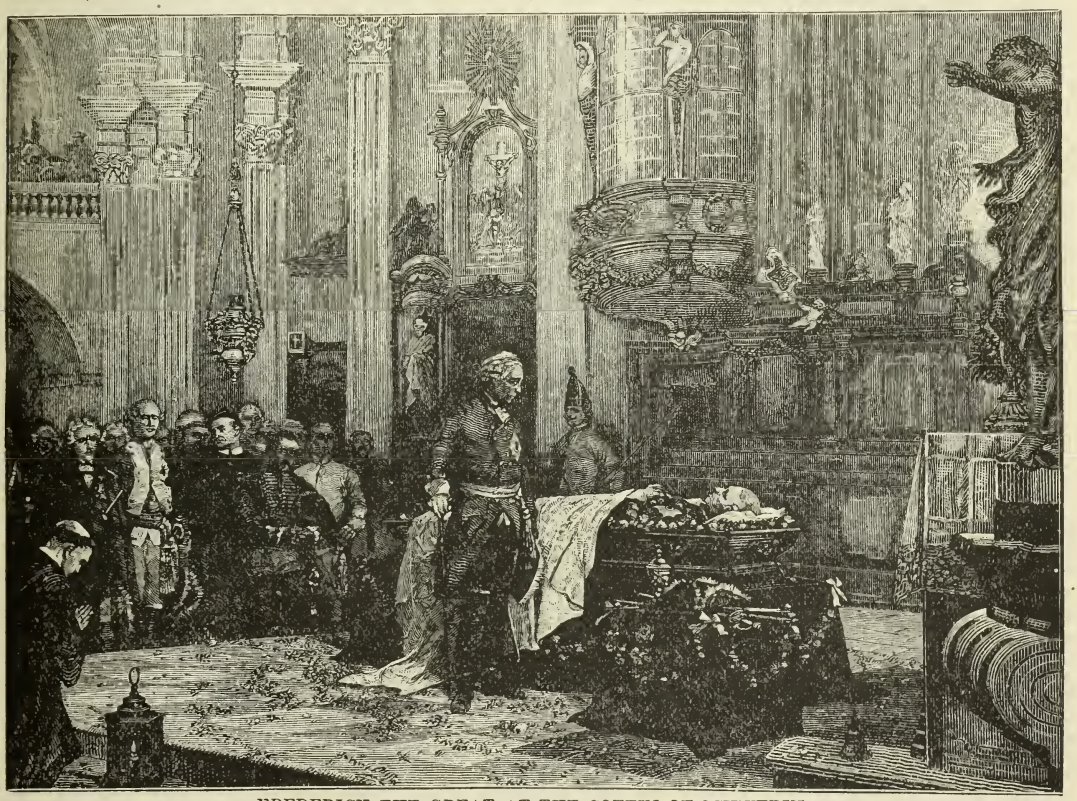
DEATH OF SCHWERIN.

But it was also in the genius of Frederick to recover from madness. On the evening after the battle he was found sitting alone, drawing figures with his cane in the sand. It was a new battle-plan. He wept bitterly on being told that his best guardsmen had been slain. Then he sat a long time silent, and then said: "It is a day of sorrow for us, my children; but have patience, and all will yet be well." The flute-player of Potsdam was ready to renew the strife.

[1] With good reason was the king greatly grieved on account of Schwerin's death. Frederick withal was not incapable of sincere and lasting friendships. He was especially attached to his generals, and among these Schwerin and Father Seidlitz were his favorites. After the death of the former the king omitted no mark of respect which might be rendered to his memory. The body of the great general was laid in state, and Frederick, in profound grief, paid in person the last honors which might be given to him who had been his right arm in battle.

[1] It was one of the peculiarities of Frederick the Great that occasionally—even in a crisis—he would lose all sense of the thing to be done, and beat about him like a madman. In this respect he was unlike Napoleon, whom no excitement, disaster, or very excess of ruin could for a moment disturb or bewilder.

The king clearly perceived that he must now give up his campaign in Bohemia, and limit his present exertions to the defense of Prussia. On falling back into his own kingdom, he was met with the disheartening intelligence that the other division of his army, under General Lehwald, whom on his own departure into Bohemia he had sent forward to hold in check the Russians and the Swedes, had also been defeated; and to this was added another grief, in this, that the Duke of Cumberland, to whom the defense of Hanover had been assigned, had utterly failed in his part of the work, and had given up that electorate to the French.



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT THE COFFIN OF SCHWERIN.

A slight compensation for these multiplied disasters was found in the facts that the Russians, after their victory over Lehwald, had retreated instead of pressing forward into Prussia, and that the Prussians, rallying from their discomfiture, had inflicted a defeat on the Swedes.

The exigency which demanded Frederick's presence in his own kingdom was indeed most urgent. For a combined army of French and Germans—the latter gathered for the most part from the provinces along the Rhine—was now advancing under Marshal Soubise, and was ready to break the Prussian borders on the west. The force was splendidly equipped, full of confidence, ably commanded, and numbered sixty thousand men. It was the boast of Soubise that he would soon take up his winter quarters in Berlin; nor did it well appear how any force which Frederick was able to muster would be able to prevent such a catastrophe. After the utmost exertion the king was able to rally only twenty-two thousand men; and when the French learned that this was the army with which they had to contend, they laughed the matter to scorn and made a mock of Frederick's preparations. It would have been better for them, however, to restrain their mirth until, according to their programme, they had comfortably established themselves in the Prussian capital. It was not the habit of Frederick to permit a foreign army to celebrate a fête in his dominions. For a while he maneuvered in order to gain some possible advantage of position, and

finally posted himself at the village of Rossbach, near Naumburg. Here, on the 5th of November, 1757, the French army came in sight.

Scanning the Prussian camp, Marshal Soubise declared to his officers that the routing of such a force would be but a breakfast-spell. The command of the Prussian cavalry, eight thousand strong, was given to General Seidlitz, with orders to charge the enemy; while Frederick, with his fourteen thousand infantry, striking his tents as if to begin a retreat, took position behind a range of low hills, and awaited the onset of the enemy. The French, believing that Frederick had not dared to give battle, pressed forward to the sound of martial music, imagining themselves already victorious over a flying foe. Presently a solid phalanx of eight thousand Prussian horsemen, with Seidlitz at the head of the column, sprang into the very faces of the oncoming legions. At the same moment



FREDERICK THE GREAT ON THE NIGHT AFTER KOLLIN.
After the painting by J. Shrader.

Frederick's infantry rose from behind the hills, seized the crests, opened the batteries, and began to pour their horizontal hail of death into the astonished ranks of the French. There was a sudden halt of the advancing host; then a shudder along the lines; then a recoil; then rout and ruin. For the army of Frederick in perfect order sprang forward upon the heavy masses of the enemy, and more complete and overwhelming. So shattered was the French army that no halt was made by the disorganized masses until they reached the Rhine. Even then there was no thought of attempting to recover by a second invasion the prestige which they had lost on the field of Rossbach.

Frederick made good use of the opportunity thus gained in the West to turn



SEIDLITZ AT THE BATTLE OF ROSSBACH.

turned defeat into a panic. The French fled from the field in wild dismay, leaving every thing behind them. Nine generals, three hundred and twenty subordinate officers, and seven thousand of the rank and file were taken prisoners. All of the artillery and most of the small arms and army stores were captured. And this astonishing result was achieved with a loss to the Prussians of only ninety-one killed and two hundred and seventy-four wounded. Never was a victory again into Silesia. During his absence from that country the territory had been, and was now, held by a large army under command of Charles of Lorraine. By him the Prussians to whom Frederick had intrusted the defense of the province had been driven back and forced across the border. By rapid advances the king succeeded in three weeks in joining his own forces, fresh from victory at Rossbach, with those of his general, fresh from defeat before Breslau. He was thus en-

abled to muster a combined army of thirty-two thousand men.

In the mean, however, time, Marshal Daun had united his division of Austrians with that of Charles of Lorraine, by which the allied forces were augmented to fully eighty thousand. In the face of such disparity, it seemed little less than the extreme of foolhardiness for Frederick to hazard a battle. But the general conditions were such that nothing remained for him but to fight and



GENERAL HANS JOACHIM VON ZIETEN.

fight, as long as he could muster a regiment. He fully realized, however, the gravity of the situation. He perceived that the enemy was learning wisdom by defeat. Besides, of all his antagonists in the field, he had most cause to be apprehensive of Marshal Daun, whose courage and skill as a commander were of the highest order. Him, with his disciplined host of four score thousand men, the king had now to face and vanquish, or else himself be trampled down by the Austrian legions.

It was on the 5th of December, 1757, at the little village of Leuthen, ten miles from Breslau, that the two armies met and deployed for battle. Before beginning the engagement Frederick called his officers around him and said: "Against all the rules of military science I am going to engage an army nearly three times greater than my own. We must beat the enemy or all together make for ourselves graves before his batteries. This I mean and thus will I act; remember that you are Prussians. If one among you fears to share the last danger with me, he may resign now without hearing a word of reproof from me." But no one stirred except to hurrah for the king. All had set their fate on the cast of the die.

Frederick well knew the peril. Calling General Zieten aside, he said to him: "I am going to expose myself more than usual today. Should I fall cover my body with your cloak, and say nothing to any one. The fight must go on, and the enemy must be beaten." As for the soldiers, they caught the fire of battle. They shouted "Rossbach!" and then, recalling the date of that victory, they cried,

ENGLAND.

The Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favorite, beheaded.
3. Death of Queen Elizabeth.
3. **James I.** accedes to the English throne.
11. English translation of the Bible.
5. The Gunpowder Plot, formed by some desperate Roman Catholics, detected.
25. **Charles I.**; he possesses many virtues, but is despotic.
25. He declares war with Spain.
30. His arbitrary attempts to raise money begin the quarrels between the king and Parliament.
41. The Earl of Strafford, the chief counselor of the king, impeached by Parliament, and condemned to death.
42. The king and Parliament resort to arms.
49. Charles beheaded.
49. The Commonwealth begins; the government having been usurped by **Oliver Cromwell**, an officer in the army; he defeats the Scots, who had declared for Charles II.
51. *Worcester*—Cromwell defeats Charles II.
53. Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament and assembles the Little Parliament.
55. W. Spain.
58. **Richard Cromwell** abdicates.
64. **W. Holland.**
78. Titus Oates pretends to h against the royal famil Lord Strafford
79. **Habeas Corpus Act**
85. **James II.**, wea the court and k **Boyle**, ph.
88. **William,** England; la and Parliam styled the *R* **Locke,** ph., d. 4, a. 72.
91. Irela
Shakespeare, po., d. 16, a. 52.
Bacon (Sir Francis), ph., d. 26, a. 65.
Milton, po., Sec. of State under Cromwell, d. 74, a. 65.
Newton (Sir Isaac,) ph., d. 27, a. 85.

HOUSE OF STUART.

Henry IV.; aided by **Sully**, he reigns usefully and splendidly.
10. Assassinated by a bigoted monk.
27. Siege of Rochelle, where the Protestants had revolted.
31. Richelieu unites with the Protestant princes of Germany.
32. The Duke of Orleans revolts.
67. Louis claims the Low Countries in right of his queen.
78. Treaty of Peace.
72. W. Holland.
73. Spain joins Hol.

FRANCE.

43. **Louis XIV.,** aged four years.
43 to 46. The Duke of Enghien defeats the Spaniards in four battles.
85. **Revocation of th** which had been p France lost from other countries.
24-42. **Cardinal Richelieu,** prime minister.
Des Cartes, ph., d. 50, a. 54.
10. **Louis XIII.,** aged nine years.
France the most formidable power in Europe, but its resources exhausted by continual wars.
15. **Louis XV.,** aged five; ceeds his g
Fenelon, div., d. 15.
father under the regency of profligate Duke of Orleans.
Rollin, hist., d. 41, a. 80
Janseñius, div., d. 38, a. 53.
Corneille, dramatic po., d. 84, a. 78.
Bayle, ph., etc., d. 6, a. 59.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

20. Massacre of Prague, and 30,000 Protestant families banished.
The Bohemians rebel, and throw the imperial ministers out of a window; and the
18. **Thirty Years' War begins.**
12. **Matthias.**
26. League with Gustavus Adolphus.
48. **Peace of Westphalia,** the basis of all subse System of the "Balance of Power;" freedom of
17. **Ferdinand II.**; he carries on the war against the Protestants; opposed by Frederic V., elector palatine, who had been elected by the Bohemians.
Kepler, ast. and math., d. 30, a. 59.
37. **Ferdinand III.**
59. **Leopold I,**
87. League of Au Holland, Spa Savoy agains
32. *Leipsic*—Gustavus Adolphus defeats the Imperialists.
He issues "Letters of Majesty," permitting the free exercise of the Protestant religion; this delays the storm for some time.
Lutzen—He again defeats them, but falls in the conflict.
Nordlingen—Swedes defeated.
35. Treaty of Prague; Protestant religion tolerated.
41. **Charles VII.** of
5. **Joseph I.**
45. **Francis**
48. At t
quent treaties.
conscience permitted to all.
11. **Charles VI.** succeeds his broth
20. He issues the *Pragmatic*
ria Theresa; this caus
gsburg concluded by
in, the Empire, and
t France.
14. **Peace of Rastadt;** the empe Philip in Spain on the cession ples, and Sardinia.
Moshei
Leibnitz, ph. and math.
45. **HO**

PRUSSIA.

8. Electors of Brandenburg administrators of Prussia. *From this time the Brandenburg part of Prussia increases in importance.*
88. **Frederic III.**
40. **Frederic William,** THE GREAT, receives his investiture from Poland.
At the peace of Westphalia Prussia receives considerable additions.
Prussia dreadfully devastated by the Thirty Years' War.
85. 20,000 Protestant refugees from France introduce manufactures and commerce.
1. Crowned king with the title of **Frederic I.**
13. **Frederic William I.** His narrow parsimony lays the foundation for Prussian greatness. He
The country, highly flourishing, exerts great influence in Europe.
The events o a first-rate p on 56. **The S**

SWEDEN.

32. **Christiana.**
54. **Charles X.**
60. **Charles XI.**
97.
11. **Gustavus Adolphus the Great,** aged eighteen, encourages trade, science, and literature.
30. Goes to Germany with 15,000 men to aid the Protestants.
13. Concludes peace with Denmark on advantageous terms; defeats the Poles and Russians.
Sweden predominates in the North.
Charles XII., aged fifteen.
18. **Ulrica Eleonora** succeed
Norva—He defeats the Russians.
Next year he defeats the Poles.
20. **Frederic.**
HOUS
Violent co

DENMARK.

48. **Frederic III.**
70. **Christian V.**
99.
25. Heads the league for the restoration of the elector palatine in Bohemia.
60. After an invasion of the Swedes, which was r zens with bravery; in reward he destroys t bles; he also changes the monarchy from hereditary absolute government.
Manufactures increase and northern fisheries protected.
Frederic IV.; he wages an unsuccessful wa epelled by the citi-
30. **Christian VI** fo he power of the no- an elective to an
Manufactures greatly adv
The country powe

PORTUGAL

A DEPENDENCY OF SPAIN.

40. Portuguese revolt, and gain their independence under **John IV.,** Duke of Braganza.
68. **Peter II.,** regent.
56. **Alphonso IV.**
83. **Peter II.,** king.
HOUSE OF BRAGANZA.
28. The diamond-mi
6. **John V.**
Long peace.

SPAIN.

9. All the Moors banished.
21. **Philip IV.,** a weak prince, has a disgraceful reign.
21. W. Holland.
40. Catalonia revolts to France.
39. *In the Downs*—The Dutch under Van Tromp destroy the Spanish fleet.
63. **Charles II.**
72. W. France.
74. Sicily revolts.
78. Peace of Nimeguen.
Philip III., a weak sovereign.
Spain rapidly declines, owing to bad government and unsuccessful wars.
Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., called to the throne in virtue of the late king's will This brings on the **War of the Spanish Succession,**
17. Schemes for recovering t territori
HOUSE OF BOURBON.

HOLLAND.

25. **Henry Frederic.**
47. **William II.**
21. W. Spain.
52. W. Cromwell.
51. The stadtholderate abolished.
72. W. France and England; F rise in fury, slay the broth William III. as stadtholder.
89. He becomes ki
Grotius, a learned writer, d. 45, a. 62.
Arminius, div., d. 9, a. 49.
The republic now one of the most powerful states of Europe.
rench invasion; the people ers De Witt, and proclaim
Boerhaave, physician, d. 88, a. 70. ng of England.
Holland sin

RUSSIA.

6. **Zuinski.**
18. **Ladislaus.**
32. W. Poland renewed; the Russian army obliged to capitulate
76. **Feodor II.**
89. **Pet**
13. **Michael Romanoff.**
10. Poles invade Russia and garrison Moscow.
10. **Anarchy.**
HOUSE OF ROMANOFF.
82. **Ivan V.** and **Peter I.**
98. He
97. Goes
45. **Alexis.**
Commerce and civilization increase.
Their sister, the ambitious Sophia, regent.
er the Great.
25. **Catherine I.**
41.
is several times defeated
27. **Peter II.**
30. **A**
by Charles XII.
40. **Ivan** (or JOHN) **VI.**
to Amsterdam to learn the art of shipbuilding.
21. Assumes the title
9. *Pultowa*—He defeats Charles XII. Fo
Russia predominates in the Nort

POLAND.

1600-1660. War of the succession between Sweden and Poland in Livonia.
55. W. Sweden.
32. **Wladislaus VII.**
10. Swedes and Russians defeated.
69. **Michael Wisniowiecki.**
74. **John Sobieski,** eminent for his
48. **John Casimir.**
49. He defeats 300,000 Cossacks and Tartars.
97.
Frederic Augustus I., elector of Saxony.
virtues.
15-17. **Revolts;** which the king resi
9. **Frederic Augustus I.** restored
24.
Near Riga—Frederic defeated by Charles XI

ITALY.

28-31. War: France, the Pope, and Venice against Spain, Tuscany, and Savoy.
Spain loses her ascendency in Italy, and France acquires great influence.
Galileo, ph., d. 42, a. 78.
13. The Duke of Savoy acquires Sicily.
6. Eugene defeats and drives the French out Italy.
30. **Charles Emanuel III.,** king

PAPAL CHURCH.

5 **Leo XI.**
5. **Paul V.**
21. **Gregory XV.**
23. **Urban VIII.**
55. **Alexander VII.**
44. **Innocent X.**
69. **Clement X.**
89. **Alexander VIII.**
76. **Innocent XI.**
91. **Innocent XIII.**
67. **Clement IX.**
20. **Charles VI.,** emperor and king
7. Naples occupied by the Germans.
14. **Victor Amadeus** crowned king of Sicily.
34-35.
35. **H**
Clement XI.
21. **Innocent XIII.**
24. **Benedict XIII.**
30. **Clement XII.**
40. **Be**
58.
6

TURKEY.

23. **Amurath IV.,** a warlike prince.
38. Takes Bagdad.
91. **Achmet II.**
95 **Mus**
40. **Ibrahim IV.,** effeminate, leaves the care of the government to grand viziers.
49. **Mohammed IV.,** aged four years.
69. Turks conquer Crete.
72 Turks take Kamenïec from the Poles. The Polish king purchases peace, but the
3. **Achmet III.**
30. **Mohammed.**
tapha II.
9. Achmet gives an asylum to Char
34-35. Turks drive
Inoculation discovered.
The power of the Turks is broken.
Diet rejects it, and war is renewed.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

No. VIII.

FROM

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

TO

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Prepared by John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

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George III., grandson of George II.
He continues the war with France. 93. War w
W. Spain. 94. Howe
. Peace; Canada ceded to Great Britain. Fren
65. English take possession of Bengal.
ion of the Old Pretender, aided by Louis, invade
eston Pans—Charles defeats the royal forces.
ukirk—again victorious. 97.
aloden—he is totally overthrown.
. France. 98.
Canada, Cape Breton, etc., ceded to England.
85. Stamp Act extended to North America. 99.
Gibbon, hist., d. 94, a. 56.
of James I. **Cowper,** po., d. 1800, a. 69.
, hist. (Scotch) and skeptical writer, d. 76, a. 65.
po., critic, lexicogra- **Burns,** po., d. 96, a. 37.
c., d. 84. a. 75. **Burke,** statesman, d. 97. a. 67.
(William Pitt) **Pope,** po. d. 44, a 56.
tham, prime minister. **Pitt** (William, Jr.,
tland.

OVER.

sts—Wesley and **Whitefield.**

ontenoy—French de- 74. **Louis XVI.** succeeds
eat the allies. 89. The States Gen
ucoux—again victorious.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. **Revolut**
55. W. England. 60. Lose Canada. **Republ**
56. French take Minorca.
56. Alliance with Austria, directed 93. **Rei**
against England and Prussia.

63. **Peace of Paris,** 83. **Peace of Ve**
l- between France, Spain, and England.
e **Voltaire,** po. and infidel writer, d. 78, a. 84.
Quadruple Alliance of England, France,
any, and Holland against the designs of Spain.
cted by the aid of the French king. [Holland.
sband of Maria Theresa, aided by England and
Aix-la-Chapelle Maria The- 92. **Francis II.**
d the succession of her father. **Kant,** ph.
Heine, critic, etc.
r securing his dominions to his daughter, Ma-
e **War of the Austrian Succession.**
55. **Joseph II.**, co-regent with his 93. Austr
brother. 80. Rash reforms. 97. P
ledges *Literature rapidly advances; Ger-*
ly, Na- *many abounds in great writers.*
55, a. 60. 90. **Leopold II.**

LORRAINE. **Klopstock,** po., d.

eric II., the Great, the greatest warrior of
ime. 86. **Frederic William II.**
nquers Silesia. 72. At the partition of Poland P
erfectly disciplined army of 70,000 men. 97.
f the Austrian succession had raised Prussia to
excites the jealousy of other states, and brings
s' War; Austria aided by France and Russia.

dolphus Frederic, mild and peaceful.
er; she resigns the throne to her husband.

OLSTEIN. 71. **Gustavus III.**
en parties.
founder of a new system of botany, d. 78, a. 71.

les XII. 66. **Christian VII.,** weak and disso
ank of Copenhagen and encourages commerce.
rederic V., mild and peaceful; has a flour-
ishing reign. 85. **Frederic VI.,** regent.
sperous.

l discovered. 77. **Mary** and **Peter III.**
92. **John**
ph Emanuel. Brazil,
86. **Mary** alone.
93. Joins

inand VI., a mild and pa- 88. **Charles IV.**
prince. 51. **Charles III.,** king of 93. Joins
Naples, succeeds his brother. 96.
The Bourbon Family Compact; France
Spain, Naples, and Parma agree to support
each other against all other enemies. 97.

olderate revived, and declared he- 93. Willia
ary in the House of Orange. 95. Gene
William V. 80. W. England. 95. Bata
id-rate power.

, a great and excellent princess.
ler troops several times defeat Frederic of
ne publishes a new code of laws called Eliza-
, and founds the Universities of St. Petersburg
of the Russias. [and Moscow.
ersburg. 62. **Peter III.** of Holstein deposed,
and **Catherine II.** proclaimed empress.

ic Augustus II. 72. First division of Poland.
xon troops. 64. **Stanislaus Au-** 93. Second
the **gustus Poniatowski.** 94. Insurr
rotestants at Thorn. 95. Third

y, Parma, Placentia, 73. The Order of Jesuits
Milan taken by the abolished by Clem-
nch and Spaniards. ent XIV. *Lo*
Peace till the French Revolution.

nd Sicily. 59. **Charles VI.** becomes king of
os conquers Naples and Sicily. [Spain.

F BOURBON. 59. **Ferdinand IV.**

V. 74. **Pius VI.** In 98 he is taken prisoner
III. by the French.
XIV. 98. **Roman**

man III. 74. **Achmet IV.** or Abdul
stapha III. Hamud.
89. **Selim III.**
: Persian conquests.
W. Russia.

98. *Aboukir*—Napoleon defeats the Turks.
Napoleon defeats the Mamelukes, takes

ith France. 37. **Victoria,** daughter of the Duke of Kent.
younger brother of William IV.
defeats the 37. Canadian Rebellion.
ch fleet. 20. **George IV.**
23. *Canning ministry.* 28. *Wellington administration.*
s England. 30. *Grey ministry* (Whig).
34. Earl Grey retires; Melbourne, premier.
The Spanish fleet defeated by Admiral Jervis, Feb. 14; and the Dutch fleet by Duncan, Oct. 11.
Nile—Nelson defeats 29. **William IV.,** brother of George IV.
the French fleet, August.
Rebellion in Ireland. 1800. Ireland united to Great Britain. 1803. Insurrection in Dublin.
5. *Off Trafalgar*—The combined fleet of France and Spain completely destroyed,
and Lord Nelson killed. Mr. Fox dies in September.
6. *Grenville ministry.* 7. *Portland ministry.*
7. The slave-trade abolished by Parliament.
W. Russia. 8. Peace with the Spanish patriots. Peace with the Ottoman Porte.
10. *Liverpool ministry.*
statesman, d. 6, a. 47. 13-30. *Disaffection general among the middle and lower classes.*
11. Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) created regent on account of his
12. W. United States. Peace with Russia. [father's indisposition.
14. Peace with France. 15. War with Napoleon renewed.
15. Peace with the United States. 32. The Reform Bills pass.

his grandfather. His situation is from the first critical and dangerous.
eral convoked, where the Commons and others declare themselves a National assembly and begin the
ion. Next year the Jacobin Club is organized.
National Convention meets; royalty abolished, and France declared a
ic, Sept. 21, 1793. Louis beheaded; Girondists and Federalists proscribed by the Mountain party, and the
gn of Terror begins Oct. 17. 24. **Charles X.,** brother of Louis. 35. Death of La Fayette.
14. **Louis XVIII.,** prudent but inefficient. 30. **Louis Philippe.**
rsailles, between France, England, Spain, and America.
30. Revolution of three days at Paris; **Charles X.** abdicates.
4. **Bonaparte** crowned emperor. 12. Invades Russia with 480,000 men.
13. *Leipsic*—Napoleon defeated Oct. 16; 18th and 19th the allies invade France.
15. *Waterloo*, June 18—Napoleon defeated; the allies enter Paris July 14.

4. **Francis II.,** foreseeing the destruction of the Germanic Confederation, assumes the title of Emperor of Austria.
5. *Austerlitz*—French victorious; peace of Presburg.
9. *Aspern, Wagram.*—Peace of Vienna. 15. W. Napoleon.
12. W. Russia. 13. W. France.
14. General Conference at Vienna, Nov. 1. **AUSTRIA.**

ia and the empire join the first coalition.
eace of Campo Formio; Austria loses the Low Countries, but acquires Venice.
1. Peace of Luneville with France.
3. The electorate of Hanover occupied by the French.
6. Confederation of the Rhine till 1813; Napoleon protector.
Marengo—French victorious.
1. 16. A new union of the states, entitled the Germanic Confederation.

6. *Jena*—Frederic defeated by Napoleon Oct. 14.
12. Compelled to assist Napoleon in his Russian campaign, but afterwards joins Russia.
russia receives a great addition of territory.
Frederic William III.
15. The Prussians, under Blucher, aid in the overthrow of Napoleon.
15. Congress of Vienna; Prussia acquires a great addition of territory.

Joins the Northern Confederacy against Great Britain.
1. Peace with Great Britain. 8. W. Russia; Finland taken.
9. **Charles XIII.**
10. Peace with France; Marshal Bernadotte elected crown-prince.
13. W. France. 13. Norway ceded to Sweden.
18. Charles dies. and Bernadotte is crowned king.

lute.
1. Copenhagen attacked by a British fleet under Lord Nelson.
7. Again besieged by Admiral Gambier, and the Danish navy (18 ships of the line
and 15 frigates) seized by the British.
8. **Frederic VI.**

11. The French, after having been several times defeated by
VI., prince of the English under Wellington, leave Portugal.
regent. The royal court and family emigrate to Brazil.
7. Invaded by the French.
the first coalition against France.

8. **Ferdinand VII.** succeeds on the abdication of his father; is soon deposed by Napoleon.
the first coalition. 14. Inquisition restored.
The league with France. **Don Carlos,** a rival of the queen, defeats her forces.
8. **Joseph Bonaparte.** The Spaniards revolt; aided by the British, in '13 they expel
the French.
Off Cape St. Vincent.—Spanish fleet defeated by the English under Sir John Jervis.

m joins the first coalition. 14. William, Prince of Orange, recalled; and next year, Flanders being
ral Pichegru invades Holland. united to Holland, he takes the title of
vian Republic begins. king of the Netherlands.
7. **Louis Bonaparte** made king by Napoleon. **NETHERLANDS.**
31. Belgium declared independent; **Leopold,** king.

Suwarrow enters Italy. 1. Georgia united to Russia.
7. Peace of Tilsit; Russia declares war with England on account of the attack on Copenhagen.
Paul. 12. Invasion of Napoleon. French enter Moscow Sept. 14, after it had been set on fire by the
12. *Moskwa*, Sept. 7-Oct. 18.—The French leave Moscow and commence their retreat. [Russians.
I. Alexander. 14. Alexander enters France, after the battle of Leipsic, at the head of the allied forces.
15. Assumes the additional title of king of Poland.
26. **Nicholas,** an energetic sovereign. 28-33. W. Turkey.

12. The kingdom of Poland declared re-established by the Diet of Warsaw.
division of Poland. 15. Again divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
ection, headed by Kosciusko, against the Russians. 30. Insurrection at Warsaw.
and final division between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

2. **Italian Republic; Bonaparte** president.
5. Bonaparte, king of Italy.
di—Bonaparte defeats the Austrians.
Cisalpine Republic, founded by the union of several of the Italian states.

6. **Joseph Bonaparte,** king of the Two Sicilies.
8. **Joachim Murat.** 16. Union of Naples and Sicily. **NAPLES and SICILY.**
14. **Frederic IV.** restored; Murat taken and shot.
25. **Francis II.** 36. **Ferdinand.**

Pius VII. 9. Sent prisoner to France. 23. **Leo XII.** 29. **Pius VIII.** 31. **Gregory XVI.**
14. **Restoration of the Jesuits, of monasteries, and the Spanish Inquisition.**
Republic. *Great activity of the clergy and Jesuits to regain their former influence and power.*

22. **Independence declared.** Turks driven out of the Morea; massacre of Scio.
23. Turkish invasion repulsed. *Naval superiority of the Greeks.*
25. Landing of the Egyptians in the Morea. Greeks everywhere defeated.
27. *At Navarino*—Turco-Egyptian fleet destroyed by the combined **GREECE.**
British, French, and Russian fleets.

7. **Mustapha IV.** 26. Revolt of the Janizaries at Constantinople. 21-29. Greek revolutionary war.
8. **Mohammed VI.,** or Mahmoud Hargenan. *This vast empire shows symptoms of*
Gaza and Jaffa, besieges Acre. *approaching dissolution.*

"It is the 5th again!" and so began the conflict.

The king adopted the same plan as at Rossbach. Placing his infantry behind some hills, he lay concealed until the Austrians were close upon him. Then he rose against them with such fury that their left wing was driven back. On his own left Zieten, with the cavalry, was also successful in throwing the enemy into disorder by the impetuosity of his charge. Nevertheless, the veteran Daun held the field with great tenacity, and several hours of desperate fighting were required before Frederick could break his adversary's lines. But the Austrians could never recover from the shock of the first onset, or regain the ground which they had lost by the initial charge of the Prussians. It became evident to Daun that the struggle was hopeless. His officers and men, also, perceiving that victory had flown to the Prussian standard, broke into confusion, and fled from the field, leaving twenty thousand of their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Prussian loss was nearly five thousand, showing Frederick that he might not hope to purchase any more victories on such terms as he had obtained the almost bloodless triumph of Rossbach.



FREDERICK IN THE BATTLE OF LEUTHEN.

The distress after the battle of Leuthen was very great. The weather was bitterly cold, and the wounded and dying lay on the field moaning in anguish. It is narrated that the cries of suffering were drowned by a hymn which the Prussian soldiers took up and sang during a good part of the night. The overthrow of the Austrians was sufficiently decisive, and they were unable to renew the conflict until the opening of spring. The year 1757 thus closed with increased honor and

renown to the Prussian arms. In a few days after the battle Frederick entered Breslau in triumph, making prisoners of the seventeen thousand men who composed the garrison. In all Silesia there now remained only the fortress of Schweidnitz in the hands of the enemy.

Great was the chagrin of the Austrian court. Maria Theresa was angered, mortified, enraged. She at once began to make preparations to renew the conflict on a grander scale than ever. She also made passionate appeals to Russia and France to rally with all their power and crush the audacious parvenu who was marring the time-honored map of Europe with his sword. It could but be evident that the war was only begun, and Frederick knew well that many another bloody field lay between him and an honorable peace.

By this time the attention of all the powers of Europe was fixed upon the struggle which was raging around Prussia. The heroism and ability which Frederick had shown, and the magnificent fighting of his Prussians, began to draw to him the interest and sympathy of foreign states. Especially in England did he become a popular hero. Parliament, always in some measure swayed by the national sentiment, voted him an annual subsidy of four millions of thalers. An act was also passed empowering him to appoint a commander of his own choice for the continental forces of England. He accordingly selected as general of the Hanoverians the skillful and soldiery Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who, during the campaign of 1758, materially aided the king in expelling the French from Northern Germany.

With the first opening of spring Frederick again took the field. He began the work of the year by besieging and capturing the fortress of Schweidnitz — this, too, before the Austrians were well aware of his movements. This success again placed the whole of Silesia in his power. He next made an unwise advance into Moravia, where he laid siege to Olmütz. By this movement he exposed his line of communications. Perceiving the error, the Austrian general, Laudon, threw himself between Frederick and his base of supplies, compelling him to fall back into Silesia, and to take a defensive position in a camp at Landshut.

In the meantime the Russians at last appeared upon the scene. They invaded Pomerania in great force, swept every thing before them, devastated the country, and came near the Oder. On learning the movements of his new enemy, Frederick left a division of his forces under Marshal Keith in the camp at Landshut, and with the remainder, mostly new recruits and numbering thirty-two thousand, set out to check the progress of the Russians. On the 25th of August, 1758, he met the enemy at the village of Zorndorf, in Pomerania. The battle lasted all day and until far into the night, being one of the fiercest in which Frederick had ever yet engaged. On the Prussian side the honors belonged rather to General Seidlitz than to the king, who did not appear to his best advantage. Several times when the Prussian lines were wavering or broken Seidlitz succeeded in restoring order and renewing the onset. In the very crisis of the fight, late in the evening, he found himself in a condition where he must violate the king's command in order to succeed. He did so without hesitation. "Say to Seidlitz that he shall answer for his disobedience with his head," cried the furious Frederick. "Tell the king," said the old general in reply, "that he can have my head when the battle is over, but until then I must use it in his service." The movement of Seidlitz proved completely successful. The Russians everywhere broke into disorder and fled from the field, leaving twenty thousand dead. When the battle was fairly won, Frederick hurried to his disobedient general, threw his arms around him, and exclaimed: "Siedlitz, I owe the victory to you!"

Thus had the French at Rossbach, the Austrians at Leuthen, and the Russians at Zorndorf gone down successively before the Prussians and the sword of Hohenzollern. The resources of Austria, however, were ample, and Maria Theresa still believed in her ability to bring Frederick II. to his knees. She still, with good reason, confided in Marahal Daun, and him she now sent into Saxony to operate against Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, to whom the maintenance of Prussian supremacy in that country had been intrusted.

The prince was presently besieged by Daun in a fortified camp which the former had established, and a hurried appeal was sent to the king to come to his brother's rescue. Frederick at once set out on this mission, and advanced as far as HOCHKIRCH, where, on the 13th of October, he pitched his camp for the night. It appears that he had become overconfident and careless. But for the fact that General Zieten was on the alert it is probable that Frederick's army would have been utterly ruined. As it was, the disaster was enough.

For the veteran Daun, learning of the approach of his adversary, adopted Frederick's own policy by quitting the siege in which he was engaged and going forth to meet the king before the latter could join his brother. So, while Frederick and his soldiers—all except Zieten and his vigilant hussars—went quietly to sleep in their camp at Hochkirch, Daun stole upon them with the whole Austrian army, fired the village, and burst in tremendous force into the Prussian camp. Zieten interposed and fought with desperate valor while the king and his army sprang to arms. But no kind of courage and discipline could withstand such a shock. The Prussian batteries were taken. Marshal Keith and Francis of Brunswick were killed. Maurice of Dessau was borne to the rear severely wounded. All night long and until nine o'clock on the following morning the Prussians fought for their camp, and were then obliged to retreat. It was the first time in nearly three years of war that the Austrians had seen their enemies' backs in battle. Frederick was humiliated by the loss of all his artillery, tents, and equipage. The campaign of 1758 which had begun so gloriously after Leuthen closed most gloomily for the Prussian cause after the disaster of Hochkirch.

Such was the condition of affairs with the opening of the following year that Frederick might well have despaired and given up the contest. But the fate of his country was involved in the struggle. He knew well that if he yielded the rising nationality of Prussia would be extinguished. He understood thoroughly the purpose of Austria, Russia, and France to divide his dominions among them. There was for him no middle ground. He must conquer or perish. But how could he conquer? His army was wasted even by his victories. The loss of a thousand men had been to him as fatal as the slaughter of ten thousand of his foes had been to them. His best regiments were decimated. The French had rallied, defeated the Duke of Brunswick, and recoved Hanover. Austria and Russia were able to make levies of hundreds of thousands, and still not feel the drain. In his distress Frederick attempted negotiations; but his overtures were met with scorn. He must renew the struggle and fight to the last.

In beginning the dolorous work of 1759, the king found it necessary to divide his reduced army in order to confront both Russians and Austrians, and, if possible, to prevent their union. For it had been arranged between Marshal Daun and the Russian general, Fermor, to join their forces in Silesia for the invasion of Prussia. Frederick accordingly gave the command of one division to General Wedell, with orders to hold the Russians back, while he himself, with the other division, marched against Daun. But Wedell was defeated, and the Russian and Austrian armies united against Frederick. The combined forces of the enemy, numbering fully seventy-five thousand, planted themselves at KUNERSDORF, opposite to the city of Frankfort-on-Oder. By extraordinary exertions Frederick was able to collect an army of forty-eight thousand; but few of these were veterans, and most had never witnessed even a skirmish. But this force, such as it was, was all that the king could plant between the opposing host and what seemed to be the inevitable ruin of Prussia.

It was the 12th of August, 1759, when Frederick staked his fate on the issue of another struggle. He had just been revived by the good news that the Duke of Brunswick had won a victory over the French at Minden. The battle was begun with a furious attack made by Frederick on the Russian left, which, after an engagement of six hours' duration, gave way before the Prussian infantry. The enemy's right wing, however, was held by Marshal Daun with the Austrians, whose position had been chosen with great care, and was believed by Seidlitz, who commanded the Prussian cavalry on the left, to be impregnable. But the king, with his wonted head-

strong zeal, was determined that the impossible should be done. He twice ordered Seidlitz to make the charge, and that veteran twice refused to obey. At last he went to the onset and to—destruction. The Austrian position could not be carried. Seidlitz fell terribly wounded, and his regiments of cavalry were torn to pieces. Frederick came to the rescue and charged the enemy's batteries with the fury of a madman. Time and again he flung himself and his heroic Prussians upon the immovable lines of Daun, until twenty thousand of his soldiers were stretched on the field. The counter-charge of the Austrians swept



MARSHAL DAUN.

away the remnant of resistance, and Frederick's bugles, on the retreat, could scarcely call together three thousand men of all who remained alive.

At no time in his career was the courage of the king more nearly broken than after Kunersdorf. For a while he was in a condition bordering on despair. He knew full well his inability to prevent the victorious enemy from pouring into Prussia, capturing Berlin, dividing the kingdom, and settling the conditions of peace without reference to himself. He knew, too, that all appeals would be in vain. He was at the mercy of Maria Theresa, Elizabeth, and Pompadour. At length, however, he was touched with a new spark of life; for the news came that Marshal Daun and General Soltikoff, who had succeeded Fermor in command of the Russians, had quarreled. Blessed quarrel for Prussia! Daun insisted that the victorious army should at once press forward to Berlin and end the business. But Soltikoff would retire into Silesia, rest and recruit his army, and finish the work next year. Such has always been the difference between genius and incompetency! Daun could not constrain his ally; the latter took his own course, and the Austrian turned into Saxony.

But this circumstance merely palliated for a brief season the hard fate of Prussia. Daun marched straight to Dresden, took the city, and made prisoners of the twelve thousand men who constituted the garrison. The narrowing and darkened horizon of December closed around the landscape, and it was hard for the most hopeful to discover a single star in the sullen sky that was stretched over Frederick and his kingdom.

The winter of 1759–60 was spent by all parties in preparations for a renewal of the conflict. In his distress Frederick called aloud to Spain; but she heeded not. Then he appealed to the Turks; but all in vain. He learned the hard lesson that a king shaken over the precipice finds it more difficult to make alliances than when his foot is planted on the necks of his enemies. Nothing was left for him but to drain exhausted Prussia of her last man and her last dollar, and again face the foe. This he did, and by incredible exertions during the winter months succeeded in raising a new army of ninety thousand men. The Hanoverians, also, were rallied to the number of about seventy-five thousand under the Duke of Brunswick. But though the forces thus recruited by Frederick and his ally for the work of 1760 were by no means to be despised, yet they were but as a handful in comparison with the tremendous armies sent forth by the enemies of Prussia. At the beginning of the year the combined forces of Austria, the Empire, Russia, Sweden, and France numbered three hundred and ninety-five thousand. The Russians, now satisfied with their winter's rest, agreed to Daun's plan of the campaign, which was the same as before, namely a combined advance of the two

armies on Berlin. Frederick again undertook to prevent the junction of his enemies. He sent forward his brother and General Fouqué into Silesia, intending to follow as soon as he should have taken Dresden. He began a bombardment of that city, now held by Marshal Daun, and pressed the siege with great vigor until the news came that Fouqué had been defeated and taken with seven thousand men in an engagement near Landshut.

Exasperated at this intelligence, the king at once raised the siege and marched towards Silesia, closely followed by Daun. By this time the Austrians under Marshal Laudon had overrun all Silesia except Breslau, which still held out for Frederick. Laudon and Daun effected a junction in spite of the efforts of the king, and thus swelled their forces to ninety-five thousand. Frederick's army numbered but thirty-five thousand; but he hesitated not to give battle. The opposing hosts met at Liegnitz on the 15th of September. Frederick displayed all of his usual valor, and more than his usual discretion. After a terrible conflict, and notwithstanding the fearful odds against him, he won a complete victory. The shattered hosts of Austria were driven out of Silesia and the disputed province again held by the Prussians. Frederick had succeeded to this extent that he had compelled the Austrians to fight him before the arrival of the Russians. The latter, on hearing of Daun's defeat, fell back, and for the time acted on the defensive.

It was the peculiarity of these tremendous struggles of the Seven Years' War that Frederick's victories never gained him more than a temporary respite from the conflict. After each success, aye, and after each defeat as well, he had to make immediate preparations to fight again. So it was after the battle of Liegnitz. The Austrians and Russians soon united their forces, and while Frederick was engaged in restoring order in Silesia and in putting the contested country in a condition of defense against the next invasion, the combined armies succeeded in passing him and made all haste for Berlin. The Saxons came in from Lusatia and joined the avalanche. On the 9th of October the Prussian capital was taken. The royal palace at Charlottenburg was plundered, and a contribution of a million seven hundred thousand thalers levied on the city. For four days the victorious Austrian and Russian walked hand in hand about the high places of Berlin.

But their triumph was short-lived. Frederick, leaving Silesia, came with all sped to expel the enemy from his capital. So wholesome was the dread of his coming that the invaders hastily left the city, and the king found opportunity to complete his Silesian campaign. Returning to the field which he had lately left he encounterned the Austrian army, under Daun, on the 3d of November, at Torgau. Here was fought one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles of the century. The Prussians were led by General Zieten and by the king in person. The latter charged the Austrian lines in front and fought with an audacity rarely equaled, never surpassed. Before making the onset he ordered Zieten to charge the enemy's flank. The latter movement was somewhat delayed, and the impatient Frederick, *thinking* that he saw his general's signal to begin, made the charge before Zieten was in position. For the greater part of the day and until nightfall he beat against the Austrian front, tearing at the almost immovable lines like mad until ten thousand of his soldiers were stretched upon the field. After darkness had settled over the scene he went into the village church, where he remained until morning, drawing new battle-plans and preparing for the final struggle; but just at daybreak old Zieten dashed up and announced that he had crushed the Austrian flank and that the enemy was in full retreat. Then turning to the soldiers the veteran exclaimed with more devotion than truth, "Boys, hurrah for our king! He has won another victory!" The soldiers, knowing well how it had fared with them, but true to the occasion, responded: "Hurrah for our King Fritz! and hurrah for Father Zieten!" Frederick indeed had the field, but it had cost him thirteen thousand men against a loss of twenty thousand on the side of the enemy.

On the whole, Frederick had more than held his own during the year 1760. Prussia, however, had sustained enormous losses, and was again panting from exhaustion. Her armies had been almost destroyed; her resources were well-nigh gone; the Austrians

held the two important points of Dresden and Glatz; the king could make no alliances, even with the Turks or Cossacks. Another discouragement arose in this: George II. of England died in October of this year, and the accession of his grandson, George III., was attended with a change of ministry unfriendly to the cause of Prussia. The majority in Parliament cut off the annual subsidy which for three years had been voted to Frederick. Meanwhile the French army, under Soubise and Broglie, operating against the Hanoverians, had penetrated the country as far as Cassel and Göttingen, and there established their winter quarters. All around the clouds were dark, and the future seemed to bode no good for Prussia.

With the opening of spring the Duke of Brunswick was first in the field. By a rapid and successful movement he forced the French from their position at Cassel and Göttingen, and drove them before him almost to the Rhine. Soon afterwards Prince Henry, with one division of the Prussian army, planted himself in the way of Daun in Saxony, and succeeded in checking his progress. At the same time the allied forces were expelled from Thuringia, while Frederick himself assumed the offensive in Silesia. Here he had to face a large army of Austrians, and to these were presently added another overwhelming force of Russians, who, coming by way of Poland, joined themselves with their allies, swelling their aggregate to a hundred and forty thousand men. To oppose this tremendous force the king was able, by the greatest exertions, to rally a force of fifty-five thousand.

At first he attempted to prevent the union of his enemies, and it was not until late in the summer that they were able to unite. Then he took the defensive, fortified himself in a camp near Schweidnitz, and bade the foe defiance. Fortunately for him, the Russian and Austrian generals again quarreled, and after a brief period Marshal Buturlin, commanding the Russians, drew off into Pomerania. When this occurred Frederick sought to give battle to the Austrians, but the latter, under Laudon, carried Schweidnitz by storm, and planted themselves in so strong a position that Frederick durst not hazard an assault. Thus the summer passed without decisive results in Silesia. But, in the mean time, a combined army of Swedes and Russians penetrated Pomerania, and on the 16th of December took the important fortress of Colberg. In the same autumn the Austrians rallied in Saxony, and Prince Henry was nearly driven to the wall. The Duke of Brunswick, also, to whom the work of holding the French in check had been intrusted, was worsted in the conflict. Even in Silesia, Frederick was obliged, in the latter part of the campaign, to hold himself on the defensive, and more than half the province was regained by the Austrians. Indeed, it is considered by military critics that the close of the year 1761 found Frederick's cause in a more desperate condition than ever before. He had no longer either resources in his own kingdom or friends abroad to whom he could appeal. It seemed impossible for him to recruit another army, or to support one even if it had been furnished to his hand. At this time about one-half of his territory was held by the enemy. The allied armies hovered in heavy masses all around the horizon, and behind these there were in the aggregate populations in the hostile states amounting to eighty millions. To oppose these the Prussian people numbered but four millions, and these were unable longer to pay their taxes or bear the necessary burdens of war. Only the will of Frederick, obdurate as ever, bound by a stern necessity to conquer or die, stood out like a hostile specter menacing the armies of Europe.

In the very beginning of 1762 an event occurred which suddenly made a rift in the clouds and let in the sunlight. The Czarina Elizabeth, one of the *causæ teterrimæ belli*—she whose personal pique against Frederick for saying that she was too fat and orthodox, and had not one ounce of nun in her body—fell sick and died. She was succeeded on the Russian throne by that same Crown Prince Peter, whose friendship and admiration for the Prussian king have already been mentioned. It thus happened that Russia was all at once wheeled out of rank with the powers opposed to Prussia, and put into an attitude of friendliness. As soon as Peter was seated on the throne he declared an armistice. He sent back to Frederick, without ransom, all the Prussian prisoners who had been taken during

the war. He then concluded a peace and entered into an alliance with Prussia, and soon ordered the Russian troops in Silesia and Pomerania to be placed at Frederick's disposal. Not only this, but Sweden followed in the wake of Russia. She, too, concluded peace, and it soon appeared that Maria Theresa and Madame Pompadour would be left to conclude the war alone.

So the beginnings of the work of 1762 were especially auspicious for Prussia. Frederick reëntered the conflict with great energy. In proportion as his own spirits rose, those of his enemies subsided. He turned every circumstance to the best account. The patriotism of the Prussians was rekindled in every hamlet. The first months of the year passed with the continual—though not very decided—successes of the Prussian arms. Great, therefore, was the revulsion when in midsummer the intelligence came that the friendly and sentimental Czar Peter III. had been murdered in a conspiracy headed by his loving queen, the celebrated Catharine II., who, on her husband's death, took the throne for herself.



FREDERICK THE GREAT.—After the painting by Pesne.

This tragedy produced a counter-revolution in Russian politics. The alliance with Prussia was at once broken off. For the moment it appeared that all the advantages which Frederick had gained by the death of his bitter enemy, Elizabeth, would now be reversed by the accession of this new and powerful member to the *Dynastie des Cotillons*. Could he manage Catharine? He would try. By adroit and persistent efforts he succeeded in inducing her to keep the peace. Though she would not uphold the alliance which Peter had made, she would refrain from hostility.

This was sufficient. Nor did Frederick fail, by the aid of the Russian forces whom the

late Czar had put under his command, to attack and defeat the Austrians under Daun, at Burkersdorf, *before* the new Czarina could forbid such a use of her soldiers. At the same time Prince Henry was successful over the enemy at Frieberg. Such was the rapid transformation of the political and the military landscapes that France determined to withdraw from the conflict and conclude a peace.

All of these circumstances bore heavily on Austria. Maria Theresa became discouraged and gloomy. The Austrian generals, no longer energized by her zeal and vindictive warmth, grew cold in the cause, while the Prussians, animated by the defiant Frederick, rallied from every quarter. On the 9th of October the king took the fortress of Schweidnitz by storm. On the 1st of November the Duke of Brunswick expelled the French garrison from Cassel. Frederick, having completed the conquest of Silesia, turned into Saxony and marched on Dresden. Other divisions of the Prussian army were sent into Bohemia and Franconia; nor were the forces of Maria Theresa able to prevent their depredations.

All things now tended to peace. In the West, France and England had fought it out, and were already negotiating a settlement. On the 3d of November, 1762, preliminary articles between these two powers were signed by the English and French ambassadors at Fontainebleau. The former, under the direction of the ministry of George III., were very anxious to exclude Prussia from the benefits of the treaty; but this movement was checked by the sentiment of the English nation and by the disposition of France. Consequent upon this initial settlement, the French army was withdrawn from Germany. The Imperial Diet next took the alarm, and assembling at Ratisbon in December, concluded an armistice with Frederick. At last Maria Theresa stood alone—exposed to the animosity of him whom she had so long tried to destroy. She bowed to the inevitable. With indescribable mortification she was obliged to purchase peace of her inexorable foe *by ceding to him the province of Silesia!* To her bitterness of spirit there was little palliation; to her humiliation, none. But she was great and queenly even in her overthrow.

On the 15th of February, 1763, the treaty, already concluded at Paris between France and England, supplemented as the same had been by the Diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, was completed by Frederick and the Austrian ambassadors at Hubertsburg, near Leipsic. It was agreed that the former geographical and political condition of the states at war should be restored and maintained, *except* that Silesia should be henceforth incorporated with Prussia. By this agreement—enforced, as it was, by the renown which Prussia had achieved under the Hohenzollerns, and notably under Frederick II. in the recent hard-fought war—the kingdom was promoted from the ambiguous rank which it had hitherto held to that of one of the Five Great Powers of Europe—a rank which it has ever since easily maintained. Thus, in the early part of 1763, the Seven Years' War in Europe was ended. Austria found opportunity to brood over her calamities, and Frederick to begin again the kingly and fatherly work of binding up the wounds of his people.—It is now appropriate to take our stand for a brief space in the New World, and to note there the beginning and the progress of that struggle, the European phase of which has occupied our attention through the present chapter.

CHAPTER CXVI.—INTER-COLONIAL CONFLICT IN AMERICA.

AS already stated in the beginning of the preceding chapter, that great conflict known in General History as the Seven Years' War originated in local difficulties between the English and the French colonies in America. The circumstances attending the outbreak of hostilities are of peculiar interest—especially to those who are curious to understand the beginnings of American civilization—and may, for that reason, be appropriately narrated at some length.

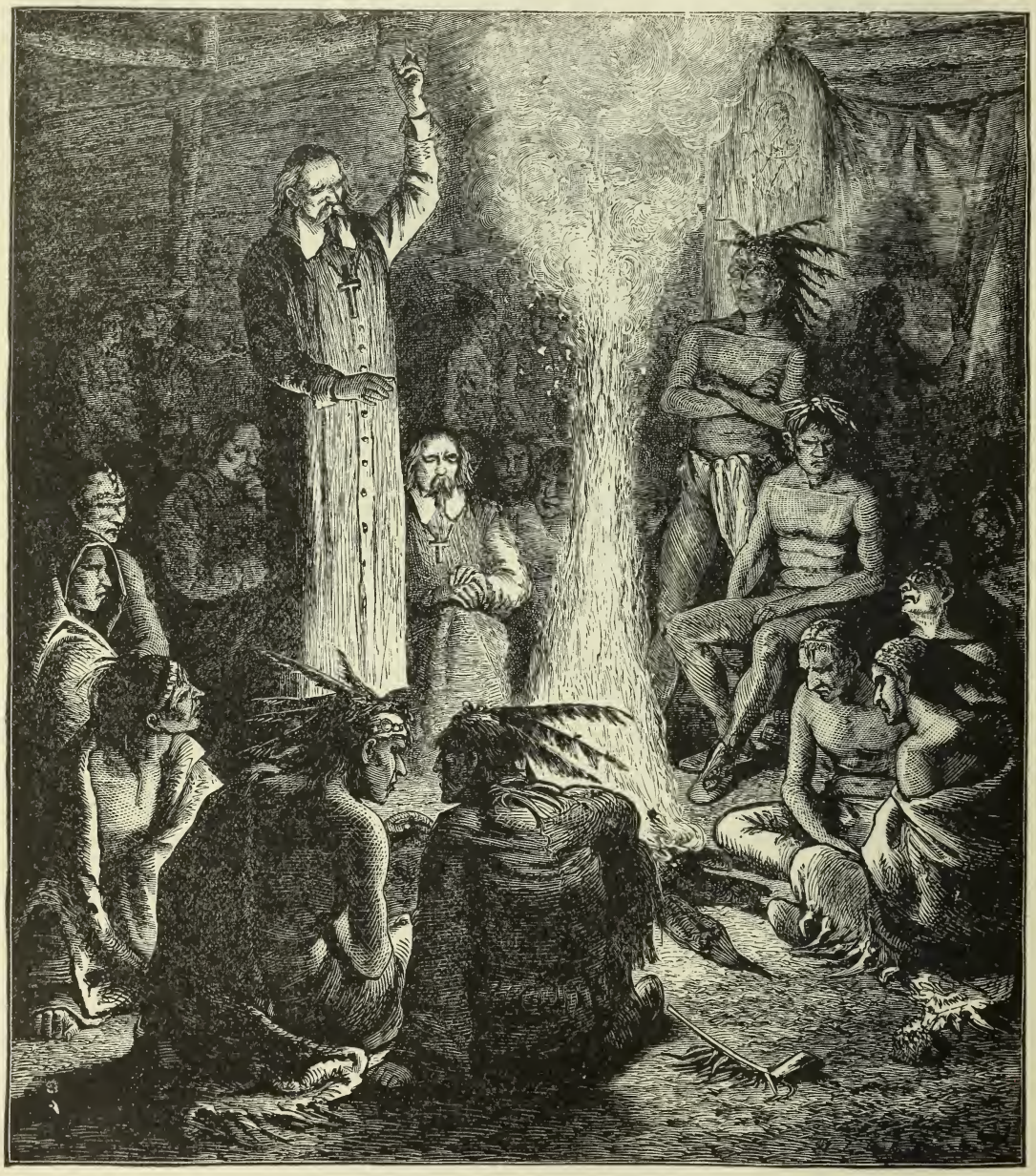
Let, then, a map of Central North America be laid before the reader. Let him observe the position of the Alleghany mountains and of the rivers St. Lawrence, Ohio, and Mississipi, and of the Great Lakes of the North. Here are vast unoccupied fields which the various races, religions, and political systems of Europe may contend for. It might well be apprehended, *a priori*, that France and England, occupying the hither verge of Europe, and inhabited by energetic and aggressive peoples, would be most interested in the colonization and possession of these vast regions, stretching from our Northern lakes to our Southern gulf. And the event corresponded to the expectation.

It will be remembered that after the vicissitudes of two centuries of voyage, discovery, and precarious settlement the English succeeded in establishing their colonies and institutions on the Atlantic slope of the present United States. In the same interval the French fixed their settlements in Canada. Partly by chance and partly by design, different policies were adopted by the two peoples respecting their colonial enterprises. England chose to colonize the sea-coast; France, the interior of the continent. From Maine to Florida the Atlantic shore was spread with English colonies; but there were no inland settlements. The great towns were on the ocean's edge.

But the territorial claims of England reached far beyond her colonies. Based on the discoveries of the Cabots, and not limited by actual occupation, those claims extended westward to the Pacific. In making grants of territory the English kings had always proceeded upon the theory that the voyage of Sebastian Cabot had given to England a lawful right to the country from one ocean to the other. Far different, however, were the claims of France; the French had first colonized the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal, one of the earliest settlements, is more than five hundred miles from the sea. If the French colonies had been limited to the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, there would have been little danger of a conflict about territorial dominion. But in the latter half of the seventeenth century the French began to push their way westward and southward; first along the shores of the great lakes, then to the head-waters of the Wabash, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, and the St. Croix; then down these streams to the Mississippi, and then to the Gulf of Mexico. The purpose of the French, as manifested in these movements, was no less than to divide the American continent and to take the larger portion; to possess the land for France and for Catholicism. For it was the work of the Jesuit missionaries.

In 1641 Charles Raymbault, the first of these explorers, passed through the northern straits of Lake Huron and entered Lake Superior. In the thirty years that followed the Jesuits continued their explorations with prodigious activity. Missions were established at various points north of the lakes, and in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette passed from the head-waters of Fox River over the water-shed to the upper tributaries of the Wisconsin, and thence down that river in a seven days' voyage to the Mississippi. For a full month the canoe of the daring adventurers carried them on toward the sea. They passed the mouth of Arkansas

River, and reached the limit of their voyage at the thirty-third parallel of latitude. Turning their boat up stream, they entered the mouth of the Illinois and returned by the site of Chicago into Lake Michigan, and thence to Detroit.



JESUIT MISSIONARIES AMONG THE INDIANS.
Drawn by Wm. L. Shepard.

It still remained for Robert De La Salle, most illustrious of the French explorers, to trace the Mississippi to its mouth. This indomitable adventurer built and launched the first ship above Niagara Falls. He sailed westward through Lake Erie and Lake Huron, anchored in Green Bay, crossed Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, ascended that stream with a few companions, traversed the country to the upper Kankakee, and dropped down with the current into the Illinois. Here disasters overtook the expedition, and La Salle was obliged to return on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of nearly

a thousand miles. During his absence Father Hennepin, a member of the company, traversed Illinois and explored the Mississippi as high as the Falls of St. Anthony.

In 1681 La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and afterwards made his way back to Quebec. He then went to France, where vast plans were made for colonizing the valley of the Mississippi. In July of 1684 four ships, bearing two hundred and eighty emigrants, left France. Beaujeu commanded the fleet, and La Salle was leader of the colony. The plan was to enter the Gulf, ascend the river, and plant settlements on its banks and tributaries. But Beaujeu was a bad and headstrong captain, and against La Salle's entreaties the squadron was carried out of its course, beyond the mouths of the Mississippi, and into the bay of Matagorda. Here a landing was effected, but the store-ship, with all its precious freightage, was dashed to pieces in a storm. Nevertheless a colony was established, and Texas became a part of Louisiana.

La Salle made many unsuccessful efforts to rediscover the Mississippi. One misfortune after another followed fast, but the leader's resolute spirit remained tranquil through all calamities. At last, with sixteen companions, he set out to cross the continent to Canada. The march began in January of 1687, and continued for sixty days. The wanderers were already in the basin of the Colorado. Here, on the 20th of March, while La Salle was at some distance from the camp, two conspirators of the company, hiding in the prairie grass, took a deadly aim at the famous explorer, and shot him dead in his tracks. Only seven of the adventurers succeeded in reaching a French settlement on the Mississippi.

France was not slow to occupy the vast country revealed to her by the activity of the Jesuits. As early as 1688 military posts had been established at Frontenac, at Niagara, at the Straits of Mackinaw, and on the Illinois River. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, permanent settlements had been made by the French on the Maumee, at Detroit, at the mouth of the river St. Joseph, at Green Bay, at Vincennes, on the Lower Wabash, on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Kaskaskia, at Fort Rosalie, the present site of Natchez, and on the Gulf of Mexico.

A second cause of war existed in the long-standing *national animosity of France and England*. Rivalry prevailed on land and sea. When, at the close of the seventeenth century, it was seen that the people of the English colonies outnumbered those of Canada by nearly twenty to one, France was filled with envy. When, by the enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries, the French began to dot the basin of the Mississippi with fortresses and to monopolize the fur-trade of the Indians, England could not conceal her wrath. It was only a question of time when this unreasonable jealousy would bring on a colonial war.

The third and immediate cause of hostilities was *a conflict between the frontiersmen of the two nations* in attempting to colonize the Ohio valley. The year 1749 witnessed the beginning of difficulties. For some time the strolling traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania had frequented the Indian towns on the upper tributaries of the Ohio. Now the traders of Canada began to visit the same villages, and to compete with the English in the purchase of furs. Virginia, under her ancient charters, claimed the whole country lying between her western borders and the southern shores of Lake Erie. The French fur-gatherers in this district were regarded as intruders not to be tolerated. In order to prevent further encroachment, a number of prominent Virginians joined themselves together in a body called THE OHIO COMPANY, with a view to the immediate occupation of the disputed territory. Robert Dinwiddie, governor of the State, Lawrence and Augustus Washington, and Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, were the leading members of the corporation. In March of 1749 the company received from George II. an extensive land-grant covering a tract of five hundred thousand acres, to be located between the Kanawha and the Monongahela, or on the northern bank of the Ohio. But before the company could send out a colony, the governor of Canada dispatched three hundred men to occupy the valley of the Ohio. In the next year, however, the Ohio Company sent out an exploring party under Christopher Gist, who

traversed the country and returned to Virginia in 1751.

This expedition was followed by vigorous movements of the French. They built a fort called *Le Bœuf*, on French Creek, and another named *Venango*, on the Alleghany. About the same time the country south of the Ohio was again explored by Christopher Gist and a party of armed surveyors. In 1753 the English opened a road from Wills's Creek through the mountains, and a small colony was planted on the Youghiogheny.

The Indians were greatly alarmed at the prospect. They rather favored the English cause, but their allegiance was uncertain. In the spring of 1753 the Miami tribes, under the leadership of a chieftain called the Half-King, met Benjamin Franklin at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and made a treaty with the English.

Before proceeding to actual war, Governor Dinwiddie determined to try a final remonstrance with the French. A paper was drawn up setting forth the nature of the English claim to the valley of the Ohio, and warning the authorities of France against further intrusion. A young surveyor named GEORGE WASHINGTON was called upon to carry this paper from Williamsburg to General St. Pierre, at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie.



MURDER OF LA SALLE.
Drawn by Wm. L. Shepard.

On the last day of October, 1753, Washington set out on his journey. He was attended by four comrades, besides an interpreter and Christopher Gist, the guide. The party reached the Youghiogheny, and passed down that stream to the site of Pittsburgh.

At Logstown Washington held a council with the Indians, and then pressed on to Venango. From this place he traversed the forest to Fort le Bœuf. Here the conference was held with St. Pierre. Washington was received with courtesy, but the general of the French refused to enter into any discussion. He was acting, he said, under military instructions, and would eject every Englishman from the valley of the Ohio.

Washington soon took leave of the French, and returned to Venango. Then, with Gist as his sole companion, he left the river and struck into the woods. Clad in the robe of an Indian; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine-brush; guided at night by the North Star; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert; lodging on an island in the Alleghany until the river was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement, and then the Potomac—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. The defiant dispatch of St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished.

It was in March of 1754 that a party, led by an explorer named Trent, reached the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, and built the first rude stockade on the site of Pittsburgh. After all the threats and boasting of the French, the English had beaten them, and seized the key to the Ohio valley.

But it was a short-lived triumph. As soon as the approaching spring broke the ice-gorges in the Alleghany, the French fleet of boats, already prepared at Venango, came sweeping down the river. It was in vain for Trent, with his handful of men, to offer resistance. Washington had now been commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, and was stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits for the Ohio. A regiment of a hundred and fifty men had been enrolled; but it was impossible to bring succor to Trent in time to save the post. On the 17th of April the little band of Englishmen at the head of the Ohio surrendered to the enemy and withdrew from the country. The French immediately occupied the place, felled the forest-trees, built barracks, and laid the foundations of FORT DU QUESNE. To recapture this place by force of arms, Colonel Washington set out from Wills's Creek in the latter part of April, 1754. Negotiations had failed; remonstrance had been tried in vain; the possession of the disputed territory was now to be determined by the harsher methods of war.

It was thus that fully two years before the formal outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe the French and English colonies in America became involved in that conflict which has generally been called THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR. The Work was begun by Colonel George Washington, acting under the authority of the governor of Virginia. He was commissioned to proceed with a little army of frontier soldiers, like himself, to build a fort at the source of the Ohio, and to repel all who interrupted the English settlements in that country. In April the young commander left Wills's Creek, but the march was toilsome. The men were obliged to drag their cannons. The roads were miserable; rivers were bridgeless; provisions insufficient.

On the 26th of May the English reached the Great Meadows. Here Washington was informed that the French were on the march to attack him. A stockade was immediately erected and named Fort Necessity. Washington, after conference with the Mingo chiefs, determined to strike the first blow. Two Indians followed the trail of the enemy, and discovered their hiding-place. The French were on the alert and flew to arms. "Fire!" was the command of Washington, and the first volley of a great war went flying through the forest. The engagement was brief and decisive. Jumonville, the leader of the French, and ten of his party were killed, and twenty-one were made prisoners.

Washington returned to Fort Necessity and waited for reïnforcements. Only one company of volunteers arrived. Washington spent the time in cutting a road for twenty miles in the direction of Fort du Quesne. The Indians who had been expected to join him from the Muskingum and the Miami did not arrive. His whole force scarcely numbered four hundred. Learning that the French general De Villiers was approaching, Washington deemed it prudent to fall back to Fort Necessity.

Scarcely were Washington's forces safe

within the stockade, when, on the 3d of July, the regiment of De Villiers came in sight, and surrounded the fort. The French stationed themselves on the eminence, about sixty yards distant from the stockade. From this position they could fire down upon the English with fatal effect. Many of the Indians climbed into the tree-tops, where they were concealed by the thick foliage. For nine hours, during a rain-storm, the assailants poured an incessant shower of balls upon the heroic band in the fort. Thirty of Washington's men were killed, but his tranquil presence encouraged the rest, and the fire of the French was returned with unabated vigor. At length De Villiers, fearing that his ammunition would be exhausted, proposed a parley. Washington, seeing that it would be impossible to hold out much longer, accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which were offered by the French general. On the 4th of July the English garrison, retaining all its accouterments, marched out of the little fort, so bravely defended, and withdrew from the country.

Meanwhile, a congress of the American colonies had assembled at Albany. The objects had in view were two-fold: first, to renew the treaty with the Iroquois confederacy; and secondly, to stir up the colonial authorities to some sort of concerted action against the French. The Iroquois had wavered from the beginning of the war; the recent reverses of the English had not strengthened the loyalty of the Red men. As to the French aggressions, something must be done speedily, or the flag of England could never be borne into the vast country west of the Alleghanies. The congress was not wanting in abilities of the highest order. No such venerable and dignified body of men had ever before assembled on the American continent. There were Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Hopkins of Rhode Island, Franklin of Pennsylvania, and others scarcely less distinguished. After a few days' consultation, the Iroquois, but half satisfied, renewed their treaty, and departed.

The convention next took up the important question of uniting the colonies in a common government. On the 10th of July, Benjamin Franklin laid before the commissioners the draft of a federal constitution. His vast and comprehensive mind had realized the true condition and wants of the country; the critical situation of the colonies demanded a central government. How else could revenues be raised, an army be organized, and the common welfare be provided for? According to the proposed plan of union, Philadelphia, a central city, was to be the capital. It was urged in behalf of this clause that the delegates of New Hampshire and Georgia, the colonies most remote, could reach the seat of government *in fifteen or twenty days!* Slow-going old patriots! The chief executive of the new confederation was to be a governor-general appointed and supported by the king. The legislative authority was vested in a congress composed of delegates to be chosen triennially by the general assemblies of the respective provinces. Each colony should be represented in proportion to its contributions to the general government, but no colony should have less than two or more than seven representatives in congress. With the governor was lodged the power of appointing all military officers and of vetoing objectionable laws. The appointment of civil officers, the raising of troops, the levying of taxes, the superintendence of Indian affairs, the regulation of commerce, and all the general duties of government, belonged to congress. This body was to convene once a year, to choose its own officers, and to remain in session not longer than six weeks.

Copies of the proposed constitution were at once transmitted to the several colonial capitals, and were everywhere received with disfavor; in Connecticut, rejected; in Massachusetts, opposed; in New York, adopted with indifference. The chief objection urged against the instrument was the power of veto given to the governor-general. Nor did the new constitution fare better in the mother country. The English board of trade rejected it with disdain, saying that the froward Americans were trying to make a government of their own.

It was now determined to send a British army to America, to accept the service of such provincial troops as the colonies might furnish, and to protect the frontier against the aggressions of France. As yet there had been no declaration of war. The ministers

of the two nations kept assuring each other of peaceable intentions; but Louis XV. took care to send three thousand soldiers to Canada, and the British government ordered General Edward Braddock to proceed to America with two regiments of regulars. The latter, having arrived in the colonies, met the governors in a convention at Alexandria, and the plans of the campaign were determined. On the last of May, 1755, Braddock set out from Fort Cumberland to retake Fort du Quesne from the French.

By the 8th of July the advance had reached a point within twelve miles of the position of the enemy. On the following day the English proceeded along the Monongahela, and at noon crossed to the northern bank, just beyond the confluence of Turtle Creek. Still there was no sign of an enemy. Colonel Thomas Gage was leading forward a detachment of three hundred and fifty men. The road was but twelve feet wide; the country uneven and woody. There was a dense undergrowth on either hand; rocks and ravines; a hill on the right and a dry hollow on the left. A few guides were in the advance, and some feeble flanking parties; in the rear came the general with the main division of the army, the artillery and the baggage. All at once a quick and heavy fire was heard in the front. For the French and Indians, believing themselves unable to hold the fort, had determined to go forth and lay an ambuscade for the English. This was done, and the place selected in a woody ravine was well adapted to protect those who were concealed in ambush, and to entrap the approaching army. The unsuspecting British marched directly into the net.

The battle began with a panic. The men fired constantly, but could see no enemy. Braddock rushed to the front and rallied his men; but it was all in vain. They stood huddled together like sheep. The forest was strewn with the dead. Out of eighty-two officers, twenty-six were killed. Only Washington remained to distribute orders. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen had fallen. Braddock himself was mortally wounded. A retreat began at once, and Washington, with the Virginians, covered the flight of the army.

On the next day the Indians returned to Fort du Quesne, clad in the laced coats of the British officers. The dying Braddock was borne in the train of the fugitives. On the evening of the fourth day he died. When the fugitives reached Dunbar's camp, the confusion was greater than ever. The artillery, baggage, and public stores were destroyed. Then followed a hasty retreat to Fort Cumberland, and finally to Philadelphia.

By the treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was ceded by France to England. During the following fifty years the colony remained under the dominion of Great Britain, and was ruled by English officers. But the great majority of the people were French, and the English government amounted only to a military occupation of the peninsula. The British colors, floating over Louisburg and Annapolis, and the presence of British garrisons here and there, were the only tokens that this, the oldest French colony in America, had passed under the control of foreigners.

When Braddock and the colonial governors convened at Alexandria, it was urged that something must be done to overawe the French and strengthen the English authority in Acadia. The enterprise of reducing the French peasants to complete humiliation was intrusted to Lawrence, the deputy governor, who was to be assisted by a British fleet under Colonel Monckton. On the 20th of May, 1755, the squadron, with three thousand troops, sailed from Boston for the Bay of Fundy.

The French had but two fortified posts in the province; both of these were on the isthmus which divides Nova Scotia from New Brunswick. The first and most important fortress, named Beau-Sejour, was situated near the mouth of Messagouche Creek, at the head of Chignecto Bay. The other fort, a mere stockade called Gaspereau, was on the north side of the isthmus, at Bay Verte. De Vergor, the French commandant, had no intimation of approaching danger till the English fleet sailed fearlessly into the bay and anchored before the walls of Beau-Sejour. There was no preparation for defense. On the 3d of June the English forces landed, and on the next day forced their way across the Messagouche. A vigorous siege of four days

followed. Fear and confusion reigned among the garrison; no successful resistance could be offered. On the 16th of the month Beau-Sejour capitulated, received an English garrison, and took the name of Fort Cumberland.

allegiance and the surrender of all firearms and boats. The British vessels were then made ready to carry the people into exile. The country about the isthmus was now laid waste, and the peasants driven into the larger towns.



FALL OF BRADDOCK.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

The other French posts were taken by the English, and the whole of Nova Scotia brought under their authority.

The French inhabitants still outnumbered the English, and Governor Lawrence determined to drive them into banishment. The English officers first demanded an oath of

Wherever a sufficient number could be gotten together, they were compelled to go on shipboard. At the village of Grand Pré more than nineteen hundred people were driven into the boats at the point of the bayonet. Wives and children, old men and mothers, the sick and the infirm, all shared the com-

mon fate. More than three thousand of the Acadians were carried away by the British squadron, and scattered, helpless and half-starved, among the English colonies.

The third campaign planned by Braddock was to be conducted by Governor Shirley against Fort Niagara. Early in August, he set out from Albany with two thousand men. Four weeks were spent at Oswego in preparing boats. Then tempests prevailed, and sickness broke out in the camp. The Indians deserted the standard of the English, and on the 24th of October the provincial forces, led by Shirley, marched homeward.

The fourth expedition was intrusted to General William Johnson. The object was to capture Crown Point, and to drive the French from Lake Champlain. Early in August the army proceeded to the Hudson above Albany, and built Fort Edward. Thence Johnson proceeded to Lake George and laid out a camp. A week was then spent in bringing forward the artillery and the stores.



THE EXILE OF THE ACADIANS.

In the mean time Dieskau, the French commandant at Crown Point, advanced with fourteen hundred French, Canadians, and Indians, to capture Fort Edward. General Johnson sent Colonel Williams and Hendrick, the chief of the Mohawks, with twelve hundred men, to relieve the fort. On the morning of the 8th of September, Colonel Williams's regiment and the Mohawks were ambushed by Dieskau's forces and driven back to Johnson's camp.

The Canadians and French regulars, unsupported by the Indians, then attacked the English position. For five hours the battle was incessant. Nearly all of Dieskau's men were killed. At last the English troops charged across the field, and completed the rout. Dieskau was mortally wounded. Two hundred and sixteen of the English were killed. General Johnson now constructed on the site of his camp Fort William Henry. Meanwhile, the French had fortified Ticonderoga.—Such was the condition of affairs at the close of 1755.

In the beginning of the next year, the command of the English forces was given to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. Washington, at the head of the Virginia provincials, repelled the French and Indians in the valley of the Shenandoah. The Pennsylvania volunteers, choosing Franklin for their colonel, built a fort on the Lehigh, and made a successful campaign. The expeditions which were planned for the year embraced the conquest of Quebec and the capture of Forts Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara, and Du Quesne.

The Earl of Loudoun now received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. General Abercrombie was second in rank. In the last of April the latter, with two battalions of regulars, sailed for New York. On the 17th of May, Great Britain, after nearly two years of actual hostilities, made a declaration of war against France.

In July, Lord Loudoun assumed the command of the colonial army. The French meanwhile, led by the Marquis of Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau, besieged and captured Oswego. Six vessels of war, three

hundred boats, a hundred and twenty cannon, and three chests of money were the fruits of the victory. During this summer the Delawares in Western Pennsylvania rose in war, and killed or captured more than a thousand people. In August Colonel Armstrong, with three hundred volunteers, marched against the Indian town of Kittanning, and on the 8th of September defeated the savages with great losses. The village was burned, and the spirit of the Indians completely broken.

On the 20th of June, 1757, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York with an army of six thousand regulars to capture Louisburg. At Halifax he was joined by Admiral Holbourn, with a fleet of sixteen men-of-war. There were on board five thousand troops, fresh from the armies of England. But Loudoun, instead of proceeding to Cape Breton, tarried awhile at Halifax, and then sailed back to New York without striking a blow.

Meanwhile the daring Montcalm, with more than seven thousand French, Canadians, and Indians, advanced against Fort William Henry. The place was defended by five hundred men, under Colonel Monro. For six days the French pressed the siege with vigor. The ammunition of the garrison was exhausted, and nothing remained but to surrender. Honorable terms were granted by the French. On the 9th of August they took possession of the fortress. Unfortunately, the Indians procured a quantity of spirits from the English camp. In spite of the utmost exertions of Montcalm, the savages fell upon the prisoners and massacred thirty of them in cold blood.

Such had been the successes of France during the year that the English had not a single hamlet left in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence. Every cabin where English was spoken had been swept out of the Ohio valley. At the close of the year 1757 France possessed twenty times as much American territory as England, and five times as much as England and Spain together.

But a revolution in the condition of affairs was now at hand. In 1757 a change occurred in English politics, and William Pitt was placed at the head of the British ministry. A new spirit was at once diffused in the management and conduct of the war. Loudoun was deposed from the American army. General Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him; but the main reliance was placed on an efficient corps of subordinate officers. Admiral Boscawen was put in command of the fleet. General Amherst was to lead a division. Young Lord Howe was next in rank to Abercrombie. James Wolfe led a brigade; and Colonel Richard Montgomery was at the head of a regiment.

Three expeditions were planned for 1758: one to capture Louisburg, a second to reduce Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the third to retake Fort du Quesne from the French. On the 28th of May, Amherst, with ten thousand men, reached Halifax. In six days more the fleet was anchored before Louisburg. On the 21st of July three French vessels were burned in the harbor. The town was reduced to a heap of ruins. On the 28th of the month Louisburg capitulated. Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island were surrendered to Great Britain. The garrison, numbering six thousand men, became prisoners of war.

On the 5th of July, General Abercrombie, with an army of fifteen thousand men, moved against Ticonderoga. The country about the French fortress was unfavorable for military operations. On the morning of the 6th the English fell in with the picket line of the French. A severe skirmish ensued; the French were overwhelmed, but Lord Howe was killed in the onset.

On the morning of the 8th the English divisions were arranged to carry Ticonderoga by assault. A desperate battle of more than four hours followed, until at six o'clock in the evening the English were finally repulsed. The loss on the side of the assailants amounted in killed and wounded to nineteen hundred and sixteen. In no battle of the Revolution did the British have so large a force engaged or meet so terrible a loss.

The English now retreated to Fort George. Soon afterwards three thousand men, under Colonel Bradstreet, were sent against Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario. The place was feebly defended, and after a siege of two days compelled to capitulate. The fortress was demolished. Bradstreet's success more than counterbalanced the failure of the English at Ticonderoga.

Late in the summer General Forbes, with nine thousand men, advanced against Fort du Quesne. Washington led the Virginia provincials. The main body moved slowly, but Major Grant, with the advance, pressed on to within a few miles of Du Quesne. Advancing carelessly, he was ambuscaded, and lost a third of his forces. On the 24th of November Washington was within ten miles of Du Quesne. During that night the garrison took the alarm, burned the fortress, and floated down the Ohio. On the 25th the victorious army marched in, raised the English flag, and named the place PITTSBURGH.

General Amherst was now promoted to the chief command of the American forces. By the beginning of summer, 1759, the British and colonial armies numbered nearly fifty thousand men. The entire French army scarcely exceeded seven thousand. Three campaigns were planned for the year. General Prideaux was to conduct an expedition against Niagara. Amherst was to lead the main division against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. General Wolfe was to proceed up the St. Lawrence and capture Quebec.

On the 10th of July, Niagara was invested by Prideaux. The French general, D'Aubry, with twelve hundred men, marched to the relief of the fort. On the 15th General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a mortar. Sir William Johnson succeeded to the command, and disposed his forces so as to intercept the approaching French. On the morning of the 24th D'Aubry's army came in sight. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the French were completely routed. On the next day Niagara capitulated, and the French forces, to the number of six hundred, became prisoners of war.

At the same time Amherst was marching with an army of eleven thousand men against Ticonderoga. On the 22d of July the English forces were disembarked where Abercrombie had formerly landed. The French did not dare to stand against them. On the 26th the garrison, having partly destroyed the fortifications, abandoned Ticonderoga and retreated to Crown Point. Five days afterwards they deserted this place, also, and intrenched themselves on Isle-aux-Noix, in the river Sorel.

It remained for General Wolfe to achieve the final victory. Early in the spring he began the ascent of the St. Lawrence. His force consisted of nearly eight thousand men, assisted by a fleet of forty-four vessels. On the 27th of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec. The English camp was pitched at the upper end of the island. Wolfe's vessels gave him command of the river, and the southern bank was undefended. On the night of the 29th General Monckton was sent to seize Point Levi. From this position the Lower Town



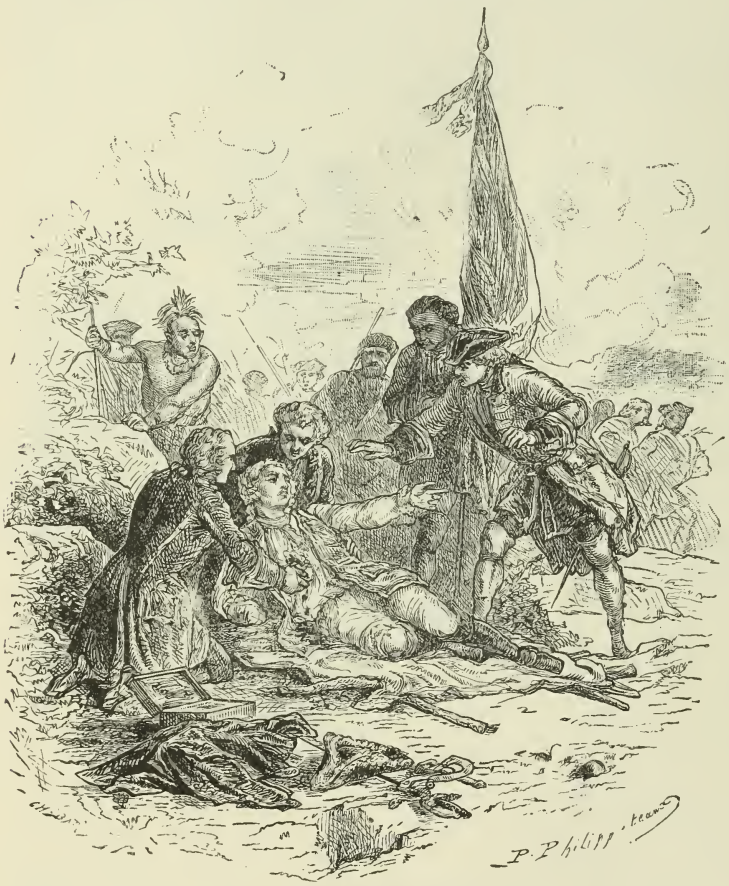
GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

was soon reduced to ruins, and the Upper Town much injured; but the fortress held out.

On the 9th of July General Wolfe crossed the north channel and encamped on the east bank of the Montmorenci. This stream was fordable at low water. On the 31st of the month, a severe battle was fought at the fords of the river, and the English were repulsed with heavy losses. Wolfe, after losing nearly five hundred men, withdrew to his camp.

Exposure and fatigue threw the English general into a fever, and for many days he was confined to his tent. A council of officers was called, and the indomitable leader proposed a second assault. But the proposition

was overruled. It was decided to ascend the St. Lawrence, and gain the Plains of Abraham, in the rear of the city. The lower camp was broken up, and on the 6th of September the troops were conveyed to Point Levi. Wolfe then transferred his army to a point several miles up the river. He then busied himself with an examination of the northern bank, in the hope of finding some pathway up the steep cliffs to the plains in the rear of Quebec.



DEATH OF WOLFE.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

On the night of the 12th of September, the English entered their boats and dropped down the river to a place called Wolfe's Cove.[1] With great difficulty the soldiers clambered up the precipice; the Canadian guard on the summit was dispersed; and in the dawn of morning Wolfe marshaled his army for battle. Montcalm was in amazement when he heard the news. With great haste the French were brought from the trenches on the Montmorenci, and thrown between Quebec and the English.

The battle began with an hour's cannonade; then Montcalm attempted to turn the English flank, but was beaten back. The Canadians and Indians were routed. The French regulars wavered and were thrown into confusion. Wolfe, leading the charge, was wounded in the wrist. Again he was struck, but pressed on. At the moment of victory a third ball pierced his breast, and he sank to the earth. "They run, they run!" said the attendant who bent over him. "Who run?" was the response. "The French are flying everywhere," replied the officer. "Do they run already? Then I die happy," said the expiring hero.

Montcalm, attempting to rally his regiments, was struck with a ball and mortally wounded. "Shall I survive?" said he to his surgeon. "But a few hours at most," answered the attendant. "So much the better," replied the heroic Frenchman; "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec."

Five days after the battle Quebec was surrendered, and an English garrison took possession of the citadel. In the following spring France made an effort to recover her losses.

[1] It is narrated that, while the English fleet on this memorable night were silently gliding down the river, under the dark shadows of the overhanging banks, the brave and imaginative Wolfe, standing in the bow of his boat, and discovering with the keen instincts of a prophet the probabilities of his fate, repeated over and over to his comrades the stanza from Gray's *Elegy*, which had been published only a few years before:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

A severe battle was fought a few miles west of Quebec, and the English were driven into the city. But reïnforcements came, and the French were beaten back. On the 8th of September Montreal, the last important post of France in the valley of the St. Lawrence, was surrendered to General Amherst. Canada had passed under the dominion of England.

For three years after the fall of Quebec and Montreal, the war between France and England lingered on the ocean. The English fleets were everywhere victorious. On the 10th of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was, as already narrated, made at PARIS. All the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain. At the same time Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English Crown. As reciprocal with this provision, France was obliged to make a cession to Spain of all that vast territory west of the Mississippi, known as the Province of Louisiana. By the sweeping provisions of this treaty, the French king *lost his entire possessions in the New World.*—Thus closed the French and Indian War, one of the most important in the history of mankind. By this conflict, it was decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail in the West; and that the powerful language, laws, and liberties of the English race should be planted forever in the vast domains of the New World.

CHAPTER CXVII.—LAST YEARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

THE brief period between the Seven Years' War and the beginning of the Revolutionary Era—first in America and then in Europe—was an important epoch in most of the countries whose annals are worthy of a place in General History. In our own country it was the time at which the American colonies became, so to speak, self-conscious. Hitherto their dependency upon the Mother Country had been so complete that, like children still under tutelage, they thought only the thoughts of the parent. The French and Indian War was the shock which aroused them from the unconscious state, and made them capable at least of *thinking* independence. But many things still lay between them and the act.

In England this period was the epoch when the pendulum of arbitrary—personal—kingly rule, which, from its height in the age of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, swung down to the lowest point of the curve in the iconoclastic era of the Commonwealth, now rose again on the ascending arc of reäction to its highest reach in the times of George III. In fact, the pretentions of the Third George were, as it related to all questions of government, almost of the same manner and tone with those of the Tudors and the first Stuarts.

In France the last years of Louis XV. marked the time when the stilted methods and bombastic style of government, which had reached the very climax of factitious grandeur in the age of Louis XIV., sank to the lowest ebb; when the *government*, as such, became decrepit, senile, contemptible; and when the young French *Nation* began to shake the dew from its locks; to stretch its tremendous limbs; to survey the landscape; to dream of an Age of Gold; to speak—albeit in whispers at first—of a coming emancipation.

In Germany this was the Age of Resuscitation. Prussia had purchased freedom—greatness—with her blood. Now she must rest and recover her wasted powers. Her condition was much like that of the American colonies on their emergence, in 1783, from their revolutionary struggle with Great Britain. This was also the age in which Austria, having long sown her seed in the marshes and fens

of Jesuitism, reaped ergot and blasted corn. As Prussia rose, she sank away. There is scarcely any thing in history more melancholy than the spectacle of this ancient and powerful kingdom, smitten with the rust of priestcraft, fallen under the despotic sway of the Hapsburgs, remanded to the category of non-entities, along with Spain and Italy.

In Russia this was the epoch when the court, under the auspices of Catharine II., was assimilated in fashion and manners to those of Western Europe. That illustrious and vicious lady was well pleased with the work of introducing into her government the methods and magnificence with which she had been familiarized in her girlhood, and a liking for which she had imbibed along with her Western education. Her baptism in the Russian snows was never sufficient to cool the ardor and passion of her nature, which was a strange mixture of French facility and German strength. More than usually in such cases did the qualities of this sublime and immoral Czarina diffuse themselves among the Russian court and people; and the date of this new influence in the frozen North is coïncident with that of the times which we are now to consider.

The reign of George II. of England ended with his life on the 25th of October, 1760. His son Frederick, prince of Wales, had already preceded him, and the crown now descended to the late king's grandson, the Prince George, at this time in his twenty-second year. Up to the time of his accession, the new ruler of England had resided with his mother, the Princess dowager of Wales. It will be remembered that for that lady George II. had cherished a deep-seated antipathy, and the feeling had been cordially reciprocated by her. By this circumstance Prince George had been excluded from the court of his grandfather, and a worse calamity than this came in the neglect of his education. His seclusion had left him in comparative ignorance of the political condition of the kingdom; and in general he had little familiarity with those questions in which young princes are supposed to find most interest. In addition to this his disposition was arbitrary and crafty, and the methods which he adopted recall those of the Stuarts.

At the first the new reign was extremely popular. The last two kings had been born in Hanover, and had always shown their foreign birth and preferences. George III. was a native of England and to the manner born. In this fact he took a patriotic pride, which was enthusiastically shared by his subjects. In his first speech to Parliament he referred to his English birth in such terms as won for him the plaudits of the nation. His unfamiliarity with affairs and awkward manners were forgotten in the furor which his sentiments had excited.

Early in 1761 the new king sought in marriage the Lady Sarah Lennox, mother of Sir Charles James Napier; but for some reason his suit was declined. In September of the same year he took the Princess Charlotte Sophia, sister of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and with her he lived and reigned for fifty-seven years. She bore him fifteen children, of whom thirteen lived to maturity.

George III. became early possessed of the notion that the kings of England, since the times of the Revolution, had declined in dignity and lost their prerogatives until the office was little more than a name. He conceived it his duty to be a sovereign in fact; and with this end in view, he and his Tory supporters deemed it expedient that the Seven Years' War should be speedily brought to a close. This was the true secret of that change of policy by which Frederick the Great, as already narrated, lost his annual subsidy of four millions of thalers. Strenuous efforts to bring about a peace were put forth by the king and by the Earl of Bute, whom he introduced into the ministry. For a while William Pitt, then minister of war and at the height of his power, resisted the wishes and plans of the king; but the tide gradually turned, and a majority which Pitt had been able to command in the House of Commons fell away. In October of 1761 he was obliged to resign his office. Before doing so he had endeavored to induce the government to anticipate the movements of Spain by declaring war against that kingdom. After his resignation it presently transpired that his advice had been most prudent. For Spain, having entered into what was called the Family Compact with France, pursued such a course that England was obliged,

by a proper regard for her own honor, to go to war. A declaration was accordingly made on the 4th January, 1762. During the year the English fleet achieved a series of successes which brought additional renown to the navy. Havana and a large part of Cuba were wrested from the Spaniards. The Philippines were taken and a number of treasure-ships captured with immense quantities of the precious metals and other booty.

It was a strange spectacle to see both political parties in England using these successes as an argument; the Whigs, as a plea for the prosecution of the war, and the Tories, under Lord Bute, as a reason for concluding peace. The latter being in the majority and strongly supported by the king, at length prevailed—such were the antecedents operating from the side of England which led to the negotiations begun in the autumn of 1762, and consummated by the treaty of Paris in February of the following year.

After this event a reäction set in in favor of Pitt and the Whigs. The terms of the treaty were declared to be less favorable than England might well have exacted. The more radical of the opposition denounced the settlement as disgraceful, treacherous, mercenary. The king suddenly lost his popularity, and Lord Bute was obliged to resign. He was succeeded in office by Sir George Grenville, who, at the very beginning of his administration, was involved in a contest with the celebrated John Wilkes, a prominent politician, member of Parliament, and editor of the newspaper known as the *North Briton*. It was the last relation which brought on the conflict with the government. Wilkes in his newspaper devoted his whole energy to attacks on Lord Bute and his administration.

After the fall of that ministry the same policy was pursued with reference to the Grenville ministry. When, at the close of Parliament in 1763, the king in his speech claimed for Great Britain the honor of having brought to a close the Seven Years' War, the next number of the *North Briton* declared that the monarch's statement was a falsehood. For this, Wilkes was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. But a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, and the prisoner was discharged on the plea of his privilege as a member of Parliament. When the House again convened, however, the paper containing the charge against the king was declared to be a seditious libel, and orders were issued that it be publicly burned; but when it came to carry out the sentence, the populace rose in a riot and the movement became so portentous as to alarm the ministry. Wilkes next instituted suit against the under-secretary of state for the seizure of his papers, and the court awarded him a judgment of a thousand pounds in damages.



WILLIAM PITT.
After the painting by Wm. Hoare.

In January of 1764 the House of Commons returned to the charge, and Wilkes was expelled from that body. The House of Lords next took up the prosecution, and found Wilkes guilty of having written an obscene poem, entitled "An Essay on Woman." The culprit, being outlawed, fled to France. After four years, however, he returned, and was reëlected to Parliament from the county of Middlesex. He gave himself up to the court of king's bench, but that tribunal refused to take further cognizance of his alleged crimes. He was, however, reärrested, but was rescued

from the officers by a mob. He then went into voluntary confinement until the day of the opening of Parliament, when a great crowd assembled before his prison door to conduct him to the House. The military interfered, and several of the people were shot. At length the sentence of outlawry against Wilkes was reversed in the court of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield; but at the same time the prisoner was condemned to pay two fines each of a thousand pounds, the charges being libel. He was also to be punished with imprisonment for twenty-two months. The *North Briton* now denounced the action of the military in firing upon the people who had assembled to conduct him to Parliament as a "horrid massacre." For this he was again expelled from the House of Commons, and a new election was ordered for Middlesex. Wilkes was reëlected without opposition! The House hereupon declared him incapable of sitting. Three times writs were issued for a new election, and three times Wilkes was returned, either unanimously or by overwhelming majorities. In the last of these elections, however, the Commons declared that Colonel Luttrell, the Tory candidate, who had received a scattering vote, was elected—this on the ground that the votes cast for Wilkes were void.

By this time the prisoner had become the most popular man in England. The people had come to regard him as their champion, as the defender of the freedom of the press, as a sufferer for his defense of the rights of Englishmen. In November of 1769 he brought suit against Lord Halifax for false imprisonment, and obtained a judgment for four thousand pounds. In April of the following year he was liberated, and soon afterwards elected an alderman of London. He was twice summoned by the House of Commons to appear before the bar and answer for his conduct, but on each occasion refused to answer except as a member of Parliament. The body was obliged at last to accept his interpretation, and he was called to appear on the 8th of April. Then the House avoided facing its own issue by an adjournment to the 9th. In 1771 Wilkes became sheriff of London, and in the next year was elected Lord Mayor. A little later he was again chosen to Parliament, and this time he *took his seat!* Such in brief is the story of one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of English politics.

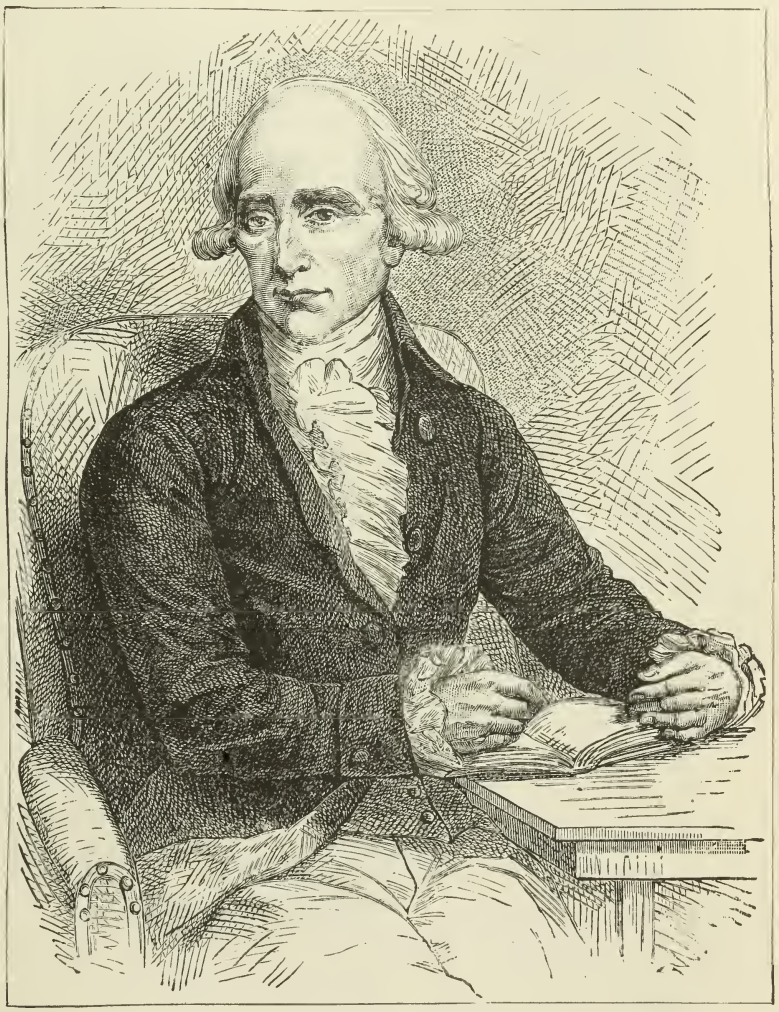
The conclusion of peace in 1763 gave to George III. the coveted opportunity for the development of those political plans which he had cherished since the days of his accession. These plans involved in a word the subversion of those very principles upon which the Hanoverian succession in England had been founded. The political maxims of the king were identical with those of the Stuarts, and their adoption as the policy of the kingdom amounted to an absolute reversal of the verdict rendered by the English nation in the Revolution of 1688. In his purposes the king was faithfully seconded by Lord Grenville and the Tory ministry. The literature of the times was steeped in absolutism. Many Englishmen of letters vied with one another in upholding the principles of arbitrary rule. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson with all his sterling virtues was not above the prevailing vice, but prostituted his tremendous pen to the service of the king by contributing to the cause of despotism a fallacious pamphlet entitled *Taxation no Tyranny.* It was under these auspices that in the year 1765 the celebrated Stamp Act, which fired the American colonies to resistance, was passed by Parliament—first of that long series of aggressions and follies which kindled first in the New World and afterwards in Europe the beacon fires of that political and social emancipation which have become, and perhaps will ever remain, the cardinal virtues of the New Civilization of mankind.

The period under consideration is also notable for the extension of British authority in the East. Such was the political constitution of India that the English authorities in that country were able to take advantage of the wars which were constantly breaking out between the native princes. It was by this means that the native government of Bengal was revolutionized in 1760, and Meer Jaffier raised to the throne of that province. The new ruler gave to the English a great district of territory, large sums of money, and freedom to expel the French from their trading posts and factories. These concessions soon brought on a war with the Emperor of Delhi

and the Governor of Oude, a struggle in which the native sovereigns were soon obliged to purchase peace by the cession of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the Northern Circars to Great Britain.[1] The sovereign of the Circars fought bravely, and finally induced the English to join him in a war with Hyder Ali, sovereign of Mysore.

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1772, Warren Hastings was appointed to the presidency of the Supreme Council of Bengal. He had already resided in India for fourteen years. He had studied with great care the history, language, and literature of the native races. He was first brought into public notice by Lord Clive, who sent him on a commercial and diplomatic mission to England. In 1769 Hastings returned to India, was given a second place in the council, and three years afterwards promoted to the presidency. In 1774 his power was enlarged by act of Parliament, and he became Governor-general of the British Empire in the East.

It soon appeared that Hastings was a man of arbitrary disposition. His rule over the native princes of India was as tyrannical—and as successful—as could have been desired even by the British East India Company. Such was the measure of his audacity that at last the cry of the oppressed reached not only the people of England, but even the board of directors. Then came the great impeachment, one of the most remarkable trials known in history. Rumors of the princely despotism of Hastings, and of his devastation of India, became at length the subject of inquiry in Parliament. In 1786 Edmund Burke presented to that body articles of impeachment, charging Hastings with almost every species of corruption and crime.



WARREN HASTINGS.

[1] The thoughtful reader will not fail to discover in these events, extending from 1760 to 1770, the remote and yet direct antecedents of the American Revolution. Great Britain must have a market for the immense merchandise with which she had laden her ships by conquest in the East. She must sell her tea! She must provide such duties and taxes on her exportations as would fill her coffers to overflowing. "Perhaps," saith she, "these American colonies of mine will buy my cargoes of Indian merchandise, and pay a liberal duty for the privilege." How the colonies met the Stamp Act and the tax on tea will be seen in the sequel. (See Book Twentieth, pp. 591, 592.)

The trial which ensued, and which began in Westminster Hall on the 13th of February, 1788, continued for a hundred and forty-eight days, and brought into strong relief the tremendous legal and parliamentary abilities of



RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Francis, and other statesmen of less reputation. The prosecution failed to convict, but the abuses of the East Indian administration were brought to light, and made impossible for the future.

After the close of the Seven Years' War, the government of France presented a melancholy spectacle. At the same time the French Nation grew great. In the eleven remaining years of the reign of Louis XV., only a few events occurred worthy of record. In 1769 the island of Corsica passed under the control of France. The Corsicans, who had become dissatisfied with the style of government to which they had been subjected by Genoa, threw off her yoke, and attempted to gain their independence. For a while it appeared that the revolt would prove successful; but the Genoese at length sold their claim to the

island to the French king, who sent to Corsica an army sufficiently powerful to enforce submission. The patriots, led by Pascal Paoli, held out for a season, but were at length compelled to yield, and the island became henceforth a French dependency. Two months after the completion of the conquest, the child NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born in Ajaccio. The father had been an adherent of Paoli, and the mother had accompanied her husband in the patriot camp until near the time which witnessed the birth of the Man of Destiny.

In the French court the ascendency of Madame de Pompadour continued, with slight interruptions, until her death in 1764. She was succeeded in the king's favor by Marie de Vaubernier, countess of Barry, who, transferred to the court from a milliner's shop in Paris, gained the mastery over the king's alleged affections, and held the reins until his death. In 1770 she secured the banishment of the Duke de Choiseul, chief of Louis's ministers, a measure of serious consequences to the kingdom. For the duke had strenuously insisted on building up a French navy of such proportions and equipments as might secure an equal contest with England on the sea. He appears to have been a man of genius, able to forecast the future. Among other things, he perceived with delight the coming break between England and her American colonies; and it was a part of his policy to add fuel to the fires which were just then kindling on this side of the Atlantic. It is not impossible that, but for the removal of De Choiseul from office and the consequent defeat of his plans and policy, the future course of French history might have been materially changed.

In the mean time a difficulty had arisen with the Jesuits, which led to their suppression in France. It appears that the two father confessors of Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour refused to grant them absolution unless the latter should be dismissed from the court. Hereupon Pompadour and De Choiseul, who had no liking for the Order, united their influence to drive the Brotherhood out of the kingdom. The French Parliament was won over to the same policy, and the people at large, long wearied with the subtle methods and casuistry of the Brotherhood, joined their voice in demanding the suppression of the Order. Another circumstance, which added to the mountain of discontent which was heaped upon the Society, was the fact that the Superior Lavalette had recently engaged in some speculations in Martinique, by which many had suffered losses. Some merchants in Marseilles brought suit against the Order for the action of the Superior, and judgment was rendered by the courts against the Brotherhood. They were condemned to pay a fine of two millions of livres, together with the costs of the trials. At first Louis XV. attempted to save the Society from destruction. Instead of proceeding against them, he demanded that a reform be begun in the Order. It is said that to this demand the General Ricci replied—speaking of the Jesuits—"Let them be as they are, or else not be!"



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

This audacious reply sealed the fate of the Society in France. In 1764 a formal edict was issued for its suppression. The line of policy thus adopted by the French government was extended into other countries. Three years afterwards the Spanish minister, Aranda, secured the overthrow of the Brother-

hood in Spain. A like course was taken in Naples, Parma, and Malta. In 1768 all the branches of the Bourbon dynasty united in demanding of the Pope that the Society of Jesus be forever put beyond the pale of Catholicism. While this appeal was pending, Clement XIII. died, and Clement XIV. was elected by the influence of the anti-Jesuit party. The new pontiff was pledged to suppress the odious fraternity; but for five years he procrastinated and temporized, dreading to do, and dreading still more not to do, the thing which was demanded. Finally the celebrated decree, known by its opening line of *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*, was issued, July 21, 1773. By this the suppression of the Order throughout christendom was commanded, and the confiscation of their property permitted; nor was a bull of formal restoration issued until August of 1814.

As it respected the relations of the king to Parliament, nearly all the reign of Louis XV. was spent in a struggle to extend and confirm the king's prerogatives at the expense of free institutions. Unfortunately for France, the effort was too successful. The French Parliament became more and more a thing of form, so weak and inefficient as to excite the pity of patriotism. Though the institution of monarchy, so much glorified in the age of Louis XIV., still strutted in its magnificent robes, and would fain make the world believe that it was as young and grand and vigorous as ever, it was in truth in its decrepitude, and only awaited a blow to fall prostrate and perish.

Meanwhile in France had arisen the greatest fact in civilization—freedom of thought. While decaying Bourbonism sat in its chair of state, clad in the regalia of fictitious grandeur, the human mind began to display its energies with an audacity never before witnessed in the history of the world. It awoke as if from a slumber, and said "Ha, ha!" as it looked into the faces of the mediæval institutions which still cumbered society. It belongs to the next rather than to the present Book to note the work of the French philosophers, headed by Voltaire and Rousseau, by whom the work of transforming society was begun in intellectual France, to be completed by the edicts of the Republic and the sword of Bonaparte. For the present we pass on to sketch briefly the condition of affairs in Germany after the subsidence of the Seven Years' War.

Frederick the Great now showed himself to be a true father to his people. If any thing could reconcile mankind to the rule of absolute kings, it would be the spectacle of this stern and uncompromising man, strange mixture of wit and warrior, bending all his energies to the task of raising his country from the deplorable condition in which she had been left by her long, bloody, and exhausting struggle. In this work he again made himself the exemplar as well as the ruler of the Prussian people. He took the supplies of corn which had been hoarded up for the support of the army, and distributed it among the farmers, to be used for seed and for food. The artillery and cavalry horses were used in the same way. All that the king could save from the public revenues was expended in resuscitating the regions which had been most devastated by the war. While this work of restoration was going steadily forward Frederick by no means overlooked those other measures which were necessary to the safety of the state. He not only kept the army on a war footing, but actually doubled its strength in numbers and resources. If the people were disposed to complain of the enormous burden thus imposed upon them, the king was ever ready to point to the fact that he himself had saved five-sixths of his income and devoted the same to the support of the kingdom and its defenses.

In all this work Frederick was as arbitrary as he was great. He made no effort whatever—even opposed all efforts—to make the Prussian people a factor in the government of the state. He required that every thing should be conceded to his own will and judgment. As to his justice, none could deny it. As to his sincere devotion to the interests of the people, it was known and read of all men. As to his indefatigable works of generosity and patriotism, they were so conspicuous and unselfish as to be cited for an example to all succeeding times. So he ruled as he would, and the people bore with his false theory and arbitrary practices because of the essential goodness of the man and the unchallenged greatness of the king. When,

in the eventide, he walked abroad for a brief respite among the people of the streets, glancing with his fierce eyes from under his cocked hat and stopping occasionally to perform an actual flagellation of some luckless recreant, his course could but be approved by those who knew that the beating was well deserved and the beater always just.

In this style of old-fashioned kingship, many things would necessarily occur at which history may well find a moment's amusement. It is narrated that, on one occasion, as he walked, after his manner, along one of the streets of Potsdam, he fell in with a company of schoolboys, whom, believing to be truant, he addressed thus: "Boys, what are you doing here? Begone to school with you this instant!" One of the German lads sent back at his majesty this answer: "Oh, you are the king, you are, and don't know that this is a holiday!" Frederick accepted the situation, joined heartily in the laugh at his own expense, and gave to the boys some coins from his pockets. On another occasion, he concluded to enlarge his park at Potsdam, and for this purpose desired to purchase the grounds of a certain miller. But the miller did not wish to sell. Frederick would give a liberal price, but the owner set himself to keep his windmill. The king might take the property, but that would be unjust and without warrant of law. So he was obliged to yield; and more than a century afterwards the mill remained to bear witness that the greatest of the Prussian kings knew how to keep the law.

Notwithstanding the drain which war had made, the population of Prussia rose, before the death of Frederick, to six millions. The army was increased to two hundred thousand men. The debt of the state was paid, and a surplus of more than seventy millions of thalers left in the treasury. It is doubtful whether any other ruler of christendom can show such a record. The flute-player of Rheinsberg, the reader of French novels, he who, when he should become king, was going to sign himself, "By the grace of God King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, possessor of Voltaire," had set such an example of honesty, integrity, disinterested devotion to his people, as well as warlike heroism, as can hardly be paralleled in the history of the great.

Frederick II. lived till the 17th of August, 1786. He lived to see his country firmly established in the first rank of European sovereignties. He lived to see the decadence of the Hapsburgs, the decline and decrepitude of Austria. He lived to send his sword as a present to George Washington, placing upon the gift this inscription: "From the oldest general in Europe to the greatest general in the world." He lived to witness the Independence of America, a measure with which he had always sympathized, and to rejoice at the discomfiture of his kinsman, George III. of England. He was, in a word, the last great typical ruler of the ancient *régime;* and the splendor of the disk of the old monarchical system of Europe, now hastening to its setting, looked broad and lustrous as it sank out of sight because of the splendid deeds and heroic character of him who gave to Hohenzollern its high place among the royal Houses of Europe.

Turning to Austria, we note briefly the events of the last years of Maria Theresa. Her greatness of character and ambition seemed to deserve a better fate than to witness the humiliation of her country. For the last two centuries Austria had had no other ruler as great and liberal as she. It was her misfortune to have been educated by the Jesuits and to have imbibed from them all of the principles of her religion and most of the maxims of her civil polity. Considering her intellectual antecedents, her liberality and wisdom, her justice, candor, and magnanimity are matters of surprise. Nor can it be said that in her long struggle with Frederick the Great, there was more of the irate and insulted woman than of the wronged and indignant queen.

In many things Maria Theresa imitated the measures and policy of him whom she fought. She was quick to perceive the sources of his strength, and was grieved to the heart when she was unable to produce in Austria the same vigor and patriotism which she beheld in the kingdom of her rival. Like Frederick, she adopted in her administration the principle of the division of labor, establishing the special departments of justice, industry, and commerce in the government. She also made a wholesome revision of the

Austrian criminal code, abolishing torture and other mediæval cruelties, and instituting courts where the laws were administered according to a more humane usage. When, in 1765, her husband, Francis I., died, the Imperial crown passed to her son, JOSEPH II., whom as a child she had held aloft in her arms before the Hungarian Diet twenty-three years before. Though he now received the title of Emperor, the real power continued to rest in the hands of the Imperial mother. Four years after his accession Joseph had an interview with Frederick in Silesia, and the project of the partition of Poland was discussed by them. In the following year another meeting was held, and the terms upon which the Polish dominions were to be parceled out were agreed upon. It is narrated that when the articles of the agreement were brought before Maria Theresa for her signature, her sense of violated justice cried out against the proposed iniquity. "Long after I am dead," said she, "the effects of this violation of all which has hitherto been considered right and holy will be made manifest." The queen had become a prophetess.

In the year 1777, the elector, Max Joseph of Bavaria, last of the House of Wittelsbach in direct descent, died, and the electorate was claimed by the next heir, Charles Theodore, of the Palatinate. This prince, in order to secure the Bavarian succession, bought the support of Joseph II. by promising to cede to him about one-half of the dominion which he had inherited. The Emperor eagerly embraced the opportunity of widening the Austrian territories, and sent an army to occupy the district to be ceded by Elector Charles. Hereupon the other German states, and notably Prussia, took the alarm at the proposed enlargement of Austria. Another candidate for the Bavarian electorate, namely, Duke Charles of Zweibrücken, was brought forward and supported by Frederick the Great and several other princes. Even Maria Theresa entered her protest against the ambitious project of her son; but Joseph pressed on his willful purpose, and Frederick sent two Prussian armies to the field. For the moment war seemed inevitable, but at the very crisis France and Russia came forward as mediators and the difficulty was settled without bloodshed. Charles Theodore received the electoral crown of Bavaria, and a strip of territory containing about nine hundred square miles was annexed to Austria.

In her last years Maria Theresa was afflicted with dropsy. She gradually sank under this malady until the 29th of November, 1780, when she died, being then in the sixty-fourth year of her age. A few days before her death she was struck with the same whim which had moved Charles V. to witness his own obsequies. She had herself let down by ropes and pulleys into the vault where the body of her husband, Francis I., had been placed fifteen years before. Having inspected her future abode, she ordered herself to be taken up. One of the ropes broke. "He," said she, referring to her husband, "wishes me to keep him company. I shall come soon." She wrote in her prayer-book certain interesting memoranda respecting her wishes and opinions, and also relative to the principles by which she had been guided during her reign. She declared, among other things, that she had always been swayed by a sense of justice and by her judgment of what the interests of her people demanded; but she also confessed that in making war she had been stirred by pride and anger and had failed to cherish for others that charity with which her own sinfulness must be covered. "Maria Theresa is dead," said Frederick the Great; "now there will be a new order of things in Europe." For he believed that the ambitious Joseph II. would undertake the aggrandizement of Austria at the expense of neighboring kingdoms.

The part taken by Russia in the Seven Years' War was a sufficient notification that the empire of the czars had become one of the leading powers of Europe. Now it was that the system of Imperial administration which had been established by Peter the Great began to show forth all the virtues and vices of that type of government. Peter had been a great reformer. Under his sway the spirit of nationality had set up a standard in the vast steppes of the north. After his death, in 1725, his policy was ably supported by his great minister, Alexander Menshikoff. Though temporarily obscured during the last years of Peter's reign he emerged at full stature during the reign of Catharine I. It

was, indeed, chiefly by his agency that that princess was made Czarina. On the accession of young Peter II., Menshikoff became still more powerful, until the latter part of 1727, when he was, by the influence of Dolgoruki, overthrown and banished to Siberia. Then came the reign of the Empress Anna, who during the war of the Polish succession had taken sides with Augustus III., and whose government at home had been chiefly conducted by the Prince Biron, duke of Courland. In 1740 she was succeeded by her grand-nephew, the boy Ivan, who in the following year was dethroned by Elizabeth I. Of the reign of this princess; the accession of Peter III; the consequent change in the Russian policy respecting the Seven Years' War; the conspiracy against Peter and his murder, and the accession of CATHARINE II., surnamed the Great, mention has already been made in connection with the history of the struggle between Prussia and Austria. A volume might well be written on the life, character, criminal deeds, and splendid reign of the German princess who was thus called to be Czarina of all the Russias. Catharine was born in the fortress of Stettin on the 2d of May, 1729. Her father was Christian August, formerly a military officer, now governor of Stettin, and afterwards Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst. Her mother was a princess of Holstein-Gottorp. While still in her girlhood, Sophia Augusta—for by that name was Catharine called at first—was, at the suggestion of Frederick the Great, chosen by the Empress Elizabeth to be the wife of her nephew and successor, Peter. She was accordingly taken to St. Petersburg. Her name was changed to Catharine Alexievna; her creed, to that of the Greek Church; and in 1745 she was married to the Grand Duke, who in 1762 became Czar, with the title of PETER III.

The marriage of Catharine was one of those unions the only merit of which consists in their legality. The Czar to-be was ugly, repulsive, ignorant. He had most of the vices and few of the virtues of his coarse countrymen. The lively temper and half-French enthusiasm of Catharine were completely chilled by her surroundings. Peter was disloyal and unsympathetic. At this time not a few distinguished personages from abroad, having the manners and refinement of the West, frequented the Russian court in the character of ambassadors; and, besides these, not a few of the native noblemen, chiefly those who,



PRINCE MENSHIKOFF.
After the steel print in the the library of St. Petersburg.

under the policy of Peter the Great, had in their youth visited the Western capitals, were now the leading men of the Empire—generals, ministers, and statesmen. With such Catharine became acquainted, and forgetting any duties which she owed to the stupid Peter, she launched herself without restraint on the boisterous wave of society. Her wit, intelligence, and learning made her a favorite; nor was it long until she foreran the unscrupulous Russians in her violation of social and domestic laws. She had for her first favorite General Soltikoff, whom the envy of the court soon succeeded in burying in a foreign embassy. Then she solaced herself by taking in his place the accomplished Poniatowski, the Polish ambassador. When he was recalled, Gregory Orloff became the favorite; and it was with him and his brother Alexius, assisted by Count Panin, the Princess Dashkoff, and the hetman Razumovski, that the conspiracy was made to depose Peter and put him out of the way. On the night of the 8th of July, 1762, Catharine came with all haste from Peterhof to St. Petersburg, and presenting herself to the guards, whose officers had already been won over, was hailed as Empress. Peter was seized and imprisoned. At first the conspirators had intended to have the proclamation made in favor of Catharine's son Paul; but in the last hour the programme was changed, and it was determined to give the crown to Catharine herself, and to be all or nothing. This scheme was carried out. Peter was strangled in prison. The Empress was crowned at Moscow, and the conspiracy triumphed and flourished.

The first measures of the Czarina were directed to the work of obliterating the memory of the methods by which she gained the throne and of popularizing her government. She showed a great zeal for the national religion and showered favors on the priests. This had the desired effect, and they washed her character white as snow. She adopted the policy of Peter the Great, and bent all her energies to the physical development of the Empire. She encouraged commerce; built a navy; reformed the Imperial code, and made her salutary influence felt in every department of the government. Even in neighboring states the fact was soon recognized that a new Semiramis of the North had come, the shadow of whose scepter was soon to fall beyond her own dominions. In Poland, after the death of Augustus III., in 1763—though that event occurred in the second year of her reign—her influence was already sufficient to secure the election of her former favorite, Poniatowski, to the throne. Albeit her plan, as it respected this personage, whose somewhat effeminate character and affection for herself she properly estimated, was to use him in carrying out her scheme of Polish annexation.

All this manifestation of energy and promise of greatness, however, could not for the time remove from the minds of the Russians the memory of the murder of Peter III. and the ever-recurring fact that Catharine was a foreign usurper. Plots not a few were made at Moscow and elsewhere to undo the status which had been established by crime. There still survived one heir of the House of Romanoff who might justly claim the throne of the Czars. This was the Prince Ivan, son of Anna Carlovna, and great-grand nephew of Peter the Great. Ivan, in virtue of his birth had been for twenty-four years a prisoner of state, and was at this time confined in the castle of Schlüsselburg. It was contrived that the unfortunate youth should, for *greater security*, be removed to the basement of the prison. Forsooth those who managed the business did not know that the Gulf of Finland with each recurring tide rushed in and filled the apartment to which Ivan was assigned. That night he was drowned by—*accident!*

Thus, in the year 1764, Catharine's way was cleared of the last competitor. The malcontents gave up their schemes, and the Czarina was left to the enjoyment of her ambition and passions. During her reign, which extended to 1796, Russia rose to a leading position among the great powers of Europe. Her voice and influence became decisive in international affairs. Though Catharine was by nature a warlike princess, and would fain have gratified her ambition by battle and conquest, her understanding was such that for the sake of developing and consolidating her vast dominions she chose the policy of peace. It was for this reason, rather than for any liking which she may have had for Prussia or the House of Hohenzollern, that led her,

shortly after her accession, to withdraw the Russian armies which had been engaged in the Seven Years' War. After the manner of Elizabeth of England, she filled her court with great and brilliant statesmen—Gallitzin, Rumiantzeff, Panin, the Orloffs, Soltikoff, Suvaroff, Tchernitchev, Repnin, and Potemkin; but unlike Elizabeth, who was prudent enough to take her councilors from the great middle class of Englishmen, who could not well aspire to become her lovers, Catharine chose for her associates in the government those who had been, were, or were to be her favorites. The annals of the intrigues, plots, and scandals which filled and disgraced the Russian court during the last quarter of the eighteenth century can not—may not—be here recounted. Of this extraordinary episode Catharine was always the central figure. But in the midst of it all her greatness as Czarina



CATHARINE II.

of all the Russias could never be questioned. She reigned with an imperial sway. During her occupancy of the throne the Russian territories were enlarged by a quarter of a million of square miles. The internal progress of the empire was equally astonishing. Fifty thousand industrious and skillful artisans were induced to take up their abode in Southern Russia. Education received an impulse such as had never before quickened the barbarous mind of that far North. Commerce, navigation, and general industry sprang forward with accelerated strides, and Russia, under the auspices of this half glorious and wholly wicked woman, passed within the pale of civilization.

The present Book will be concluded with a sketch of the condition of the American colonies in the times immediately preceding the Revolution. The scene presented is in happy contrast with the story of European affairs through which the thread of royal intrigue and princely perfidy is traced in every part. It is the true glory of America that even from the times long anterior to our struggle for independence the *People,* and not the *Ruler* of the people, were, and have ever been, the fact of prime importance.

Before the outbreak of the Revolution our Colonies had increased to the number of thirteen. Four of them were in New England—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire; four Middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware; five Southern—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. All had grown and prospered. The elements of power were everywhere present. A willful, patriotic, and vigorous race of democrats had taken possession of the New World. Institutions unknown in Europe, peculiar to the West, made necessary by the condition and surroundings of the colonies, had sprung up and were taking deep root in American soil.

According to estimates made for the year 1760, the population of the colonies amounted to a million six hundred and ninety-five thousand souls. Of these about three hundred and ten thousand were blacks. Massachusetts was at this period perhaps the strongest colony, having more than two hundred thousand people of European ancestry within her borders. True, Virginia was the most populous, having an aggregate of two hundred and eighty-four thousand inhabitants, but of these one hundred and sixteen thousand were Africans—slaves. Next in strength stood Pennsylvania, with a population of nearly two hundred thousand; next Connecticut, with her hundred and thirty thousand people; next Maryland, with a hundred and four thousand; then New York, with eighty-five thousand; New Jersey not quite as many; then South Carolina, and so through the feebler colonies to Georgia, in whose borders were less than five thousand inhabitants, including the negroes.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the people of the American colonies had to a certain extent assumed a national character; but they were still strongly marked with the peculiarities which their ancestors had brought from Europe. In New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the principles and practices of Puritanism still held universal sway. On the banks of the Hudson the language, manners, and customs of Holland were almost as prevalent as they had been a hundred years before. By the Delaware the Quakers were gathered in such numbers as to control all legislation, and to prevent serious innovations upon the simple methods of civil and social organization introduced by Penn. On the northern bank of the Potomac, the youthful Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, a frivolous and dissolute governor, ruled a people who still conformed to the order of things established a hundred and thirty years previously by Sirs George and Cecil Calvert. In Virginia, mother of states and statesmen, the people had all their old peculiarities; a somewhat haughty demeanor; pride of ancestry; fondness for aristocratic sports; hospitality; love of freedom. The North Carolinians were at this epoch the same rugged and insubordinate race of hunters that they had always been. The legislative assembly, in its controversies with Governor Dobbs, manifested all the intractable stubbornness which characterized that body in the days of Seth Sothel. In South Carolina whose pompous constitution, contributed by the philosopher, John Locke, as the great political curiosity of the seventeenth century,

had long since given place to a simple republican instrument framed by the people for themselves there was much prosperity and happiness. But there, too, popular liberty had been enlarged by the constant encroachment of the legislature upon the royal prerogative. The people, mostly of French descent, were hot-blooded and jealous of their rights. Of all the American colonies, Georgia had at this time least strength and spirit. The commonwealth had languished. Not until 1754, when Governor Reynolds assumed control of the colony, did the affairs of the people on the Savannah begin to flourish. Even afterwards, something of the indigence and want of thrift which had marked the followers of Oglethorpe still prevailed in Georgia.

In matters of education New England took the lead. Her system of free schools extended everywhere from the Hudson to the Penobscot. Every village furnished facilities for the acquirement of knowledge. So complete and universal were the means of instruction that in the times preceding the Revolution *there was not to be found in all New England an adult, born in the country, who could not read and write!* Splendid achievement of Puritanism. In the Middle Colonies education was not so general; but in Pennsylvania there was much intelligent activity among the people. Especially in Philadelphia did the illustrious Franklin scatter the light of learning. South of the Potomac educational facilities were irregular and generally designed for the benefit of the wealthier classes. But in some localities the means of enlightenment were well provided; institutions of learning sprang up scarcely inferior to those of the Eastern provinces, or even of Europe. Nor should the private schools of the colonial times be forgotten. Many Scottish reformers, Irish liberals, and French Patriots fled for refuge to the New World, and taught the lore of books and the lesson of liberty to the rugged boys of the American wilderness. Among the Southern colonies Virginia led the van in matters of education; while Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia lagged behind. Previous to the Revolution, nine colleges worthy of the name had been established in the colonies. These were Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, King's (now Columbia), Brown, Queen's (afterwards Rutgers), Dartmouth, and Hampden and Sydney. In 1764 the first medical college was founded at Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, the more progressive and spiritual elements of Protestantism had combined with the intellectual forces of the colonies to give a distinctive character to the new American people. The evangelists of religion kept abreast with the teachers and statesmen of the New World. The colonies proved to be an inviting field for the daring missionaries who sowed the seeds of the Gospel among the scattered populations. Most conspicuous of the religious reformers in the epoch just preceding the Revolution were the followers of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The movement which had been originated by John Wesley in England—begun with no intention of a separation from the Established Church—spread into the American colonies before the middle of the century, and became the primary force of American Methodism.[1] The first purely Methodistic society in the colonies was formed in New York City, in 1766, by Barbara Heck and Philip Embury. Three years afterwards two Wesleyan preachers were sent to America, and the first church was established in New York. During the next decade, the work of disseminating the nascent Methodism was carried forward with great zeal. Francis Asbury came to America in 1771. Two years afterwards the first formal "Conference" of Wesleyan ministers was held, and the religious revival was continued without abatement until the work was disturbed by the Revolution.

Emerging from that conflict, the American Methodists, still largely influenced and directed by Wesley, made haste to become organic. In the next year after the treaty of peace with Great Britain, Thomas Coke, who had been President of the Irish Conference, was ordained by Wesley as Superintendent and Bishop of the Methodist Church in America. Coming to the United States, he convened a General Conference of the preachers at Baltimore. In that city, on the eve of Christmas, 1784, the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. Francis Asbury was elected bishop by the Conference, and was ordained by Coke. The general polity which had been outlined by Wesley for the direction of his

[1] See *ante* p. 372.

followers in England was adopted by the American Methodists; and, though henceforth the two divisions of Wesleyans moved on different lines of action, the plan and spirit of both—contemplating no less a work than the evangelization of the world—were one in sympathy, one in motive, and one in hope. Such were the beginnings of that great and progressive Church which in numbers has become the first, and in religious zeal not the second, among the Protestant peoples of the world.

Of the printing-press, that swift agent and great forerunner of civilization, the work was already effective, As early as 1704 the Boston *News-Letter*, first of periodicals in the New World, was published in the city of the Puritans. In 1721 the New England *Courant*, a little sheet devoted to free thought and the extinction of rascality, was established at Boston by the two Franklins, James and Benjamin. In 1740 New York had but one periodical, Virginia one, and South Carolina one; and at the close of the French and Indian War there were no more than ten newspapers published in the colonies. The chief obstacles to such publications were the absence of great cities and the difficulty of communication between distant sections of the country. Boston and Philadelphia had each no more than eighteen thousand inhabitants; New York but twelve thousand. In all Virginia there was not one important town, while as far south as Georgia there was scarcely a considerable village. Books were few and of little value. Some dry volumes of history, theology, and politics were the only stock and store. On the latter subject the publications were sometimes full of pith and spirit. Nevertheless, it was no unusual thing to find at the foot of the Virginia mountains, by the banks of the Hudson, or in the valleys of New England, a man of great and solid learning. Such a man was Thomas Jefferson; such were Franklin and Livingston and the Adamses—profound, witty, and eloquent.

Nothing impeded the progress of the colonies more than the want of thoroughfares. No general system of post-offices or post-roads had as yet been established. No common sentiments could be expressed—no common enthusiasm be kindled in the country—by the slow-going mails and packets. The sea-coast towns and cities found a readier intercourse. Until the Revolution the people lived apart—dependent upon their own resources. When, in 1766, an express wagon made the trip from New York to Philadelphia in two days, it was considered a marvel of rapidity. Six years later the first stage-coach began to run between Boston and Providence.[1]

Before the Revolution the Americans were for the most part an agricultural people. In Virginia the planters devoted themselves almost exclusively to the cultivation of tobacco. Further inland the products were more various: wheat, maize, potatoes; upland cotton, hemp, and flax. In the Carolinas and Georgia the rice crop was most important; after that, indigo, cotton, and some silk; tar and turpentine. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were then, as now, the great centers of trade. Ship-building was one of the most important colonial interests. In 1738 forty-one sailing vessels were built at the ship-yards of Boston. New England was the seat of the manufacturing interest. But all enterprise in this direction was checked and impeded by the British Board of Trade. No sooner would some enterprising company of New England men begin the building of a factory than this board would interfere in such a way as to make success impossible. So jealous was the English ministry.

Such were the American colonies—such the people whose budding nationality was now to be exposed to the blasts of war. These people had become the rightful proprietors of the New World. They had fairly won it from savage man and savage nature. They owned it by all the claims of actual possession; by toil and trial; by the ordeal of suffering; by peril, privation, and hardship. No wonder that patriotism was the child of such discipline! No wonder that the men who, from mountain and sky and river, had drunk in the spirit of Liberty, were now ready, when the iron heel of oppression was set upon their cherished rights, to draw the sword even against the venerable monarchy of England!

[1] It is remarkable to note how tardily the attention of a people will be turned to the building of roads. Thus, for instance, in so old a country as Scotland there were no great thoroughfares constructed until after the Scotch Rebellion of 1745.



Book Twentieth.

The Age of Revolution.

Chapter CXVIII.—War of American Independence.

If the historian be asked to select from the annals of the world that period in which Man has appeared to the best advantage, he must, with little hesitation, name the last quarter of the eighteenth century. At no other epoch in the history of mankind has the human race emerged so rapidly from its old condition. It was an age in which tradition suffered, ancient tyrannies were startled from the throne, and the fallow ground, long soaked with the cold drippings of the Middle Ages, was torn up and turned to the sun and air with the terrible plowshare of radicalism. Long strides were made in the direction of the emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of the past. The time at last came when men perceived that it was better to fight and die than to endure any longer the domination of other men no better, no wiser, than themselves. That artificial reverence—that half-worship—which prostrate man and society had shown to the powers by which they were governed, was replaced by a manly courage, a dignity, a defiance which went far to redeem the race from bondage, and to make future slavery impossible.

This was an epoch in which institutions were transformed. Old things passed away. A new man and a new society, the one more free and the other more generous than the world had yet permitted to exist, were born out of the fruitful anarchy of the age. Revolution put his bugle to his lips and blew a blast which echoed to the corners of the earth, resounding against

> "castle walls
> And snowy summits old in story."

In general terms, the civil and social revolt which constituted the bottom fact in the closing history of the eighteenth century was directed against the institution of Monarchy and its various pillars of support. In order to understand the true nature of the great conflict upon the narrative of which we are now to enter, it will be appropriate, in the first place, to sketch briefly the physiognomy and general character of that monarchical system against which, first in America and then in Europe, the sword of freedom was unsheathed. If, then, we scrutinize the system upon which man, armed with a sense of his inherent

rights, was about to make war, we find our inquiry leading us to the following results:

1. The institution of Monarchy, such as it was in Europe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was still a colossal edition of feudal chieftainship. The king was simply a suzerain on a gigantic scale. Whatever of arrogance and pride, and self-will the baronial warrior of the eleventh century felt in his castle halls, that the typical European king of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries assumed in grander style in his palace and court. It implied a prince lifted immeasurably above his subjects. It implied a people without political rights, dependent for life and liberty upon the pleasure of the king—peasants and serfs whose property might be taken at will, whose lives might be exposed in lawless wars, whose bodies might be used or abused, whose minds might be rightfully kept in the clouds of perpetual night.

2. Monarchy was the embodiment of ecclesiastical domination over secular society. The king was either the head of the Church or its obedient servant. The bishops, for their own good, told the monarch that his right to be king came down out of the skies; that he was by the will of heaven born a prince; that his authority was by the grace of God, and that his person was sacred both by the fact of his royal birth and by the manipulation of the priest on the day of coronation. Thus was the arrogance of the feudal baron bound up with the presumption of the ecclesiastical bigot in the person of the king.

3. As a necessary prop and stay of the system stood a graduated order of nobility: dukes who could touch the hem of the royal garment; marquises who could touch the hem of the duke; knights who could touch the hem of the marquis; lords who could touch the hem of the knight; esquires who could touch the hem of his lordship.

4. As a necessary prop and stay of the graduated nobility stood the principle of primogeniture. For it was manifest that the splendors and virtues of royalty and its dependent orders could never be maintained if the blood in which its glory dwelt was allowed, according to nature's plan, to diffuse and spread into a multitude of vulgar kinsmen.

5. As a necessary prop and stay of the law of primogeniture was the doctrine of entails, by which landed estates and all similar properties should tend to concentrate in certain lines of descent, and thereby be maintained in perpetual solidarity. Not only should the first-born receive the titles and nobility of the father, but he should in like manner inherit the estates to the exclusion of collateral heirs.

6. As to the methods of government, the king should not be hampered by constitutional limitations. Ministers and parliaments were not needed except to carry out the sovereign's mandates; and popular assemblies, in addition to being the hot-beds of sedition, were an impediment to government and a menace to civil authority.

7. The people existed for the king's pleasure. Society was the king's institution. The state was in some sense the king's property. The world was made for the king to act in, and history was designed for his eulogium.[1]

It was, then, against this system of monstrous pretensions and despotic rule—against its principles, its spirit, its tendencies, its sham methods and bad essence — that our Revolutionary fathers of 1775 raised the arm of rebellion. After they had been successful in their revolt, thrown off the dominion of the Mother Country, and marked out for themselves a new and shining pathway among the nations of the world, the struggle was transferred to France, where the battle was fought on a grander scale. Out of her example of heroism and victory most of the other European kingdoms caught the inspiration of liberty, and challenged their rulers to combat. It is now our purpose to give an account of the varying vicissitudes of this conflict, first in our own country and then in Europe. The period to be considered extends from the rebellion of our Thirteen Colonies, in 1775, to the downfall of Napoleon and Treaty of Vienna, in 1815.

The American Revolution was one of the most heroic events in the history of mankind. It was not lacking in any element of glory. Whether considered with reference to the general causes which produced it, or viewed

[1] The preceding seven paragraphs on the general character of European monarchy are transcribed from the Author's *Alexander Hamilton*.

with respect to the personal agency by which it was accomplished, the struggle of our fathers for liberty suffers not by comparison with the grandest conflicts of ancient or modern times. The motives which those great men might justly plead for breaking their allegiance to the British crown and organizing a rebellion; the patient self-restraint with which they bore for fifteen years a series of aggressions and outrages which they knew to be utterly subversive of the liberties of Englishmen; the calmness with which they proceeded from step to step in the attempted maintenance of their rights by reason; the readiness with which they opened their hearts to entertain the new angels of liberty; the backward look which they cast through sighs and tears at their abandoned loyalty to England; the fiery zeal and brave resolve with which at last they drew their swords, trampled in mire and blood the banner of St. George, and raised a new flag in the sight of the nations; the personal character and genius of the men who did it—their loyal devotion to principle, their fidelity, their courage, their lofty purpose and unsullied patriotism—all conspire to stamp the struggle with the impress of imperishable grandeur.

In entering upon the story of our War for Independence, it is appropriate to examine briefly the causes of the conflict. The first and most general of these was *the claim and exercise of the right of arbitrary government* by Great Britain, which right was denied and resisted by the colonies. So long as this claim was asserted by England only as a theory, the conflict was postponed; when the English government began to enforce the principle in practice, the colonies resisted. The question began to be openly discussed about the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and from that period until the beginning of hostilities, in 1775, each year witnessed a renewal of the agitation. But there were also many subordinate causes tending to bring on a conflict.

First of these was *the influence of France*, which was constantly exerted so as to incite a spirit of resistance in the colonies. The French king would never have agreed to the treaty of 1763—by which Canada was ceded to Great Britain—had it not been with the hope of securing American independence. It was the theory of France that by giving up Canada on the north the English colonies would become so strong as to renounce their allegiance to the crown. England feared such a result. More than once it was proposed in Parliament to re-cede Canada to France in order to check the growth of the American States. "There, now!" said the French statesman, Vergennes, when the treaty of 1763 was signed; "we have arranged matters for an American rebellion in which England will lose her empire in the West."

Another cause leading to the Revolution was found in *the natural disposition and inherited character of the colonists.* They were, for the most part, republicans in politics and dissenters in religion. The people of England were monarchists and High Churchmen. The colonists had never seen a king. The Atlantic lay between them and the British ministry. Their dealings with the royal officers had been such as to engender a dislike for monarchical institutions. The people of America had not forgotten—could not well forget—the circumstances under which their ancestors had come to the New World. For six generations the colonists had managed their own affairs; and their methods of government were necessarily republican. The experiences of the French and Indian War had shown that Americans were fully able to defend themselves and their country.

The growth of public opinion in the colonies tended to independence. The more advanced thinkers came to believe that a complete separation from England was not only possible, but desirable. As early as 1755, John Adams, then a young school-teacher in Connecticut, wrote in his diary: "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." Such opinions were at first expressed only in private, then by hints in pamphlets and newspapers, and at last publicly and everywhere. The mass of the people, however, were slow to accept an idea which seemed so radical and dangerous. Not until the war had actually begun did the majority declare for independence.

Another cause of the conflict with the mother country was found in *the personal character of the king.* George III., who ascended

the English throne in 1760, was one of the worst monarchs of modern times. His notions of government were altogether despotic. He was a stubborn, stupid, thick-headed man, in whose mind the notion of human rights was entirely wanting. It was impossible for him to conceive of a magnanimous project or to appreciate the value of civil liberty. His reign of sixty years was as odious as it was long. In the management of the British Empire he employed only those who were the narrow-minded partisans of his own policy. His ministers were, for the most part, men as incompetent and illiberal as himself. With such a king and such a ministry it was not likely that the descendants of the Pilgrims would get on smoothly.



GEORGE III.

The more immediate cause of the Revolution was the passage by Parliament of *a number of acts destructive of colonial liberty.* These acts were resisted by the colonies, and the attempt was made by Great Britain to enforce them with the bayonet. The subject of this unjust legislation, which extended over a period of twelve years just preceding the war, was the question of taxation. It is a well-grounded principle of English common law that the people, by their representatives in the House of Commons, have the right of voting whatever taxes and customs are necessary for the support of the kingdom. The American colonists claimed the full rights of Englishmen. With good reason it was urged that the general assemblies of the colonies held the same relation to the American people as did the House of Commons to the people of England. The English ministers replied that Parliament, and not the colonial assemblies, was the proper body to vote taxes in any and all parts of the British Empire. But we are not represented in Parliament, was the answer of the Americans; the House of Commons may therefore justly assess taxes in England, but not in America. Many of the

towns, boroughs, and shires in these British isles have no representatives in Parliament, and yet the Parliament taxes them, replied the ministers, now driven to sophistry. If any of your towns, boroughs, and shires are not represented in the House of Commons, they *ought* to be, was the American rejoinder; and there the argument ended. Such were the essential points of the controversy. It is now proper to notice the several parliamentary acts which the colonies complained of and resisted.

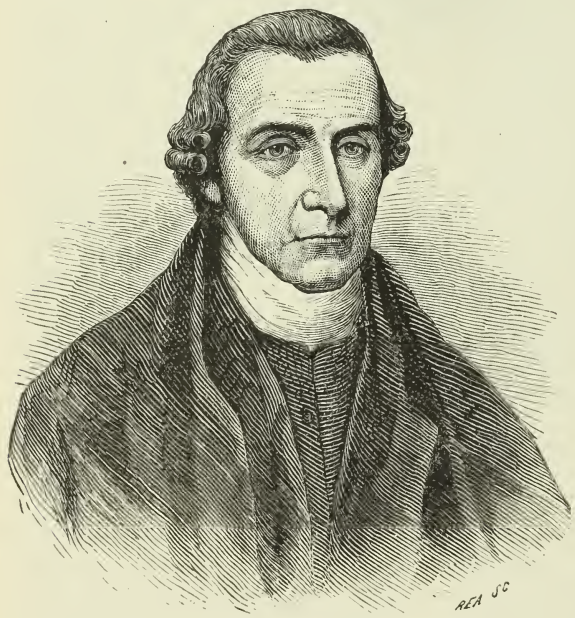
The first of these was THE IMPORTATION ACT, passed in 1733. This statute was itself a kind of supplement to the old Navigation Act of 1651. By the terms of the newer law exorbitant duties were laid on all the sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the colonies. At first the payment of these unreasonable customs was evaded by the merchants, and then the statute was openly set at naught. In 1750 it was further enacted that iron-works should not be erected in America. The manufacture of steel was specially forbidden; and the felling of pines, outside of inclosures, was interdicted. All of these laws were disregarded and denounced by the people of the colonies as being unjust and tyrannical. In 1761 a strenuous effort was made by the ministry to enforce the Importation Act. The colonial courts were authorized to issue to the king's officers a kind of search-warrants, called Writs of Assistance. Armed with this authority, petty constables might enter any and every place, searching for and seizing goods which were suspected of having evaded the duty. At Salem and Boston the greatest excitement prevailed. The application for the writs was resisted before the courts. James Otis, an able and temperate man, pleaded eloquently for colonial rights, and denounced the parliamentary acts as unconstitutional. The address was a masterly defense of the people, and produced a profound sensation throughout the colonies. Already there were hints at resistance by force of arms.

In 1763, and again in the following year, the English ministers undertook to enforce the law requiring the payment of duties on sugar and molasses. The officers of the admiralty were authorized to seize and confiscate all vessels engaged in the unlawful trade. Before the passage of this act was known at Boston, a great town-meeting was held. Samuel Adams was the orator. A powerful argument was produced showing conclusively that under the British constitution taxation and representation were inseparable. Nevertheless, vessels from the English navy were sent to hover around the American harbors. A great number of merchantmen bearing cargoes of sugar and wine were seized; and the colonial trade with the West Indies was almost destroyed.

The year 1764 witnessed the first formal declaration of the purpose of Parliament to tax the colonies. Mr. Grenville was now prime minister. On the 10th of March a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons declaring that it would be proper to charge certain stamp-duties on the American colonies. It was announced that a bill embodying this principle would be prepared by the ministers and presented at the next session of Parliament. In the mean time, the news of the proposed measure was borne to America. Universal excitement and indignation prevailed in the colonies. Political meetings became the order of the day. Orators were in great demand. The newspapers teemed with arguments against the proposed enactment. Resolutions were passed by the people of almost every town. Formal remonstrances were addressed to the king and the two houses of Parliament. Agents were appointed by the colonies and sent to London in the hope of preventing the passage of the law.

A new turn was now given to the controversy. The French and Indian War had just been concluded with a treaty of peace. Great Britain had incurred a heavy debt. The ministers began to urge that the expenses of the war ought to be borne by the colonies. The Americans replied that England ought to defend her colonies, from motives of humanity; that in the prosecution of the war the colonists had aided Great Britain as much as Great Britain had aided them; that the cession of Canada had amply remunerated England for her losses; that it was not the payment of money which the colonies dreaded, but the surrender of their liberties. It was also added that in case of another war the American States would try to fight their own battles.

Early in March of 1765, the English Parliament, no longer guided by the counsels of Pitt, passed the celebrated Stamp Act. In the House of Commons the measure received a majority of five to one. In the House of Lords the vote was unanimous. At the time of the passage of the act the king was in a fit of insanity and could not sign the bill. On the 22d of the month the royal assent was given by a board of commissioners acting for the king. "The sun of American liberty has set," wrote Benjamin Franklin to a friend at home. "Now we must light the lamps of industry and economy." "Be assured," said the friend, in reply, "that we shall light



PATRICK HENRY.

torches of another sort." And the answer reflected the sentiment of the whole country.

The provisions of the Stamp Act were briefly these: Every note, bond, deed, mortgage, lease, license, and legal document of whatever sort, required in the colonies, should, after the first day of the following November, be executed on paper bearing an English stamp. This stamped paper was to be furnished by the British government; and for each sheet the colonists were required to pay a sum varying, according to the nature of the document, from three pence to six pounds sterling. Every colonial pamphlet, almanac, and newspaper was required to be printed on paper of the same sort, the value of the stamps in this case ranging from a half-penny to four pence; every advertisement was taxed two shillings. No contract should be of any binding force unless written on paper bearing the royal stamp.

The news of the hateful act swept over America like a thunder-cloud. The people were at first grief-stricken; then indignant; and then wrathful. Crowds of excited men surged into the towns, and there were some acts of violence. The muffled bells of Philadelphia and Boston rung a funeral peal, and the people said it was the death-knell of liberty. In New York a copy of the Stamp Act was carried through the streets with a death's-head nailed to it, and a placard bearing this inscription: The Folly of England and the Ruin of America. In the Virginia House of Burgesses there was a memorable scene.

Patrick Henry, the youngest member of the House, an uneducated mountaineer recently chosen to represent Louisa County, waited for some older delegate to lead the burgesses in opposition to Parliament. But the older members hesitated or went home. Offended at this lukewarmness, Henry, in his passionate way, snatched a blank-leaf out of an old law-book and hastily drew up a series of fiery resolutions, declaring that the Virginians were Englishmen with English rights; that the people of Great Britain had the exclusive privilege of voting their own taxes, and so had the Americans; that the colonists were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxation on them, and that whoever said the contrary was an enemy to the country. The resolutions were at once laid before the house.

A violent debate ensued, in which the patriots had the best of the argument. It was a moment of intense interest. Two future Presidents of the United States were in the audience; Washington occupied his seat as a delegate, and Thomas Jefferson, a young collegian, stood just outside of the railing. The eloquent and audacious Henry bore down all opposition. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus," said the indignant orator; "Charles I. had his Cromwell, and George III.—" "Treason!" shouted the speaker. "Treason! treason!" ex-

claimed the terrified loyalists, springing to their feet. "—And George III. may profit by their example," continued Henry; and then added, as he took his seat, "If that be treason, make the most of it!" The resolutions were put to the house and carried; but the majorities on some of the votes were small, and the next day, when Henry was absent, the most violent paragraph was reconsidered and expunged: some of the members were greatly frightened at their own audacity. But the resolutions in their entire form had gone before the country as the formal expression of the oldest American commonwealth, and the effect on the other colonies was like the shock of a battery.

Similar resolutions were adopted by the assemblies of New York and Massachusetts—in the latter State before the action of Virginia was known. At Boston, James Otis successfully agitated the question of an American Congress. It was proposed that each colony, acting without leave of the king, should appoint delegates, who should meet in the following autumn, and discuss the affairs of the nation. The proposition was favorably received; nine of the colonies appointed delegates; and, on the 7th of October, THE FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS assembled at New York. There were twenty-eight representatives: Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen president. After much discussion, A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS was adopted setting forth in unmistakable terms that the American colonists, as Englishmen, could not and would not consent to be taxed but by their own representatives. Memorials were also prepared and addressed to the two houses of Parliament. A manly petition, professing loyalty and praying for a more just and humane policy toward his American subjects, was directed to the king.

On the 1st of November, the Stamp Act was to take effect. During the summer, great quantities of the stamped paper had been sent to America. But everywhere it was rejected or destroyed, and the 1st of November was kept as a day of mourning. At first, legal business was suspended. The court-houses were shut up. Not even a marriage license could be legally issued. By and by, the offices were opened, and business went on as before; but was *not* transacted with stamped paper. It was at this time that the patriotic society known as THE SONS OF LIBERTY was organized. The merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia entered into a compact to purchase no more goods of Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed.

The colonists had their friends in England. Eminent statesmen espoused the cause of America. In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt delivered a powerful address on the relations of the Mother Country to the colonies. "You have," said he, "no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted." On the 18th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was formally repealed. But at the same time a resolution was added declaring that Parliament had the right *to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*

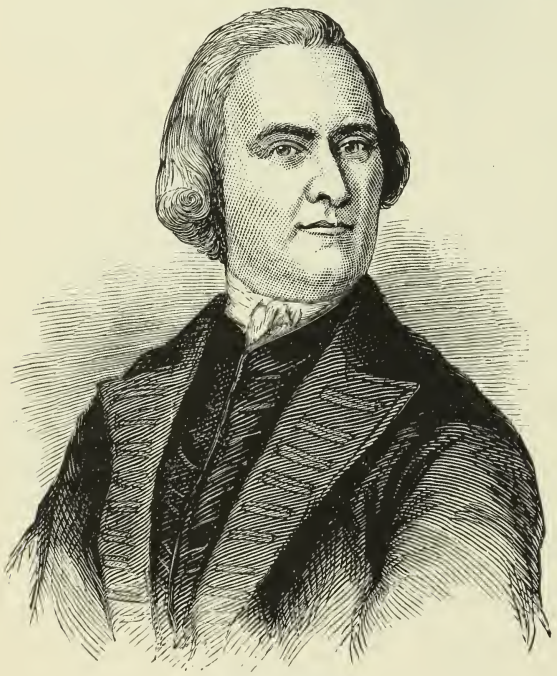
The repeal of the Stamp Act produced great joy, both in England and America. A few months afterward, a new British cabinet was formed under the leadership of Pitt. While he was confined by sickness to his home in the country, Mr. Townshend, a member of the ministry, brought forward a new scheme for taxing America. On the 29th of June, 1767, an act was passed imposing a duty on all the glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea which should thereafter be imported into the colonies.

Hereupon the resentment of the Americans burst out anew. Another agreement not to purchase British goods was entered into by the American merchants. The newspapers were filled with denunciations of Parliament. Early in 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts adopted a circular calling upon the other colonies for assistance in the effort to obtain redress of grievances. The ministers were enraged and required the assembly to rescind their action, and to express regret for that "rash and hasty proceeding."

In the month of June, a sloop charged with evading the payment of duty, was seized by the custom-house officers of Boston. But the people attacked the houses of the officers and obliged the occupants to fly to Castle William. General Gage was now ordered to bring from Halifax a regiment of regulars and overawe the insurgent people. On the 1st of October the troops, seven hundred strong, marched into the capital of Massachusetts.

In February of 1769, Parliament passed an act by which the people of Massachusetts were declared rebels, and the governor was directed to arrest those deemed guilty and send them to England for trial. The general assembly met this outrage with defiant resolutions. Similar acts were passed in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter State an insurrection was suppressed by Governor Tryon; the insurgents, escaping across the mountains, became the founders of Tennessee.

Early in 1770, the soldiers in New York cut down a liberty pole which stood in the Park. A conflict ensued in which the people won the day. On the 5th of March a more serious difficulty occurred in Boston. A crowd of people surrounded Captain Preston's company of the city guard, hooted at them, and dared them to fire. At length the soldiers discharged a volley, killing three of the citizens and wounding several others. This outrage, known as THE BOSTON MASSACRE, created a profound sensation. Captain Preston and his company were arrested and tried for murder, and two of the offenders were convicted of manslaughter.



SAMUEL ADAMS.

Parliament now passed an act repealing all duties on American imports except that on tea. The people, in answer, pledged themselves to use no more tea until the duty should be *unconditionally repealed.* In 1772 an act was passed that the salaries of the officers of Massachusetts should be paid without consent of the assembly. About the same time the *Gaspée,* a royal schooner anchored at Providence, was boarded by the patriots and burned.

In 1773, Parliament removed the export duty, which had hitherto been charged, on tea shipped *from England.* The price was by so much lowered, and the ministers thought that, when the cheaper tea was offered in America, the colonists would pay the import duty without suspicion. Ships were loaded with tea for the American market. Some of the vessels reached Charleston; but the chests were stored in cellars and the contents ruined. At New York and Philadelphia the ships were forbidden to enter. At Boston the authorities would not permit the tea to be landed. On the 16th of December there was a great town meeting at which seven thousand people were present. Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy spoke to the multitude. Evening came on, and the meeting was about to adjourn, when a war-whoop was heard, and fifty men disguised as Indians marched to the wharf, where the tea-ships were at anchor. The disguised men quickly boarded the vessels and emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the bay. Such was the BOSTON TEA PARTY.

Parliament made haste to find revenge. On the last day of March, 1774, THE BOSTON PORT BILL was passed, by which it was enacted that no kind of merchandise should any longer be landed or shipped at the wharves of Boston. The custom-house was removed to Salem, but the people of that town refused to accept it. The inhabitants of Marblehead gave the free use of their warehouses to the merchants of Boston. When the news of the passage of the Port Bill reached Virginia, the burgesses entered a protest on their journal. Hereupon Governor Dunmore ordered the members to their homes; but they continued their work in another place. On the 20th of May the charter of Massachusetts was annulled. The people were declared rebels; and the governor was ordered to send abroad for trial all persons who should resist the officers.

In September the Second Colonial Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Eleven colonies were represented. One address was prepared and sent to the king; another to the English nation; and another to the people of Canada. A resolution was adopted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Parliament retaliated by ordering General Gage to reduce the colonists by force. A fleet and ten thousand soldiers were sent to aid him in the work of subjugation. Boston Neck was seized and fortified by the British. The stores at Cambridge and Charlestown were conveyed to Boston, and the General Assembly was ordered to disband, but the members voted to equip an army of twelve thousand men for defense. There was now no longer any hope of a peaceable adjustment. The colonists were few and feeble; but they were men of iron wills, who had made up their minds to fight and, if needs be, die for liberty.

As soon as the intentions of General Gage were known, the people of Boston, concealing their ammunition in carts, conveyed it to the village of Concord. On the night of the 18th of April, Gage despatched eight hundred men to destroy the stores. The plan of the British was made with the greatest secrecy; but the patriots discovered the movement; and when the regiment, under command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, set out for Concord, the people of Boston were roused by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. William Dawes and Paul Revere rode with all speed to Lexington and spread the alarm through the country.

At two o'clock in the morning a company of a hundred and thirty minute-men assembled on the common at Lexington. No enemy appeared until five o'clock, when the British, under command of Pitcairn, came in sight. The provincials were led by Captain Parker. Pitcairn rode up, and exclaimed: "Disperse, ye villains! Throw down your arms!" The minute-men stood still, and Pitcairn cried, "Fire!" The first volley of the Revolution whistled through the air, and sixteen of the patriots fell dead or wounded. The rest fired a few shots, and dispersed.

The British then passed on to Concord; but the inhabitants had removed the stores to a place of safety, and there was but little destruction. While the British were ransacking the town, the minute-men encountered a company of soldiers who were guarding the North Bridge. Here the Americans first fired under orders of their officers, and two British soldiers were killed. The rest began a retreat through the town towards Lexington. Hereupon the patriots rallied from every side, and for six miles the battle was kept up along the road. Hidden behind trees, fences, and barns, the assailants poured a constant fire upon the enemy. At one time it seemed that the whole British force would surrender. The American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded, and five missing; that of the enemy was two hundred and seventy-three.

The battle of Lexington fired the country. The news of the fight flew on the wings of the wind, and within a few days an army of twenty thousand men gathered about Boston. A line of entrenchments was drawn from Roxbury to Chelsea. To drive Gage into the sea was the common talk of the tumultuous host. John Stark came down with the New Hampshire militia. Israel Putnam, with a leather waiscoat on, hurried to the nearest town, mounted a horse and rode to Cambridge, a distance of a hundred miles, in eighteen hours. Rhode Island sent her men under Nathaniel Greene, and Benedict Arnold came with the provincials of New Haven.

Ethan Allen, with a company of two hundred and seventy patriots from the Green Mountains, advanced against Ticonderoga. Arnold joined the expedition as a private. On the evening of the 9th of May, the force reached the shore of Lake George, opposite Ticonderoga. On the following morning, eighty-three men succeeded in crossing. With this mere handful, Allen made a dash and gained the gateway of the fort. The sentinel was driven in, closely followed by the patriot mountaineers. Allen rushed to the quarters of the commandant, and cried out: "Surrender this fort instantly!" "By what authority?" inquired the officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," said Allen, flourishing his sword.[1]

[1] It happened that Allen in citing his authority perpetrated a ludicrous anachronism. The capture of the fort was made about *five hours before the Continental Congress convened!*

There was no alternative. The garrison were made prisoners and sent to Connecticut. By this daring exploit, vast quantities of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans. Two days afterward Crown Point was also taken.

On the 25th of May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston. The British army was augmented to more than ten thousand men. It was now rumored that Gage was about to sally out of Boston to burn the neighboring towns and devastate the country. The Americans determined to anticipate this movement by fortifying Bunker Hill, which commanded the peninsula of Charlestown. On the night of the 16th of June, Colonel Prescott was sent with a thousand men to entrench the hill. The provincials reached the eminence; but Prescott and his engineer Gridley, not liking the position, proceeded down the peninsula to Breed's Hill, within cannon range of Boston. On this summit a redoubt was thrown up during the night. The British ships in the harbor were so near that the Americans could hear the sentinels repeating the night-call, "All is well."

As soon as it was light on the following morning, General Gage ordered the ships in the harbor to cannonade the American position. The British batteries on Copp's Hill also opened fire. Just after noon, three thousand British veterans, commanded by Generals Howe and Pigot, landed at Morton's Point. The Americans numbered about fifteen hundred. Generals Putnam and Warren served as privates in the trenches. Charlestown was burned by the British as they advanced. Thousands of spectators climbed to the housetops in Boston to watch the battle. On came the British in a stately and imposing column.

The Americans reserved their fire until the advancing line was within a hundred and fifty feet. Then instantly from the breastworks every gun was discharged. The front rank of the British melted away, and the rest hastily retreated. Howe rallied his men and led them to the second charge. Again the American fire was withheld until the enemy was but a few rods distant, and then with steady aim volley after volley was poured upon the column until it was broken and driven into flight.

The vessels of the British fleet now changed position until the guns were brought to bear upon the American works. For the third time, the British soldiers charged with fixed bayonets up the hillside. The Americans had but three or four rounds of ammunition remaining. These were expended on the advancing enemy; and then there was a lull. The British clambered over the ramparts. The provincials clubbed their guns and hurled stones at the assailants. It was in vain; the defenders of liberty were driven out of their trenches at the point of the bayonet. The brave Warren gave his life for freedom. The loss of the British in the engagement was a thousand and fifty-four in killed and wounded. The Americans lost a hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty-two prisoners. Prescott and Putnam conducted the retreat to Prospect Hill.

The battle of Bunker Hill rather inspired than discouraged the colonists. The news was borne to the South, and a spirit of determined opposition was everywhere aroused. The people began to speak of THE UNITED COLONIES OF AMERICA. At Charlotte, North Carolina, the citizens ran together in a convention, and made *a declaration of independence.*

On the day of the capture of Ticonderoga, the colonial Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Washington was there, and John Adams and Samuel Adams, Franklin and Patrick Henry; Jefferson came soon afterward. It was an assembly of heroes. A last appeal was addressed to the king; and he was told that the colonists had chosen war in preference to slavery. Early in the session John Adams made an address, in the course of which he noticed the necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief, and the qualities requisite in that high officer. The speaker concluded by putting in nomination George Washington, of Virginia. On the 15th of June, the nomination was confirmed by Congress; and the man who had saved the wreck of Braddock's army was now called upon to save a nation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON—hero, patriot, statesman—was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 11th of February (Old Style), 1732. At the age of eleven he was left to the sole care of his mother. His education was limited to the common branches of learning. Surveying was his favorite study. At the age of sixteen he was sent by his uncle

to survey a tract of land on the South Potomac. The important duties which he performed in the service of the Ohio Company and his campaign with Braddock have already been narrated. With great dignity he accepted the appointment of commander-in-chief, and set out to join the army at Cambridge.

Congress had voted to equip twenty thou-



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

sand men, but the means of doing so were not furnished. Washington found himself at the head of a force of fourteen thousand five hundred volunteers, but they were undisciplined and insubordinate. The supplies of war were almost wholly wanting. But the army was soon organized and arranged in three divisions. The right wing, under General Ward, held Roxbury; the left, commanded by General Charles Lee, rested at Prospect Hill; the center, under the commander-in-chief, lay at Cambridge. The siege of Boston was then pressed with vigor. Meanwhile the king's authority was overthrown in all the colonies. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, who was driven from office, proclaimed freedom to the slaves and raised a force of loyalists, but was defeated by the patriots near Norfolk.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Americans looked to Canada for aid. In order to encourage the people of that province to take up arms, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were ordered to proceed against St. John and Montreal. The former fort was reached on the 10th of September, but could not at first be taken. Afterward General Montgomery succeeded in capturing the fortress. Montreal was next invested, and on the 13th of November obliged to capitulate. Montgomery next proceeded, with three hundred men, against Quebec. In the mean time, Colonel Arnold had set out with a thousand men from Cambridge, and after a march of untold hardship and suffering, had reached the St. Lawrence and climbed to the Plains of Abraham, above Quebec. At Point aux Trembles he was joined by Montgomery, who assumed command. The whole force did not then exceed nine hundred men, so greatly had they suffered. Quebec was defended by greatly superior numbers. For three weeks, with his handful of troops, Montgomery besieged the town, and then staked every thing on an assault.

Before daybreak on the 31st of December, 1775, the first division, under Montgomery, attacked the Lower Town. The second column, led by Arnold, attempted to storm the Prescott Gate. As Montgomery's men were rushing forward, a battery before them burst forth with a storm of grape-shot, and at the first discharge Montgomery fell dead. The

men, heart-broken at their loss, retreated to Wolfe's Cove, above the city. Arnold had meanwhile fought his way into the Lower Town. While leading the charge he was severely wounded and borne to the rear. Captain Morgan led his brave band along the narrow streets until he was overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold retired to a point three miles above the city. The small-pox broke out in the camp; Quebec was strengthened, and in the following June the Americans evacuated Canada.

At last came the king's answer to the appeal of Congress. The petition of the colonies was rejected with contempt. By this tyrannical answer the day of independence was brought nearer. Meanwhile, General Howe had succeeded Gage in command of the British troops in Boston. All winter long the city was besieged by Washington, and by the first of spring, 1776, he felt himself strong enough to risk an assault; the officers of his staff thought otherwise, and a different plan was adopted. It was resolved to seize Dorchester Heights and drive Howe out of Boston.

For two days the attention of the British was drawn by a fire from the American batteries. On the night of the 4th of March, a detachment set out under cover of the darkness and reached the Heights unperceived. The British noticed nothing unusual; but, when morning dawned, Howe saw at a glance that he must carry the American position or abandon the city. He accordingly ordered two thousand four hundred men to storm the Heights before nightfall.

Washington, perceiving the plan and purpose of his adversary, visited the trenches and exhorted his men. It was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. A battle was momentarily expected; but while the British delayed a storm arose and rendered the harbor impassable. It continued to blow for a whole day and the attack could not be made. Before the following morning the Americans had so strengthened their fortifications that all thoughts of an assault were abandoned, and Howe found himself reduced to the extremity of giving up the capital of New England.

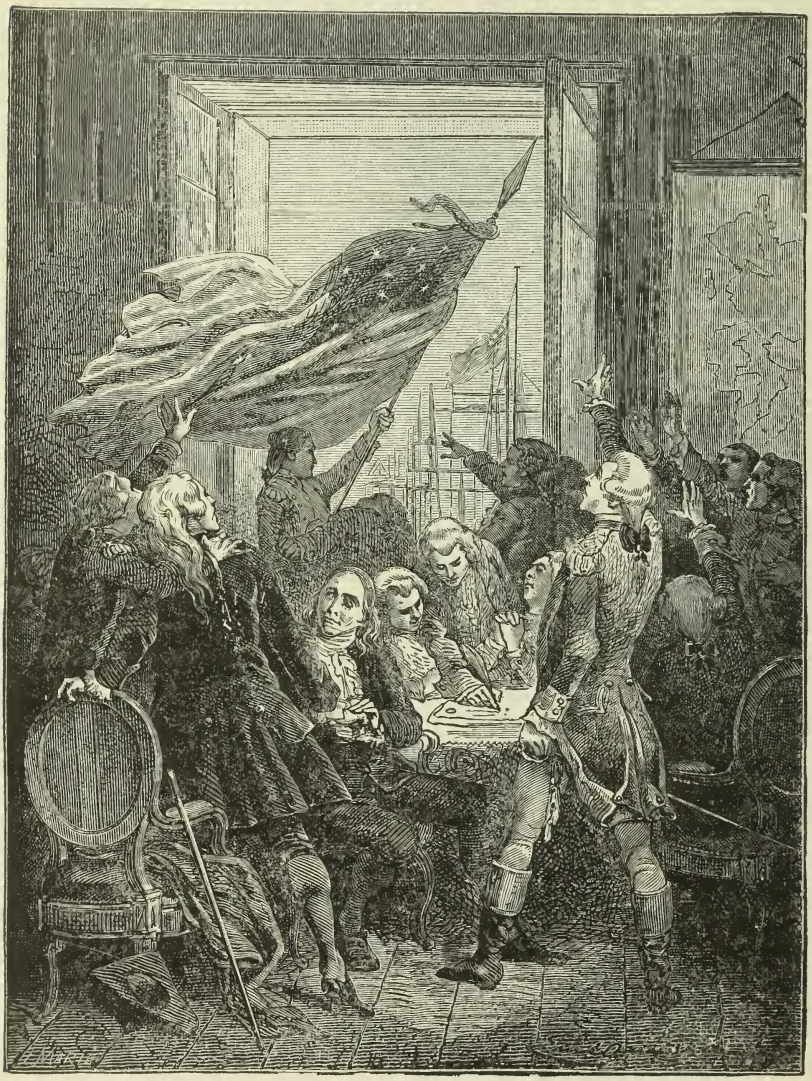
After some days there was an agreement between Washington and the British general, that the latter should retire from Boston unmolested on condition that the city should not be burned. On the 17th of March, the whole British army went on board the fleet and sailed away. The American advance at once entered the city, and on the 20th, Washington made a formal entry at the head of the triumphant army. The country was wild with delight. Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of Washington victorious over the enemy, "*for the first time put to flight.*"

In a short time the commander-in-chief repaired with the army to New York. General Lee pressed forward with the Connecticut militia, and reached that city just in time to baffle an attempt of Sir Henry Clinton, whose fleet arrived off Sandy Hook. Clinton next sailed southward, and was joined by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis with two thousand five hundred men. The force of the British was deemed sufficient to capture Charleston. But the Carolinians, led by General Lee, rose in arms and flocked to the city. Charleston was fortified, and a fort, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, was built on Sullivan's Island. On the 4th of June, the British squadron came in sight. On the 28th the hostile fleet began a bombardment of the fortress, which was commanded by Colonel Moultrie. The vessels of the fleet poured a tempest of balls upon the fort; but the walls, built of palmetto, were little injured. The flag-staff was shot away, but Sergeant Jasper leaped down from the wall, recovered the flag, and set it in its place again. As evening drew on, the British were obliged to retire with a loss of two hundred men. The loss of the garrison amounted to thirty-two. As soon as the British could repair their fleet they set sail for New York.

During the summer, Washington's forces were increased to twenty-seven thousand men; but the effective force was little more than half that number. On the other side, Great Britain was making the vastest preparations. By a treaty with some of the German States, seventeen thousand Hessians were hired to fight against America. George III. was going to quell his revolted provinces by turning loose upon them a brutal foreign soldiery. Twenty-five thousand additional English troops were levied; an immense squadron was fitted out to aid in the reduction of the colonies,

and a million dollars were voted for the extraordinary expenses of the war department.

Thus far the colonists had claimed to be loyal subjects of Great Britain. Now the case seemed hopeless. The people urged the general assemblies, and the general assemblies urged Congress to make a declaration of independence. Congress responded by recommending the colonies to adopt such governments as might best conduce to the safety of the people.



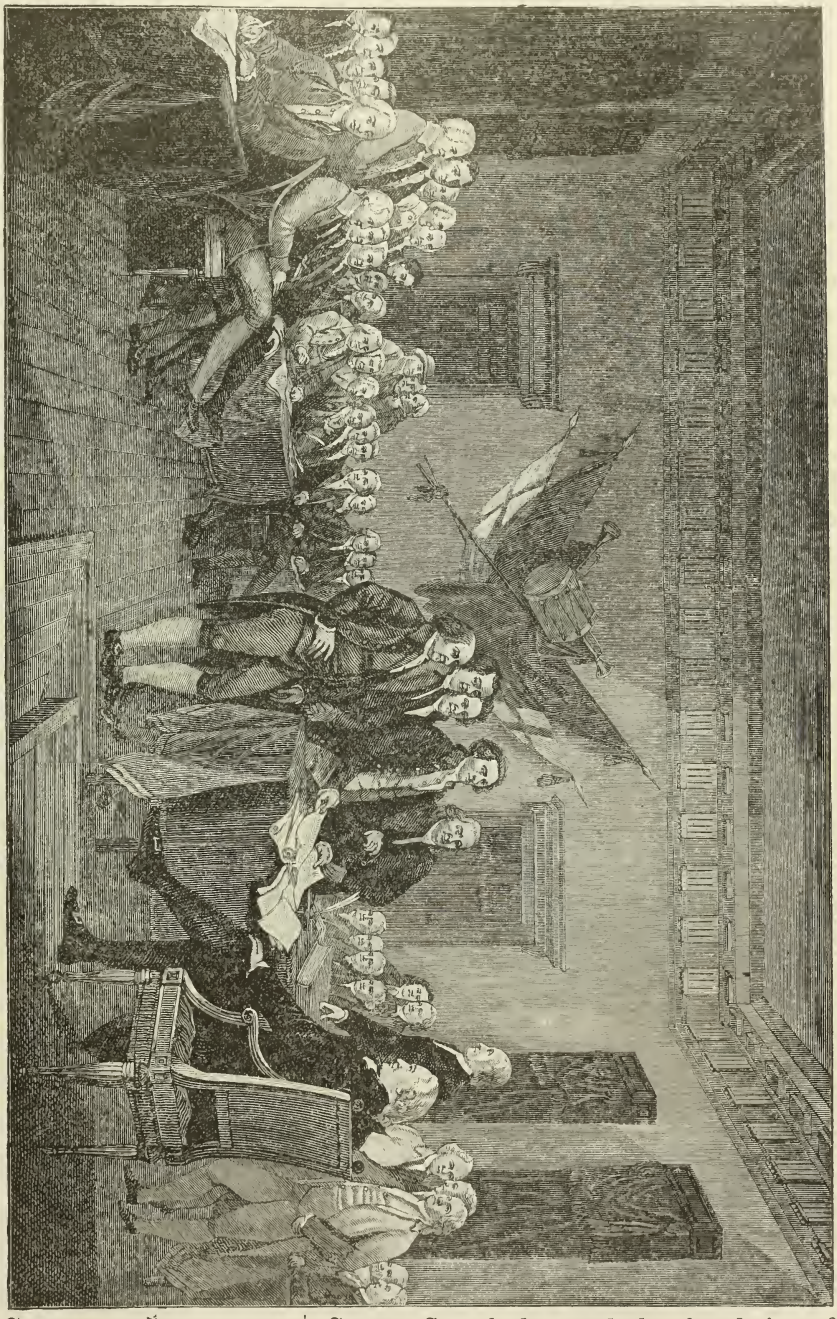
THE COMMITTEE PREPARING THE DECLARATION.

On the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution in Congress declaring that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States.* A long and exciting debate ensued. The final consideration of Lee's resolution was postponed until the 1st of July; and on the 11th of June, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, were appointed a committee to prepare a formal declaration.

On the 1st of July, the committee's report was laid before Congress. On the next day — the 2d — Lee's resolution was adopted. During the 3d, the formal declaration was debated with great spirit. The discussion was resumed on the 4th, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was adopted by a unanimous vote. The loyal old bellman of the State House rang out the note of freedom to the nation. The multitudes caught the signal and answered with shouts. Everywhere the declaration was received with enthusiastic applause. At Philadelphia the king's arms were torn down and burned in the street. At Williamsburg, Charleston, and Savannah there were bonfires. At Boston the declaration was read in Faneuil Hall. At New York the populace pulled down the statue of George III. *and cast it into bullets.* Washington ordered the declaration to be read at the head of each brigade of the army.

The leading principles of the Declaration of Independence are these: That all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that

human governments are instituted for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the people have a natural right to alter their government whenever it becomes destructive of liberty; that the government of George III. had become destructive of liberty; that the despotism of the king and his ministers could be shown by a long list of indisputable proofs—and the proofs are given; that time and again the colonies had humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances; that all their petitions had been spurned with derision and contempt; that the king's irrational tyranny over his American subjects was no longer endurable; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery; and that, therefore, the United Colonies of America are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. To the support of this sublime declaration of principles the members of the Continental Congress mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The people of the American colonies were well prepared to receive the declaration. The public mind was now fully educated to accept the doctrine of independence. The writings of the Adamses, Otis, and Jefferson had disseminated the doctrines of political freedom; and Thomas Paine's celebrated pamphlet on *Common Sense* had sapped the foundation of any remaining loyalty to the British crown. No sooner was the Declaration of Independence given to the people than they, like the signers of that great charter of liberty, pledged

to its support their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

Early in July, General Howe landed a force of nine thousand men on Staten Island. Thither Clinton came from the unsuccessful siege of Charleston, and Admiral Howe from England. The whole British force in the vicinity of New York amounted to thirty thousand men. Nearly half of them were the imported Hessians, for whose transit through his dominions Frederick the Great had charged *so much a head*, saying in magnificent satire that that was the rate which he charged for driving *live stock* across his kingdom! Washington's army was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, equipment, and discipline.



THOMAS PAINE.

Lord Howe had been instructed to try conciliatory measures with the Americans. First, he sent to the American camp a dispatch directed to George Washington, *Esquire*. Washington refused to receive a communication which did not recognize his official position. Howe then sent another message, addressed to George Washington, etc., etc., etc.; and the bearer insisted that *and-so-forth* might mean *General of the American Army*. But Washington sent the officer away. It was known that Howe's authority extended only to granting pardons, and to this Washington replied that since no offense had been committed no pardon was required.

Lord Howe and his brother at once began hostilities. On the 22d of August, the British, to the number of ten thousand, landed on Long Island. The Americans, about eight thousand strong, were posted in the vicinity of Brooklyn. On the morning of the 27th of August, General Grant's division of the British army proceeded as far as Greenwood Cemetery, where he was met by General Stirling with fifteen hundred men; and the battle at once began. In this part of the field there was no decisive result. General Heister, in command of the British center, advanced beyond Flatbush, and engaged the main body of the Americans, under General Sullivan. Here the Hessians gained little or no ground until Sullivan was suddenly alarmed by the noise of battle on his left and rear.

For General Putnam, to whom that duty had been assigned, had neglected to guard the passes on the left of the American army. During the night General Clinton had occupied the heights above the Jamaica road, and now his division came down by way of Bedford. Sullivan found himself surrounded and cut off. The men fought bravely, and many broke through the lines of the British; but the rest were scattered, killed, or taken prisoners.

Cornwallis, attempting to cut off Stirling's retreat, was repulsed. Most of Stirling's men reached the American lines at Brooklyn, but Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull were taken prisoners. Nearly a thousand patriots were killed or missing. It seemed an easy thing for Clinton and Howe to capture all the rest. Washington, perceiving that he

could not hold his position, resolved to withdraw to New York. The enterprise was extremely hazardous. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 29th, the embarkation of the army began. All night with muffled oars the boatmen rowed silently back and forth. At daylight on the following morning, the movement was discovered by the British. They rushed into the American intrenchments, and found—a few worthless guns.

The defeat on Long Island was very disastrous to the American cause. Many of the troops returned to their homes. Only by constant exertion did Washington keep his army from disbanding. The British fleet anchored within cannon-shot of New York. Washington retired to the Heights of Harlem, and on the 15th of September the British landed three miles above New York. Thence they extended their lines across the island and took possession of the city. On the following day there was a skirmish between the advance parties of the two armies, in which the British were driven back with a loss of a hundred men. On the 16th of October, Howe embarked his forces, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed in the vicinity of Westchester. The object was to get upon the American flank and cut off communications with the Eastern States. Washington detected the movement, and faced the British east of Harlem River. On the 28th a battle was brought on at WHITE PLAINS. Howe began the engagement with a cannonade, which was answered with spirit. The Americans were driven from one position, but intrenched themselves in another. Night came on; and Washington withdrew to the heights of North Castle. Howe remained for a few days at White Plains, and then returned to New York.

The American army now crossed to the west bank of the Hudson and took post at Fort Lee. Four thousand men were left at North Castle under General Lee. Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, was defended by three thousand men under Colonel Magaw. The skillful construction of this fort had attracted the attention of Washington, and led to an acquaintance with the engineer, ALEXDER HAMILTON, then a stripling but twenty years of age. On the 16th of November Fort Washington was captured by the British. The garrison were made prisoners of war and crowded into the jails of New York. Two days after the surrender Fort Lee was taken by Lord Cornwallis. Washington, with his army, now reduced to three thousand men, retreated across the Hudson to Newark; but Cornwallis and Knyphausen came hard after



RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS FROM LONG ISLAND.

the fugitives. The patriots continued their flight to Princeton, and finally to Trenton, on the Delaware. Nothing but the skill of Washington saved the remnant of his forces from destruction.

On the 8th of December Washington crossed the Delaware. Cornwallis, having no boats, was obliged to wait for the freezing of the river. The British army was stationed in the towns and villages east of the Delaware. Trenton was held by two thousand Hessians under Colonel Rahl. It was seen that as soon as the river should be frozen the British would march into Philadelphia, and Congress accordingly adjourned to Baltimore.



THE AMERICAN RETREAT INTO JERSEY.

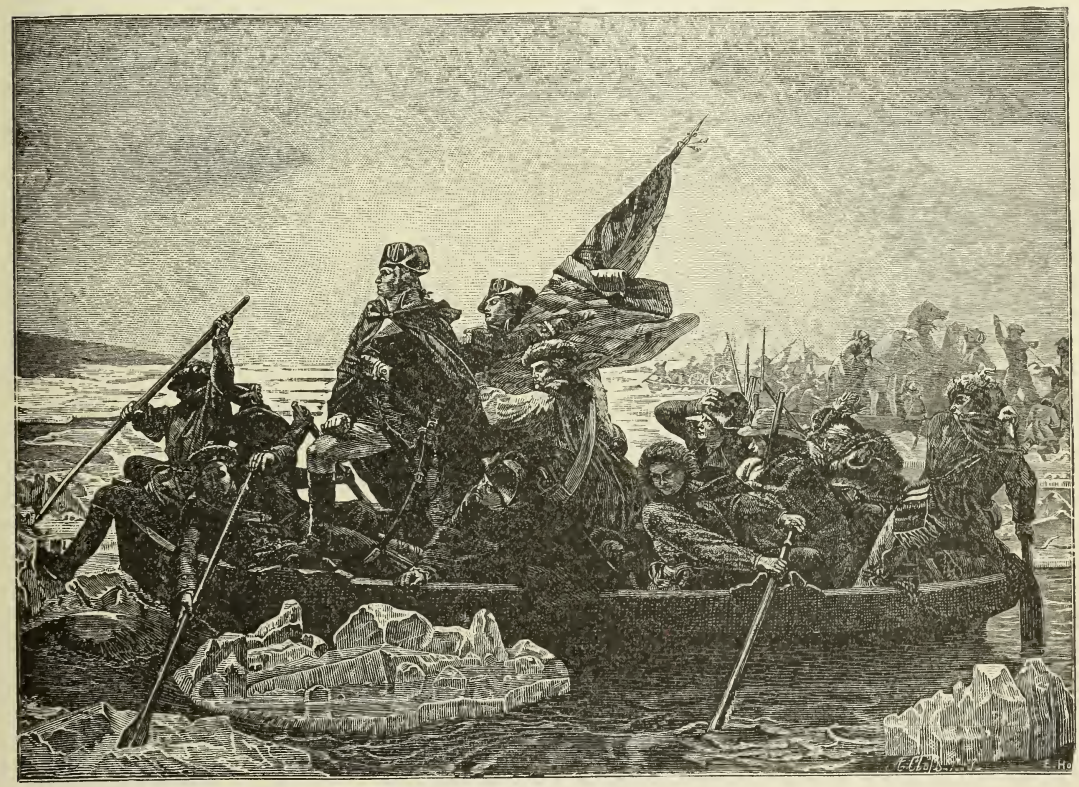
On the same day that Washington crossed the Delaware the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut were taken by Admiral Parker's fleet; and the American squadron under Commander Hopkins was blockaded in Blackstone River. During his retreat across New Jersey Washington sent dispatches to General Lee, at North Castle, to join the main army as soon as possible. That officer marched with his command as far as Morristown, and then took up his quarters at Basking Ridge. On the 13th of December a squad of British cavalry captured Lee and hurried him off to New York. General Sullivan took command of Lee's division, and hastened to join Washington. The entire American force now amounted to a little more than six thousand.

The tide of misfortune turned at last. Washington saw in the disposition of the British forces an opportunity to strike a blow for his country. The leaders of the enemy were off their guard. The Hessians on the east side of the river were spread out from Trenton to Burlington. Washington conceived the design of crossing the Delaware and striking the detachment at Trenton before a concentration of the enemy's forces could be effected. The American army was arranged in three divisions. The first, under General Cadwallader, was to cross the river at Bristol. General Ewing was to pass over a little below Trenton. Washington himself, with twenty-four hundred men, was to cross the Delaware nine miles above Trenton, march down the river, and assault the town.

Christmas night was selected as the time for the movement. The Delaware was filled with floating ice. Generals Ewing and Cadwallader were both baffled in their efforts to cross the river. Washington, having succeeded in getting over, divided his army into two columns and pressed forward. At eight o'clock in the morning the Americans came rushing into the village from both directions. The Hessians sprang from their quarters and attempted to form in line. Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded. Nearly a thousand of the Hessians threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Before nightfall Washington, with his army and the whole body of captives, was safe on the other side of the Delaware.

The battle of Trenton roused the nation from despondency. The militia flocked to the general's standard; and fourteen hundred soldiers, whose term of enlistment now expired, reëntered the service. Robert Morris, the

great financier of the Revolution, came forward with his fortune to the support of his country Three days after his victory Washington again crossed the Delaware; and here all the American detachments in the vicinity were ordered to assemble. To General Heath, stationed at Peekskill, Washington sent orders to move into New Jersey. The British fell back from their outposts and concentrated at Princeton. Cornwallis resumed command in person. So closed the year. Ten days previously Howe only waited for the freezing of passage, were driven back; and Cornwallis deferred the main attack till the morrow. During the night Washington called a council of war, and it was determined to leave the camp, pass the British left flank, and strike the enemy at Princeton. The baggage was removed to Burlington. The camp-fires were brightly kindled and kept burning through the night. Then the army was put in motion towards Princeton. Every thing was done in silence, and the morning light showed the British sentries a deserted camp.



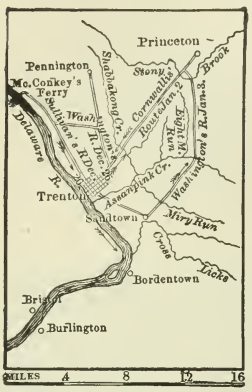
WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.
After the painting by Creuze.

the Delaware before taking up his quarters in Philadelphia. Now it was a question whether he would be able to hold a single town in New Jersey.

On the 1st of January, 1777, Washington's army at Trenton numbered about five thousand men. On the next day Cornwallis approached with greatly superior forces. During the afternoon there was severe skirmishing along the roads east of Trenton. Washington took up a new position south of Assanpink Creek. The British, attempting to force a

At sunrise Washington was entering Princeton. At the same time the British were marching out to reïnforce Cornwallis. The Americans met them in the edge of the village, and the battle at once began. The British charged bayonets, and the militia gave way in confusion. General Mercer received a mortal wound. But the Pennsylvania regulars, led by the commander-in-chief, stood their ground. Washington rallied his men with the greatest bravery; and the British were routed, with a loss of four hundred and thirty men in killed,

wounded, and missing. Washington, fearing the approach of Cornwallis, hastily withdrew to the north, and on the 5th of January took a position at Morristown. Cornwallis retired to New Brunswick. In a short time the greater part of New Jersey was recovered by the patriots. Cornwallis gradually contracted his lines until his whole force was cooped within the limits of New Brunswick and Amboy.



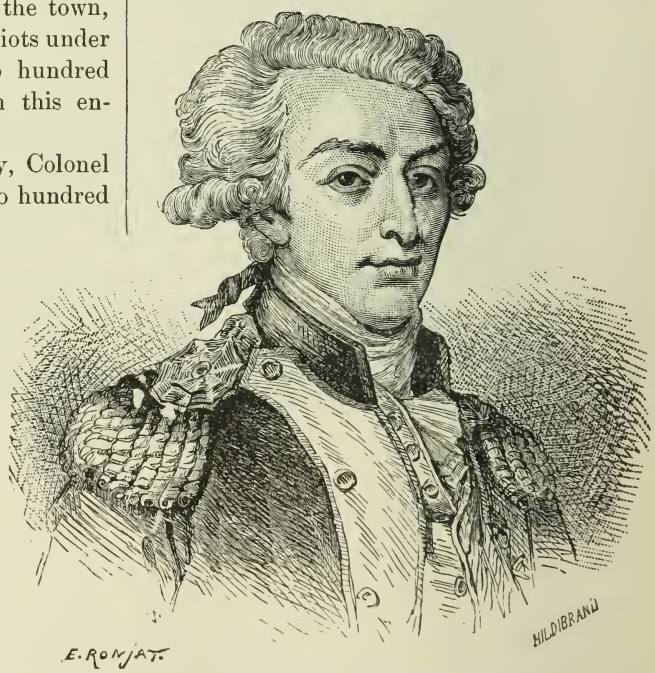
BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON, 1776-7.

In the early spring, the American stores at Peekskill were destroyed by the British. On the 13th of April, Cornwallis surprised General Lincoln on the Raritan; but the latter made good his retreat. On the 25th of the month General Tryon, with a detachment of two thousand men, proceeded against Danbury, Connecticut. After burning the town, the British were attacked by the patriots under Wooster and Arnold, and lost two hundred men. The veteran Wooster fell in this engagement.

On the night of the 22d of May, Colonel Meigs, of Connecticut, embarked two hundred men in whale-boats, crossed the sound, and attacked Sag Harbor. The British were overpowered; only four of them escaped; five or six were killed, and the remaining ninety were made prisoners. The stores were destroyed by the patriots, who, without the loss of a man, returned to Guilford. Colonel Meigs was rewarded with an elegant sword from Congress.

The patriot forces of the North were now concentrated on the Hudson; and a camp, under Arnold, was laid out on the Delaware. In the latter part of May, Washington broke up his winter-quarters and took an advantageous position only ten miles from the British camp. Howe crossed over from New York, and threatened an attack upon the American lines. For a month the two armies countermarched and skirmished. Finally the British retired to Amboy, and on the 30th of June crossed over to Staten Island. On the 10th of July, General Prescott, of the British army, was captured at a farm-house near Newport by Colonel William Barton and forty volunteers. This lucky exploit gave the Americans an officer of equal rank to exchange for General Lee. Colonel Barton was rewarded with an elegant sword by Congress. That body had, in the mean time, returned to Philadelphia.

From the beginning of the war the people of France had been friendly to the American cause. By and by their sympathy became more outspoken. The French ministers would do nothing openly to provoke a war with Great Britain; but secretly they rejoiced at every British misfortune. The Americans came to understand that, if money was required, France would lend it; if arms were to be purchased, France had arms to sell. During the year 1777, the French managed to supply the colonies with twenty



LA FAYETTE IN HIS YOUTH.

thousand muskets and a thousand barrels of powder.

At last the republicans of France began to embark for America. Foremost of all came Gilbert Motier, the young Marquis of La

FAYETTE. Fitting a vessel at his own expense, he eluded the officers—for he had been forbidden to sail—and with the brave Baron De Kalb and a small company of followers, reached South Carolina in April of 1777. He entered the army as a volunteer, and in the following July was commissioned a major-general.

One of the most important events of the war was the campaign of General Burgoyne. Superseding Sir Guy Carleton in command of the English forces in Canada, he spent the spring of 1777 in organizing an army of ten thousand men for the invasion of New York. The forces consisted of British, Hessians, Canadians, and Indians. The plan of the campaign embraced a descent upon Albany and New York, and the cutting off of New England from the Middle and Southern colonies. On the 1st of June, the invaders reached Lake Champlain, and on the 16th proceeded to Crown Point. This place was occupied by the British; and on the 5th of July, Ticonderoga, which was defended by three thousand men under General St. Clair, was captured. The garrison retreated to Hubbardton, Vermont. Here an engagement ensued, in which the Americans fought so obstinately as to check the pursuit. On the following day the British reached Whitehall, and captured a large quantity of stores.

At this time the American army of the North was commanded by General Schuyler. His forces, numbering between four and five thousand, were at Fort Edward. This place was captured by Burgoyne on the 30th of July, the Americans retreating down the Hudson. The British general now dispatched Colonels Baum and Breymann, with a strong detachment, to seize the stores at Bennington, Vermont. Colonel John Stark rallied the New Hampshire militia, and on the 15th of August met the British near the village. On the following morning there was a furious battle, in which Baum's force was completely routed. The British lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners more than eight hundred men. The country was thrilled by the victory.

A few days after the battle of Bennington, Burgoyne received intelligence of a still greater reverse. At the beginning of the invasion a large force of Canadians and Indians, commanded by General St. Leger, had been sent against Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. On the 3d of August, St. Leger invested the fort. General Herkimer rallied the militia of the country, but was defeated with a loss of a hundred and sixty men. Meanwhile, however, General Arnold had led a detachment from the Hudson for the relief of the fort. At his approach the savages fled. St. Leger, dismayed at their treachery, raised the siege and retreated. Such was the news that was borne to Burgoyne at Fort Edward.

The British general now lost a month in

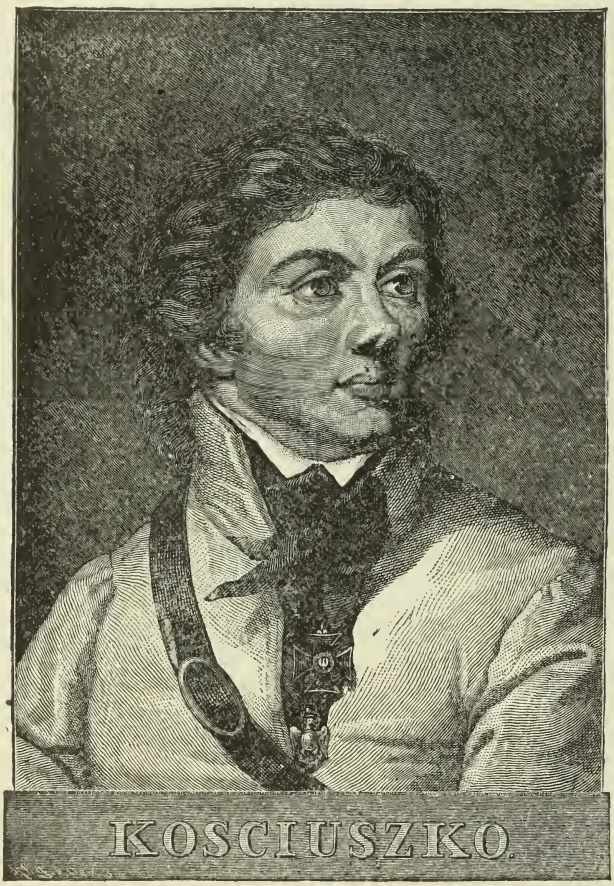


GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE.

procuring supplies from Canada. He found himself hemmed in by nine thousand patriot soldiers. General Lincoln arrived with the militia of New England. Washington sent several detachments from the regular army. Morgan came with his riflemen from the South. General Gates superseded Schuyler in command of the northern army. On the 8th of September the American head-quarters were advanced to Stillwater. At BEMIS'S HEIGHTS, a short distance north of this place, a camp was laid out and fortified under direction of the noted Polish engineer and patriot, Thaddeus Kosciusko. On the 14th of the month Burgoyne crossed the Hudson and took post at Saratoga. The two armies now came face to face. On the 19th a general

battle ensued, continuing until nightfall. The conflict, though severe, was indecisive; the Americans retired within their lines, and the British slept on the field. To the patriots the result of the battle was equivalent to a victory.

The condition of Burgoyne grew critical. His supplies failed; his Canadian and Indian allies deserted his standard. Meanwhile, General Clinton, who commanded the British army in New York, made the most unwearied efforts to save Burgoyne. He sailed up the river and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery. But nothing further was accomplished, and Burgoyne became desperate. On the 7th of October he hazarded another battle, in which he lost his bravest officers and nearly seven hundred privates. The brave General Fraser, who commanded the British right, was killed. His disheartened men turned and fled from the field. On the American side Arnold was the inspiring genius of the battle. The Americans were completely victorious.



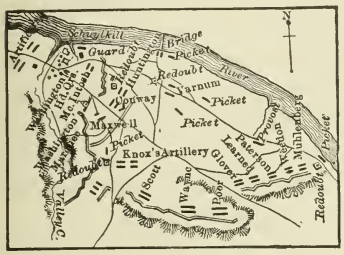
THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

Burgoyne now began a retreat, and on the 9th of October reached Saratoga. Here he was intercepted by Gates and Lincoln, and driven to surrender. On the 17th of October terms of capitulation were agreed on, and the whole army, numbering five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, became prisoners of war. Among the captives were six members of the British Parliament. Forty-two pieces of brass artillery, five thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of stores were the fruits of the victory.

As soon as the invasion was at an end, a large portion of the American army was dispatched to aid Washington. For, in the mean time, a great campaign had been in progress in the South; and the patriots were sorely pressed. On the 23d of July, Howe had sailed from New York, with eighteen thousand men, to attack Philadelphia. Learning that the Americans had obstructed the Delaware, he determined to change his plan, enter the Chesapeake, and make the attack by land. Washington advanced his head-quarters from Philadelphia to Wilmington. The American army, numbering between eleven and twelve thousand men, was concentrated at that place. The forces of Howe were vastly superior, but Washington hoped to beat back the invaders and save the capital.

On the 25th of August the British landed at Elk River, in Maryland, and began their march towards Philadelphia. Washington selected the BRANDYWINE as his line of defense. The left wing was stationed at Chad's Ford, while the right, under General Sullivan, was extended up the river. On the 11th of September the British reached the opposite bank and began battle. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, attacked at the ford; but the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, marched up the Brandywine and crossed above the American right. Sullivan allowed himself to be outflanked. Washington was misled by false information; the right wing was crushed in by Cornwallis, and the day was lost.

During the night the patriots retreated to Westchester. The loss of the Americans amounted to a thousand men; that of the British to five hundred and eighty-four. La Fayette was severely wounded. Count Pulaski so distinguished himself in this engagement that Congress honored him with the rank of brigadier. Washington continued his retreat as far as Germantown. On the 15th of the month he recrossed the Schuylkill and met Howe at Warren's Tavern. A spirited skirmish ensued, and a great battle was imminent. But just as the conflict was beginning, a violent tempest swept over the field. The combatants were deluged, their cartridges soaked, and fighting made impossible. Washington still attempted to keep between the British and the city. But Howe succeeded in crossing the Schuylkill, and hastened onward to Philadelphia. On the 26th of September the city was easily taken, and the main division of the British army encamped at Germantown.



ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE, 1777–8.

Congress adjourned, first to Lancaster, and afterwards to York, where they held their sessions until the next summer. Washington now made his camp on Skippack Creek, twenty miles from the city. On the night of the 3d of October he attempted to surprise the British at GERMANTOWN. But the roads were rough, and the different columns reached the British outposts at irregular intervals. There was much severe fighting, and at one time it seemed that the British would be overwhelmed; but they gained possession of a large stone house, and could not be dislodged. The tide turned against the patriots, and the day was lost. Of the Americans, about a thousand were killed, wounded, and missing. The total British loss was five hundred and thirty-five.

On the 22d of October, Fort Mercer, on the Delaware, was assaulted by twelve hundred Hessians. Count Donop, the commander, and nearly four hundred of his men, fell before the American intrenchments. At the same time, the British fleet attacked Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island. A siege ensued, lasting till the 15th of November. Then at midnight the fortress was set on fire, and the garrison escaped to Fort Mercer. On the 20th of November this fort was also abandoned to the British. General Howe thus obtained control of the Delaware.

After the battle of Germantown Washington took up his head-quarters at Whitemarsh. The patriots began to suffer for food and clothing. On the evening of the 2d of December Howe held a council of war at the house of Lydia Darrah in Philadelphia. It was decided to surprise Washington in his camp. But Lydia, who overheard the plans of Howe, left the city on pretense of *going to mill*, rode to the American lines, and gave the alarm. When, on the morning of the 4th, the British approached Whitemarsh, they found the cannons mounted and the patriots in order of battle. The British general


BARON FREDERICK WILLIAM OF STEUBEN.

maneuvered for four days, and then marched back to Philadelphia.

On the 11th of December Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the right bank of the Schuylkill. Thousands of the soldiers were without shoes, and

the frozen ground was marked with bloody footprints. Log cabins were built, and every thing was done that *could* be done to secure the comfort of the suffering patriots. But it was a long and dreary winter. These were the darkest days of Washington's life. Congress in a measure abandoned him. The success of the army of the North was unjustly compared with the reverses of the army of the South. Many men high in military and civil station left the great leader unsupported. But the allegiance of the army remained unshaken, and the nation's confidence in the chieftain became stronger than ever. At the close of 1777 the patriot cause was obscured with clouds and misfortune.



BEAUMARCHAIS.

Meanwhile, however, negotiations had been successfully begun looking to an alliance of the Americans and the French. In November of 1776 Silas Deane, of Connecticut, was appointed commissioner to the court of Louis XVI., then in the third year of his reign. His first service was to make a secret arrangement with the ministry to supply the Americans with materials for carrying on the war. In the autumn of 1777 a ship laden with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of arms, ammunition, and specie was sent to America. In that ship came Baron Steuben, who was commissioned by Congress as inspector-general of the army.

Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin were also appointed by Congress to negotiate a treaty with the French king. In December of 1776 they reached Paris and began their duties. For a long time King Louis and his minister stood aloof from the proposed alliance. They hated Great Britain, and gave secret encouragement to the colonies; but an open treaty with the Americans was equivalent to a war with England, and that the French court dreaded.

Now it was that the genius of Dr. Franklin shone with a peculiar luster. At the gay court of Louis XVI. he stood as the representative of his country. His wit and genial humor made him admired; his talents and courtesy commanded respect; his patience and perseverance gave him final success. During the whole of 1777 he remained at Paris and Versailles. At last came the news of Burgoyne's surrender. A powerful British army had been subdued by the colonists without aid from abroad. The success of the American arms and the influence of the great financier, Beaumarchais, who for several years had been in correspondence with the American agents abroad, induced the king to accept the proposed alliance with the colonies. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty was concluded; France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and entered into relations of friendship with the new nation.

Benjamin Franklin, the author of the first treaty between the United States and a foreign nation, was born in Boston on the 17th of January, 1706. His father was a manufacturer of soap and candles. At the age of twelve Benjamin was apprenticed to his brother to learn the art of printing. In 1723 he went to Philadelphia, entered a printing-office, and rose to distinction. He visited England; re-

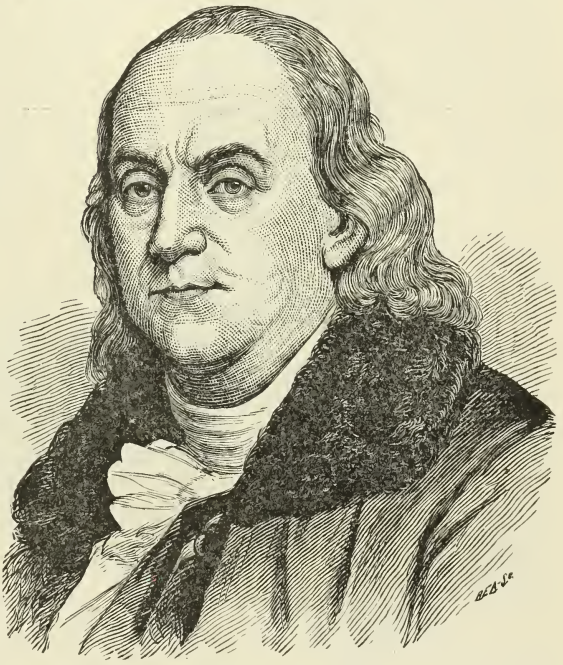
turned; founded the first circulating library in America; edited *Poor Richard's Almanac;* discovered the identity of electricity and lightning; espoused the patriot cause, and devoted his old age to perfecting the American Union. The name of Franklin is one of the brightest in history.

In May of 1778 Congress ratified the treaty with France. A month previously a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, had been sent to America. Both France and Great Britain immediately prepared for war. George III. now became willing to treat with his American subjects. Lord North brought forward two bills in which every thing that the colonists had claimed was conceded. The bills were passed by Parliament, and the king assented. Commissioners were sent to America, but Congress informed them that nothing but an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States would now be accepted. So it is that the obstinacy of tyrants conduces to the liberties of mankind.

The British army remained at Philadelphia until June of 1778. The fleet of Admiral Howe lay in the Delaware. When the rumor came that the fleet of D'Estaing was approaching, the English admiral set sail for New York. On the 18th of June the British army evacuated Philadelphia and retreated across New Jersey. Washington occupied the city, and followed the retreating foe. At MONMOUTH the British were overtaken. On the morning of the 28th, General Lee was ordered to attack the enemy. The American cavalry under La Fayette was driven back by Cornwallis. Lee ordered his line to retire to a stronger position; but the troops mistook the order and began a retreat. Washington met the fugitives and administered a severe rebuke to Lee. The fight continued till nightfall, and Washington anxiously waited for the morning. During the night, however, Clinton withdrew his forces and escaped.

The loss of the Americans was two hundred and twenty-seven. The British left nearly three hundred dead on the field. On the day after the battle Washington received an insulting letter from Lee demanding an apology. Washington replied that his language had been warranted by the circumstances. Lee answered in a still more offensive manner, and was thereupon arrested, tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from his command for twelve months. He never reëntered the service, and did not live to see our country's independence.

The British forces were now concentrated at New York. Washington took up his headquarters at White Plains. On the 11th of July, Count d'Estaing's fleet attempted to attack the British squadron in the bay; but the bar at the entrance prevented the passage of the French vessels. D'Estaing next sailed for Rhode Island, and General Sullivan proceeded to Providence to coöperate with him in an attack on Newport. On the 9th of August, Sullivan secured a favorable position on the island. A joint attack by land and sea was planned for the following day. On that morning the fleet of Lord Howe came in sight, and D'Estaing sailed out to give battle. Just as the two squadrons were about to begin an engagement, a storm arose by which the fleets were parted and greatly damaged. D'Estaing repaired to Boston and Howe returned to New York.

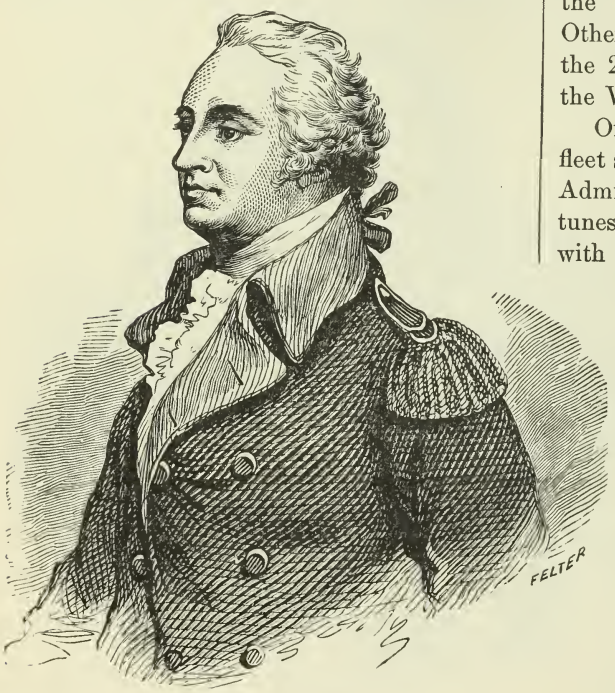


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Sullivan laid siege to Newport, but soon found it necessary to retreat. The British

pursued, and a battle was fought in which the enemy was repulsed with a loss of two hundred and sixty men. On the following night Sullivan succeeded in escaping from the island. General Clinton returned to New York.

The command of the British naval forces operating against America was now transferred to Admiral Byron. Early in October, a band of incendiaries, led by Colonel Ferguson, burned the American ships at Little Egg Harbor. In the preceding July Major John Butler, in command of sixteen hundred loyalists, Canadians, and Indians, marched into



GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

the valley of Wyoming, Pennsylvania. The settlement was defenseless. On the approach of the Tories and savages a few militia, old men and boys, rallied to protect their homes. A battle was fought, and the patriots were routed. The fugitives fled to a fort, which was crowded with women and children. Honorable terms were promised by Butler, and the garrison capitulated. On the 5th of July the gates were opened and the barbarians entered. Immediately they began to plunder and butcher. Nearly all the prisoners fell under the hatchet and the scalping-knife.

In November there was a similar massacre at Cherry Valley, New York. The invaders were led by Joseph Brandt, chief of the Mohawks, and Walter Butler, a son of Major John Butler. The people of Cherry Valley were driven from their homes; women and children were tomahawked and scalped, and forty prisoners dragged into captivity. To avenge these outrages, an expedition was sent against the savages on the Susquehanna; and they in turn were made to feel the terrors of war. In the spring of 1778, Major Clarke marched against the Indians west of the Alleghanies. The expedition descended to the mouth of the Ohio; and, on the 4th of the following July, captured Kaskaskia. Other important posts were taken; and, on the 26th of February, 1779, Vincennes, on the Wabash, was forced to capitulate.

On the 3d of November, Count d'Estaing's fleet sailed for the West Indies. In December Admiral Byron left New York to try the fortunes of war on the ocean. Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, was sent by General Clinton for the conquest of Georgia. On the 29th of December the expedition reached Savannah. The place was defended by General Robert Howe, with eight hundred men. A battle was fought, and the Americans were driven out of the city. The patriots crossed into South Carolina, and found refuge at Charleston. Such was the only real conquest made by the British during the year.

The winter of 1778–79 was passed by the American army at Middlebrook. There was much discouragement among the soldiers, for they were neither paid nor fed. But the influence of Washington prevented a mutiny. In February, Governor Tryon, of New York, marched with fifteen hundred regulars and Tories to destroy the salt-works at Horse Neck, Connecticut. General Putnam rallied the militia and made a brave defense. The Americans were finally outflanked by the British and obliged to fly. It was here that General Putnam, when about to be overtaken, spurred his horse down a precipice and escaped.

In the latter part of May, Clinton sailed with an armament up the Hudson to Stony Point. The garrison, unable to resist, escaped from the fortifications. On the 1st of

June, the British bombarded Verplanck's Point, on the other side of the river, and compelled a surrender. In July, Tryon, with twenty-six hundred Hessians and Tories, captured New Haven. East Haven and Fairfield were given to the flames. At Norwalk, while the village was burning, Tryon, on a neighboring hill, sat in a rocking-chair and laughed heartily at the scene.

The work of retaking Stony Point was assigned by Washington to General Anthony Wayne. On the 15th of July he marched against that stronghold, and, in the evening, halted near the fort and gave his orders. The British pickets were caught and gagged. Every thing was done in silence. Muskets were unloaded and bayonets fixed; not a gun was to be fired. The assault was made a little after midnight. The patriots never wavered in the charge. The ramparts were scaled; and the British, finding themselves between two lines of bayonets, cried out for quarter. Sixty-three of the enemy fell; the remaining five hundred and forty-three were made prisoners. Of the Americans, only fifteen were killed and eighty-three wounded. General Wayne secured the ordnance and stores, and then destroyed the fort.

Three days afterwards, Major Lee captured the British garrison at Jersey City. On the 25th of the month, a fleet was sent against a British post at the mouth of the Penobscot. On the 13th of August, while the American ships were besieging the post, they were attacked and destroyed by a British squadron. In the summer of this year, four thousand six hundred men, led by Generals Sullivan and James Clinton, were sent against the Indians on the Susquehanna. At Elmira the savages and Tories had fortified themselves; but, on the 29th of August, they were forced from their stronghold and utterly routed. The country between the Susquehanna and the Genesee was wasted by the patriots. Forty Indian villages were destroyed.

On the 9th of January, 1779, Fort Sunbury, on St. Catherine's Sound, was captured by the British under General Prevost. This officer then assumed command of the British army in the South. A force of two thousand regulars and loyalists was dispatched against Augusta. On the 29th of January, the British reached their destination, and Augusta was taken. In the mean time, the Tories, who were advancing to join the British at Augusta, were defeated by the patriots under Captain Anderson. On the 14th of February, they were again overtaken and routed by Colonel Pickens. Colonel Boyd, the Tory leader, and seventy of his men were killed. Seventy-five others were captured, and five of the ringleaders hanged. The western half of Georgia was quickly recovered by the patriots.

General Ashe was sent with two thousand men to intercept the enemy. On the 25th of February, the Americans crossed the Savannah, and pursued Campbell as far as Brier Creek. Here the patriots came to a halt; and General Prevost, marching from Savannah, surrounded Ashe's command. A battle was fought on the 3d of March; the Americans were totally routed, and driven into the swamps. By this defeat, Georgia was again prostrated, and a royal government was established over the State.

Within a month, General Lincoln was again in the field with five thousand men. He advanced up the left bank of the river in the direction of Augusta; but, at the same time, General Prevost crossed the Savannah, and marched against Charleston. General Lincoln turned back to attack him, and the British made a hasty retreat. The Americans overtook the enemy at Stono Ferry, ten miles west of Charleston, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Prevost then fell back to Savannah, and from June until September military operations were suspended.

Count d'Estaing now arrived with his fleet from the West Indies to coöperate with Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah. Prevost concentrated his forces for the defense of the city. On the 12th of September, the French, numbering six thousand, effected a landing, and advanced to the siege. Eleven days elapsed before General Lincoln arrived with his forces. On the 16th of the month, D'Estaing demanded a surrender; but Prevost answered with a message of defiance. The siege was pressed with vigor, and the city constantly bombarded. But the defenses remained unshaken. At last D'Estaing notified Lincoln that the city must be stormed. It was determined to make the assault on the morning of the 9th of October.

Before sunrise the allies advanced against the redoubts of the British. The attack was made with great vehemence. At one time it seemed that the works would be carried. The flags of Carolina and France were planted on the parapet, but were soon hurled down. Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, was killed. The allied columns were driven back with fearful losses. Count Pulaski was struck with a grape-shot, and borne dying from the field. D'Estaing retired on board the fleet, and Lincoln retreated to Charleston.

On the 23d of September, Paul Jones, cruising off the coast of Scotland with a fleet of French and American vessels, fell in with a British squadron, and a bloody battle ensued. The *Serapis*, a British frigate of forty-four guns, engaged the *Poor Richard* within musket-shot. At last the vessels were lashed together, and the *Serapis* struck her colors. Jones transferred his men to the conquered ship, and the *Poor Richard* went down. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men on board the fleet of Jones, three hundred were either killed or wounded.

So closed the year 1779. The colonies were not yet free. The French alliance had brought but little benefit. The national treasury was bankrupt. The patriots of the army were poorly fed, and paid only with unkept promises. The disposition of Great Britain was still for war. The levies of sailors and soldiers made by Parliament amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand; while the expenses of the War Department were set at twenty million pounds sterling.

During the year 1780, military operations at the North were, for the most part, suspended. Early in July, Admiral De Ternay arrived at Newport with a French squadron and six thousand land-troops under Count Rochambeau. The Americans were greatly elated at the coming of their allies. In September the commander-in-chief held a conference with Rochambeau, and the plans of future campaigns were determined.

In the South the patriots suffered many reverses. South Carolina was completely overrun by the enemy. On the 11th of February, Admiral Arbuthnot anchored before Charleston. Sir Henry Clinton and five thousand men were on board the fleet. The city was defended by fourteen hundred men, under General Lincoln. The British effected a landing, and advanced up the right bank of Ashley River. On the 7th of April, Lincoln was reïnforced by seven hundred Virginians. Two days afterward Arbuthnot succeeded in passing Fort Moultrie, and came within cannon-shot of the city.

A siege was at once begun, and prosecuted with vigor. Lincoln sent three hundred men under General Huger to scour the country north of Cooper River. Apprised of this movement, Tarleton with the British cavalry stole upon Huger's forces at Monk's Corner and dispersed the whole company. The city was now fairly hemmed in. From the beginning the defense was hopeless. The fortifications were beaten down, and Lincoln, dreading an assault, agreed to capitulate. On the 12th of May, Charleston was surrendered to the British, and the garrison became prisoners of war.

A few days before the surrender, Tarleton surprised and dispersed a body of militia on the Santee. Afterward three expeditions were sent into different sections of the State. The American post at Ninety-Six was seized. A second detachment invaded the country on the Savannah. Cornwallis crossed the Santee and captured Georgetown. Tarleton, with seven hundred cavalry, overtook the Americans under Colonel Buford, on the Waxhaw, charged upon and scattered the whole command. The authority of Great Britain was reëstablished over South Carolina. Clinton and Arbuthnot returned to New York, and Cornwallis was left to hold the conquered territory. In this condition of affairs, Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion appeared as the protectors of the State. They rallied the militia, and began an audacious partisan warfare. Detachments of the British were swept off as though an enemy had fallen on them from the skies. At Rocky Mount, Colonel Sumter burst upon a party of dragoons, who barely saved themselves. On the 6th of August, he attacked a detachment at Hanging Rock, defeated them and retreated. It was in this battle that young Andrew Jackson, then but thirteen years of age, began his career as a soldier.

Marion's company consisted of twenty men and boys, white and black, half clad and poorly armed. But the number increased, and the

"Ragged Regiment" soon became a terror to the enemy. There was no telling when or where the sword of the fearless leader would fall. From the swamps at midnight, he and his men would suddenly dart upon the encampments of the enemy. During the summer and autumn of 1780, he swept around Cornwallis's positions, cutting his lines of communication, and making incessant onsets.

General Gates now advanced into the Carolinas. Lord Rawdon concentrated his forces at Camden. Hither came Cornwallis with reïnforcements. The Americans took post at Clermont. Cornwallis and Gates each formed the design of surprising the other in the night. On the evening of the 15th of August, they both moved from their camps and met midway on Sander's Creek. After a severe battle the Americans were completely defeated, with a loss of more than a thousand men. Baron De Kalb was mortally wounded. The reputation of Gates was blown away like chaff, and he was superseded by General Greene.

A few days after the battle, Sumter's corps was overtaken by Tarleton at Fishing Creek and completely routed. Only Marion remained to harass the enemy. On the 8th of September, the British advanced into North Carolina, and on the 25th reached Charlotte. Colonel Ferguson, with eleven hundred regulars and Tories, was sent into the country west of the Catawba to encourage the loyalists. On the 7th of October, while he and his men were encamped on King's Mountain, they were attacked by a thousand riflemen led by Colonel Campbell. A desperate battle ensued; Ferguson was slain, and three hundred of his men were killed or wounded. The remaining eight hundred threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Ten of the leading Tory prisoners were condemned by a court-martial and hanged.

Meanwhile, the credit of the nation was sinking to the lowest ebb. Congress resorted to paper money. At first the continental bills were received at par; but the value of the notes rapidly diminished, until, by the middle of 1780, they were not worth two cents to the dollar. Business was paralyzed for the want of a currency; but Robert Morris and a few other wealthy patriots came forward with their private fortunes and saved the colonies from ruin. The mothers of America also lent a helping hand; and the patriot soldiers were supplied with food and clothing.

In the midst of the gloom the country was shocked by the news that Benedict Arnold had turned traitor. After the battle of Bemis's Heights, in the fall of 1777, he had been promoted to the rank of major-general, and made commandant of Philadelphia. Here he married the daughter of a loyalist, and entered upon a career of extravagance which overwhelmed him with debt. He then began a system of frauds on the commissary department of the army. Charges were preferred against him by Congress, and he was convicted



FRANCIS MARION.

by a court-martial. Seeming to forget his disgrace, Arnold obtained command of the fortress of West Point on the Hudson. On the last day of July, 1780, he assumed control of the arsenal and dépôt of stores at that place. He then entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and finally offered to betray his country for gold. It was agreed that the British fleet should ascend the Hudson, and that the garrison and the fortress should be given up without a struggle.

On the 21st of September Clinton sent Major John Andrè to hold a conference with Arnold and make arrangements for the surrender. Andrè, who was adjutant-general of the British army, went in full uniform, and

the meeting was held outside of the American lines. About midnight of the 21st he went ashore from the *Vulture*, and met Arnold in a thicket. Daydawn approached and the conspirators entered the American lines. Andrè disguising himself, assumed the character of a spy.

During the next day, the business was completed. Arnold agreed to surrender West Point for ten thousand pounds and a commission as brigadier in the British army. Andrè received papers containing a description of West Point, its defenses, and the best method of attack. During that day an American battery drove the *Vulture* down the river, and Andrè was obliged to cross to the other side and return by land. He passed the American outposts in safety; but at Tarrytown he was confronted by three militiamen,[1] who stripped him, found his papers, and delivered him to Colonel Jameson at North Castle. Arnold, on hearing the news, escaped on board the *Vulture*. Andrè was tried by a court-martial at Tappan, and condemned to death. On the 2d of October, he was led to the gallows, and, under the stern code of war, was hanged.

For several years Holland had favored the Americans; now she began negotiations for a treaty similar to that between France and the United States. Great Britain discovered the purposes of the Dutch government, and remonstrated. Her remonstrance came to nothing, and on the 20th of December an open declaration of war was made. Thus the Netherlands were added to the enemies of England.

For the Americans, the year 1781 opened gloomily. The condition of the army was desperate—no food, no pay, no clothing. On the first day of January the whole Pennsylvania line mutinied and marched on Philadelphia. At Princeton they were met by emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton and were tempted with offers of money and clothing if they would desert the American standard. The mutinous patriots made answer by seizing the British agents and delivering them to General Wayne to be hanged as spies. For this deed the commissioners of Congress, who now arrived, offered the insurgents a large reward, but the reward was indignantly refused. Washington, knowing how shamefully the army had been neglected by Congress, was not unwilling that the mutiny should take its own course. The congressional agents were therefore left to adjust the difficulty as best they could with the rebellious troops.

About the middle of the same month the New Jersey brigade, stationed at Pompton, revolted. This movement Washington quelled by force. General Robert Howe marched to the camp with five hundred regulars and compelled twelve of the principal mutineers to execute the two leaders of the revolt. From that day order was completely restored. These insurrections had a good rather than a bad effect; Congress was thoroughly alarmed, and immediate provisions were made for the better support of the army. An agent was sent to France to obtain a further loan of money. Robert Morris was appointed secretary of finance; the Bank of North America was organized; and although the outstanding debts of the United States could not be paid, yet all future obligations were promptly met; for Morris and his friends pledged their private fortunes to sustain the credit of the government.

In the North, military movements were begun by Arnold. On arriving at New York the traitor had received the promised commission, and was now a brigadier-general in the British army. In the preceding November, Washington and Major Henry Lee formed a plan to capture him. Sergeant John Champe undertook the daring enterprise, deserted to the enemy, entered New York, joined Arnold's company, and with two assistants, concerted measures to abduct him from the city and convey him to the American camp. But Arnold suddenly moved his quarters and the plan was defeated. A month afteward he was given command of a fleet and a land-force of sixteen hundred men, and on the 16th of December left New York to make a descent on the coasts of Virginia.

Early in January the traitor entered James River and began war on his countrymen. His proceedings were marked with much ferocity, but not with the daring which characterized his former exploits. In the vicinity of Richmond a vast quantity of public and private property

[1] John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. Congress afterward rewarded them with silver medals and pensions for life.

was destroyed. The country along the river was devastated; and when there was nothing left to excite his cupidity or gratify his revenge, Arnold took up his head-quarters in Portsmouth, a few miles south of Hampton Roads.

About the middle of April, General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth with a force of two thousand British regulars. Joining his troops with those of Arnold, he assumed command of the whole, and again the fertile districts of Lower Virginia were ravaged with fire and sword. Early in May, Phillips died, and for seven days Arnold held the supreme command of the British forces in Virginia. That was the height of his treasonable glory. On the 20th of the month Lord Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg and ordered him begone. Returning to New York, he received from Clinton a second detachment, entered the Sound, landed at New London, in his native State, and captured the town. Fort Griswold, which was defended by Colonel Ledyard with a hundred and fifty militiamen, was carried by storm. When Ledyard surrendered, seventy-three of the garrison were murdered in cold blood.

General Greene was now in command of the American army at Charlotte, North Carolina. Early in January, General Morgan was sent into the Spartanburg district of South Carolina to repress the Tories, whither he was followed by Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry. The Americans took a position at the COWPENS, where, on the 17th of January, they were attacked by the British. Tarleton made the onset with impetuosity; but Morgan's men bravely held their ground. At last the American cavalry, under Colonel William Washington, made a charge and scattered the British dragoons like chaff. Ten British officers and ninety privates were killed.

When Cornwallis heard of the battle, he marched up the river to cut off Morgan's retreat. But Greene hastened to the camp of Morgan and took command in person. On the 28th of January, the Americans reached the Catawba and crossed to the northern bank. Within two hours the British arrived at the ford; but during the night the rain poured down in torrents; the river was swollen to a flood; and it was many days before the British could cross. Then began a race for the Yadkin. The distance was sixty miles, and in two days the Americans reached the river. The crossing was nearly effected, when the British appeared in sight. That night the Yadkin was made impassable by rains, and Cornwallis was again delayed. On the 9th of February, the British succeeded in crossing. The lines of retreat and pursuit were now nearly parallel. A third time the race began, and again the Americans won it. On the 13th, Greene, with the main division, crossed the Dan into Virginia.

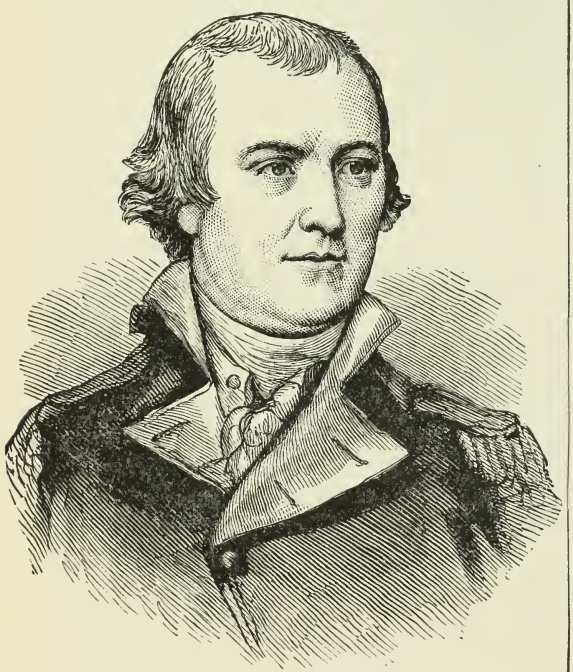
On the 22d of February, General Greene returned into North Carolina. Meanwhile, Cornwallis had sent Tarleton into the region between the Haw and Deep Rivers to encourage the Tories. Three hundred loyalists were already under arms in that neighborhood. While marching to join Tarleton, they were intercepted, and the entire company dispersed by Colonel Lee. Greene's army now numbered more than four thousand men. Determining to avoid battle no longer, he marched to GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE. Cornwallis moved forward to the attack. On the 15th of March, the two armies met, and a severe but indecisive battle was fought. The Americans were driven back for several miles; but in killed and wounded the British loss was greater.

Early in April, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington, and then proceeded to Virginia. The British forces in the Carolinas remained under Lord Rawdon. The American army soon advanced into South Carolina and captured Fort Watson, on the Santee. Greene then took post at HOBKIRK'S HILL, near Camden. On the 25th of April, Rawdon moved against the American camp, and a severe battle ensued; for a while it seemed that the British would be routed; but at last the American center was broken, and the day lost.

On the 10th of May, Lord Rawdon retired to Eutaw Springs. The British posts at Orangeburg and Augusta fell into the hands of the patriots. Ninety-Six was besieged by General Greene. The supply of water was cut off from the fort, and the garrison reduced to the point of surrendering, when Rawdon approached, and the Americans were obliged to retreat. General Greene passed the sickly months of summer in the hill-country of the Santee.

Sumter, Lee, and Marion were constantly abroad, smiting the Tories right and left. Lord Rawdon now went to Charleston, and became a principal actor in one of the most shameful scenes of the Revolution. Colonel Isaac Hayne, a patriot who had once taken an oath of allegiance to the king, was caught in command of a troop of American cavalry. He was arraigned before Colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, and condemned to death. Rawdon gave his sanction, and Colonel Hayne was hanged.

On the 22d of August, General Greene marched toward Orangeburg. The British



NATHANIEL GREENE.

retired to Eutaw Springs. There the Americans overtook them on the 8th of September. One of the fiercest battles of the war ensued; and General Greene was denied a decisive victory only by the bad conduct of some of his troops. After losing five hundred and fifty-five men, he gave over the struggle. The British lost in killed and wounded nearly seven hundred. Stuart retreated to Monk's Corner; Greene followed; and, after two months of maneuvering, the British were driven into Charleston. In the whole South, only Charleston and Savannah were now held by the king's army; the latter city was evacuated on the 11th of July, and the former on the 14th of December, 1782. Such was the close of the Revolution in the Carolinas and Georgia.

In the beginning of May, 1781, Cornwallis took command of the British army in Virginia. The country was ravaged, and property destroyed to the value of fifteen million dollars. La Fayette, to whom the defense of the State had been intrusted, was unable to meet Cornwallis in the field. While the British were near Richmond, a detachment under Tarleton proceeded to Charlottesville, and captured the town and seven members of the legislature. Governor Jefferson saved himself by flight, and escaped into the mountains.

On the 6th of July, General Wayne, who led La Fayette's advance, suddenly attacked the whole British army, at Green Springs on the James. Cornwallis was surprised by the audacious onset, and Wayne, seeing his mistake, made a hasty retreat. The loss of the two armies was equal, being a hundred and twenty on each side. The British next marched to Portsmouth; but, early in August, the army was conveyed to Yorktown, on the southern bank of York River. La Fayette followed, and took post eight miles from the British. During the months of July and August, Washington, from his camp on the Hudson, looked wistfully to the South. Clinton was kept in alarm by false dispatches, written for the purpose of falling into his hands. These intercepted messages indicated that the Americans would immediately besiege New York. When Clinton was informed that Washington was marching toward Virginia, he would not believe it. Washington pressed rapidly forward, and joined La Fayette at Williamsburg. On the 30th of August, a French fleet, with four thousand troops on board, reached the Chesapeake, and anchored in the mouth of York River. Cornwallis was blockaded by sea and land.

Count de Barras, who commanded the French flotilla at Newport, also arrived. On the 5th of September, Admiral Graves appeared in the bay, and a naval battle ensued, in which the British ships were roughly handled. On the 28th, the allied armies encamped around Yorktown. On the night of the 6th of October, the trenches were opened at the distance of six hundred yards from the

British works. On the 11th, the allies drew their second parallel within three hundred yards of Cornwallis's redoubts. On the night of the 14th, the enemy's outer works were carried by storm. On the 16th, the British made a sortie, but were repulsed. On the next day, Cornwallis proposed a surrender; on the 18th, terms of capitulation were signed; and, on the afternoon of the 19th, the whole British army, consisting of seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven English and Hessian soldiers, laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.

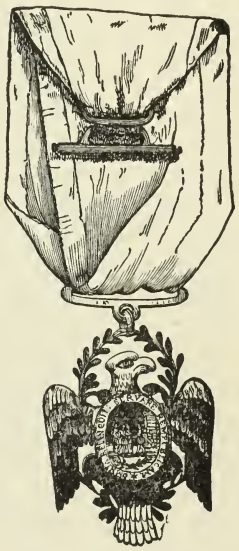
On the evening of the 23d of October, 1781, the news was borne to Congress. On that night the watchmen of Philadelphia, going their nightly rounds, uttered this welcome cry: "Ten o'clock! Starlight night! Cornwallis is taken!" It was a fitting thing that this glorious proclamation of freedom and victory should be made under the eternal benignity of the silent stars, in the streets of that old town which first among the cities of the world had heard the declaration that all men are created equal. Though peace lagged for a season, the war was at an end. The patriots who, at Concord and Lexington, had begun a battle for the rights of Englishmen had ended by winning their independence.

The note of rejoicing resounded throughout the land. In England the king and his ministers heard the tidings with rage; but the English people were secretly pleased. On the 20th of March, 1782, Lord North and his friends resigned their offices. A new ministry was formed, favorable to peace. The command of the British forces in the United States was transferred to Sir Guy Carleton, a man friendly to American interests.

In the summer of 1782, Richard Oswald was sent by Parliament to Paris to confer with Franklin and Jay in regard to the terms of peace. John Adams and Henry Laurens also entered into the negotiations. On the 30th of November, preliminary articles of peace were signed; and in the following April, the terms were ratified by Congress. On the 3d of September, 1783, a final treaty was effected between all the nations that had been at war.

The terms of THE TREATY OF 1783 were these: A complete recognition of the independence of the United States; the recession by Great Britain of Florida to Spain; the surrender of all the remaining territory east of the Mississippi to the United States; the free navigation of the Mississippi and the lakes by American vessels; and the retention by Great Britain of Canada and Nova Scotia, with the exclusive control of the St. Lawrence.

Early in August, Sir Guy Carleton received instructions to evacuate New York City. By the 25th of November, every thing was in readiness; the British army was embarked; the sails were spread; the ships stood out to sea; dwindled to white specks on the horizon; disappeared. The Briton was gone. After the struggles of an eight years' war the patriots had achieved their independence.



BADGE OF THE ORDER OF CINCINNATUS.

On the 4th of December, Washington assembled his officers and bade them a final adieu. When they were met, he spoke a few affectionate words to his comrades, who came forward, and with tears and sobs bade him farewell.[1] Washington then departed to Annapolis, where Congress was in session. At Philadelphia he made a report of his expenses during the war. The account, in his own handwriting, embraced an expenditure of seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars—all correct to a cent.

The route of the chief to Annapolis was a continuous triumph. The people by thousands flocked to the roadsides to see him pass. On the 23d of December, Washington was introduced to Congress, and delivered an address full of wisdom and modesty. With great dignity he surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief of the army. General Mifflin,

[1] In order to preserve the memories of the Revolution and to cherish the sentiments of patriotism, the officers of the army were soon afterwards organized into a secret military society known as the ORDER OF CINCINNATUS, Washington being the first president of the association.

the president of Congress, responded in an eloquent manner, and then the hero retired to his home at Mt. Vernon.

During the progress of the Revolution the civil government of the United States was in a deplorable condition. Nothing but the imminent peril of the country had, in the first place, led to the calling of a Continental Congress. And when that body assembled, it had no method of proceeding, no constitution, no power of efficient action. The two great wants of the country were *money* to carry on the war and *a central authority* to direct the war; the former of these was never met; and Washington was made to supply the latter. Whenever Congress would move in the direction of a firmer government, division would spring up, and action would be checked by the remonstrance of jealous colonies. Nevertheless, the more far-seeing statesmen of the times labored constantly to create substantial political institutions.

Foremost of all those who worked for better government was Benjamin Franklin. As early as the times of the French and Indian War he began to agitate the question of a permanent union of the colonies. During the troubled years just preceding the Revolution he brooded over his cherished project, and in 1775 laid before Congress the plan of a perpetual confederation of the States. But the attention of that body was wholly occupied with the stirring events of the day, and Franklin's measure received but little notice. Congress, without any real authority, began to conduct the government, and its legislation was generally accepted by the States. Still, the central authority was only an authority by sufferance, and was liable at any time to be annulled by the caprice of State legislatures.

Under such a system thinking men grew restless. On the 11th of June, 1776, a committee was appointed by Congress to prepare a plan of confederation. After a month the work was completed and laid before the house. The debates on the subject continued at intervals until the 15th of November, 1777, when a vote was taken in Congress, and the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION were adopted. The next step was to transmit the articles to the State legislatures for ratification. By them the new frame of government was returned to Congress with many amendments. These having been considered, the articles were signed by the delegates of eight States, on the 9th of July, 1778. Before the following February, the representatives of Georgia, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Delaware had signed the compact, but Maryland did not assent until March of 1781.

The government of the United States under the confederation thus adopted was A LOOSE UNION OF INDEPENDENT COMMONWEALTHS. The executive and legislative powers were vested in Congress—a body composed of not less than two nor more than seven representatives from each State. The sovereignty was reserved to the States. There was no chief magistrate of the Republic; and no general judiciary was provided for. The consent of nine States was necessary to complete an act of legislation. The union was declared to be perpetual.

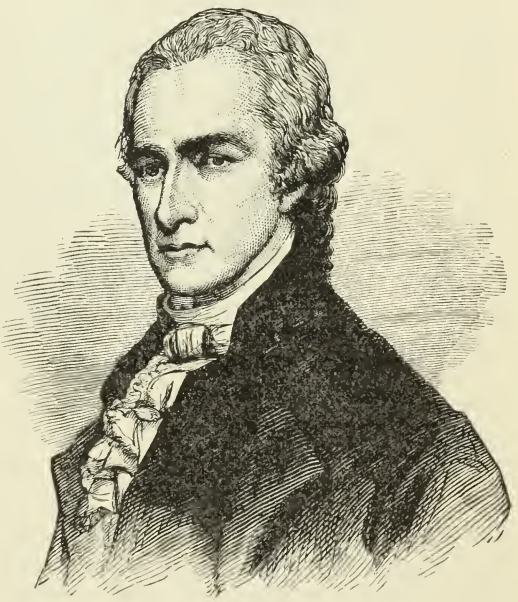
On the very day of the ratification of the articles by Maryland the old Congress adjourned, and on the following morning reassembled under the new form of government. From the very first the inadequacy of that government was manifest. To begin with, it contradicted the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. Congress had but a shadow of authority, and that shadow, instead of proceeding from the people, emanated from States which were declared to be sovereign and independent. The first great duty of the new government was to provide for the payment of the war debt, which had now reached the sum of thirty-eight million dollars. Congress could only recommend to the several States the levying of a sufficient tax to meet the indebtedness. Some of the States made the required levy; others were dilatory; others refused. At the very outset the government was balked and thwarted. The serious troubles that attended the disbanding of the army were traceable rather to the inability than to the indisposition of Congress to pay the soldiers. The princely fortune of Robert Morris was exhausted and himself brought to poverty in a vain effort to sustain the credit of the government. For three years after the treaty of peace public affairs were in a condition bordering on chaos. The imperiled state of the

Republic was viewed with alarm by the sagacious patriots who had carried the Revolution to a successful issue. A ruined credit, a bankrupt treasury, a disordered finance, a crazy constitution, a distracted commerce, a disintegrating people, thirteen States stalking about, and making grimaces at a government of shreds and patches—such were the specters that ruled the hour. It was seen that unless the articles of confederation could be replaced with a better system the nation would go to ruin.

The project of remodeling the government originated at Mount Vernon. In 1785, Washington, in conference with a company of statesmen at his home, advised the calling of a convention to meet at Annapolis in the following year. The proposition was received with favor; and in September of 1786 the representatives of five States assembled. The question of a tariff on imports was discussed; and then the attention of the delegates was turned to a revision of the articles of confederation. Since only a minority of the States were represented in the conference, it was resolved to adjourn until May of the following year, and all the States were urgently requested to send representatives at that time. Congress also invited the several legislatures to appoint delegates to the proposed convention. All of the States except Rhode Island responded to the call; and on the second Monday in May, 1787, the representatives assembled at Philadelphia. Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. A desultory discussion followed until the 29th of the month, when Edmund Randolph introduced a resolution to set aside the articles of confederation and adopt a new constitution. There was further debate; and then a committee was appointed to revise the articles. Early in September the work was done; the report of the committee was adopted; and that report was THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. At the same time it was resolved to send copies of the new instrument to the several legislatures for ratification or rejection.

On the question of *adopting* the Constitution the people were divided. Those who favored the new government were called FEDERALISTS; those who opposed, ANTI-FEDERALISTS. The leaders of the former were Washington, Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, the latter statesman throwing the whole force of his genius and learning into the controversy. In those able papers called the *Federalist*, he and Madison successfully answered every objection of the anti-Federal party. Hamilton was the first, and perhaps the greatest, expounder of constitutional liberty in America. To him the Republic owes a debt of perpetual gratitude for having established on a firm and enduring basis the true principles of free government.

Under the Constitution of the United States, the powers of government are arranged



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

under three heads—LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE, and JUDICIAL. The legislative power is vested in Congress—a body composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The members of the Senate are chosen by the legislatures of the several States, and serve for a period of six years. Each State is represented by two Senators. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people of the respective States; and each State is entitled to a number of representatives proportionate to the population of that State. The members of this branch of the government are chosen for a term of two years. Congress is the law-making power of the nation; and all legislative questions of a gen-

eral character are the appropriate subjects of congressional action.

The executive power of the United States is vested in a President, who is chosen for a period of four years by a body of men called the electoral college. The electors composing the college are chosen by the people of the several States; and each State is entitled to a number of electors equal to the number of its representatives and senators in Congress. The duty of the President is to enforce the laws of Congress in accordance with the Constitution. He is commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of the United States. Over the legislation of Congress he has the power of veto; but a two-thirds congressional majority may pass a law without the President's consent. He has the right of appointing cabinet officers and foreign ministers, but all of his appointments must be approved by the Senate. The treaty-making power is also lodged with the President, but here again the concurrence of the Senate is necessary. In case of the death, resignation, or removal of the President the Vice-president becomes chief magistrate; otherwise his duties are limited to presiding over the Senate.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court and in inferior courts established by Congress. The highest judicial officer is the chief justice. The judges hold their offices during life or good behavior. The right of trial by jury is granted in all cases except the impeachment of public officers. Treason against the United States consists in levying war against them, or in giving aid to their enemies.

The Constitution provides that new territories may be organized and new States admitted into the Union; that to every State shall be guaranteed a republican government; and that the Constitution may be altered or amended by the consent of two-thirds of both houses of Congress and three-fourths of the legislatures of the States. In accordance with this provision fifteen amendments have since been made to the Constitution.

While the constitutional convention was in session at Philadelphia the last Congress of the Confederation was sitting in New York. The latter body was in a feeble and distracted condition. Only eight States were represented. It was evident that the old Confederation, under which the colonies had won their freedom, was tottering to its fall. Nevertheless, before the adjournment of Congress, a measure was successfully carried through which was only second in importance to the formation of the Constitution. This was the organization of THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY. As a preliminary measure this vast domain was ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. For the government of the territory an ordinance, drawn up from a scheme prepared in 1784 by Mr. Jefferson, was adopted on the 13th of July, 1787. General Arthur St. Clair, then President of Congress, received the appointment of military governor, and in the summer of the following year began his duties, with head-quarters at Marietta. By the terms of the ordinance it was stipulated that not less than three nor more than five States should be formed out of the great territory thus brought under the dominion of civilization; that the States, when organized, should be admitted on terms of equality with the original members of the confederation, and that slavery should be prohibited. Out of this noble domain the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were destined in after times to be formed and added to the Union.

Before the end of 1788 eleven States had adopted the Constitution. The new government was to go into operation when nine States should ratify. For awhile North Carolina and Rhode Island hesitated. In accordance with an act of Congress, the first Wednesday of January, 1789, was named as the time for the election of a chief magistrate. The people had but one voice as to the man who should be honored with that high trust. Early in April the ballots of the electors were counted, and George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and John Adams Vice-president, of the United States. On the 14th of the month Washington received notification of his election, and departed for New York. His route thither was a constant triumph. With this event the ERA OF NATIONALITY in the New Republic is ushered in. Here, then, at the conclusion of the conflict in which the United States of North America

emerged from the weakness of a European dependency to take their rank among the great nations of the world, we pause in the narrative of American events belonging to the Revolutionary epoch, and turn to the consideration of another and more tremendous struggle for emancipation in beautiful and progressive France.



CHAPTER CXIX.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THERE were twenty-three thousand monks in France; there were sixty thousand curates and vicars; there were thirty-seven thousand nuns; there were two thousand five hundred monasteries, one thousand five hundred convents, and sixty thousand churches and chapels. In all there were a hundred and thirty thousand persons who enjoyed themselves in the work of saving France from her sins. But they did not begin with themselves.

There were a hundred and forty thousand nobles in France. They put on regalia and set feathers in their hats. The noble families numbered thirty thousand. On each square league of territory and for each one thousand of the inhabitants there was one castle, one noble family. France was not only saved, but she was ennobled. It required a great deal of land to support properly the dignity and office of one of her saviors. The abbey of St. Germain des Pres owned about nine hundred thousand acres. One-fifth of all the lands of France belonged to the clergy, one-fifth to the nobility, one-fifth to the communes and the king. This made three-fifths.

There was one king in France. It required something for his support. He was not a day laborer.

There were twenty-six millions of *People* in France. They were the Third Estate—numerous but unimportant. Their importance consisted in this: they supported the nobility and the king, and furnished the clergy with material. France was a very happy and paternal state.

Not only were three-fifths of the real estate of the kingdom in the hands of the privileged orders, but these three-fifths were far the richest. It was the best land of France. We will quote from Taine: "It [the land of the privileged]," says he, "comprises almost all the large and handsome buildings, the palaces, castles, convents, and cathedrals, and almost all the valuable movable property, such as furniture, plate, objects of art, the accumulated masterpieces of centuries. We can judge of it by an estimate of the portion belonging to the clergy. Its possessions, capitalized, amount to nearly four billion francs; the income from this amounts to eighty or a hundred millions, to which must be added the *dime* or tithes, a hundred and twenty-three millions per annum; in all, two hundred millions, a sum which must be doubled to show its equivalent at the present day, and to this must be added the chance contributions and the usual church collections. To realize fully the breadth of this golden stream let us look at some of its affluents. Three hundred and ninety-nine monks at Prémontré estimate their revenue at more than a million livres, and their capital at forty-five millions. The Provincial of the Dominicans of Toulouse admits, for his two hundred and thirty-six monks, 'more than two hundred thousand livres net revenue, not including the convent and its inclosure; also, in the colonies, real estate, negroes, and other effects valued at several millions.' The Benedictines of Cluny, numbering two hundred and thirty-eight, enjoy a revenue of a million eight hundred thousand livres. Those of Saint Maur, numbering sixteen hundred and seventy-two, estimate the movable property of their churches and houses at twenty-four millions, and their net revenue at eight millions, 'without including that which accrues to Messieurs the abbots and priors commendatory,' which means as much and perhaps more. Dom Rocourt, abbot of Clairvaux, has from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand livres income; the Cardinal de Rohan, archbishop of Strasburg, more than a million. In Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Roussillon the clergy own one-half of the territory; in Hainaut and Artois, three-quarters; in Cambrésis, fourteen hundred plow-areas out of seventeen hundreds. Almost the whole of Le Velay belongs to the Bishop of Puy, the Abbot of La Chaise-Dieu, the noble chapter of Briond, and to the seigniors of Polignac. The canons of St. Claude, in the Jura, are the proprietors of twelve thousand serfs or mainmorts." In fact, these poor people, to whom had been assigned the duty of saving France from her sins, had so thriven that they were able to live from year to year.

It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the system of government and of social despotism established over the French nation in the eighteenth century. The unprecedented reign of Louis XIV.—its character, methods, principles, tendencies—will be readily recalled. It will be remembered that at this epoch nearly the whole activity of France was displayed in the *government*. The government was every thing. It was meant to be so. The doctrines of paternalism in the state were completely triumphant. The theory reduced to a formula ran thus: It is the duty—the business—of the state to teach men what things to do, and of the Church to teach them what things to believe. As for man, it is his business to be governed. That is—and was—the object of his creation. He must receive with unquestioning simplicity and obedience whatever is doled out to him by the noble and the priest to whom his management, his interests, his destiny in this world are intrusted. All these maxims were adopted by the House of Bourbon; and the French people, that splendid composite race which combined in its veins the best currents of the Celtic and Teutonic stocks, were asked to accept forever the condition of intellectual and bodily bondage to which the Middle Age had assigned them.

Though the government of Louis XIV. made a great show of activity, though it clad itself in the habiliments of grandeur and strutted in almost Oriental magnificence, it nevertheless had in it the condition of certain

decay. The vice of arbitrary power gnawed like a worm in the heart of the system. When Louis XV. came to the throne he received the form and shadow of glory—no more. He must have been conscious of the elements to which he was exposed. Suppose these elements should be lashed into a storm! Suppose that Æolus should let out his winds! Suppose that the human mind, long soothed with opiates and nursed with cordials, should suddenly awake from its stupor! What then? No, no; such a thing must not be. The people must lie still. We will soothe them with more syrup, and while they sleep will take away their substance. It is necessary that we take away their substance to support the state: We the king and Madame de Pompadour are the state. The Duke de Choiseul, manager-in-chief for Louis XV., may well remind one of a showman in gorgeous trappings, attempting to manage a dangerous elephant whom the proprietors, Ourself and Madame, persist in starving and tormenting with our parasol.

On the 10th of May, 1774, this Louis XV. died. At the story of the two diseases which caused his death History blushes. For several years his chief effort had been to make the government last as long as his own life. In that he succeeded. But he transmitted to his grandson a tottering fabric, rotten in every part. He had by his vices and extravagance exhausted not only the resources of the kingdom, but the kingdom itself. His needless and inglorious wars had plunged the state into debt and greatly increased the taxation. The burdens of the state were imposed almost wholly on the citizens and peasants—that Third Estate which was now powerless, but soon to become the leading power in France.

The nobles and clergy were exempt. Not only were the enormous burdens which ought to have rested on the privileged classes laid without mercy on the toilers, the producers, but these burdens were greatly increased by the methods of collection. The duplicates were farmed out to extortioners, through whose greedy hands only a moiety of the taxes found their way into the coffers of the state.

Under these many abuses the distress of the French people grew more bitter from year to year. A condition of affairs supervened which, as was evident to every thinking man, could not much longer continue. The heart of the nation was in anguish under the burden of accumulating wrongs. Either a reäction must ensue or aspiring France sink to the level of an Eastern monarchy.

While the kingdom of the Bourbons thus ran down from the slopes of power as if to sink away into noisome swamps and marshes, a counter current set in from the world of mind. The intellect of France exerted itself as never before. Men began to think with such freedom and audacity as to astonish the world. While the State of France sank into imbecility the *mind* rose and stood. It began to question the foundation upon which was laid the structure of society; and as the inquiry proceeded the essential rottenness of the whole edifice was discovered. Speaking of the boldness and energy which French thought exhibited in these times, Guizot has well remarked:

"Prior to this, its greatest activity had always been restrained by certain barriers; man had lived in the midst of facts, some of which inspired him to caution, and repressed, to a certain degree, his tendency to movement. In the eighteenth century, I should really be at a loss to say what external facts were respected by the human mind, or exercised any influence over it; it entertained nothing but hatred or contempt for the whole social system; it considered itself called upon to reform all things; it looked upon itself as a sort of creator; institutions, opinions, manners, society, even man himself—all seemed to require to be remodeled, and human reason undertook the task. When ever before had the human mind displayed such daring boldness?"

Now it was that a group of philosophers arose, who, by the originality and sweep of their investigations, have contributed more than have any others to the emancipation of man and the construction of a new society. They undertook no less a task than the reform of the existing institutions of France and of the whole world. These great thinkers are known by the name of *Encyclopœdists;* for to them mankind are indebted for the composition of the *Encyclopédie Française,* in which

their own views as philosophers were given to the world with a freedom and brilliancy that astonished and delighted, while it instructed and elevated, the nations. At the head of the group stood the great genius, Jean le Rond d'Alembert, and Denis Diderot, who, beginning as a student of theology, became afterwards a lawyer and then a thinker and man of letters. These two were the editors-in-chief of the great work by which the general intellect of France was to be lifted to a new level of activity and usefulness. Around them were ranged a brilliant cluster of authors and philosophers, of whom the most illustrious were Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, Helvetius, Duclos, Condillac, Mably, Buffon, La Harpe, Marmontel, Raynal, Morellet, Grimm, and Saint-Lambert. Under their auspices, in 1770, the great *Encyclopédie* was issued in thirty-three volumes. The style and scope of the work were set forth in the preface by D'Alembert with such lucidity and power as to mark him for one of the greatest men of his age.

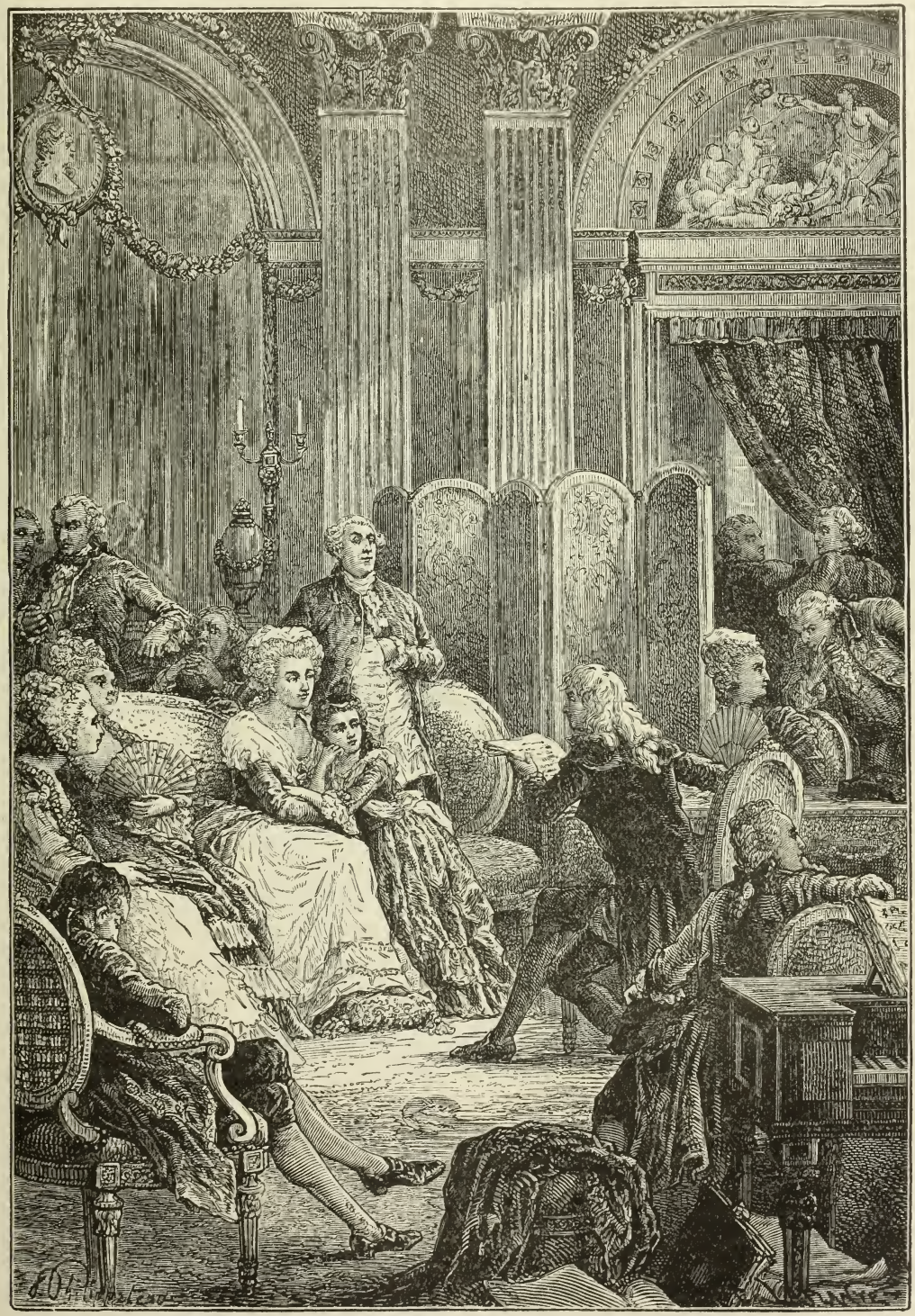


VOLTAIRE.

The *Encyclopédie* exerted a powerful influence in bringing on that uncontrollable agitation which produced the French Revolution. It was the purpose of the work to reveal to the human mind the nature and extent of its powers and achievements. It was intended to display the riches of that knowledge which had already been attained through the toil and travail of human thought, and to indicate the directions in which the domain of knowledge might be most successfully enlarged. Still further, it was the purpose of the Encyclopædists to emancipate thought from the thralldom of custom and the fetters of superstition; to strike out into new fields of inquiry; to explore every region with freedom and impartiality; to brook no trammels of the past; to dare and defy the maxims and precedents upon which the existing order was founded; and to create a new intellectual world, of which the rights of men should be the substance, and liberty and light the crowning glory. It may be truthfully said that the great *Encyclopédie Française*, thus conceived and produced, contained in itself the essence and real presence of the anti-dogmatic philosophy and reformatory tendencies of the eighteenth century. These were poured out freely among a people already prepared by the discipline of long abuse for the act of daring changes.

The work of the philosophers was received with a shout by all the people of France, *except* those privileged classes who, like rooks, had taken shelter under the eaves of the Middle Ages. To them, indeed, the new philosophy was the handwriting on the wall of the palace. The reäctionists at once set to work to prevent the results which were certain to follow from the sowing of such seed in such a soil. Under the leadership of Panckoucke and Agasse, they began, after the manner of their kind in all ages, to try to counteract the the work of the liberators by adopting their methods. They, too, would publish a Cyclopædia, in which, with mediæval hands, they would carefully remold, modify, tone down, and adapt the new wisdom to the nature and

wants of the people. They would give men a *little* light. They would mix in with the audacity and freedom of the new philosophy *so much* of the leaven of ancient falsehood as would ultimately leaven the whole lump, and bring France and the world back again to that



LITERARY CIRCLE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

patient and humble condition, in which, saddled and bridled, it might safely be ridden by a noble with a priest behind him. So was produced the reäctionary work called the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, which, though of vast extent, and representing an infinite amount of labor, is—as if in satire on its title—the most *un*methodical and unmanageable work of its kind in existence.

But nothing could now trammel up the results of the labors of D'Alembert, Diderot, and their associates. The mischief was done. A swarm of new ideas had rushed in wild delight from the dark hive which had confined them, and now filled all the air with their triumphant buzzing. Like a contagion, the new philosophy spared no class or condition. The courtly society of France was almost as much infected as the Third Estate. The king and his court had their literary circle. Even many of the clergy, be it said to their honor, caught glimpses of the light, and preferred to turn their faces to the dawn rather than dwell in darkness.

It will not be difficult, in viewing this general condition of France at the time of the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, for the thoughtful reader to discover the true antecedents of that great conflict known as the French Revolution, upon an account of which we are now to enter. It was simply a revolt, an insurrection of the emancipated mind of France against the tyranny of her social, civil, and religious institutions—a rebellion of Man against his masters—a struggle of the human spirit to break an intolerable thralldom which had been imposed upon it by the past.

At the time of his accession to the throne, Louis XVI. was in his twentieth year. Four years previously he had taken in marriage Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa. Perhaps, if a mere amiability of character, and a mild disposition to think well of his people, could have availed against the spirit of the times, the young Louis might have had a long and pleasant reign. But the day of pleasant things was passed. No more could the fiery spirit of roused-up France be soothed with royal cordials or put to sleep with lullaby. The new king's ancestors for two hundred years had sown to the wind, and now their princely and good-natured offspring must reap the whirlwind. Even the wish of Louis to introduce some feeble reforms in financial and other affairs of the kingdom was generally thwarted by certain antecedents which made improvement painful and progress impossible.

Like his prototype, Charles I. of England, Louis XVI. was in mind and purpose weak and irresolute. At the very beginning of his reign, he reconvened the French Parliament, which had been suppressed by his grandfather. By the French Parliament, however, the reader must understand a body very different in its constitution from the English assembly of that name. In England the Parliament had grown from the days of Alfred the Great, when it was merely the great council of the king, until, at the time of which we speak, it was in the full sense the representative body of the English nation, having its House of *Commons* as well as its House of *Lords*. But in France no such parliamentary development had taken place. The assembly still continued the mere advisory council of the king, such as it had been in the time of the Valois princes, or even in the days of Charlemagne. For this reason it was able to give but little relief for the distresses of the state. Between itself and the great body known as the Third Estate there was no organic connection, no bond of common interest. It must have appeared to Louis that any trust which he should repose in his Parliament would be misplaced and fruitless.

As the difficulties with which the king was beset were from the first of a financial character—as the treasury was exhausted, the state in debt, the people already burdened with intolerable taxes—Louis sought to extricate himself from his trouble by appointing as his minister of finance the statesman Robert Jacques Turgot, one of the Encyclopædists, who had already distinguished himself on economic subjects. His abilities were so great that expectation was turned to him as to one able to relieve France from her embarrassment. Doubtless he understood the true method of reform. Could he have been free to act, he would have turned the kingdom about and begun the slow and toilsome ascent of the path of economy and retrenchment.

But the difficulties with which he was surrounded were too great to be surmounted. On the one hand the nobility of France, long accustomed to exemption from the burdens of taxation and to reckless expenditure, could not be reformed. They had deliberately adopted the motto of "*After us the deluge*," meaning that the rational policy for men to pursue under the existing conditions in France was to eat, drink, laugh, put on regalia, be luxurious, and die; for on the morrow the flood will come, and all shall perish together. On the other hand, Turgot did not, perhaps could not, much consult the wishes of the country in his financial measures. As a result, he pleased nobody; and after struggling with the hopeless problem for two years, he was compelled to resign.

After this event the comptroller generalship of the kingdom was given to Taboureau and the directorship of the treasury to Jacques Necker, a Genoese banker, whose wisdom in finance and economics was perhaps reputed at more than its full value. For a year he worked at the duties of his office, and was then made minister of finance. In entering upon his task he increased his popularity by refusing to accept any emoluments for his services. His mind was methodical, his plans of the same general character as those adopted by Turgot, but less distasteful in many features. His policy embraced such features as might well have brought the promised reform and salvation from debt. He exacted retrenchment in the court. He set a wholesome example by introducing order and economy in his own department. He succeeded in restoring confidence among the capitalists by the regular payment of interest on loans—a matter which had been so much neglected that capital had refused to expose itself to the bad faith of such a government. He reclaimed not a few of the public estates which had been alienated through bad management and neglect. He revised the tax duplicates and corrected many abuses which had arisen under the existing system. He abridged the right of mortmain, established a uniform excise on salt, and tried to suppress the exaction of tolls. His reforms extended into the provinces. He created what was called the *Mont de Piété* of Paris and a bank



LOUIS XVI.

of discount, out of which subsequently arose the Bank of France. Under his prudent measures the deficit of twenty-four million livres was in the space of five years wiped out and an annual balance of ten millions left in the treasury. In 1781 he made and published his report on the finances of the state, and this was the beginning of his downfall; for the report was a sort of exposure of the methods by which the privileged classes had been hitherto sustained in luxury at the expense of France. The enmity of the courtiers and nobles was deeply aroused, and they began to seek Necker's overthrow. The prime minister Maurepas became his enemy. Necker appealed to the king, and in order to vindicate himself and the administration of his office, demanded a seat in the council from which he had hitherto been excluded, being a Protestant. But his claim was denied, and he resigned his trust.

Such was the internal state of the French government during the American Revolution. It will be at once recalled how just after the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin was sent with Silas Deane to manage the American cause at the court of France. On arriving at Paris the philosopher established himself at Passy, and began the work of creating sympathy for the cause of his country. He did not, however, succeed in gaining official recognition at the hands of the ministry until after the surrender of Burgoyne, when he soon concluded that Franco-American alliance which contributed so essentially to our independence. But almost from the day of his arrival in Paris, the people of that excitable metropolis were fired with enthusiasm for him and his cause. Especially did the French philosophers receive with open arms the republican ambassador.



VOLTAIRE BLESSES THE GRANDSON OF FRANKLIN.

The aged Voltaire, who in the last year of his life came in triumph to Paris, grappled Franklin to himself as with hooks of steel. He placed his withered hands in benediction on the head of Franklin's grandson as if to confer the philosophy and inspiration of the epoch on the third generation. The two great thinkers were taken together to the

theater, and at the close of the play were called upon the stage, while the excited thousands cried out, "Solon and Socrates."[1]

The course pursued by France in our War of Independence has already been narrated in the preceding chapter. In so far as a conflict resulted between that kingdom and England, the same being consequent upon the Franco-American alliance of 1777, the contest was almost exclusively maritime. It will be remembered that the policy of the Duke de Choiseul looked to the building up of a French navy of sufficient strength and equipment to dispute with Great Britain the mastery of the sea. This same policy was pursued after the death of Choiseul and the appointment of De Sartine to be minister of war. Nor was there any want of energy displayed on the part of the French in the building and arming of ships. Within a year after the alliance with America, a large and well-equipped fleet was sent to sea under command of Count d'Orvilliers. On the 27th of July, 1778, this armament encountered an English squadron off Ushant, and a hard but indecisive battle was fought. The two fleets were about of equal strength, and the French were greatly elated that they had been able to hold their own with Great Britain on her chosen element. The English squadron had been commanded by Admirals Keppet and Palliser, between whom there was no cordiality or even harmony of action; and this fact furnished the mortified English an excuse for the failure to win a victory.



FUNERAL OF VOLTAIRE.

It will be remembered that in April of the

[1] This intensely dramatic scene was almost the last act in the career of Voltaire. For a short time he lingered in Paris, surrounded with the great men of the kingdom and honored with every token of affection which the French nature could invent. When he went abroad his carriage was drawn through the streets by the people. At the theaters he was crowned with laurels and roses. On the 30th of May, 1778, he died in the great city with which his genius will be forever associated, and was honored with a magnificent funeral.

following year Count d'Estaing was sent with a French fleet to America. After coöperating for a season with Washington, the admiral left our coast and sailed to the West Indies, where Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinique, had assailed the English in Santo Domingo, and taken the island. But the English had in their turn fallen upon and captured St. Lucia. It was to recover the latter that Count d'Estaing now sailed to the rescue of his countrymen. He made an attack upon the enemy in St. Lucia, and was repulsed with heavy losses.

By this time Spain had been added to the enemies of England. She, too, would compete with her ancient rival for maritime do-



GENERAL DE KALB.

minion. She added her fleet to that of France, increasing the number of vessels in the allied squadron to sixty-six ships of the line. At this time the English squadron was under command of Sir Charles Hardy. The latter allowed himself to be outmaneuvered by his adversaries, who succeeded in forming a junction in the English Channel. An attack on Plymouth was threatened, and the kingdom was thrown into great agitation. It appears, however, that the allies were loth to make an attack. At length they undertook to intercept Sir Charles, but he, being inferior in strength, retired before them, and the English were humiliated with the spectacle of their fleet sailing before the enemy through the greater part of the Channel. The scene was a sort of minuet of the sea. At length, after pursuing Hardy as far as Plymouth, D'Orvilliers drew off from the foe and sailed for Brest.

Meanwhile Count d'Estaing, in the West Indies, having repaired damages after his defeat at St. Lucia, returned to the attack and captured St. Vincent and Grenada. He also fought an indecisive battle with the English admirals, Byron and Barrington, and then made the unsuccessful attack on Savannah, as narrated in the preceding chapter.

The chief object of the Spaniards in going to war had been to regain possession of Gibraltar. To this end they bent all of their energies. At the outbreak of hostilities, in 1779, they laid siege to the fortress, which was defended by a valiant garrison under General Elliot. The investment was continued for nearly three years, and the besiegers had good hopes of accomplishing by starvation what they could not do by force; but when Elliot and his men were beginning to be hard pressed for supplies, Admiral Rodney succeeded in bringing to them reïnforcements and abundance of provisions. For on his way from England he fell in with and captured a Spanish fleet carrying stores to Cadiz. The riches of Spain were thus taken to support those who held—and continued to hold—her ancient fortress.

The achievement of American Independence added a new element to the complications in France. Here was an example of liberty, of emancipation. Here was a precedent. Here was a proof, a living instance, of the truth of what the philosophers had been saying in the *Encyclopédie Française.* Therefore freedom was not a delusion and a snare. The American Declaration had said that all men are created equal; that they have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that the people have a right to alter, amend, abolish the government which themselves have instituted whenever the same becomes destructive of those ends for which it was established. The Americans, in the face of tremendous opposition, seemed to have demonstrated the truth of their theory and principles. How much the more might the great French nation do the same! Besides,

here came home covered with honor the young French enthusiasts—La Fayette, De Kalb, and the rest—who had left home, fortune, and friends to join with the American colonists in the battle for freedom. On their heads had been laid in benediction the hands of the victorious Washington and the philosophic Franklin; him whom the court ladies had applauded at Versailles; him to whom the Academy had voted a medal with this legend: FULMEN NUBIBUS ERIPUIT SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS.[1] "With what grandeur," cried out the Abbé Raynal in 1781, "should I not speak of those generous men [the Americans of '76] who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show them to the remotest ages. In beholding them shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has been written, 'He wrested thunder from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.' Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake." Mirabeau, standing on the tribune of the National Assembly of France, exclaimed: "I ask if the powers who have formed alliances with the States have dared to read their *Declaration*, or to interrogate their consciences after the perusal. I ask whether there be at this day one government in Europe—the Helvetic and Batavian confederations and the British isles excepted—which, judged after the principles of the Declaration of Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, is not divested of its rights."



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Such was the fervor kindled in France by the success of our Revolution. It is impossi-

[1] He wrested the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.

ble—will ever remain impossible—to determine with precision how much our rebellion against the Mother Country contributed as an exciting cause of the Revolution in France; but it was among the most potent of the many influences which combined to produce the upheaval of the French kingdom and the ultimate reörganization of society. The pens of Jefferson and Paine, the oratory of the Adamses, as well as the sword of Washington, prevailed in Europe, as in America. The contagion of social regeneration and the revival of man was produced on this side of the Atlantic as well as in the *Encyclopédie Française*.

After the resignation of Necker, the king, who would fain have retained the services of that able minister, appointed as his successor Alexandre de Calonne, whose versatility and dextrous management, rather than any true wisdom in finance, had recommended him for the office. Altogether reckless of consequences, or else not foreseeing the inevitable results of such a course, he cheerfully adopted the maxim of "After us the deluge," and proceeded to produce a factitious prosperity by running the state still more deeply in debt. He was one of the most plausible casuists of his times; and for a season his financial theories seemed to be verified by the facts. The French exchequer, so to speak, borrowed money, bought champagne, drank to intoxication, and imagined itself rich. When the time came for payments, still larger loans were contracted; and with the coming of the next settlement, still larger. The country responded to the stimulus thus afforded, and such was the temporary prosperity that the privileged classes began to persuade themselves that the deluge would *never* come. Calonne went on from year to year. The mountain of debt rose higher and higher. But who cared for debt while the country was prosperous? Who cared for the judgment day as long as the government flourished and the privileged orders were exempt from burdens?

History has presented many such examples as that afforded by Calonne; but never one that did not ultimately collapse in its own magnificence. For about three years the minister succeeded in postponing the deluge. The debt went on increasing. At last, in 1786, the facile functionary was obliged to confess that he could go no further. The deficit had increased at such a fearful rate that the state staggered. It was agreed, after a conference with the king, that the Assembly of Notables—an ancient and effete body of advisers whom the king might nominate and summon from all parts of the kingdom, but who were selected only from the higher orders of society—should be convened to consider what should be done to save France from national bankruptcy. To refer such a question to such a body was in the highest degree preposterous; and the result corresponded to what might have been expected. The Notables convened in February of 1787. It was the first of many assemblies to which distracted and suffering France was about to make a vain appeal to save her from the sorrows into which she had been plunged by the folly and wickedness of her rulers.

The Notables numbered a hundred and forty-four. As soon as the body was organized Calonne presented one of his many brilliant schemes for making something out of nothing, but his propositions were rejected by the Notables, who either would not or could not appreciate the means which the minister suggested of saving France from bankruptcy. Finding that every thing was going against him Calonne anticipated the inevitable by resigning, on the 9th of April, 1787. The king appointed Archbishop Brienne, of Toulouse, to be minister of finance; but his proposals for the relief of the state were also rejected by the Notables. Louis now became disgusted with the assembly, and on the 25th of May ordered its dissolution.

By this time the attention of the French people was turned to the project of convening the States-general. Since the history of the following five years was to result from the assembly just named something may be with propriety said of its constitution and character. The States-general of France was an assembly of the nation by its representatives. There were at this time three orders of French society; the clergy, the nobility, and the *Tiers Ètat*, or Third Estate. Of these orders and of their relative strength something has been already said in the preceding pages. Before the times of Philip the Fair, the People or Commons of France had had no voice in the

government of the kingdom. That monarch being engaged in a struggle with the Pope deemed it expedient to interest the whole nation, and not merely the clergy and the nobility in his cause. He accordingly convened an assembly in which the *Bourgeoisie*, or inhabitants of the towns, were represented. At the first the great mass of the people, that is the peasants, mechanics, and farmers of France, had no voice in the assembly. In 1302 the States-general assembled under the call of the king, and the same again occurred in the following year and in 1308. The policy of Philip was adopted by his successors, and it became a precedent with the French kings, when pressed by some emergency, to convoke this body, which became known as the States-general, or National Assembly.

After the severe shock which the nobility received in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the Third Estate became especially influential. From the middle of the fourteenth to near the middle of the fifteenth century, the States were frequently convoked. In 1439, however, the assembly was induced to vote a fixed sum for the support of the standing army—an act which in a great measure took away the occasion of calling upon the Third Estate, and the kings being now able to carry on wars without appealing to the people for help, were quick to perceive the popular mistake and to take advantage of it. In 1614–15 the States were convened by Louis XIII., who was then in the first years of his reign. But the meeting was inharmonious. The representatives of the different estates quarreled, and those of the Third were worsted. A general distaste for popular liberty had meanwhile supervened, and it was determined that the assembly should not again be called. A hundred and seventy-three years had elapsed since the last convocation, and France, in her distress, looking back through the shadows, thought she could discover the phantom of hope in her ancient National Legislature.

But the king and the privileged orders were not yet willing to appeal to the people. It was determined to try again the same method of raising revenue which the Bourbons had employed since the date of the accession of their House; namely, a royal edict in place of statutory enactment. The French constitution, however, required that the king's proclamation of a tax levy should be registered by the Parliament in order that the edict might be valid. In this instance it happened that when Louis's ministers had prepared the schedule, the Parliament refused to make the registration, and the edict was about to fail. In the emergency the king resorted to the rather unusual expedient of holding what was called a *Bed of justice*—a measure by which he was enabled to compel the Parliament to register his decree; but in doing so that body failed not to make a strong remonstrance against the act, and to adopt a resolution petitioning the government to convoke the States-general of the kingdom. The royal party was angered at this boldness on the part of Parliament, and that body was banished to Troyes, in Champagne. At this the popular discontent was so much heightened, that Louis and his ministers deemed it expedient to tack, and the Parliament was recalled in the following September.

In all these preliminary agitations, the bottom question was whether, as hitherto, the taxes made necessary for the support of the kingdom and for the payment of the enormous debt which had been heaped up by the excesses of the court and the delusive financiering of Calonne, should continue to rest on the producing classes, or whether the lands and possessions of the privileged orders should also be subjected to taxation. One of the measures debated by the Notables in 1787 was the project for laying a tax on all the lands in the kingdom. Even the royal estates were to bear their part of the general assessment; but after a hot struggle the proposal was voted down. Very loath were the king and the nobility to yield to the demand for a National Assembly. Rather than surrender his wishes, Louis convoked the clergy by themselves, hoping to extort from that order a large loan; but those devoted and unselfish persons, loving themselves and their exemption more than they loved the state, not only refused to aid the monarch but actually joined the Parliament in demanding that the National Assembly should be convoked.

Perceiving that the French nation would have its way, and hard pressed by the embarrassments of the situation, the king now took

counsel with Necker, who had been recalled to office, and it was agreed that the States-general should be convened in the following year. In November of 1788, the Notables were reconvened to consider the question in what manner the representatives of the Three Estates of the French people should be elected, and to decide other matters preliminary to the meeting. These things arranged, the Notables adjourned to await the result of the elections.

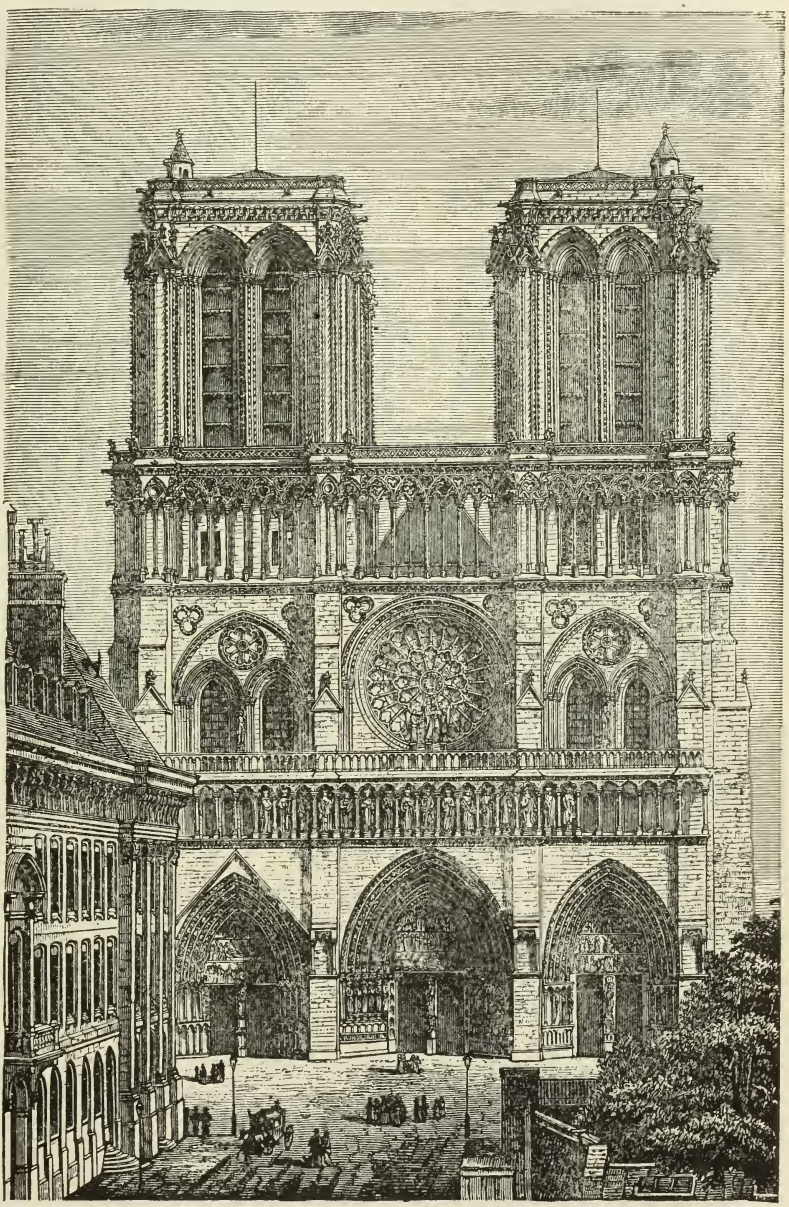
Fall and winter were consumed in arranging the districts and conducting the primaries. To the astonishment of all, France arose. Never before within the bounds of that kingdom had such a scene been witnessed. The election was the beginning of national life. Not a town failed to establish its voting place and open a poll. More than five millions of people cast their first ballot. In some parts the elections were delayed and hindered till the following spring. The meeting of the States-general had been fixed for the 27th of April, 1789, but was postponed, first to the 1st of May and afterwards to the 4th. The elections in Paris were completed only a few days before the grand convocation. In many places there were tumults and riots; for the French nation was not at once able to arise and walk.

At last the work of choosing delegates was completed, and on the 4th of May about twelve hundred deputies, representatives of the Three Estates of France, assembled at Versailles. There were the king, the queen, the whole French court. It was a grand day in the history of the central and greatest nation of Western Europe—a day which Michelet has properly called "the last of peace, yet the first of an immense future." In the procession, which was formed to move from the Church of Notre Dame to the palace of Saint Louis, the five hundred and fifty deputies of the Third Estate, including about three hundred lawyers and magistrates, were placed at the head. Next came the brilliantly dressed representatives of the nobility, with their regalia and plumed hats. It was noticed that about forty of the noble representatives, who were known to sympathize with the people, were as warmly applauded as were the delegates of the Third Estate. But the rest of the second division, as well as the third, which was composed of the clergy, was allowed to pass through the streets in silence.

When the Assembly was convened, it was confronted at the very threshold with a question of the most vital importance. How should the matters about to be presented and discussed be decided? Should each of the orders vote separately, and the votes of two orders be necessary to decide a question, or should the Assembly sit after the manner of a covention, and determine matters by a majority vote? If the latter, then the Commons, or representatives of the Third Estate, would be able to outvote the nobility and the clergy, even though the latter should combine. If the former, then, in spite of the numerical preponderance of the Third Estate, the nobles and the clergy might unite their votes, and thus compel the acquiescence of the majority. All perceived the importance of the question. The Commons claimed the right of voting individually; while the other two Orders, alarmed lest their ancient privileges should be abrogated, stoutly maintained that the voting should be by Estates. In this position they were supported by the king and the ministry. Even Necker opposed the popular method of determining the will of the States-general.

Both parties appealed to history; and both were able to find precedents in support of their respective views. Instances were found in the old records where the Estates had voted by Orders, and other instances were found where all had sat together and determined questions by a majority. At the first, though the excitement ran high, the passions of the contestants were not violently stirred. After the opening of the Assembly by the king, the three Orders convened apart; and the representatives of the Third Estate passed a resolution inviting the other two Orders to join them in the hall which had been assigned to the Commons. But the nobles and the clergy refused to accept the invitation. A dead-lock was thus produced at the opening session. The winds of passion began to blow, and it was soon perceived by the privileged Orders that the Third Estate was determined to have its will. Already had the statesman Sieyès fired the French mind with his powerful pamphlet, *What is the Third Estate?* Already had he answered his own question by defining the Third

Estate to be "the French nation without the nobility and clergy." Such startling and radical propositions were now upon the tongues of the people. Such revolutionary utterances were heard in the hall where the Commons were assembled. For six days after the 7th of May the two privileged Orders held aloof from that stormy arena to which they were invited, and then a series of conferences were held. But so fearful was the royal party of an overthrow, that the king was induced to issue an order that the conferences should be held in the presence of his own committee and of the keeper of the seals. This was the first act which openly announced the partisanship of the king for the privileged Orders. The Commons, stimulated by the eloquence and argument of the great Mirabeau, agreed to hold the meetings, but made a protest against the method. Meanwhile, however, the nobles passed a resolution that each of the Orders should have a veto on the acts of the other two. A month of precious time was thus lost, and this, too, at the very time when famine and debt and poverty were combining their energies to plunge France into a still profounder depth of misery.



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME.

On the 10th of June the Abbé Sieyès entered the hall of the Third Estate and exclaimed: "Let us cut the cable; it is time." This meant that the representatives of the people should *summon* the clergy and nobility to meet them in a common assembly. A resolution was passed to that effect; the privileged Orders were warned that they would be called upon *in an hour* to return an answer, and that their non-appearance under the summons would be regarded as a default in law. The issue was thus made up with startling sharpness, and the situation became critical. A disdainful silence ensued on the part of the court, nobles, and clergy. Of the latter or-

der ten members—true pastors of the people—heeded the summons and took their places on the benches of the Third Estate. Five days afterward Sieyès proposed that the representatives of the people, the Commons of France, should declare themselves to be the NATIONAL



CAMILLE DESMOULINS IN THE GARDEN OF THE PALAIS ROYAL.
Drawn by F. Lix.

Assembly, and this motion prevailed in the midst of great excitement. The proposition of Sieyès was carried by a majority of four hundred and ninety-one votes in the affirmative against ninety in the negative. So powerful was the tide already that Mirabeau, who had tried to prevent the passage of the act, durst not put himself on record with a minority, and escaped from his dilemma by absenting himself from the hall.

It now remained for the nobility and the clergy, the king's party in general, to accept the situation, to cast in their lots with the Commons of France, to make the most of what remained to them of their ancient privileges, or to abide the consequences of their obstinacy. The two privileged Orders were already broken by the incipient Revolution. In the end the larger part of the clergy succumbed, and together with forty-seven of the nobles, yielded to the inevitable by taking their places in the assembly hall of the Third Estate. Such were the events which began to draw the attention of all Europe to the elegant precincts of Versailles at the time when, on this side of the Atlantic, the new Republic of the United States was instituted at New York by the sedate and incorruptible Washington.

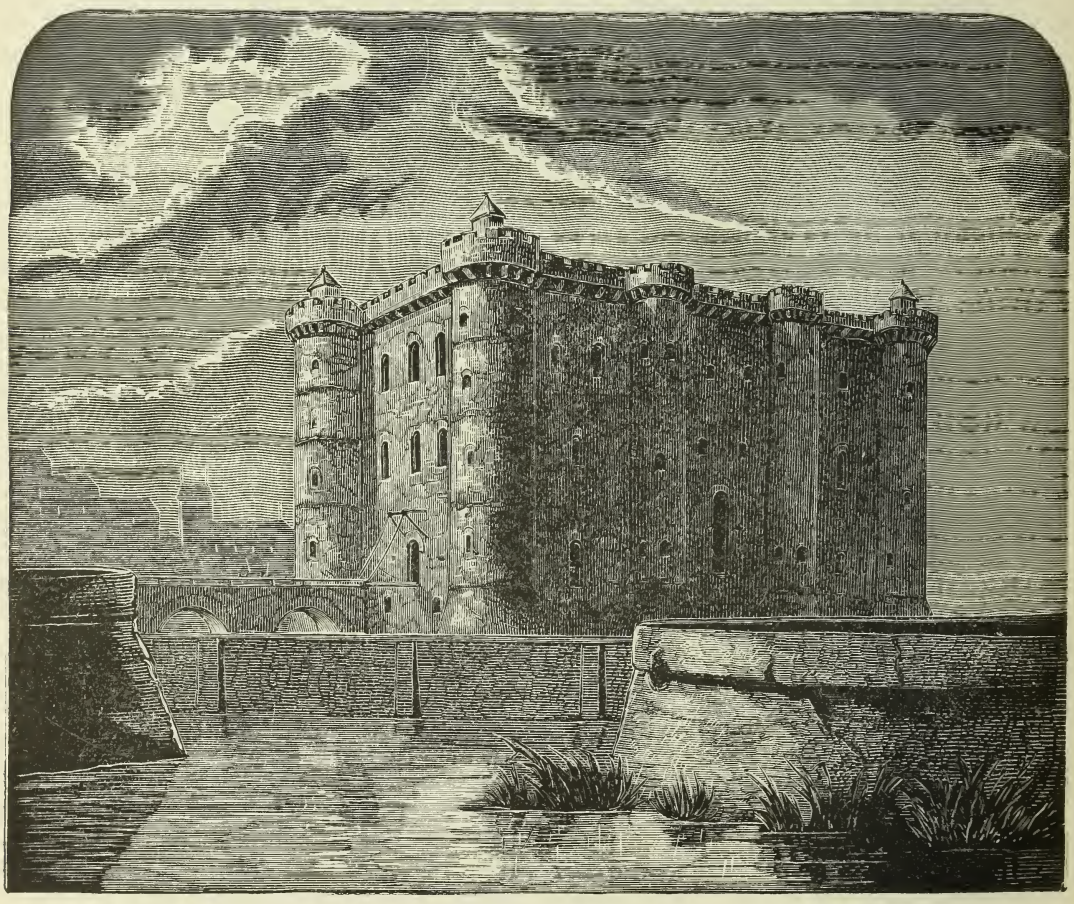
The crisis had now arrived. France began to quake and quiver with an agitation the like of which has never been elsewhere witnessed among mankind. The harvests had failed. Gaunt famine began to growl in the impoverished quarters of cities. The shadow of the mountain of debt fell black and ominous across the kingdom. The royal family embittered itself with dissensions. The dauphin had died. Crowds of half-starved wretches began to pour in from the country districts and to prowl about feverish Paris. Meanwhile the Assembly out at Versailles became more and more daring in its assumptions. It was as though the angered nation, young and gigantic, felt the powerful sinews of its own arms, and looked with a menace and frown at the battlements and bulwarks of monarchy. Could those tremendous bastions be scaled? Could man climb such ramparts? Would it be a crime to hurl down a king and tear the insignia of royalty to shreds and tatters? The starving crowd formed a camp on the heights of Montmartre overlooking the city, and from that place scowled upon the Athens of the modern world.

The revolutionary movement from the first gained headway. Many of the royal party, disgusted with the traditions and existing institutions of France, abandoned the king's cause and joined the people. Thus did the Duke of Orleans, whose house, the Palais Royal, became a seat of sedition. It began to be openly debated what disposition should be made of the king and the kingdom. His good nature was recognized, but he stood for a system from which France had determined to deliver herself, peaceably if she might; forcibly if she must. Besides, the queen, the Austrian Marie Antoinette, had given great offense by her imperious temper, her foreign manners, and her frivolity. The people called her with scorn the *Austrian*, and their hatred was reciprocated. It was through her influence that Necker, who, as minister of finance, still sought to temporize, to pacify, to turn the excitement into credit, the people's rage into money, to gather comfort from famine, and honey-dew from cactus, was dismissed from office. At the same time she added her counsels to those of other royal advisers in successfully urging Louis to concentrate in the vicinity of Paris an army of forty thousand men, nearly all of whom were mercenaries from Germany and Switzerland.

The dismissal of Necker proved to be the spark which lighted the magazine. The people without very good reason regarded the fallen minister as a martyr to their cause. So believing, they broke into violence. Camille Desmoulins, on the day following the dismissal of the people's minister, mounted a table in the garden of the Palais Royal, harangued the multitudes, called them to rally for the defense of liberty, plucked off the green leaves over head and gave them to the people to be worn as badges, and with a brandished pistol defied the police to interrupt him. A great mob rose in the streets of Paris, placed a bust of Necker at the head of the column, and went surging along until they were fired upon by a body of royal cavalry. Several fell bleeding to the pavement. It was the first blood of the revolution. Paris now began to roar. Her voice could not be suppressed. She demanded that a civic militia,

to be known as the National Guard, should be organized for her defense. The government was obliged to yield, and this first army of the French nation sprang into being. Nor was it long until its power was exhibited in a memorable manner.

One of the things at this time most hateful to Paris was the ancient state prison known as *La Bastile*, a sort of citadel built by Charles V. in 1369, strengthened in succeeding reigns, the walls of this ancient stronghold of despotism had become rank, and the smell of offense had filled the nostrils of roused-up Paris. On the ever-memorable 14th of July, 1789, the people of the city made a rush for the Bastile. They attacked it with a fury scarcely paralleled since the days of the Crusades. They stormed the entrances, and in spite of the efforts of the commander, Delaunay, and his garrison, took the prison by assault. The insurgent militia



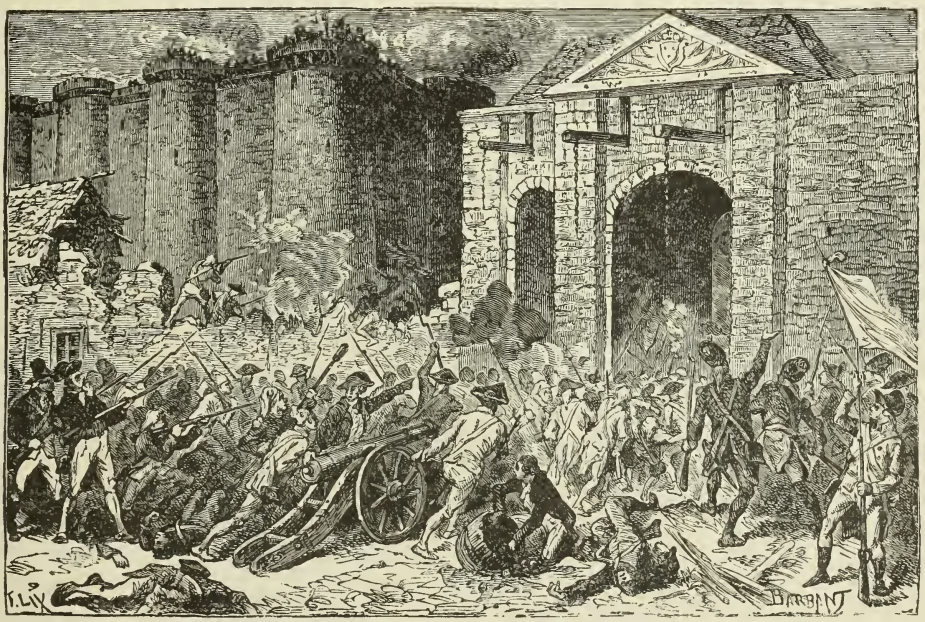
THE OLD BASTILE.

and for more than four hundred years the last argument which the French kings had used to convince their subjects. At the gate of St. Antoine the old prison reared its eight round towers of massive masonry. About it was drawn a ditch twenty-five feet in depth. The place was kept and guarded by a governor, with his subordinate officers and a strong garrison. Within it were incarcerated the criminal, the suspected, the dangerous. The abuses done in the name of authority within poured into the towers and chambers. They drew the prisoners, long confined, from subterranean cells and dungeons, ransacked the whole inclosure, and then razed the edifice to the ground. In their rage they left not one stone upon another. The dungeons were filled up with the copings of the battlements. The people seemed to regard the prison as a kind of symbol of monarchy, and to feel a certain satisfaction in its total obliteration. Thus was leveled, on the very spot where

tyranny had done its worst, the site whereon should presently be erected the COLUMN OF JULY, in perpetual commemoration of the deed done by the men of 1789.

In the mean time the National Assembly had transferred its sittings to Paris. The astronomer Bailly had been chosen president of the body, and had also been appointed Mayor of Paris. The king and the court out at Versailles looked on with horror, indignation, and fear, while the drama was enacted in the city. They suddenly awoke to the realization that they were themselves no more than specters floating in the stormy horizon of France. Louis in his weak and irresolute manner made a visit to Paris as if to accept the revolution against which his resistance had proved impotent. His reception by the National Assembly was a striking episode. He had to be humbly announced at the door of that haughty body which now spoke in the name of France. Bailly was ordered by the house to present, out of courtesy, the keys of the city. In doing so the president said to the humiliated sovereign: "These, Sire, are the keys that were offered to Henry IV., the conqueror of the people; to-day, it is the people who have reconquered their king." On such terms was the House of Bourbon in its living representative admitted to a conference with the representatives of that nation whom it had so mortally offended.

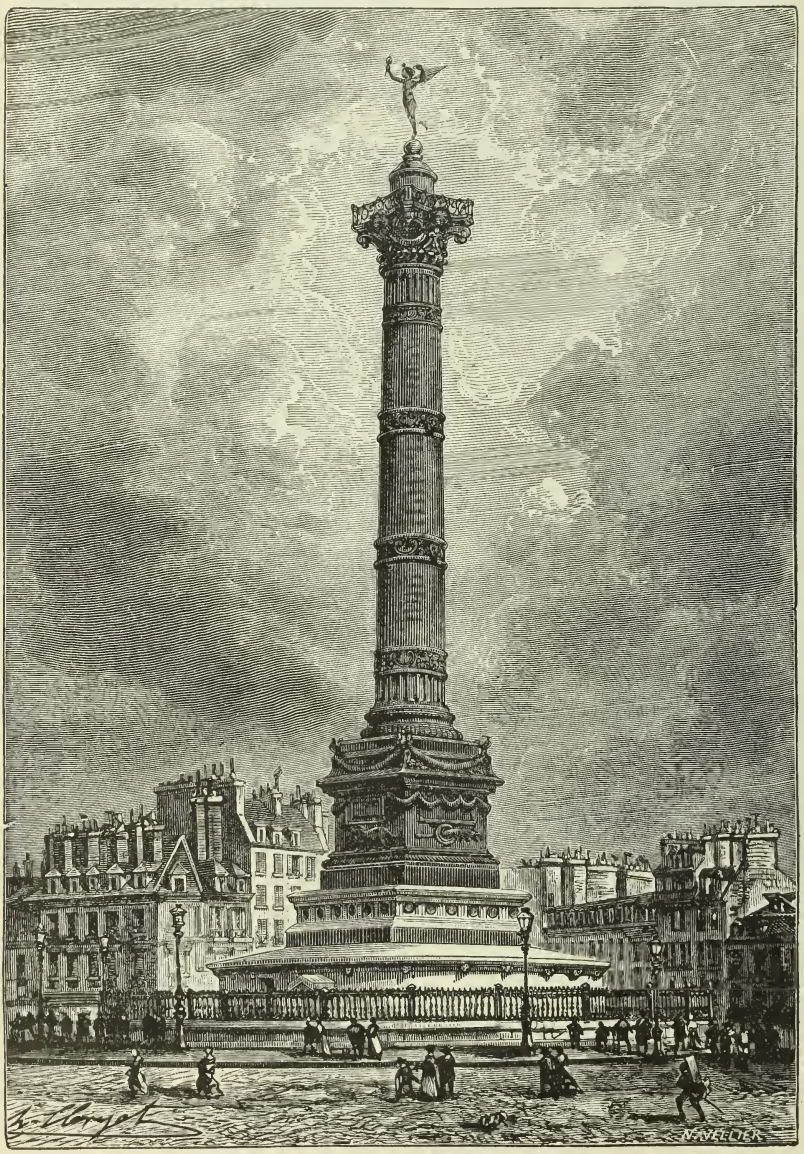
The people were clearly victorious. Necker, who had left France and gone to Brussels, was recalled. The Marquis of La Fayette was appointed commander of the National Guard, and the king was obliged to sign his commission. The government that had been, seemed to give place to the government about to be. The ancient nobility began to shiver with well grounded fear. The privileged Orders, looking around to see in what quarter they might hide themselves from the impending storm, could discover no refuge. Many determined to fly from the kingdom. Gathering together what property they could convey abroad, the Emigrant Nobles departed for foreign countries, and the unhappy Louis, who could not in like manner escape, was left to his fate.



STORMING OF THE BASTILE.
Drawn by F. Lix.

In the mean time, the triumphant Assembly began to consider the actual state of France, and to debate such measures as seemed necessary for the thorough reform of her institutions. The name of CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY was substituted for that which the body had first taken, and the work of preparing a new constitution for France was zealously undertaken.

The object of a former visit of the king to the assembly had been to overawe the members. Vain project! How, overawe a nation? The weak Louis, still in the old manner of the Bourbons, had on that occasion read to the assembly an address which had been prepared for him, filled with such utterances as might well have been delivered in the seventeenth, but not in the eighteenth century. He outlined his plan for relieving the nation from its distresses, and then added: "If you abandon me in so excellent an enterprise, I will alone effect the welfare of my people; alone I shall consider myself as their representative. I order you, gentlemen, to disperse immediately, and to repair to-morrow morning to the chambers appropriated to your order, there to resume your sitting." But on his second coming to Paris his manner was different. The Bastile was now no more, and the monarch, on his coming into the presence of the Assembly simply said: "I trust myself to you." So great a change had the Revolution already effected.



THE COLUMN OF THE 14TH OF JULY.

After the proclamation of Bailly as mayor, and the appointment of La Fayette as commandant of the citizen militia; after the destruction of the Bastile, and the cry of victory on the side of the people, a sort of hollow peace was patched up between the royal party and the representatives of the nation. For the moment the Third Estate seemed about to be satisfied with less than its manifest destiny. For the moment the king seemed about to be reconciled to a show of liberty. For the moment the Revolution seemed about to be accomplished without a great destruction of life or devastation of society. But in reality the work of the 14th of July was only the preliminary swirl of the tempest. Alas, what blinding, bloody storms of ruin and anguish were yet to beat upon France before her regeneration!

In its membership the Constituent Assembly of 1789 was a body of the highest order of ability and courage. It was France. The

representatives had courage, eloquence, audacity. They laid the axe at the root of the tree—that ancient tree of despotism, whose blossoms had been as great a delusion as the artificial lilies on the bosom of Antoinette, and whose fruit had been as bitter as the apples of Sodom. Of this great membership one of the most distinguished was the count Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, already mentioned as a leader. He was now in his forty-second year, and was regarded as one of the greatest logicians of France. His pamphlets, especially that defining the character and rights of the Third Estate, had stirred the nation to its depths. He was famous as the first oracle of the Revolution. A greater even than he was the illustrious Gabriel Riquetti Mirabeau, who from coming into the world with a mouthful of molars, a twisted foot, a tied tongue—from being disfigured with confluent smallpox, and emphasized with an enormous head, misshapen as that of Thersites—from being so unprepossessing as to be called from his ugliness "The nephew of Satan"—from mad exhibitions of passionate temper and erratic will, had become the greatest orator of France. He, too, though generally inclined to the preservation of the monarchy, had been an agitator, and had contributed not a little to the convocation of the States-general. He had been elected to that body for both Marseilles and Aix, but took his seat for Aix. He entered the assembly without adherence to any party; nor did he ever align himself with any faction or organization. But such were his eloquence, the comprehension of his mind, his powers of analysis, his logic, his persuasive advocacy, and terrible invective that the assembly swayed in the breath of his oratory as the trees of the forest moved by the winds. He became the real leader of the great assembly. He it was who, on the 23d of June, at the close of the first visit of the king to the assembly, said to Brézé, master of the royal ceremonies: "Go and tell those who sent you, that we are here by the power of the people, and that we are only to be driven out by that of the bayonet"—an impressive and courageous answer worthy of the greatest.

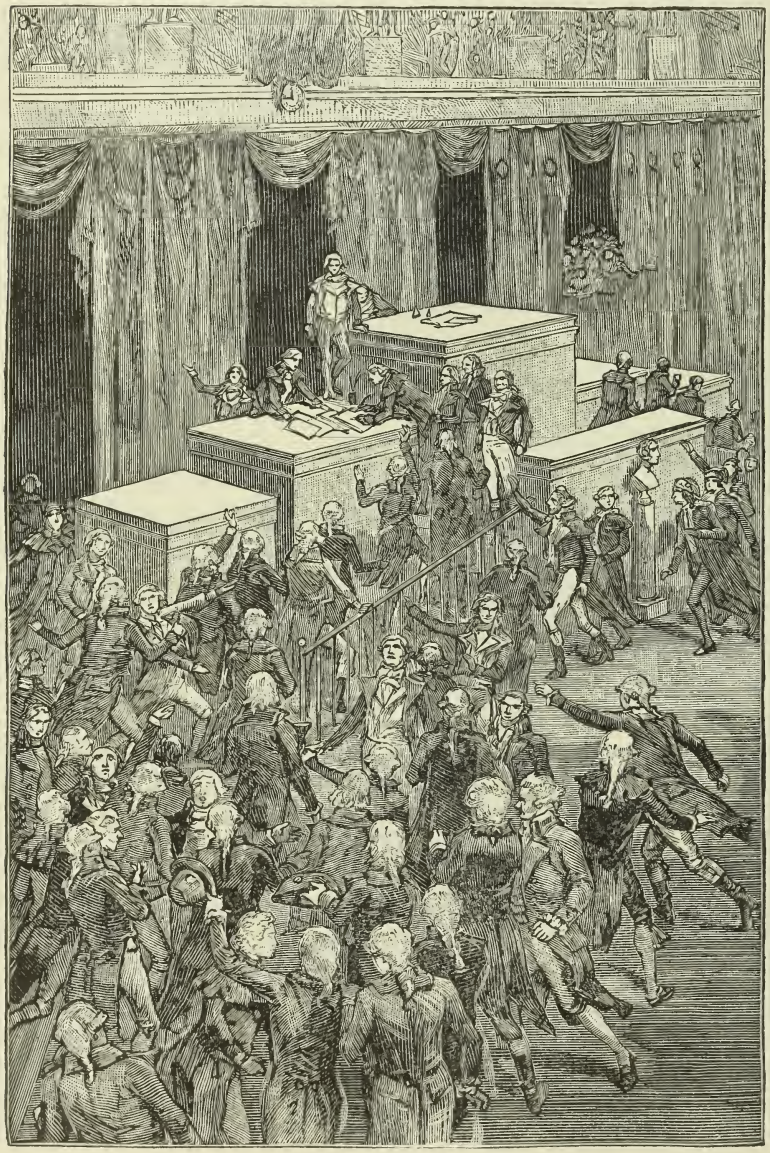
As soon as the work of remodeling the constitution of France was undertaken by the Assembly, the division of the body into parties became more manifest. The views of the deputies ranged all the way from the extreme of radicalism to a grade of conservatism which might have been pleasing even to the king himself. By degrees the more radical and aggressive arranged themselves in a group on one side of the hall, and from their position became known as the *Left*. On the other side were the conservatives, called the *Right;* while those who were of moderate views received the appellation of the *Center*. For the time, the measures debated had respect to the degree and kind of reforms to be adopted, and did not contemplate the abolition of the monarchy itself; but every thing *tended* to an upheaval of the whole existing structure.



MIRABEAU.

In the mean time, the course taken by the people of Paris was known and imitated in the provinces. The spirit of the Revolution winged its flight into every part, and the in-

habitants of other cities rose against the authorities. The peasants took up arms against the landed proprietors, and, finding that there was no longer any power which they need fear, began to commit violence on property and life. Indeed, the whole surface of France became a revolutionary sea, boiling and foaming. The summer of 1789 was spent by the Constituent Assembly in considering the new Constitution for France. What should be the fundamental law of the future? What should be the statutory forms best calculated to protect and secure the Rights of Man? It was soon found that the ancient institutions of the kingdom lay square across the pathway of reform. More and more did it become evident that the old system of things must be destroyed before a new era of constitutional freedom could be ushered in. The Assembly soon acquired the courage of conviction, and began to act with boldness.



SIGNING THE ACTS OF ABOLITION.—NIGHT OF THE 4TH OF AUGUST.
Drawn by Vierge.

August of the year 1789 may be called the Month of Abolition. One after another the ancient forms of society were overthrown. In this work, the nobles who had cast in their lots with the French people bore a generous part. It was no uncommon thing to see a duke or titled gentleman coming into the Assembly and making some radical motion, leveled at the bottom facts of the existing order. In general, the programme followed by the Constituents looked to the destruction of those exclusive privileges by which the First and Second Estates had hitherto flourished at the expense of the Third. It was conceived—and the conception embodied the truth—that the ills from which France had so greatly suffered, and was so greatly suffering, arose almost exclusively from those constitutional errors and abuses out of whose rankness had sprung the noble and clerical orders of the kingdom. These constitutions must, therefore, be laid low; and the Assembly hesitated not in the work. On the evening of the 4th of August, a noted meeting of the Assembly was held. An act was signed by which

the ancient Feudal Constitution of France was abolished. Serfdom was swept away. Civil and military preferments were opened to all classes of the people without distinction of rank. Hunting and fishing were made free to the peasant as well as to the lord. An act was passed requiring that the clergy should be henceforth supported by a general tax on all property — a measure far less wise than most of those adopted by the Assembly. A declaration of the Rights of Man was made on the motion of La Fayette, and among these rights was specially mentioned that of resisting an oppressive government. The New Constitution was carried forward under favorable omens; and a medal was struck representing Louis XVI. as the Restorer of the Liberty of France. When every thing was done, the Assembly, with the king presiding, celebrated a *Te Deum* in token of gratitude for the happy issue of the work.

Again there was a momentary lull. Perhaps, if the horn of Plenty could have been poured upon France, the Revolution might have paused here, and the greatest of tragedies never been enacted. But, instead of plenty, there was famine. Though the New Constitution *promised* relief, it *gave* none—at least, none for the present hour. People were as hungry, as miserable, as before. A Bread Riot broke out in Paris, and the voice of insurrection again roared in the streets. The French women, long enslaved, ruined by a false education, but glorious in their despair, rushed into the mob and became its leaders. They were the divinities of Fury. Humanity, in its agony, went forth naked to fight those who had been the cause of its misery.

The riot grew to tremendous proportions, and raged as it ran. It was a creature of impulse. Out at Versailles were the king and his court. *There*, said blind humanity, was the cause of all this woe. Besides, the natural man had been quick to perceive that even the great Constituent Assembly had been duped in several particulars. The veto of the king over the acts of the National Legislature had been allowed to stand. How, said the natural and now hungry man, could the Nation be free and happy if the king should retain the power of annulling the acts of the people's representatives? Ah, that luxurious palace out at Versailles! Ah, the riotous plenty which the king and his lords and ladies do there enjoy while we starve! Let us rush thither! Let us go by thousands! Let us surround that palace, and shout our demands in the startled ears of royalty! There, too, is that hateful *Austrian*, that wife of Louis Capet. See her with the ostrich-plumes in her hat. How proud she is! How she is loved and caressed! We are women, too. But we are not loved and caressed. We starve, we starve! *On to Versailles!* Bring them to Paris along with the rest of us! Let them, too, bear the sorrow, the anguish, of life! Aye, let *them* suffer with the rest!—So cried the Revolution; and the mob surged out of the city gates on its way to Versailles, twelve miles distant. When the insurgents return, they will bring the king and the court with them. *What for*, not even the mob could tell.

La Fayette, commandant of the National Guard, followed in the wake. He would fain stay the tumult. He would fain save the lives of the king and queen. He puts himself between the royal family and danger. On the evening of the 5th of October the mob reach Versailles. They kindle great fires in the streets, and there encamp for the night. In the morning, they will do violence—how much, and what, no man can tell. The palace is guarded, but the Bastile was guarded also.

They who judge men by the exterior would find much to admire and praise in the well-dressed and well-decorated persons who on this October night lay down on splendid couches in the royal palace of Versailles. And such judges would find little to admire or praise in the hungry mobocrats who on the same night threw themselves down around their camp-fires in the streets of the town. The contrast was sufficiently striking. The mob awoke with the dawn. There was a growl, an outcry, a rush for the palace. Two of the Swiss guards were cut down at their posts. A company of the insurgents broke into the apartments of the queen, foaming with execration. The sentinel defended the door as best he could. He rushed into the queen's chamber, and cried out: "Save the queen! They will have her life! I stand alone against two thousand tigers!" The figure was well chosen. They were human tigers—and hungry.

The queen had escaped to the apartments of the king. Behold Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, wife of the reigning Bourbon, flying like a specter through the shadows of the great halls, her hair disheveled, her person exposed to the night wind. Poor ghost of the past! The king, too, was up and trying to save his family. His guards took him to the apartment where the queen was. There the children were gathered; and the House of Capet sat trembling while the guards of the palace were killed by the mob.



THE WOMEN ON THE ROAD TO VERSAILLES.
Drawn by Vierge.

In the moment of extreme peril, La Fayette faced the mob, and was heard. "To Paris with the king!" they shouted. He told them that the king should indeed go with them back to Paris. The queen also and the court should go. Louis was obliged to submit. The royal carriage was brought forth, and the mob appointed a guard of honor to act as an escort! The heads of two of the real guards were stuck on pikes and carried in the procession. For six hours the brutal triumph of savage liberty wound its way toward the capital. All Paris arose at the coming of the royal car. The city was illuminated and the night made glorious. The nation had taken the king. He was lodged in the Tuileries. What was he? A prisoner.

The sittings of the Assembly were now permanently fixed in Paris. In that body there was no longer any distinction of rank. Nobles, priests, and commons sat side by side. The debates were still directed to the work of transforming the constitution and laws of the kingdom. For about a year after the king was brought to Paris, the business of the Assembly was conducted in a manner as regular and orderly as might have been expected. During this interval one innovation followed another. All sects and creeds which were not abolished were declared to be of equal privilege before the law. The right of suffrage was decreed to all citizens of France. All titles were abolished, and every vestige of primogeniture swept away. The ancient boun-

daries of provinces were struck from the map, and France was redivided into eighty-three departments. The ancient Parliament was abrogated. Then began the work of confiscation. The lands of the Church and the greater part of the royal domain were seized and appropriated to the uses of the state. All monastic institutions were broken up. Only two classes of dignitaries, bishops and curés, were allowed to retain their offices in the Church. Hereupon the Pope interfered to prevent the utter wreck of the ecclesiastical Empire. Those who held rank in the Church were forbidden to take the oath which was prescribed by the Assembly. More than fifty thousand of the clergy were deprived of their properties and turned adrift for refusing to swear allegiance under the new constitution.

It was during the latter part of the year 1789 and in the following year that the Constituent Assembly lost its autonomy and fell under the dominion of the political clubs which became rife in Paris. Nearly every shade of opinion had found for itself a nucleus outside of the assembly halls, and had become organic. The number of political associations in the capital was very great. The deputies of the assembly were members of these various clubs, whose meetings were held in the evening, and whose principal business was to debate the matters pending before the assembly. It was not long before these clubs began to instruct their members what course they should pursue in reference to the projects before the convention. The source of power was thus transferred from the assembly to the clubs, which henceforth acted as political committees to prepare the business for the assembly. As early as May of 1789, the deputies from Brittany had organized the Breton Club, which was perhaps the first of many, and which became the greatest of all. When the assembly transferred its sitting from Versailles to Paris, the club just mentioned established its head-quarters in the old Dominican convent of St. Jacobus, in the rue St. Honoré, from which circumstance the organization was henceforth known as the *Jacobins*—though the members called themselves the "Friends of the Constitution." The members of the club rapidly increased, and membership in the same became the passport to political influence.



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

The most popular orators of the assembly were Jacobins, and in the course of 1790–91–92, the club became the controlling power of the Revolution. It was in the meetings of the Jacobins that radicalism grew and flourished. The leadership of the club fell more and more into the hands of extremists, who hesitated at few things and scrupled at nothing. The society became immensely popular. It extended its influence to every part of France. Before the close of 1791, twenty-four hundred branch societies had been established in different parts of the kingdom, and all were governed from the head-quarters of the club in Paris. From these conditions it is easy to understand how the leaders of the Jacobins brought the Assembly under their sway and became the masters of France. The opinions and principles of the organization were promulgated by means of its Journal and Almanacs, which were scattered everywhere.

The time had now come for the beginning of a reäction against the revolutionary proceedings of the Convention. It could not be expected that the feudal nobility and powerful clergy of France would melt away like frost-work on the pane. During the whole of 1790 the ancient nobles continued to emigrate to foreign lands, but they went expecting to return. Scattered as they were, and disorganized and weakened as they were by the shock of revolution, they nevertheless began to form plans to recover their lost inheritance. It was determined to rendezvous on the German frontier, to place themselves under the leadership of Louis Joseph, prince of Condé, and to make a descent upon the nation that had expelled them. They put on a black-and-yellow uniform, took a death's head for their symbol, and wrote "Conquer or die" on their cuffs. Their numbers became formidable, and it was evident to the Assembly and people that the Emigrant Army would soon be upon them with the counter-revolution. It was also to be easily perceived that the surrounding kingdoms, alarmed at the sudden revelation of France as a power superior to the king, would sympathize with the Emigrants, and perhaps assist them with arms and men to make war on their country. It was these actual and implied menaces that first roused France to fury. Thus far she had been clamorous; now she was furious. She saw the liberty which she had partly wrested put in peril by those very classes of French society at whose hands she had suffered ages of abuse.

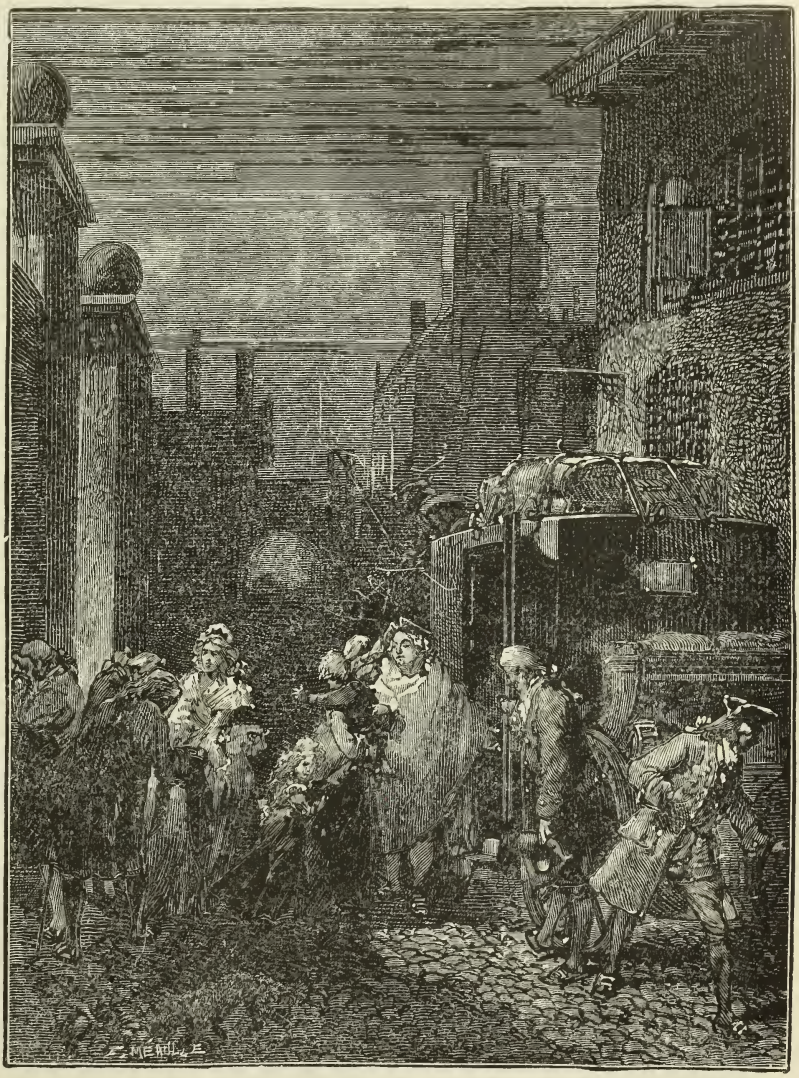
Meanwhile, however, the previous summer had witnessed a memorable scene in Paris. The Constitution had been completed. Its ratification by the king was set for the 14th of July, the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile. That memorable day was set apart for a national *fête*, during which the king presented himself, with his family, to the Assembly, and there, in the presence of a vast concourse, took a solemn vow to support the instrument which the deputies were preparing. The army and the clergy also swore allegiance; and Marie Antoinette, holding aloft her little son, the Dauphin, thus pledged him and herself to accept and maintain the new order which had been established in the kingdom. The enthusiasm ran high, and again it was believed that the work of regenerating France was about completed.

The moderate party in the Assembly had for a season a kind of control over the proceedings. Mirabeau was made president of the body, and it was known that he was pledged to maintain at least the form of the monarchy. Though his leadership was stoutly contested, and though he was charged with treason and corruption, his influence continued predominant until his death. That event occurred on the 2d of April, 1791. His faculties remained clear and brilliant to his dying hour. At the dawn of his last day he roused himself from his sufferings, and said cheerfully to his physician, Cabanis: "My friend, I shall die to-day. When one has come to such a juncture there remains only one thing to be done; that is, to be perfumed, crowned with flowers, and surrounded with music, in order to enter sweetly into that slumber from which there is no awaking." His death was as calm and heroic as his life had been great and stormy. The event produced a profound sensation throughout France. There was none to take his place. Few members of the Assembly possessed the happy balance which he had maintained between the royal party, who worshiped the sixteenth century, and the radicals, who believed in the twentieth.

Up to this time the old army of France had in some measure preserved its loyalty to the king. Many of the regiments were infected with the doctrines of the Revolution; but the greater part, especially the Austrian and Swiss portion of the army, adhered with fidelity to the royal cause. The larger division of these troops were stationed at Montmédy, and to that place the king and his family, cooped up in Paris, cast many a longing glance. As for the National Guard, which was still under the command of La Fayette, it was as thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary doctrines as were the people of the city. Such was the condition of affairs at the time of Mirabeau's death, in the spring of 1791.

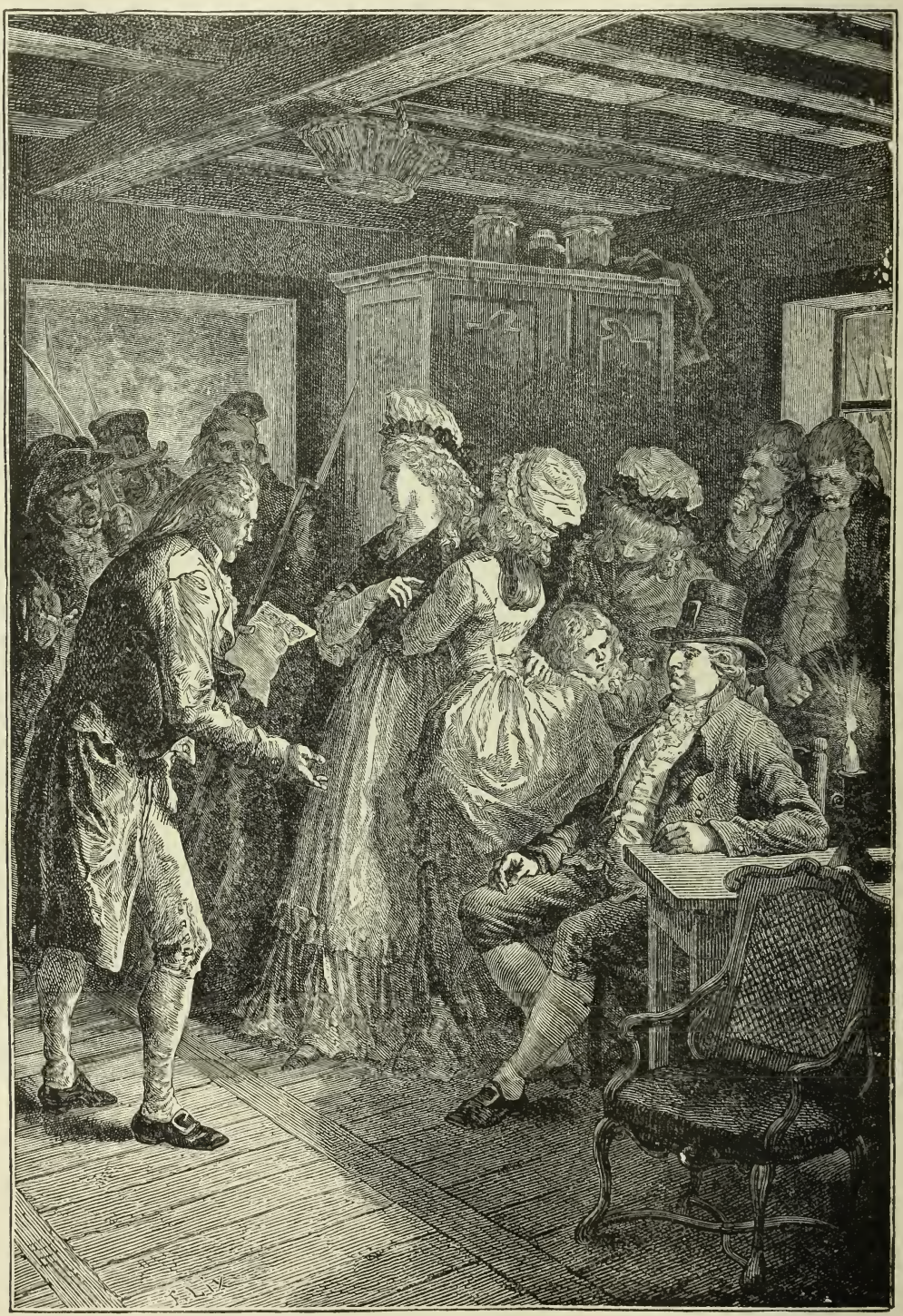
By this time the Emigrant Army on the German frontier was ready to advance, but was restrained from doing so by the well-grounded apprehension that an invasion of France by her own nobles would perhaps precipitate the destruction of Louis XVI. and the overthrow of the monarchy. It therefore became all-important to the royalists that the king should extricate himself from his dilemma in Paris, and join his friends who were waiting to deliver him. He must, like Charles I. of England, escape from a virtual imprisonment in the capital in order to return victorious.

At this time the royal family in the city consisted of the king and queen and their children, together with the Princess Elizabeth Capet, sister of Louis, and Monsieur and Madame—the former the king's brother, the latter the wife. A plot was laid for all to make their exit from the city. On the night of the 20th of June, 1791, Monsieur and Madame succeeded in getting away, and reached Brussels in safety. At the same time the king and queen, disguising themselves, quitted the Tuileries with the hope of reaching the army at Montmédy. The fugitive monarch succeeded in reaching Varennes, where he was received by the shattered remnant of loyalty. But the avenging power came hard after, and the king was seized by a detachment of the National Guard, arrested,



LOUIS XVI. ESCAPING IN DISGUISE.

and brought back to the city. This act on the part of Louis produced the greatest agitation. It had been his manifest purpose to abandon the nation as represented in the Constituent Assembly, and to cast in his lot with those who were openly arrayed against



LOUIS XVI. IN THE CITY HALL OF VARENNES.
Drawn by F. Lix.

both. All belief in the king's fidelity to the Constitution, which he had sworn to support, was swept away. It was seen that he had but awaited the opportunity, this good-natured representative of the House of Bourbon, to ally himself with the mortal foes of the people. All the suspicions of those who had distrusted him and his pledges revived in full force, and Louis became an object of odium and contempt. Nevertheless, he was received in the city without open marks of disrespect, and for an act of patriotism, was especially unfortunate for the country; for France had sent to the Constituent Assembly the best men of the kingdom; and there were good grounds to apprehend—a thing soon to be realized—that the new legislature would not be equal in abilities, perhaps not equal in patriotic purpose, to that body which it was intended to supplant.

By the summer of 1791, the various states of Europe had become profoundly agitated



ARREST OF LOUIS XVI. AT VARENNES.

a while affairs became almost as tranquil as before the attempted escape of the king.

The new Constitution of France having been completed and signed, the work of the Constituent Assembly seemed at an end. On the 30th of September, 1791, the body passed an act for its own dissolution. Before doing so, a decree was prepared for the creation of the new legislature, by which France was to be henceforth governed. The Constituents also resolved that none of themselves should be eligible to election in the new Assembly. The last-named resolution, though intended as by the course of events in France. Suppose that in all countries the People should arise against their rulers! Would there not be an end of that aristocratic and kingly *régime* by which Europe was held in equipoise and the world saved from barbarism? So reasoned the rulers. The Spanish and Italian Bourbons were especially concerned for the fate of the parent House. The Hapsburgs were also much disturbed. A daughter of their House was on the throne of France. Besides, the National Assembly had, by the act of August 4, 1789, abolished the feudal

claims of several princes to those half-French and half-German provinces lying along the Rhine. The princes of Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Lorraine had been thus dispossessed. The archbishops of Mentz and Trèves had in like manner been deprived of their jurisdiction over the cities of Spires, Strasbourg, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Even as far east as Russia the alarm was spread abroad. Catharine II., at that time engaged in a war with Turkey, made haste to conclude a peace to the end that she might be able to take advantage of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe. For she hoped thereby to carry out her purpose of seizing Poland. She thought to induce a war between Austria and Prussia on the one side and France on the other, and while the former countries were thus engaged to extend her own authority over at least a part of the Polish dominions. As the result of this antecedent alarm, ambition and jealousy among the powers, a conference was held at Pillnitz, in Saxony, between the German Emperor and Frederick William II. of Prussia. It was agreed by the two monarchs that an appeal should be made to the other European sovereigns for the forcible reinstatement of Louis XVI. on the throne of France. It was urged that such an interference was necessary in order to trammel up the consequences of the Revolution, and prevent a like disaster in other kingdoms. At most of the courts the appeal was heard with favor, and Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia formed a coälition—the first of many—against the people of France. Meanwhile, the Emigrant Nobles gathered in large numbers at Coblentz, where they put themselves under command of the fugitive Count of Provence, and awaited the movements of the allied powers. The latter were somewhat delayed by the unexpected death of Emperor Leopold (March, 1792), and the assassination of Gustavus III. of Sweden.

In the preceding October the new Legislative Assembly had convened in Paris. The great men who had led the Constituents were absent; but new leaders arose out of the necessities of the situation. The most eminent of these were from the department of the Gironde, from which circumstance the party which now gained the ascendency were known as the Girondists. Their principal members were Condorcet, Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Ducos, and the two Rolands, Jean Marie and Marie Jeanne, husband and wife, in whose salon the leaders of the party were wont to assemble in the evening and discuss the affairs of France. In politics the Girondists were moderate Republicans, believing in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of an entirely new scheme of government; but at the same time they strongly opposed the ultra-revolutionary party, whose leaders were rapidly tending to communism.

At the first the popularity of the Girondists was favored by the threatened hostility of Austria; for this fact enabled them to put themselves in the attitude of defending the French nation from an assault by foreigners. As soon, therefore, as hostile movements began on the part of the coälition, the Girondists were enabled to compel the king—if king he might be any longer called, who was such only in name—to accept a ministry composed entirely of their own party, and were thus strong enough to force from him a declaration of war against his nephew, Francis II. of Austria, successor of the Emperor Leopold. This declaration was made on the 20th of April, 1792. It was precisely what was needed to bring out the best qualities of the French people. It was a war for national independence, for liberty, for the rights of man.

The Legislative Assembly and the French people were ready for the emergency. The coffers of the state were full; for the confiscation of ecclesiastical and royal property had replenished to overflowing the wasted treasury of France. The reverse of the process by which the kingdom had suffered bankruptcy had suddenly enriched the state. When, therefore, the declaration of war was issued, the Assembly was able almost immediately to throw three strong armies into the field. At the beginning, however, the French soldiers, from the very excess of enthusiasm, were worsted by the enemy in the Austrian Netherlands. It was not long, however, until the tide began to turn in their favor; and to their advantage was added the supreme folly of their foes. The Duke of Brunswick, having taken command of the allied forces at Cob-

lentz, and really supposing that a nation of freemen, thoroughly aroused from the lethargy of the Middle Ages, and armed for the conquest of liberty, could be put down, trampled, extinguished by the old-time despotic meth-



THE GIRONDISTS AT MADAME ROLAND'S.
Drawn by F. Lix.

ods, issued a proclamation worthy of himself and the cause which he represented. His manifesto set forth that he was authorized by the sovereigns of the countries that had entered into the Coälition to reëstablish the royal authority in France, and to put down the wicked insurrection of the people against the king. "On those who shall deserve it," said he, "shall be inflicted the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution and exposing it to total destruction; and that the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved." This bombastic and threatening voice out of the dead Past was precisely the thing most needed by the French. The Assembly might well have passed a resolution of thanks to the

Duke of Brunswick for thus uncovering the purposes of those whom he served. The effect of the proclamation was to unite the people as one man against all foreign invaders, be they few or be they millions.

To Louis XVI. and the monarchy of which



STORMING OF THE TUILERIES.
Drawn by F. Lix.

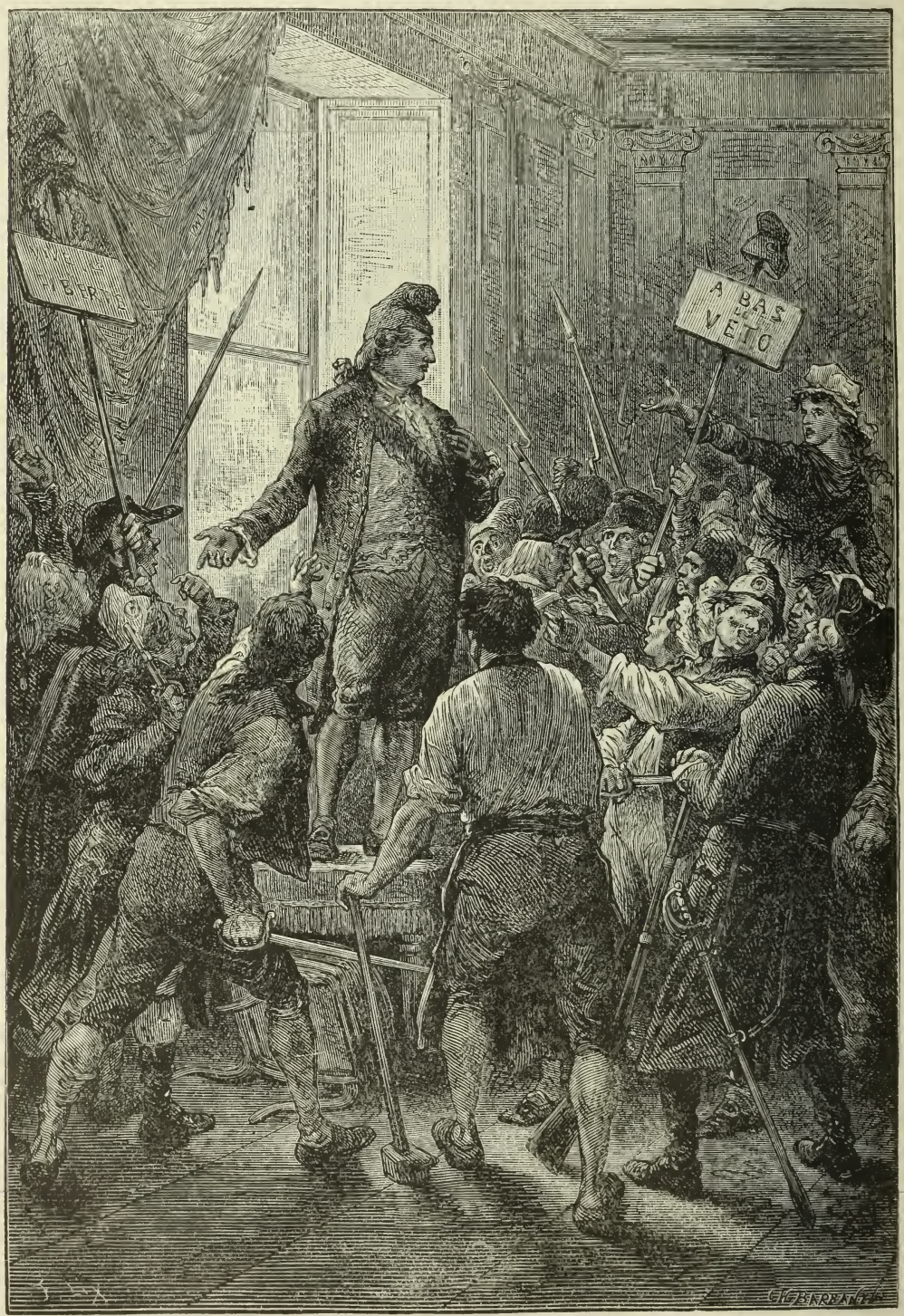
he was the representative nothing could have been more fatal than this attempt of neighboring kings to reëstablish his despotism over the French nation. The Assembly and the people now coupled his recent attempt to escape from Paris with the movements of foreign powers and the Emigrant Nobles in his behalf. Such was the increased odium aroused against the king that the Girondists easily procured a decree of the Assembly dismissing the king's guard and banishing all the priests who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution. Another act was passed for the creation of a new federal army to be encamped near Paris. Most of the National Guard had been sent into the field under command of La Fayette, and was now stationed on the frontier of Belgium. That general had become alarmed at the too radical proceedings of the Assembly, and written to that body demanding the suppression of the political clubs, notably of the Jacobins. But his protest was unheeded, except in so far as it tended to strengthen the purposes of those who contemplated the abolition of the monarchy.

Other circumstances also conduced to the same end. On the 13th of June the king dismissed his Girondist ministry and attempted to reässert his old prerogatives. This action on his part provoked another mob, as terrible as any which Paris had yet beheld. The insurgents gathered to the number of twenty thousand. They armed themselves with scythes, axes, pikes, and clubs. Under the lead of a brewer named Santerre, they marched into and through the hall of the Legislative Assembly, to which body Santerre delivered a violent harangue. Thence the mob proceeded to the Tuileries, where the king and queen were hooted at and insulted; but no further acts of violence were for the present attempted. Meanwhile, during the month of July, 1792, the new federal army was rapidly recruited. This work was mostly carried out under the management of the Jacobins. The French prisons were emptied, and thousands of criminals, clad in the tri-color of Republican France, were enlisted into the ranks. Hatred of the monarchy increased. The king and his household became objects of loathing. The delirium of license was added to the exhilaration of liberty. Paris became a sea tossed by the storm.

It was at this juncture that Rouget de l'Isle, a young military officer stationed at Strasburg, composed the celebrated *Marseillaise Hymn*, which became, and has ever since remained, the national song of Revolutionary France. At the first it was known as the War-song of the Army of the Rhine, but was afterwards called La Marseillaise. The words and melody alike seemed to strike a chord in the heart and harp of liberty, which has trembled with emotions unto the present day. It was on the 10th of August, 1792, that surging Paris first heard the music of the Marseillaise. On that day the still unquieted mob, which had recently paid its compliments to the Assembly and the royal family, again became rampant. It roared in the streets. The new War Song was sung, at first by a few, and then by thousands. The guards of the Tuileries were doubled in anticipation of an attack by the populace. It was evident that at last the storm of revolutionary fury was fairly loosed. The mob could not be suppressed. The people were with the mob. The people *were* the mob. A rush was made for the Tuileries. Mandat, commandant of the guard, was summoned before the Commune, or City Court, and put to death. All that part of the guard which belonged to the National went over to the insurgents. Only a regiment of Swiss was left to protect the palace and the king. Then came the onset. Louis and his family fled to the halls of the National Assembly. The Swiss guards were cut down without mercy. The mob burst through the gates of the palace and roared along the magnificent corridors. The palace was sacked, and none escaped save a few who made their way to the Assembly. The latter body itself swayed towards the mob. Had it not done so, the legislature would perhaps have shared the same fate with the royal family.

The king was now a prisoner in name as well as in fact. He was conveyed with his household to a gloomy old prison called the Temple, where in ages gone the knights of the Order of that name had held their conclaves. The Middle Age which had persisted in ruling the eighteenth century was incarcerated at the last in a prison of its own con-

struction. In a short time, and under the very windows of the royal palace, was set up a *guillotine*—the instrument recently invented by Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin, of the Assembly, for the more merciful execution of criminals. Nor was it long until the efficacy



THE KING WITH THE MOB IN THE TUILERIES.
Drawn by F. Lix.

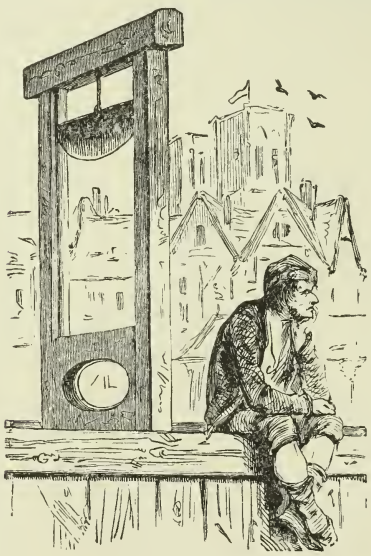
of the machine was attested in a horrid manner.

The radical revolutionists were now triumphant in the Assembly and throughout France. It became their policy to destroy whatever opposed them. The accumulated



THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE TEMPLE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

horrors which despotism had for centuries been storing up against the day of wrath were now to be revisited upon all who exposed themselves to the madness of infuriated Liberty. The so-called REIGN of TERROR was ushered in. It was the day of blood and vengeance—such vengeance as the human race has never at any other time taken on itself for its own crimes. A revolutionary tribunal was created, and a sort of semi-legal massacre was begun of those who durst oppose, or were even suspected of opposing, the actions of the faction which for the time controlled the destinies of the state. On the 2d of September a party of revolutionists known as the *Fédérés*, claiming to be the most devoted champions of the



THE GUILLOTINE.

cause of the people, made a rush on the prisons where those priests were confined who had refused to swear allegiance to the new constitution. They assaulted the old abbey of Saint Germain, and then the convent of the Carmelites. In the former place twenty-three and in the latter one hundred and fifty-two priests were butchered. The seminary of Saint Firmin was next stormed, and there ninety-two others were slain. The revolutionists then made their way to that prison in which were confined the Swiss guards who had escaped the massacre of the 10th of August. These too were killed. For five days the work of slaughter continued in and about the prisons of Paris. No age, sex or condition was spared by the desperate and seemingly insatiable destroyers. Three thousand persons were seized in their own houses by night and dragged off to imprisonment and death. The most beautiful city of the modern world became a horror too awful to contemplate. The rage for blood was caught in other parts, and the cities of Meaux, Rheims, Lyons, and Orleans imitated the work which was done in the capital. Every prison was emptied of its living contents, and all day long the guillotine was heard performing its task, stroke on stroke. Having destroyed those who had already been imprisoned under charge or suspicion of disloyalty, the directors of the massacre turned upon those who had as yet gone free. The Princess Lamballe, the confidential friend of Marie Antoinette, was seized, taken before the tribunal, condemned, and beheaded. The executioners placed her head on a pike, and exhibited it before the windows of the Temple, where the queen must see the bloody trophy. The hospital of Bicêtre, where about four thousand persons were confined, was taken after an eight days' siege, and not one of the inmates was spared to tell the story.—Such were the SEPTEMBER MASSACRES of 1792.

The chief leaders who were responsible for this well-named Reign of Terror were three—George Jacques Danton, Jean Paul Marat, and Maximilien Isidore de Robespierre. The first of these remarkable personages to whom destiny had assigned the office of butcher in the kingdom of Freedom, was now in his thirty-third year. His birthplace was Arcis-sur-Aube. By profession he was a lawyer; by nature, a leader of men. He had been a pupil of Mirabeau in politics, but had none of that great man's conservatism. He had taken part in founding the club of *Cordeliers*, and had operated, in conjunction with Desmoulins and Marat, in promoting the most radical views and violent measures. He early favored the deposition of the king, and was one of those who precipitated the attack on the Tuileries on the 10th of August. For his audacity on this occasion he was rewarded by the Assembly with the office of Minister of Justice, and it was in this capacity that he figured in the terrible tragedies of the following month. Around him as a leader were now gathered a large following of radicals,

who took his name and are known as the DANTONISTS.

Marat was born in 1744. In his youth he studied medicine, and then traveled in foreign countries. While in England he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Chains of Slavery*, which attracted much attention and exhibited the radicalism of his views. From 1779 to 1788 he lived at Paris, and participated in the political and scientific controversies which agitated France. With the outbreak of the revolution he became one of the leading demagogues, and his influence over the lower classes of the populace was hardly second to that of any other man in Paris. He was, perhaps, the most inflammatory journalist of that stormy period. He was brought into public life through the club of the Cordeliers, to which he had been introduced by Danton. He soon distinguished himself for his fury against the Girondists, whom he charged with being traitors to the cause of liberty. He delivered daily harangues to as many radicals as would listen, and on one occasion in the Assembly was going to blow out his own brains as he stood in the tribune, because his hearers were apathetic and jeered at his speech. Several times he was driven into concealment by the indiscreet rage with which he attacked the moderate party that still controlled the actions of the Assembly. After the attack on the Tuileries, however, he came into open daylight, and was soon recognized as one of the principal supporters of Danton, and a powerful member of that vigilance committee into whose hands insane Paris had committed her destiny. In person he was as contemptible as his will and ferocity were conspicuous. Less than five feet in height, lean and scrawny, he exhibited a countenance as ludicrous and fierce as that of Tilly.

The third of the trio was Robespierre. He was at this time thirty-four years of age. His family was of Irish origin and had received a patent of Nobility. He had acquired his education along with Danton and Desmoulins in the college of Louis le Grand. His first notoriety was gained as a lawyer at Arras, in a cause wherein he conducted the defense of certain parties who were prosecuted for impiety in that they had put up Dr. Franklin's lightning-rods on their houses! Robespierre was a pupil of Rousseau, whose ultra-liberal principles he fully imbibed. While still residing at Arras he was obliged, as judge of the court, to condemn a convicted criminal to death. At this he was so shocked that he resigned his office and became an advocate of the abolition of capital punishment. So great was his horror of cruelty and pain that he shuddered even at the killing of a domestic fowl; nor can it be suspected that his sensitiveness to inhumanity and the shedding of blood was in any measure an affectation. In 1789 he was elected as a deputy to the States-general, where his force of mind no less than his insignificant person soon attracted the attention not only of the Assembly, but of all France. His figure was so slight as to be almost spectral. His limbs were slim and angu-

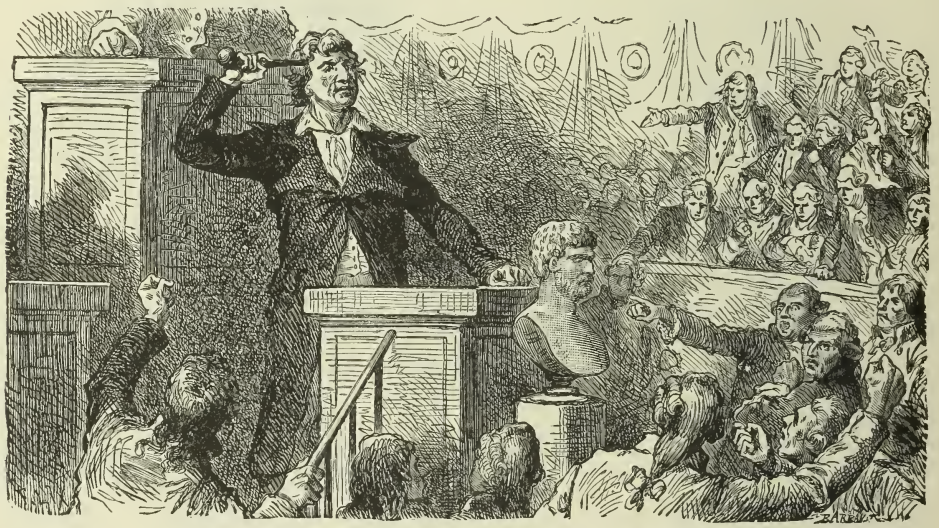


JEAN PAUL MARAT.

lar; his forehead projected over the temples, and his deep-set blue eyes darted a fiery determination in debate. His voice was shrill and monotonous; his mouth large; his lips thin; his nostrils wide; his chin small and pointed; the muscles of his face always drawn into knots by the tension of excitement. In the constituent Assembly his influence was frequently preponderant. He was poor; his garments were threadbare. He lived in apartments scarcely better than a hovel, and gave one-fourth of his daily pay to his sister. He was studious and temperate—a member of the Jacobins.

As late as April of 1792 Robespierre still pleaded for the abolition of the death penalty. He published a journal called *The Defender of the Constitution.* Though he did not participate in the attack on the Tuileries, he afterwards declared that day to be one of the most glorious in the annals of mankind. He was influential in organizing the semi-military tribunal which was instituted for the destruction of the alleged enemies of the government. In this way he became associated with Danton and Marat, and presently took into his own hands the destiny of Assembly, Paris, and France.

Such were the three men whom to resist was to die. The revolutionary tribunal was in their hands; the Assembly was in the hands of the tribunal. Paris was in the hands of the Assembly, and France was in the hands of Paris. It remained to be seen whether the world would be in the hands of France. The allied powers had now massed an army of a hundred and ten thousand men under the Duke of Brunswick, and the invasion began from the side of Germany. To oppose this force the NATIONAL CONVENTION—for to that name the title of Legislative Assembly had now given place—sent forth an army under General Dumouriez, who confronted the allies in the Forest of Argonne. The latter, after capturing Longwy and Verdùn, were brought to a standstill, and presently driven back across the Rhine. The

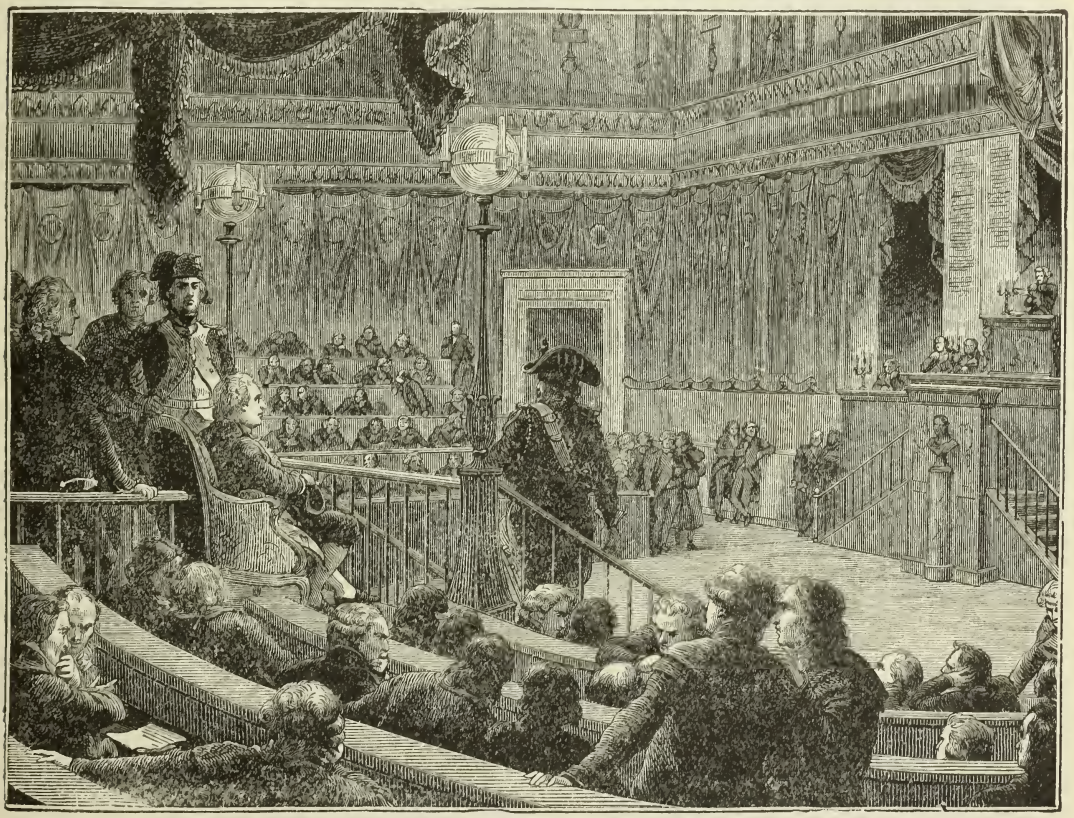


MARAT THREATENING TO KILL HIMSELF IN THE TRIBUNE.
Drawn by F. Lix.

Duke of Brunswick had been induced by the Emigrant Nobles to believe that the French peasants on the border, rising at his approach, would furnish supplies for the invading army; but the event showed that the common people were with the Revolution. It was from this circumstance, rather than from the shock of defeat in battle, that Brunswick was obliged to retreat. After losing about thirty thousand men he found himself back again on the east bank of the Rhine. Soon afterwards Dumouriez confronted the enemy coming out of the Austrian Netherlands, and gained a decisive victory on the field of JEMAPPES. The people rose in favor of the French, renounced their allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, and proclaimed a Belgian Republic. It was

the first formal exhibition of the revolutionary spirit beyond the borders of France.

It was on the 22d of September in this year (1792) that the Assembly was merged into the Convention. The tide of republicanism had now risen high and roared along all the shores. There was no longer any doubt as to the fate of the old form of government. On the very first day of the sitting of the Convention a decree was passed by acclamation, abolishing royalty in France. The very land-



LOUIS XVI. BEFORE THE BAR OF THE CONVENTION.

marks of the ancient *régime* were obliterated. Not even the titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame* were allowed to stand. Henceforth every person in the realm should be called *Citizen*. The FRENCH REPUBLIC was proclaimed as the only form of government fit to protect the liberties of men. To these measures all the factions in the Convention assented; but that body was constantly disturbed by the rancor of party strife. The Girondists, now known as the *Shore*, were still in a numerical majority; but the *Mountain*—that is, the Jacobins—were the most aggressive and violent. A struggle ensued between the two parties for the mastery of the Convention. The mob outside was with the Mountain, and the Girondists were hard pressed to keep their ascendency. When the news came that Dumouriez had driven back the allied army and gained a victory at Jemappes; when it was known that the Austrian Netherlands had been recovered, and the Belgian Republic proclaimed, the radicalism of the Convention became more intense than ever. A resolution was passed authorizing every French general to proclaim the abolition of monarchy and the sovereignty of the people in all the countries which they should enter. "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY" was adopted as the motto of the French nation; and it was ordered that whatever power should refuse to accept the principles expressed in these key-words of emancipation should be regarded as an enemy. A decree was next passed declaring the free navigation of the Scheldt, and a French fleet ascended that river to bombard Antwerp. This action was in direct violation of the treaties

of Münster and Paris, and implied that the Convention would take upon itself the work of giving a new construction to the Law of Nations.

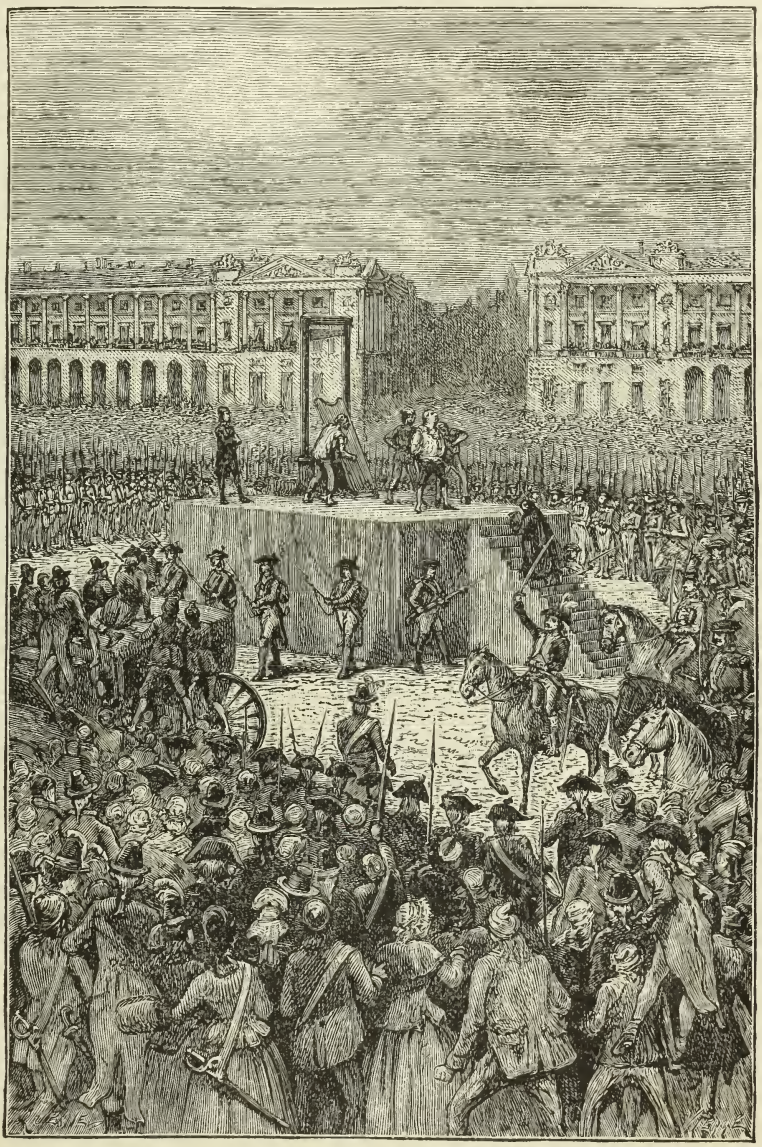
The helpless Louis XVI. was still a prisoner in the Temple. The Jacobins constantly sought his death. During the fall of 1792



LOUIS XVI. TAKING LEAVE OF HIS FAMILY.
Drawn by F. Lix.

many charges were preferred against him, and on the 10th of December he was brought to trial before the Convention. The accusations which were preferred by the Committee of Public Safety were that Louis Capet had invited and encouraged foreign enemies to invade France; that he had neglected the French army to the end that the allied powers might be victorious; that his conduct had occasioned the capture of Longwy and Verdun by the Duke of Brunswick in the recent invasion; that he had caused the riot of the 10th of August; that he had repeatedly forsworn himself as it respected the new Constitution of France. The king was ably defended by Tronchet, Desèze, and Malesherbes, who risked their lives by acting as his advocates. The trial lasted until the 15th of January, when the prisoner was found guilty by a unanimous vote. When it came to fixing the penalty, however, there was violent dissension. The Girondists favored exile or banishment, but the Mountain was for death.

For five days the Convention was the scene of stormy debates. On the 20th of the month a vote was taken, and the result showed that the Jacobins had triumphed. Of the seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were recorded for the penalty of death. The vote was *viva voce*, each member rising as his name was called and announcing his decision. Philip of Orleans, who had joined the radicals and taken his surname of *Egalité*, from the motto of the Revolution, voted without hesitation for his cousin's death; but Thomas Paine recorded his vote in the negative. The king on being notified of the sentence, asked a delay of three days in order to prepare for death. He also requested that a priest should be sent to him, that his family might come to his cell, and that the surveillance of the guards might be withdrawn. The respite was denied, but the other requests were granted. The execution was set for the 21st of January. On the morning of that day Louis was led forth to the guillotine. He was accompanied to the place of his death



DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE.
Drawn by Vierge.

by his confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth. On the way to the scaffold in the Place de la Revolution there was no interruption. The people remained silent. *Nous voici donc arrivés*, said the king, as the carriage stopped before the guillotine. "At last we are arrived." *At last!* Louis met his fate with calmness. Like Charles I. he betrayed no sign of fear. On the scaffold he attempted to address the people; but his voice was drowned with the beating of drums. When the knife descended



LOUIS XVI. ON THE SCAFFOLD (NEARER VIEW).

the executioner lifted the dissevered head by the hair, and cried, "Long live the Republic!"

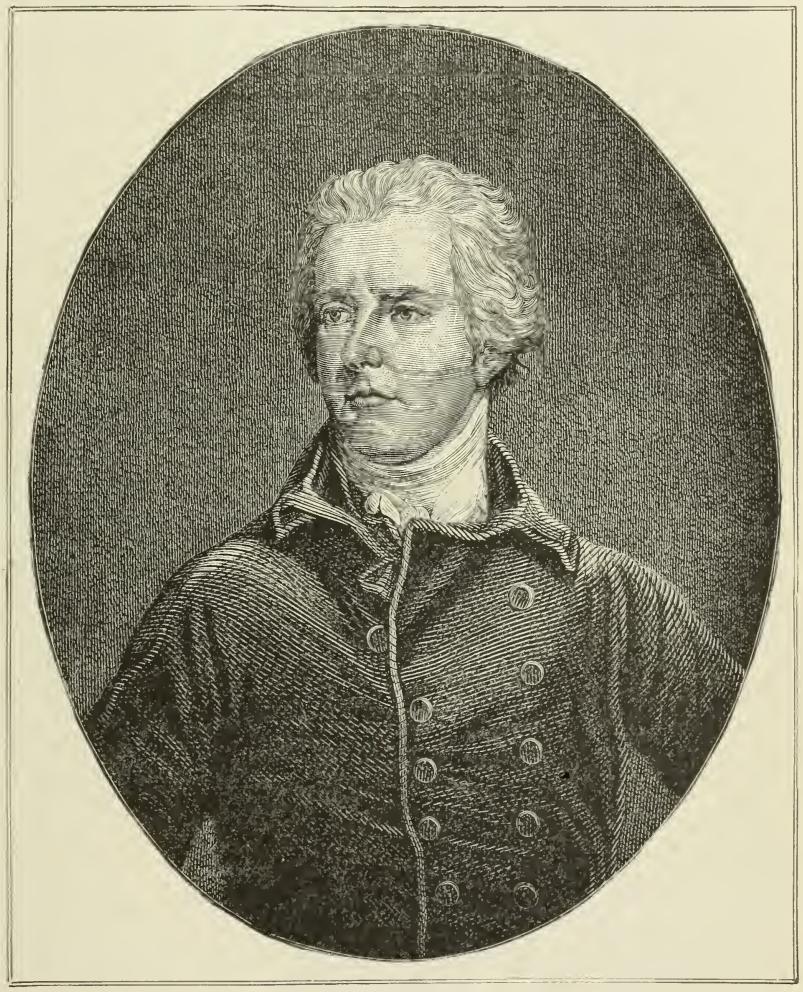
At the time of the tragedy Louis XVI. was in the nineteenth year of his reign. His claims to the crown of France were left to his son, the Dauphin, now in his eighth year, and still a prisoner in the Temple. The Count of Provence, brother to the late king, assumed the title of Regent, in the name of his nephew. The latter, however, was destined to a hard fate. On the 3d of July, 1793, he was torn from his mother's arms and conveyed to another part of the prison, where he was put in charge of a Jacobin shoemaker named Antoine Simon. By him the prince was so brutally treated that he presently became deranged in mind and dwarfed and deformed in body. He was kept in confinement until the 8th of June, 1795, when he died of scrofula superinduced by filth and starvation.

If the previous conduct of Revolutionary France had alarmed the powers of Europe, the execution of the king filled them with madness and resentment. With such an example before him no monarch of Christendom could sit safely on his throne. The rulers of Europe conceived it to be necessary to the maintenance of the existing order anywhere that a coälition of all should be formed for the suppression of the French nation, or, at least, of the French Revolution.

A new league was accordingly made to which the parties were Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, and Portugal. Indeed no European state, except Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, remained friendly to France. The prime mover in this

second coälition against the French Republic was William Pitt, now at the height of his power in England. But the formidable array of her enemies created no alarm in France. She had long passed the stage of fear, and was ready to fight the world. In her declaration of war, however, she was careful to designate the *rulers* of the hostile states, and not the *people*, as the objects of her anger. The Convention ordered a levy of five hundred thousand men to repel the threatened invasions, and the confiscated property of the Church and the nobility was appropriated to the support of the war.

Thus began the fearful contest between Old and New Europe — a struggle which was destined to continue almost without interruption for more than twenty years, to waste the energies of the whole continent, to heap up mountains of debt on the head of posterity, to entail a train of evils from the shadow of which no nation has yet emerged. The French ambassadors were unceremoniously dismissed from almost every court in Europe, and the war began in earnest.



WILLIAM PITT.

At the first there were several attempts to start a reäction in France. After his victories on the German frontier and his conquest in the Austrian Netherlands, Dumouriez, hearing of the peril of the king, had returned to Paris in the hope of saving the monarch's life and putting an end to the Jacobin ascendency. In his political views he favored the establishment of a limited monarchy; but the day for a monarchy of any kind had passed, and Dumouriez, giving up his hopes, went back to the command of the army. His conduct, however, had excited the suspicions of the Jacobins, who sent out spies to keep a watch on the general's proceedings. Nor was it long before commissioners were dispatched by the Convention with orders for his arrest. These agents were, however, themselves arrested by Dumouriez and delivered to the Austrians. He then attempted to lead his army back to Paris for the overthrow of the government; but the army was as thoroughly republican as the revolutionists in Paris, and would not obey his command. Hereupon he abandoned his camp and sought refuge with the Austrians.

The condemnation of Louis XVI. marked the ascendency of the Jacobin faction over the Girondists in the Convention. But the latter continued to struggle in the hope of

regaining their power. Already there were grounds to apprehend that the extremists, led on by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, would turn the enginery of destruction upon their more moderate associates in the Convention. The arming of the revolutionary tribunal with authority to decide without appeal all crimes alleged to have been done against liberty, equality, and the indivisibility of the Republic, tended to confirm the suspicion that the Girondists were marked for the scaffold. In



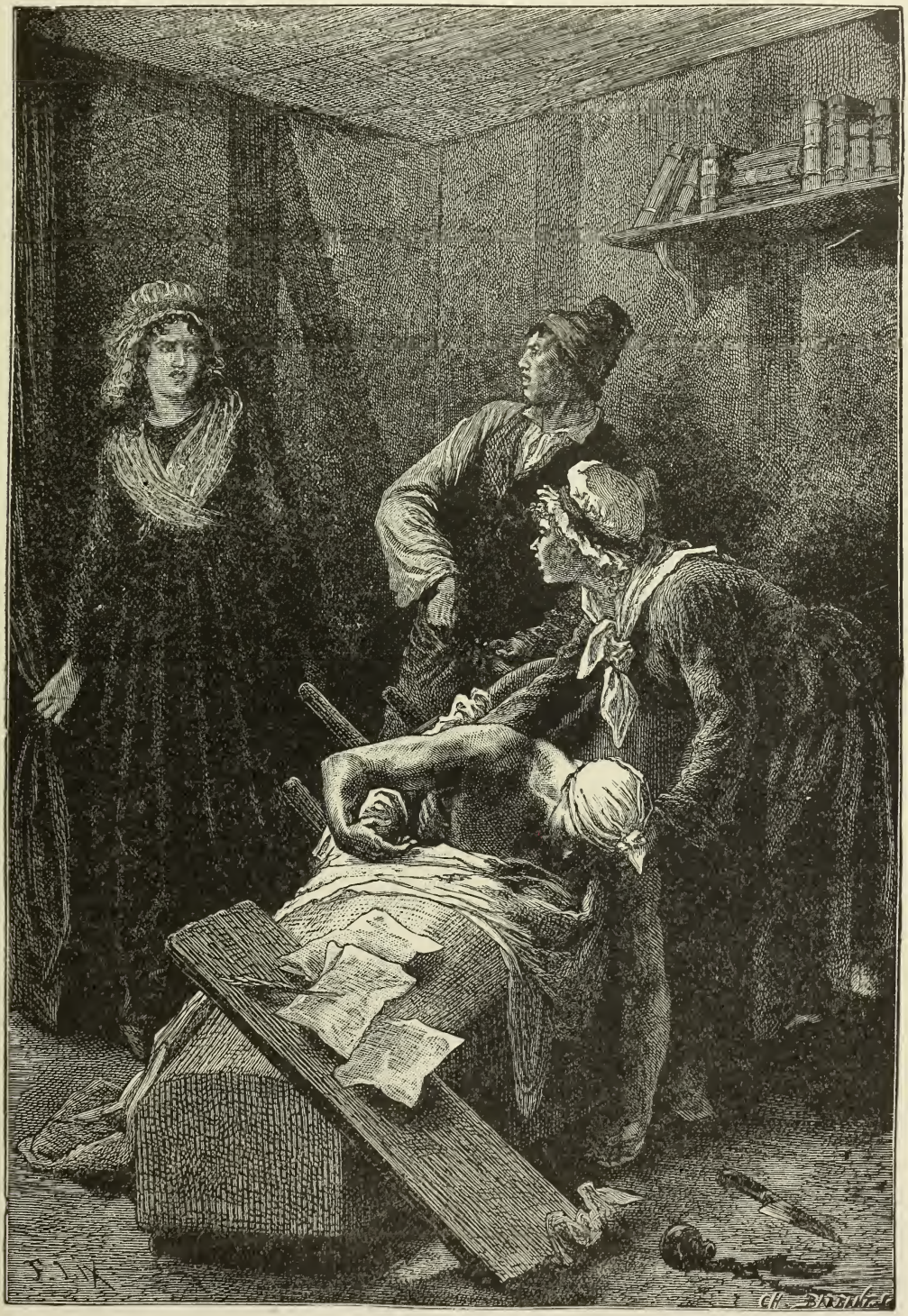
CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

the next place, the Committee of Public Safety was invested with dictatorial powers. While these steps were taken in the Convention, the mob outside began to howl for the destruction of the Gironde. On the 2d of June, 1793, a vast throng of eighty thousand men, armed and desperate, surrounded the hall of the Convention, and demanded the arrest of the Girondist leaders. The representative body durst not resist the clamor of the rabble. Thirty-two of the Gironde were accordingly seized and hurried to prison. Seventy-three others were expelled from membership. The party of moderation was broken up, and the party of violence reveled in its excesses without restraint.

The time had now come when assassination was to be added to the other crimes of the epoch. The first notable instance of this sort of vengeance was furnished by Charlotte de Corday, who, in the beginning of July, left Caen and came to Paris as an avenger of the Girondists. Marat's journal, called *Ami du Peuple*, had declared that two hundred thousand additional heads must fall before the Revolution would be secure. This ferocious programme foretold the destruction not only of the Girondists, but of all others who might dare to oppose the councils of moderation to the madness of the revolutionary tribunal. On coming to Paris Charlotte wrote a letter to Marat and solicited an audience, but that citizen made no answer. On the 13th of July Charlotte purchased a knife in the Palais Royal, called upon Marat in the Rue de Cordelieres, but was refused admittance to his house. In the evening she succeeded in gaining an interview, reported to Marat, who was in his bath, the proceedings of the Girondists at Caen, which was her pretended business, and then suddenly drawing her knife plunged it to the hilt into his heart. He gave one cry and sank back dead. The murderess was immediately seized, condemned, and sent to the guillotine. To Marat the highest honor was paid in his death. His heart was deposited in a vase of agate, placed on an altar, and surrounded with flowers and burning incense. To the rabble he had been a god.

Robespierre and Danton were left to struggle for the mastery. In one thing they were both agreed; namely, that the Girondist leaders must die. Their arrest and imprisonment were followed by a trial and condemnation.

On the 31st of October twenty-two of those under sentence were led forth from the Conciergerie, where they had spent their last night in social converse chiefly directed to their death on the morrow, and perished by decapitation under the guillotine. Madame Ro-



DEATH OF MARAT.
Drawn by F. Lix.

land, who had been for some time the inspiring genius of the Gironde party, and her husband, scarcely less distinguished than she for his virtues, soon followed their comrades to death. Madame Roland herself faced the guillotine like a heroine. "O liberty!" she exclaimed, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" and then she died as she had lived; but her husband chose to perish by his own hands. Most of the other leaders of the Girondists escaped from Paris, and sought to organize a counter-revolution in the provinces.

By this time the cloud of war had gathered around nearly all the horizon of France. The Convention became furious, reckless. Robespierre was placed on the Committee of Public Safety. A fearful reäction had now taken place in his nature, and instead of his former abhorrence of bloodshed, he had rushed to the other extreme, and became the most terrible butcher of all the revolutionists. His career henceforth was shocking, appalling. He spared none. A *Law of the Suspected* was passed by the Convention, under the opera-

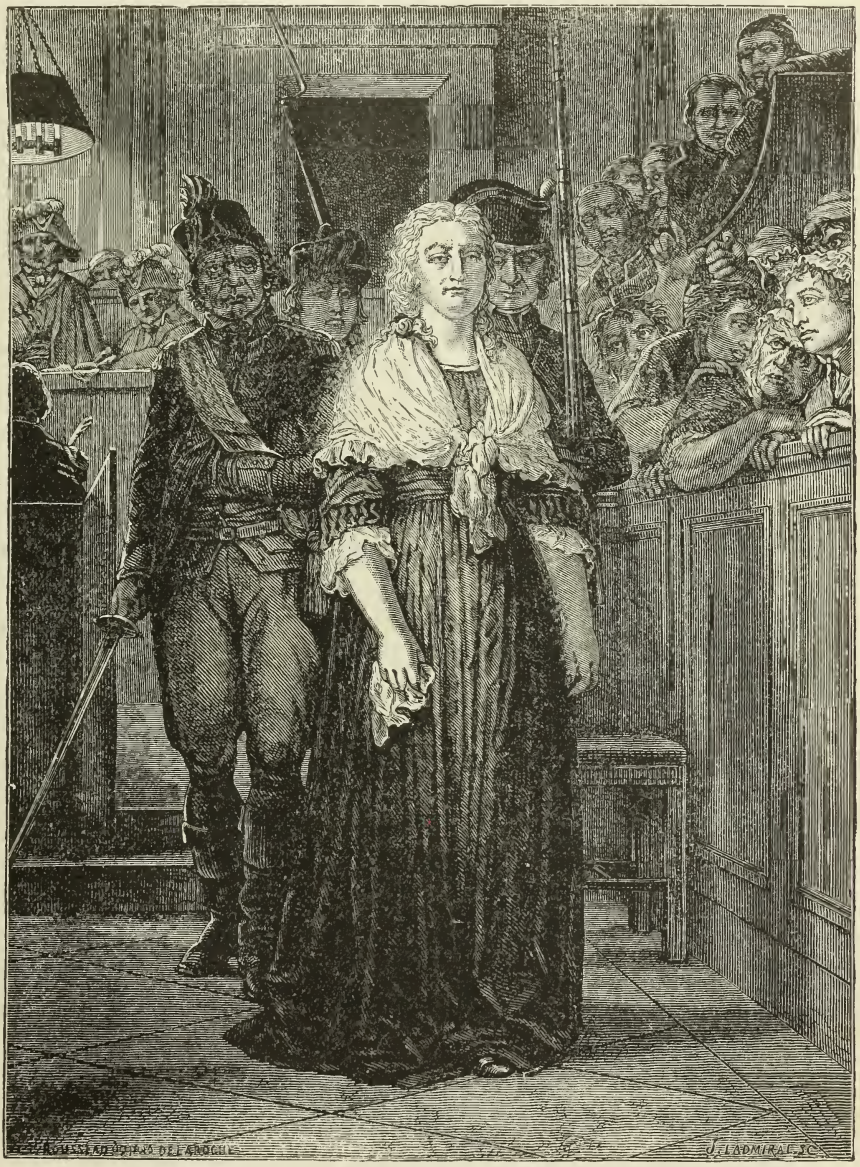


THE GIRONDISTS ON THE ROAD TO EXECUTION.

Drawn by F. Lix.

tion of which two hundred thousand persons were imprisoned on vague charges of conspiring against the liberties of France. Mere mistakes and misfortunes were set down as crimes, and woe to him against whom the finger of suspicion was lifted.

Meanwhile the sorrows of Marie Antoinette were ended with her life under the guillotine. On the 14th of October the "Widow Capet," as the indictment called her, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal to answer to the charge of having conspired against France at home and abroad. Her demeanor was full of dignity. She made a few laconic replies to the questions which were addressed to her, and calmly awaited the inevitable. Only once, when she was accused by Hébert of having been privy to the debauching of her own son, did her indignation flash like lightning. It is said that even the audacious Hébert quailed for a moment and shrank before her wrath.



MARIE ANTOINETTE LED TO THE TRIBUNAL.

On the morning of the 16th she was condemned to death. At noon of the same day she was conveyed along the streets, where thirty thousand soldiers and other innumerable throngs were assembled, and passing, unmoved by their shouts of "*Vive la Republique! A bas la Tyrannie!*" to the place of death, mounted the scaffold and died like a queen. Her frivolity had long since given place to that heroism which the scourge of sorrow not unfrequently lashes from the soul of womanhood, and in the last hour the House of Austria had no cause to be ashamed of its daughter.

In less than a month after this tragedy Philip Egalité met his fate at the hands of those whom he had flattered and supported. Like most of those who went to their death

in this epoch of blood, he died without a sign of fear. Indeed, death had well-nigh ceased to be terrible. Men came to believe that the regeneration of man, the resuscitation of society, demanded an unstinted sacrifice of life, and few hesitated to make it.

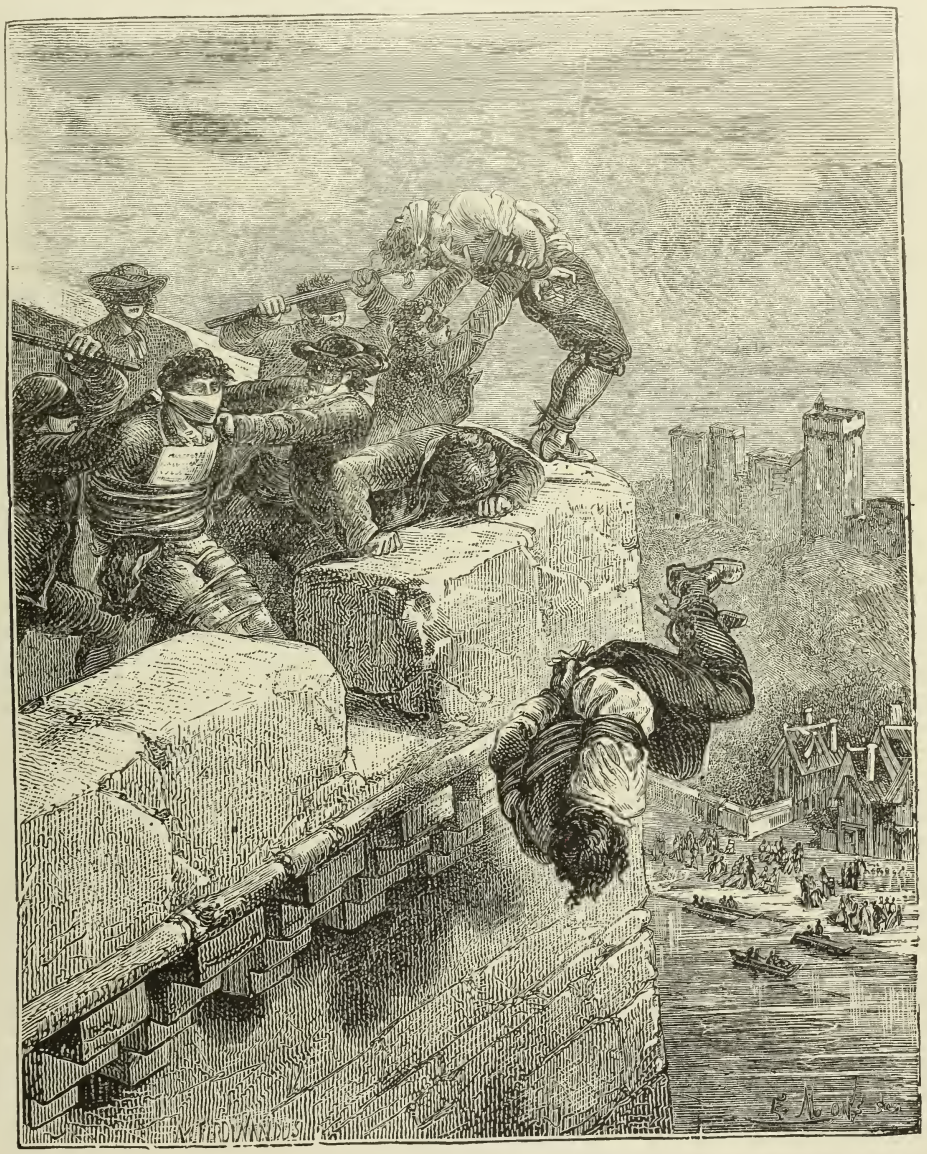
In the mean time nearly all the forms to which the French people had been accustomed were abolished. A new calendar was



THE FÊTE OF REASON.
After the painting by M. Mueller.

made. The Christian Era was wiped out, and was replaced by the new FRENCH ERA, dating from September 22, 1792. The mythological names of the months gave place to others deduced from the prevailing phase of nature. The week was abolished, and a span of ten days substituted for the seven, the tenth day, or *Decadi*, being set apart for rest. A decree was passed against the Christian Religion, and it was sought to obliterate the last vestige of the ancient systems of belief. The doctrines which men had accepted for centuries were formally abrogated. Atheism was declared to be the faith of France. Immortality was denied. On all the public cemeteries was placed this inscription, DEATH IS AN ETERNAL SLEEP. The age was proclaimed the Age of Reason. Reason was deified. All the ceremonies of Catholicism were turned into ridicule and mockery. The churches were rifled and the treasures of silver and gold were carried with laughter and song to the bar of the Convention. Some put on surplices and capes after the manner of the priests, sang hallelujahs, and danced the Carmagnole. Having set down the host, the boxes in which it was kept, and the statues of gold and silver, they addressed the saints in burlesque speeches. "O, you," said one

in apostrophe, "O, you instruments of fanaticism, blessed saints of all kinds, be at length patriots! Rise *en masse;* serve the country by going to the Mint to be melted, and give us in this world that felicity which you wanted to obtain for us in the other!" On the motion hanging from her shoulders. Her hair was crowned with the cap of liberty. She was placed on an antique seat twined with ivy, and was borne to Notre Dame by four citizens. Addresses were made and hymns sung after the manner of a religious ceremony.



DESTRUCTION OF THE VENDEANS.

of Chaumette, the Church of Notre Dame was converted into a *Temple of Reason*, and there, on the 10th of November, the Festival of Reason was celebrated. Madame Momoro, the young and beautiful wife of a Jacobin printer, was chosen to represent Reason. She was dressed in white, with a mantle of azure blue The members of the Convention and the magistrates of Paris joyfully participated in the festival. The greatest men in France joined with the populace in shouting "*The Republic forever! Reason forever! Down with fanaticism!*"

Of all the provinces of France, the district most infected with loyalty to the old order

was La Vendée. The people of this region had not caught the fanaticism of the Revolution. On the contrary, they proclaimed Louis XVII., and took up arms in support of that prince and the Count of Provence. A formidable army was gathered, and the forces of the Republic were set at defiance. The Convention ordered the suppression of the insurrection, but the Vendeans held their ground and inflicted several defeats on those who were sent against them. At the very time when the mistaken announcement that La Vendée was no more was made in the Convention the Republican army had been disastrously routed by the insurgents. In a short time, however, reïnforcements were sent against the revolted province, and the rebellion was put down in blood. For awhile the Vendeans continued the struggle in a sort of guerrilla warfare in the swamps and marshes of the country. The extermination of this resistance was intrusted to a savage officer named Carrier, who hunted down the Vendean rebels with extreme ferocity. So many persons, living and dead, were hurled into the Loire that the river was poisoned and the fishes died. In this and other horrid ways as many as fifteen thousand people were destroyed in the last months of 1793.

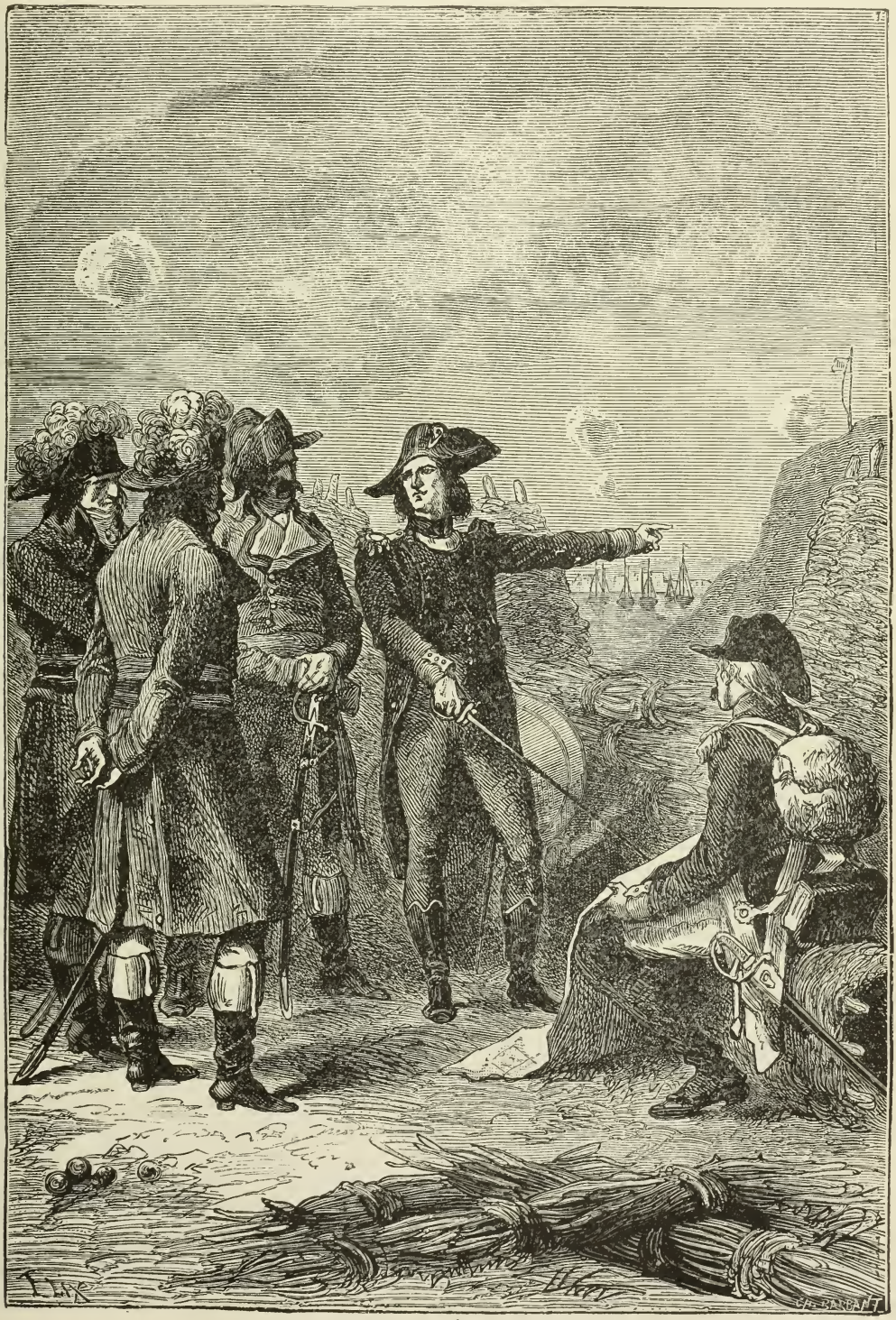
In other parts the insurrectionary spirit displayed itself. Lyons revolted. To that city, as to Caen, the Girondists flocked in great numbers after the downfall of their party in the Convention. They united with the Royalists, and in their first battle with the Republican army were victorious. But the tide soon turned, and Lyons was besieged. Famine aided the besiegers, and the city was presently reduced and almost blotted out. Toulon also revolted, and an army of sixteen thousand English and Spaniards was admitted into the town. An English fleet held possession of the harbor, and the place was commanded by what were considered impregnable fortifications. A siege was undertaken by the army of the Convention, and was pressed with great vigor, but without much prospect of success. After a month, a council of war was called by the French general; and while the best method of capturing Toulon was discussed, and none seemed able to give any rational advice, a young captain of artillery arose, and in a few positive and clear-cut sentences showed the council that a certain fort was the key to the city and harbor, and that the same could be taken by cannonade and assault. It was Napoleon Bonaparte. His advice was adopted, and he was intrusted with the duty of carrying the fort. This was to his liking. The fort was taken. The guns were turned upon the surprised enemy. The fleet was obliged to leave the harbor, taking on board the flying royalists of the town. Toulon capitulated, and France first heard the name of him who was soon to rise above the storm of Revolution.

Napoleon was at this time twenty-four years of age. His birth and parentage have already been narrated in a preceding chapter.[1] The characteristics of his boyhood had been sufficiently marked. From a child he was a being different from others. He was taciturn, willful, studious, a dreamer. He dreamt the dream of war. He trained the boys of Ajaccio, and taught them how to make battle with wooden sabers. He was educated under Pichegru in the military academy at Brienne. The report of the school for the year 1784 speaks of him as "distinguished in mathematical studies, tolerably versed in history and geography, much behind in Latin and belles-lettres and other accomplishments; of regular habits, studious and well-behaved, and enjoying excellent health." In this year he was transferred to the military school in Paris, where, in 1785, he was given the rank of lieutenant and assigned to a regiment stationed at Valence. In politics he was a democrat. He corresponded with Paoli, then an exile in London, and projected a history of his native island, which he visited every year. In 1787–89 he became an intense revolutionist. He was made a captain of artillery in 1792, and was present in Paris during the insurrections of June and August. At one time he commanded a battalion of the National Guard, and while holding this trust was sent to subdue his native island, then in revolt. In the summer of 1793 the members of his father's family left Ajaccio and came to Paris, which became henceforth the home of the Bonapartes. In September of this year Napoleon was ordered to assist in the siege of

[1] See p. 575.

Toulon, where, as above stated, he first brought himself to the notice of the Convention.

After the overthrow of the Girondists, the Terrorists were still divided into factions. The most violent party was the Hébertists, so named from their leader, Jacques René Hé-



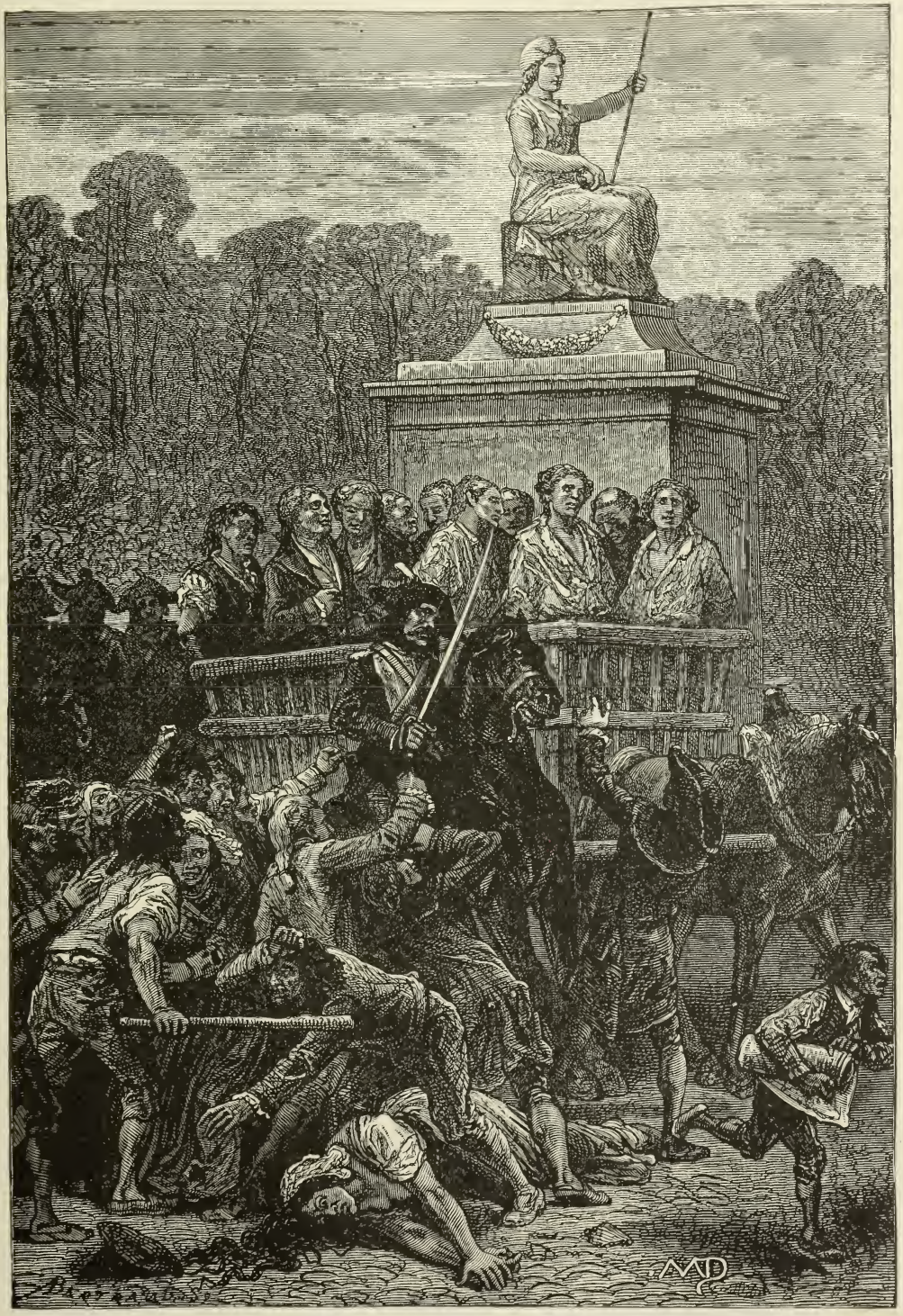
NAPOLEON BEFORE TOULON.
Drawn by F. Lix.

bert, better known by his pseudonym of Père Duchesne. He was one of the many unscrupulous, perturbed spirits whom the Revolution had flung up from the sea-beds of humanity. His followers were, from their desperate character, called the *Enragés*. The conservatives, now known as the "Party of Clemency," were led by Danton, who, though an atheist and communist, believed that the Revolution had reached its climax, and that the time had arrived to moderate its fury. Between these two extremes were Robespierre and his followers, who called themselves the "Party of Justice." The latter, however, with a view of compassing the destruction of the Hébertists, whom they hated, joined themselves with the Party of Clemency, and by this means succeeded in bearing down Père Duchesne and his band. These, to the number of nineteen—including the leader—were seized on the night of the 13th of March, 1794, and were hurried to prison. A trial and condemnation followed, and on the 26th of the month the Hébertists were led forth to the guillotine. Hébert proved an exception to the rule in the hour of death. He quailed and shuddered at the sight of the scaffold, shrank from the jeers of the mob, and died like a dog.

The event soon revealed the plans of Robespierre. As soon as the Hébertists were destroyed, he broke with the Party of Clemency and sought to effect its overthrow. In the struggle that ensued he and Danton were brought face to face. The dwarfish imp of Terror was destined to win the battle with the giant. The majority rallied around Robespierre, and Danton went to the wall. On the 31st of March he was seized at his own house and imprisoned in the Luxembourg. Three days afterwards he, together with Desmoulins, Lacroix, and Eglantine, were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal which themselves had constituted. They treated their judges with contempt, and were ordered to the guillotine. On the way thither Danton exhibited all his force of character. His gigantic form was seen above the rabble. His voice was without a tremor, and his look defiant to the last. To the executioner he said: "Show my head to the mob; it is worth seeing." Robespierre witnessed the death of his great rival, and went away rubbing his hands with delight!

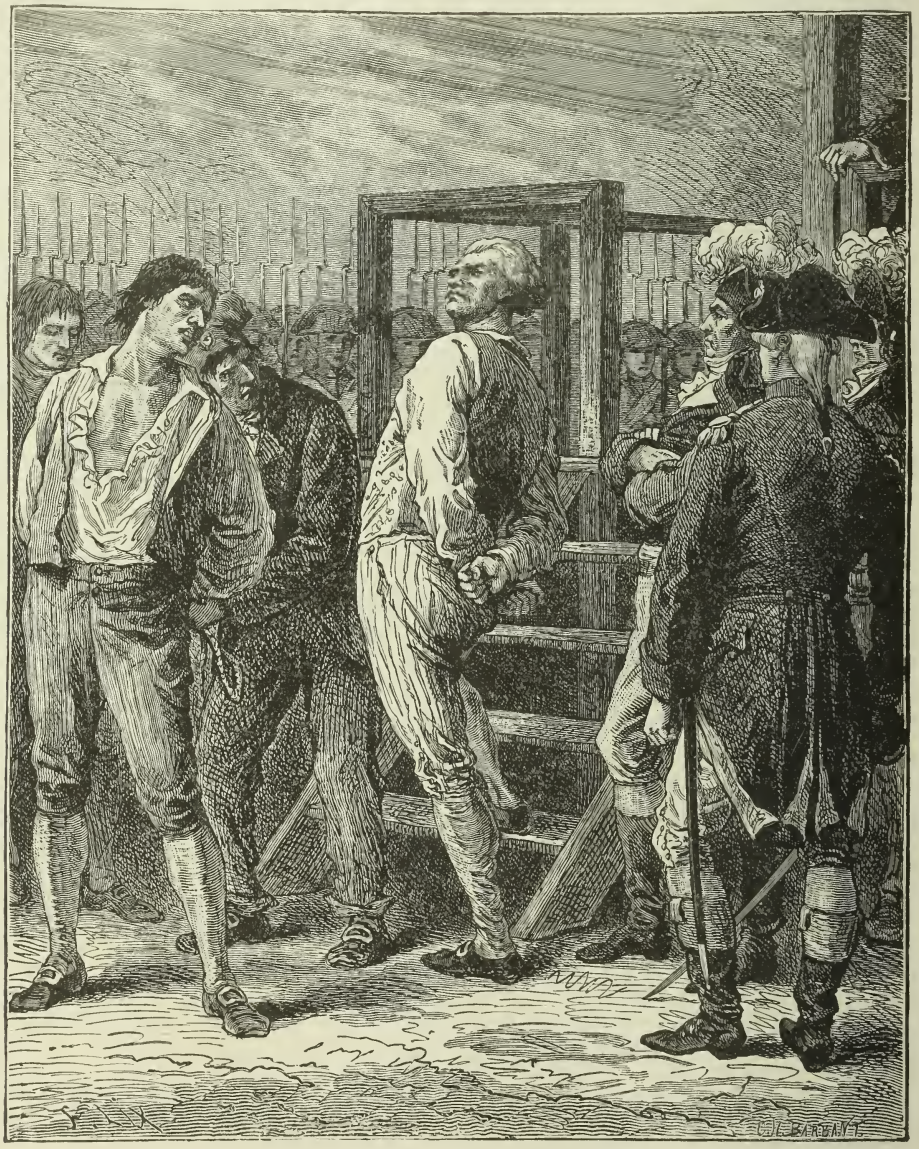
At last the tribunal, the Committee of Public Welfare, the Convention, Paris, France, had fallen under the dominion of one man—Robespierre. He was a bloody master. He began his administration by having a decree passed by the Convention that God lives and immortality is. It will be observed that the fall of the Hébertists, who were the ultra-radicals of the epoch, and this decree against atheism, marked the beginning of a reäction in the very heart of the Revolution. Until now it was the conservative element that perished at the hands of the extremist. It was clear that the time had arrived, since audacity and violence could go no further, when the extremist himself must fall. For about three months Robespierre was absolute, and the Terror was never more bloody than during his reign. In less than seven weeks the knife of the guillotine descended fourteen hundred times on the neck of its victim. But the end was now at hand. Danton had said at the scaffold: "I die; but I will drag Robespierre after me." That terrible tyrant had hardly made himself master of the Convention until he perceived the ominous mutterings against himself. Vague intimations of the road which he was presently to travel were dropped into his ear. In the course of time a proscription list was discovered, in which he had written for destruction the names of the most eminent men in the convention. Then the ground began to heave under his feet. The frowns of his enemies deepened to a scowl. Then Revolt sprang up and seized him by the throat. On the 27th of July, 1794, he was borne away, amid the shouts of those whom he sought to exterminate, to the Conciergerie, and there imprisoned. On every hand was heard the cry of "Down with the tyrant!" But mobocratic Paris was not going to give up her idol without a struggle. The Commune armed, rushed to his prison, broke open the doors, and carried him away in triumph to the Hotel de Ville. Hereupon the Convention ordered out the army, surrounded the building, and compelled Robespierre and his band to surrender. He was taken in mortal terror to the hall of the Convention, and laid prone in the shadow of his doom. On the following morning Robespierre was led to the guillotine, amid the shouts and jeers of the populace.

Eighty of his associates were also executed. The factions of the Convention had ended by destroying one another. Girondist, Hébertist, Dantonist, Jacobin, had perished in a common ruin and by the same agency. With the overthrow of the Jacobin club, the power of



THE DANTONISTS ON THE WAY TO THE GUILLOTINE.
Drawn by D. Maillard.

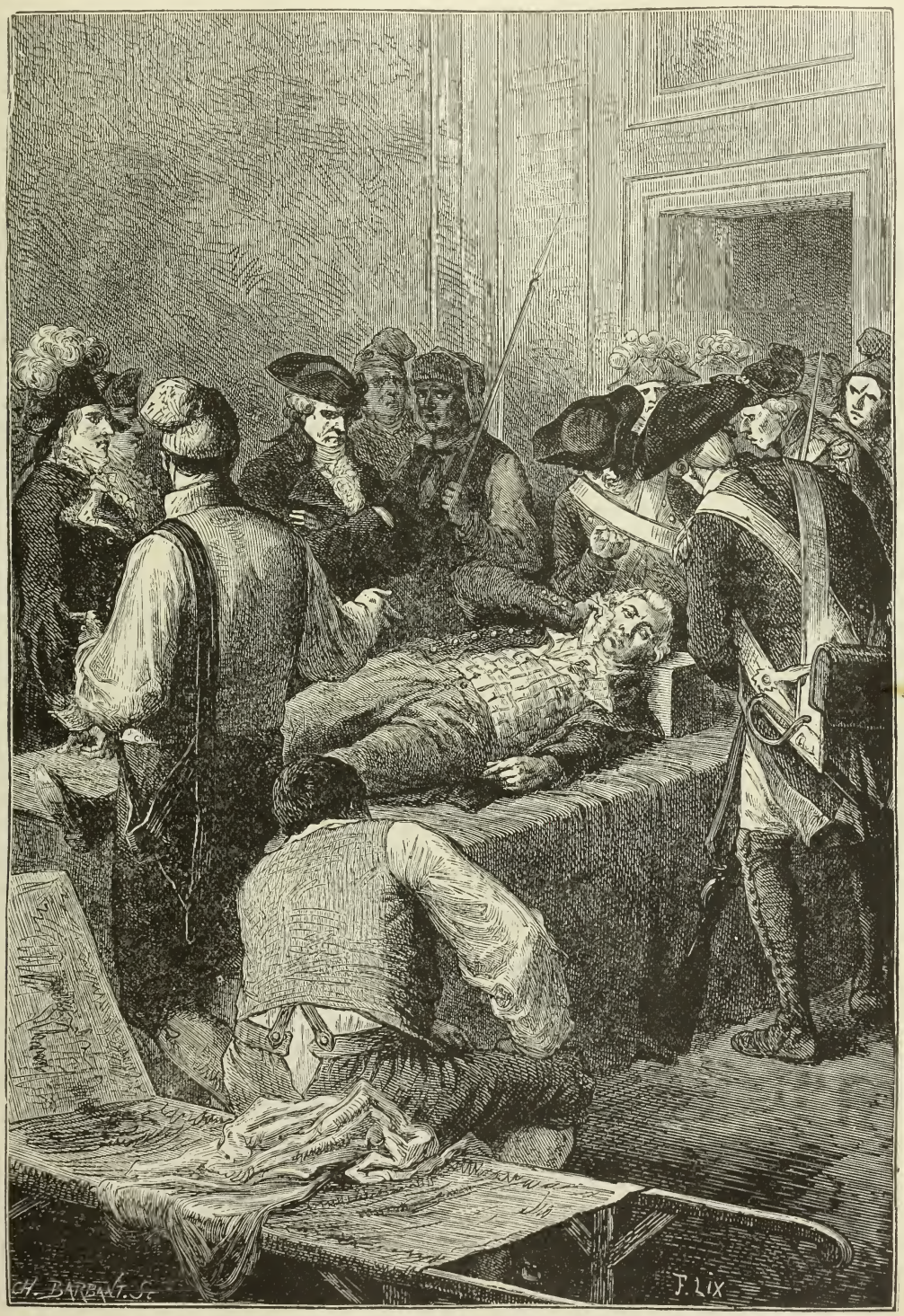
the Commune of Paris was broken. The shout that rose when the head of Robespierre fell into the basket marked the end of the Reign of Terror. The awful scenes of June, of August, of September, could no more be reënacted. Insanity had run its course. A large number of deputies, who had been expelled from the Convention for the moderation of their principles and conduct, were now reädmitted. The prisons of Paris, in which were ten thousand persons suspected of anti-revolutionary sentiments, were opened, and the inmates went forth free. Decrees were passed permitting the return of banished nobles and priests, and an order was issued forbidding the further execution of prisoners of war. Worship was resumed in the churches, and Paris began to subside from her wild delirium.



DANTON MOUNTING THE SCAFFOLD.
Drawn by F. Lix.

Great was the suffering of the revolutionary city in the winter of 1794–95. The crops had failed. During the Reign of Terror industry had almost ceased. Much property had been destroyed. The Assignats or paper

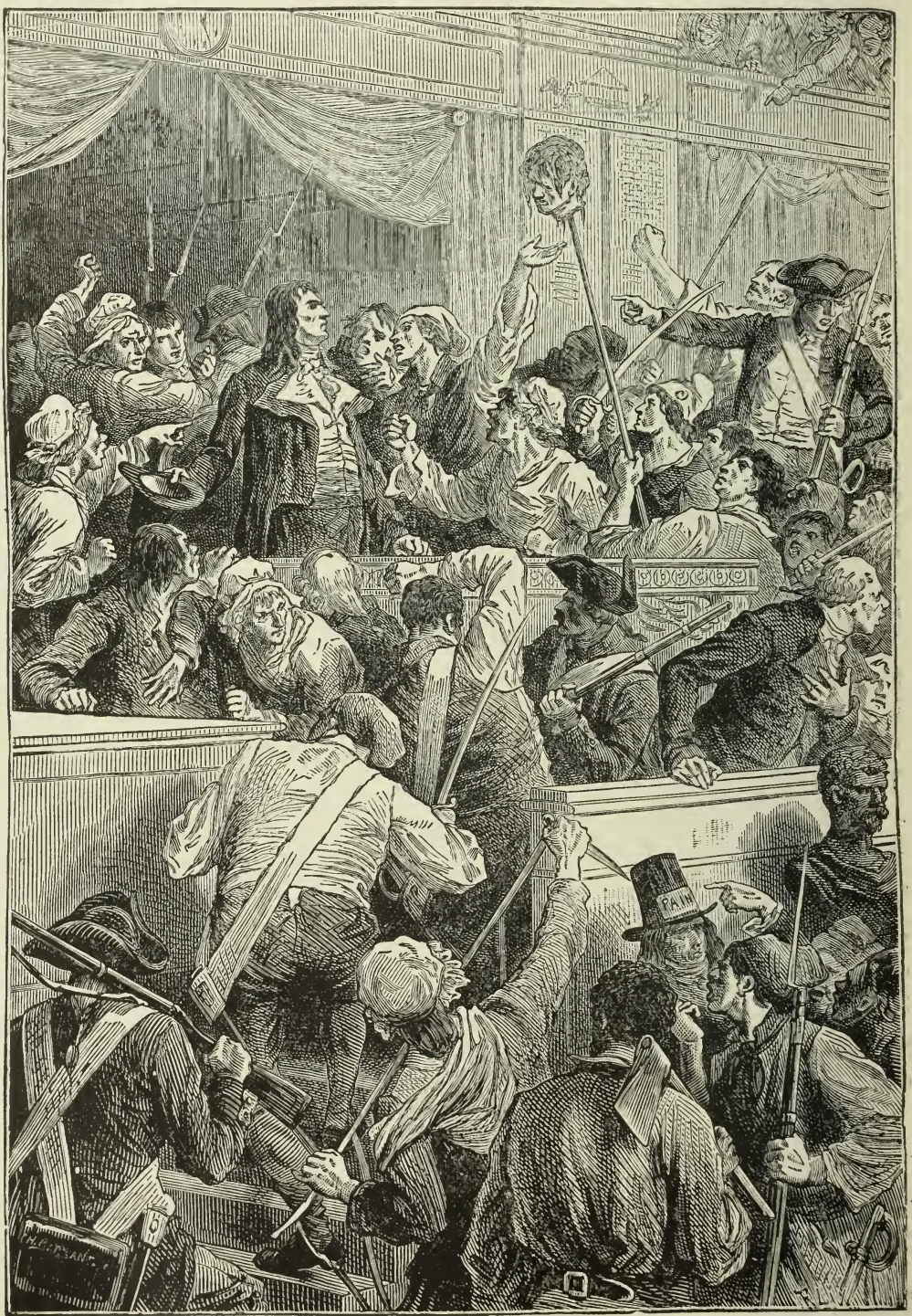
scrip which the Convention had issued in vast quantities, and which had taken the place of metallic currency, depreciated in value till the bills were scarcely worth receiving. Paris, with her hands full of this money, could not purchase fuel for the poor and food for the



ROBESPIERRE IN THE HALL OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Drawn by F. Lix.

starving. Nor could the industrious find any longer that employment which was to save them from perishing. So great was the distress that at one time all the inhabitants of Paris were put on a short allowance of bread.

The distress of the common people became



THE BREAD RIOTERS IN THE HALL OF THE CONVENTION.
Drawn by F. Lix.

so great that almost every day witnessed an insurrection. Starving crowds of desperate creatures surged through the streets. The cry of "bread, bread!" was heard on every hand. For the time the Convention was utterly unable to control or appease the mobs. By the beginning of May the situation had become desperate. A Bread Riot broke out and gathered such head that no power in Paris could stand against it. On the twentieth the rioters, consisting of a furious multitude of reckless men and starving women, rushed into the hall of the assembly, and for a while it seemed that chaos had returned to reign. The mob surged back and forth brandishing knives and clubs and screaming the cry of bread. One of those who attempted to protect the president of the Convention from insult and violence was himself struck down and beaten to death. His head was cut off and hoisted on a pike over the desks of the tribune, where the rulers of France were no longer the rulers, and where the rage of hunger and madness had become the only law. Finally the appeals and promises of the Jacobins, who were in full sympathy with the insurgents, induced them to withdraw from the hall and business was resumed.

Meanwhile the old royalists and Emigrant Nobles continued to conspire with foreign rulers in the hope of undoing the whole work of the revolution. Insurrections broke out in the provinces. Exiled Royalist and Girondist in some places joined hands to stamp the Jacobins into the earth. In many towns a counter revolution, known as the WHITE TERROR, was organized to undo the horrors of the Red Terror of Paris by other deeds as horrible. Frightful massacres were perpetrated, in which the breast of Jacobinism was transfixed with its own iron.



CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH FLEET BY THE FRENCH CAVALRY.

But these audacious atrocities could not now prevail against the accomplished fact of the great revolution. Ancient France was dead, and new France, though mutilated and bleeding, could not be murdered. During all these commotions the Convention had gone on steadily raising and equipping armies. They

were such armies as had never before trodden the soil of Europe. They were possessed of the spirit of the revolution, and went into battle singing the "Marseillaise." Nearly seven hundred thousand men had been armed and sent into the field. The generals who commanded them had the alternative of victory or death. The Convention would accept no excuse or explanation of defeat. On the other side were the allied powers of Europe.



CHARETTE.

At the head stood England, whose commercial interest was about to be destroyed, and who but for that reason would have, perhaps, kept aloof from the conflict. Politically, she had adopted the doctrine of non-interference; but when her commercial and maritime supremacy was threatened, she entered with great zeal into the conflict. Most of the continental armies were subsidized with means taken from her treasury. The contested line between France and her foes extended from Ypres, in Belgium, through Trèves and Heidelberg to Basle, and along this whole horizon the war cloud hung ominous and black.

For awhile the sovereigns beyond the Rhine, each with his own purposes, were but lukewarm in the struggle. The king of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria were both absorbed with their designs on Poland. Francis II. even went so far as to give ambiguous hints to his officers to deal doubly with the allies, or even permit themselves to be defeated by the French. He himself withdrew to Vienna, though nominally he still remained a party to the coälition. As a result of this policy the Austrians were beaten in the battle of Fleurus, and the Belgian cities opened their gates to the French. In like manner the people of Holland, already republican for two hundred years, welcomed the armies of France. One division of the French under Salm entered Utrecht on the 17th of January, 1795, and on the same day Vandamme captured Arnheim. Three days afterwards Pichegru made an entry into Amsterdam, the inhabitants going forth to meet him and shouting, "The French Republic forever!" Another division, on its way to the Hague, where the States were in session, passed through Rotterdam without opposition. At this time the Dutch fleet lay ice-bound near the Texel, in which position it was surrounded by Pichegru's cavalry and compelled to surrender; nor has history failed to record the strange spectacle of French hussars galloping across the ice-fields of the Zuyder Zee, and assailing the tremendous but immovable ships of the Dutch. The government of the country collapsed. The Prince of Orange fled to England, and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed in the Netherlands. The Stadtholderate was abolished by the States-general of Holland, and an alliance declared with France.

The king of Prussia was now inclined to peace. In the spring of 1795, a conference was held with the ambassadors of the French Republic, and a treaty concluded at Basle. The conduct of Frederick William II. in abandoning the Coälition subjected him to the contempt of the allies, who perceived that he was unworthy of confidence. Nor is it doubtful that his conclusion of a peace with France laid the foundation for the subsequent ruin of Prussia by Napoleon.

Early in this year the French achieved some signal successes on the side of Italy. They seized the pass of Mont Cenis, and thus secured a passage to the South. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother to Francis II., quailed at the approach of the Republican army, withdrew from the Coälition, and agreed to a treaty of neutrality. Everywhere on the land the French arms were victorious, and the allies seemed very far from a successful invasion of the territories of the Republic. On sea, however, Great Britain kept her ancient renown. Her fleet, under Admiral Howe, encountered the French squadron off Ushant, and gained a complete victory. The French possessions in the West Indies were nearly all wrested from the Republic. The islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, and St. Domingo fell successively into the hands of the English. Corsica again revolted, and took up arms against the Republic. But after all, the military operations of 1795, if measured by the usual standards of bloodshed and destruction, or by what might have been expected from such vast armies in the field, were comparatively barren of results.

In the mean time, a Diet of the German Empire convened at Ratisbon, and counseled peace. No general treaty could be effected, but several of the princes made separate settlements with the Republic. It was on the 8th of June, in this year, that the poor boy, Louis Capet, the titular king of France, perished among the rats and filth of his cell in the temple. His death conduced to the peace of Europe; for the Spanish and Italian Bourbons who had proclaimed him as king, had now no longer good excuse to fight for their House in France. The king of Spain accordingly concluded a peace with the Republic, thus recognizing the Revolution in both France and the Netherlands.

After two years of comparative quiet, La Vendée became the scene of a second insurrection. Two royalist leaders, named Stofflet and Charette, appeared, and the Vendeans took up arms against the Convention. Three thousand of the emigrant nobility gathered around their standards; and an English fleet coöperated with the insurgents. The Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., was proclaimed king, with the title of Louis XVIII. The revolutionists obtained possession of the peninsula of Quiberon, and there defended themselves with great valor until they were overpowered by a Republican army under command of General Hoche. The rebels were punished with the greatest severity, nearly all who were captured being put to death. The distinguished royalist prisoners were, by the orders of Jean Lambert Tallien, at that time



GENERAL HOCHE.

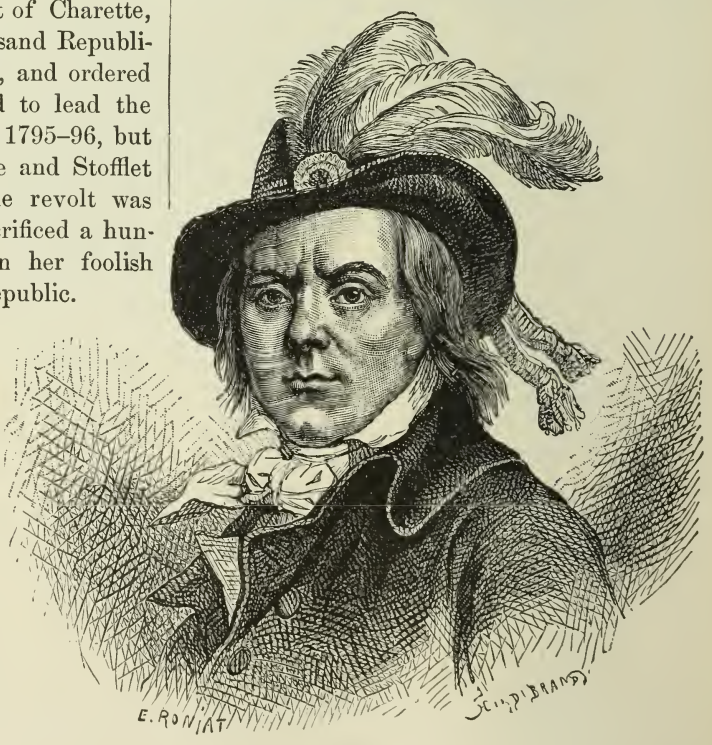
commissary of the Convention, shot without mercy or discrimination. This act provoked a terrible retaliation on the part of Charette, who drew out more than a thousand Republican prisoners then in his hands, and ordered them to be shot. He continued to lead the Vendeans during the winter of 1795–96, but in the following March both he and Stofflet were taken and executed. The revolt was ended; but La Vendée had sacrificed a hundred thousand of her people in her foolish struggle with the conquering Republic.



JEAN LAMBERT TALLIEN.

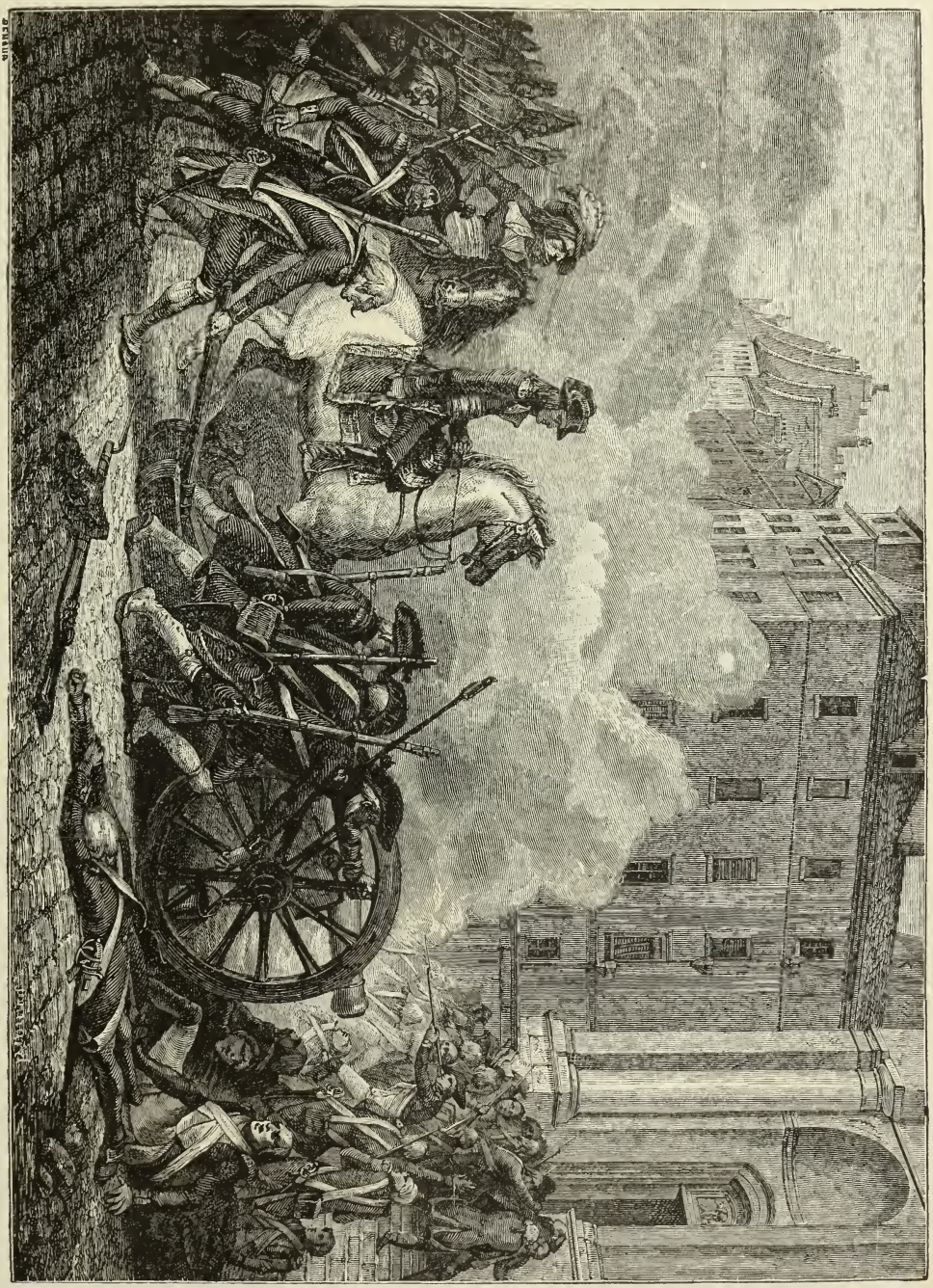
On the 27th of October, 1795, the National Convention closed its career. A new revolution had meanwhile ensued, in which the Constitution of 1793 was overthrown, and a form of government instituted less democratic than that which had preceded it. The legislative power of the Republic was vested in two assemblies called Councils, the former consisting of five hundred members and the latter of two hundred members.

The smaller body was known as the Council of the Ancients, no person being eligible to membership therein until he had passed the age of forty. The representative body was known as the Five Hundred, and with this House was lodged the sole power of originating laws. The Ancients might not propose a law, but possessed the power of veto over the acts of the other assembly. The executive power of the state was vested in a Directory consisting of five members appointed by the Ancients from a list of ten nominated by the other House. After the Directory was once appointed the Constitution required that one member should retire each year. The five persons first chosen to the executive body were Barras, Carnot, Reubel, Reveillere-Lepaux, and Letourneur. In general the new Constitution differed from that which it superseded in this—that it raised the middle class of French people to a large share of influence in the legislative affairs of the government.



BARRAS.

It was one thing to make, and another to establish, the Constitution of 1795. The work was especially disappointing to the Royalists, who, after the fall of Robespierre, thousand insurgents rose against the Convention, and made an attack on the Tuileries. For the moment it appeared that the government would be overthrown in its very incipiency;



NAPOLEON PUTTING DOWN THE MOB.

believing that the Revolution was at an end, had flocked home in great numbers to Paris, and now exerted themselves to defeat the work of the Convention. A force of about thirty but General Barras bethought him in the emergency of the capture of Toulon, and of him by whom that work had been accomplished. He therefore called for Napoleon

Bonaparte, and intrusted to him the defense of the Convention. The latter, though he had but a single night in which to prepare, so planted his artillery as to command the approaches to the Tuileries; and when, on the morning of the 5th of October, heavy masses of the insurgent forces, chiefly composed of the National Guards, rushed to the attack, firing volleys of musketry into the lines of defense, they were met with murderous discharges of grape, and in less than an hour the streets were cleared. The sound of Napoleon's cannon was the proclamation of order in long-distracted Paris. The insurrection of the 5th of October was the last of many mobs. The Revolution assumed a new phase,



THE DIRECTORY.

and the bloody tragedies of 1792–93 sank beyond the horizon. Barras resigned his command, and the same was conferred on Napoleon, who became general of the Army of the Interior. So the National Convention, after a session of three years and two months, the same being the most stormy and tragical epoch in history, passed a resolution of adjournment, and by its own act ceased to exist.

It would be difficult to find in human annals another instance of a change so beneficial as that which followed the accession of the Directory. Deplorable indeed was the condition of Paris and France on the adjournment of the Convention. The treasury was bankrupt. The depreciation of the *Assignats* had gone on until they were no longer worth the printing. A large percentage of the people of Paris had to be kept from starvation with public supplies. The rations of the hungry mob were reduced to two ounces of bread and a handful of rice daily. Even the army was without proper supplies of food and clothing. The public works of the city and throughout France were falling into ruin through neglect. The social condition was desperate. The legitimate punishment of crime had almost ceased, and bands of brigands infested all parts of the country. Now, however, all this was rapidly changed. A new life was diffused into every department of the government. Such was the astonishing energy manifested by the Directory that confidence revived on every hand. It was as though civilization had suddenly returned to rebuild the waste places of her favorite land. Liberality marked the administration of the new governing body. A general amnesty diffused its blessings. The hurtful restrictions which had been imposed on commerce were removed. Industry sprang up anew, and Freedom washed the blood from her hands and face.

But while prosperity was thus returning to France at home, she was still obliged to make war upon most of the states of Europe. Her armies, three in number, must be maintained. The first of these, known as the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, was placed under command of General Jourdan. The second, called the Army of the Rhine and Moselle,

was intrusted to Moreau; and the third, the Army of Italy, was given to Bonaparte. The latter, from the first day of his taking the field, began to display that surprising military genius which was destined in a short time to make him the most conspicuous figure in modern history. Moreau and Jourdan, operating against the Archduke Charles of Austria, succeeded, after a hotly contested campaign, in driving back the enemy across the Neckar and the Danube. All the smaller states of the Empire were compelled to sue for peace. But Francis II. obstinately refused to make a treaty with the Republic. At length the Archduke Charles began to gain upon the French, and Moreau was thrust into a position where he was threatened with destruction. He called on Napoleon, then in Italy, for help; but the latter could give him none, and he was left to save himself as best he could. At length, however, he succeeded in extricating his army in a manner as original as it was successful. His retreat into France has been commended as among the brilliant military movements of the age.

In Italy, Bonaparte began the campaign by an advance from Nice to Genoa. His army consisted of thirty-five thousand men, whom he found ragged, undisciplined, and poorly equipped. In a short time, however, he effected a complete change in his forces. The soldiers caught his own fire and enthusiasm. He pointed them to Italy, and drew vivid pictures of the spoils with which they would enrich and glorify France by the conquest of the South. In his progress he first encountered and defeated a strong division of the Austrian army in the battle of Montenotte. He next captured the fortress of Cherasco, and thus planted himself between the Sardinians and their Austrian allies. Such was his generalship that in a brief period the infirm king, Victor Amadeus, was obliged to purchase peace by ceding Savoy to the French Republic. He was also compelled to give up the county of Nice, and to expel the emigrant nobles from his dominions. As a precautionary measure Napoleon planted garrisons in the principal fortresses of the country until what time a general peace should be concluded.

Having thus settled the Sardinian question, Napoleon next turned his attention to the Austrians. On the 10th of May, 1796, he encountered that enemy at Lodi in Lombardy, where he gained the first of his great victories. The battle was desperately contested, and a bridge over which the French must pass was defended with such bravery by the Austrians that for a while the victory inclined to their standard. But the French, led by Napoleon in person, who exposed himself with the recklessness of a genuine revolutionist, at length forced their way across the Adda, and swept all before them.

The conqueror now established himself at Milan, and proceeded to dictate a peace to the minor princes of Italy. From some, he exacted contributions and supplies; from others, works of art, which he sent home to adorn the French capital. It still remained for him to capture Mantua, which, in addition to being the strongest fortress in the Italian peninsula, lay directly in the way of Napoleon's proposed invasion of Austria. This place was accordingly besieged for seven months by the French. The Austrians perceiving in what manner they were threatened from the side of Italy, undertook the relief of Mantua, and sent out two powerful armies for that purpose. The first, under Marshal Wurmser, numbered seventy thousand men. The advance was made from the Tyrol, and the Austrians proceeded as far as Brescia, where they suffered a reverse at the hands of the French. Another defeat was inflicted on them at Castiglione; a third, at Roveredo, and a fourth at Bassano. A second army, under Marshal Alvinzi, also undertook to raise the siege of Mantua, but had no better success than its predecessor. Napoleon encountered this enemy at the village of Arcole, in Venetia, and after three days of desperate fighting, inflicted on his adversary a defeat so disastrous as to end the contest. As a result of these victories, Mantua was obliged to capitulate. All of Italy lay at the victor's mercy. The States of the Church were overrun, and the papal government would have been overthrown but for the clemency of Napoleon, who, disregarding the instructions of the Directory and acting on his own authority, concluded at Tolentino a treaty by which a third of the papal dominions and fifteen millions of francs were yielded to the French Republic.

Such had been Napoleon's success beyond the Alps that before the end of 1796 he could enumerate as the trophies of his campaign the destruction of four Austrian armies, the conquest of all Piedmont and Lombardy, the separation of Sardinia, Naples, Parma, Modena,



BONAPARTE ON THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

and Tuscany from the Coälition, the acceptance of contributions from Venice and Genoa, and the addition of Nice, Savoy, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna to the French Republic. Besides all this, the Italian war had filled the empty coffers of the Directory, made the name of Napoleon famous, and given a new luster to the arms of France.

The conqueror next undertook the invasion of Austria. The advance was made by way of the Tyrolese Alps. Beyond that barrier, the Archduke Charles, with a powerful army, awaited at Friuli the coming of his antagonist. After a series of minor engagements, the Austrians were driven back beyond the Save. The French proceeded without a check until the Emperor in Vienna began to tremble for the safety of his capital. Perceiving that he was unable to defend his dominions against the victorious enemy, he made overtures for peace. Negotiations were accordingly opened at Campo Formio, and there, on the 17th of October, a treaty was concluded. It was one of the striking spectacles of history to see the Little Corsican, a new man, a parvenu, the name of whose family until now had never been heard in the courts of Europe, dictating to Emperor Francis of Hapsburg on what terms he might save his capital from occupation by a victorious army of French Republicans.

In the mean time, a serious outbreak had occurred in Venetia. A rumor had been borne back from the Tyrolese Alps that Bonaparte had been defeated by the Austrians. Hereupon a revolt occurred. The insurgents captured the hospital at Verona, wherein four hundred sick soldiers had been left by Napoleon. All were butchered. Hearing of this atrocity, Bonaparte wheeled about and declared war on Venice. The Venetians quickly saw their mistake, and vainly strove to recover their ground. Napoleon demanded the overthrow of the aristocracy, the liberation of political prisoners, and the condemnation of those who had destroyed his hospital. A revolution broke out in Venice. The Council of Ten was abolished, and French garrisons were introduced into the city. The Venetian fleet was taken, and the Ionian Isles transferred to the sovereignty of France. The principalities of Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, together with their dependencies, were organized into the Cisalpine Republic, under the protection of the French. At the same time the Ligurian Republic was established,



GENERAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

having Genoa for its capital. Thus, after a career of thirteen and a half centuries, was Venice, the oldest government in Europe, stricken from existence as a separate power among the nations.

One feature of Napoleon's Italian campaign had not been satisfactory to the Directory. He had spared the Pope. This circumstance made the States of the Church a kind of nucleus for all the adherents of the old system in Italy. It was judged necessary that this nest of malcontents should be broken up, and to this end General Berthier was ordered

to march on Rome. The people of that ancient metropolis, had caught the infection of liberty, and refused to support the Holy Father and his party. Berthier was welcomed as the deliverer of Italy. The Roman Republic was proclaimed. The papal power was overthrown, and Pope Pius VI. retired to the Convent of Siena. After a year, he was taken to Briançon in the Alps, where he was imprisoned. At last, with the next change which ensued in the government of Paris, he was permitted to leave this frozen region and take up his residence at Valence, where he died in August of 1799. The republican soldiers were little disposed, when they captured the Eternal City, to spare its treasures or revere its priestly symbols. The personal property of the Pope was sold by auction. The robes of the priests and cardinals, rich in gold lace, were burned that the gold might be gathered from the ashes. The churches of Rome were pillaged, and a carnival of violence ensued which General Berthier was unable to control. The Romans revolted, and attempted to expel their deliverers; but Geneal Masséna, who was sent out to supersede Berthier, put down the insurrection in blood.



PIUS VI.

Next followed the conquest of Switzerland. In that country the revolutionary doctrines had already pervaded the people. Especially was this true in the Pays de Vaud, where the French language and institutions prevailed. This canton attempted by a revolt to free itself from the domination of Berne, but the movement was unsuccessful. Circumstances, however, furnished the Directory with a good excuse for interference. A French army was sent to Lausanne, and the independence of the Pays de Vaud was proclaimed. The Forest Cantons took up arms against the French, and several severe battles were fought. But the Swiss were subdued, and their resistance ended in their own destruction. The Helvetic Republic was then proclaimed, and Switzerland became an ally and dependency of France.

In the mean time a quixotical attempt had been made at the beginning of 1797 to conquer Ireland. An army of twenty-five thousand men, under General Hoche, was ordered to make a descent on the Irish coast. An embarkation was effected, and the squadron proceeded to Bantry Bay; but no attempt was made to land, and the expedition presently returned to Brest. The failure of the enterprise was perhaps attributable to the character of the soldiers who had been recruited by the emptying of French prisons, and the liberation of galley-slaves. When the squadron came back to Brest, the Directory knew not what to do with their army of criminals. At length it was determined to embark them for an invasion of England. The armament again set sail, and was anchored at Fisguard, in Wales, where the whole force was immediately captured by the English.

The conquest of Switzerland marked the close of the first epoch of the French Revolution. The Republic had been successful in carrying out her programme. She had induced most of the states on the borders of France to establish a form of government like her own, and to enter into treaties of alliance. By this means foreign invasion was rendered difficult. Spain and Austria had been induced to renew with the Republic the compacts which those powers had formerly made with the French Bourbons. By the subjugation of the Swiss, the Republic had gained two great military roads across the mountains, the one leading into Germany and the other into Italy. By winning over the Spanish minister Godoy, the Directory secured virtual control of Spain. Portugal withdrew from the coälition and made peace with the Republic. Only Great Britain sullenly and singly pursued the contest with her ancient rival. From this time forth it became a question whether revolutionary France would continue her victorious career, and end by the conquest of the British Isles, or whether she herself would finally succumb to the power and persistency of England.

The invasion of Great Britain was now earnestly debated by the Directory. It was

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Painted by J. L. Gerome.

Etched by Wm. St. J. Harper.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE IN EGYPT.

believed that General Bonaparte, already the principal military figure in the Republic, was equal to such an enterprise. To humble her ancient and inveterate enemy France was willing to employ all her resources, even to stake her fate on the cast of the die. Preparations were begun on a gigantic scale, and Napoleon was called to the command. His power over the minds of the French was so great that he was almost an autocrat in directing the proposed movement against Great Britain. For a while it was believed that he would undertake a direct invasion of England. But after a magnificent army had been equipped for this purpose, it was determined to begin the war by making a conquest of Egypt. This done, it was believed that France, from her base of operations on the Nile, could dissolve the whole British Empire in the East, substituting perhaps the tricolor for the pennon of St. George throughout Turkey and India. Such was the vision which, in the spring of 1798, rose upon Napoleon when at Toulon—scene of his first renown in arms—surrounded by his enthusiastic officers, accompanied by a large number of *savants*, artists, and philosophers, who, fired with the prospect of ransacking the historic tombs of the Pharaohs, had eagerly joined the expedition, he embarked with an army of forty thousand veterans for the conquest of Egypt.

The expedition was first directed against the island of Malta. It will be remembered that at the close of the crusading epoch this place had been given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. By them the island had been ruled for centuries. But the Order had now become mercenary, and it is said that the Grand Master had been for some time in secret correspondence with the French. At any rate Malta, with her arsenals and treasures, was given up without any serious effort on the part of the Knights to defend their ancient heritage. The fortress was garrisoned, and the expedition proceeded to Egypt. On the 5th of July Bonaparte landed and took Alexandria. He then marched towards Cairo, and when nearing that city came upon an army of Mamelukes thirty thousand strong. They were drawn up in the plain opposite the city and in sight of the great pyramids. Napoleon addressed his soldiers, to whom this spectacle of an African army in the sands of Egypt was novel and alarming. He roused their patriotism and kindled the fires of battle by an appeal to the Past, which he represented as looking down on the soldiers of France from the summits of the pyramids. In the struggle that ensued the field was contested with the greatest bravery, but the Mamelukes at length gave way before the invincible courage and discipline of the French. The rout of the Egyptians was complete, and on the following day Cairo was taken by Bonaparte.

Meanwhile the English fleet under Admiral Nelson, who had pursued the French squadron on its way across the Mediterranean, at length arrived and found the object of its search in the Bay of Aboukir. Here, on the 1st and 2d of August, was fought the battle of the NILE, which resulted in a victory for the English as complete as that of the PYRAMIDS had been for Napoleon. The French fleet was mostly destroyed or captured, and the retreat of Bonaparte from Egypt was cut off. That general, however, had no present thought of retreating. He continued his war with the Mamelukes and Arabs, whom he everywhere defeated, until Egypt was under his authority. He then took up his march into Palestine, and undertook a siege of Acre, which was defended by an English and Turkish garrison under Sir Sidney Smith. This business occupied Napoleon for a long time, and he was ultimately obliged, after making many assaults and losing large numbers of his men, to give up the enterprise. He then fell back into Egypt,[1] to which country the

[1] It was on his way from Acre back to Egypt that the famous incident occurred in the hospital of Jaffa. That town was now suffering from a terrible visitation of the plague. The infection had made its way into the hospital, where numbers of the sick and wounded of the expedition had been placed. The wretched creatures lay on every hand. Napoleon entered the place of death in person, and perceiving the utter hopelessness of the situation—for it was imposible to carry away the diseased, or in any other way to save them from the pestilence, the famine, and the Turk—is said to have suggested to the physician, Desgenettes, that it would be a mercy for him to relieve the miserable creatures of all their woes by *an overdose of opium!* The reply of Desgenettes is worthy of record: "Sire, my profession is not to kill, but to cure."

sultan had sent a powerful army. On the 25th of July, 1799, Napoleon encountered the Turks at Aboukir, and, after a terrible battle, was completely victorious. His success was so marked that he felt justified in returning to France. He accordingly left in Egypt an



BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.
Drawn by F. Lix.

army of eighteen thousand men under command of General Kleber, and himself returned to Europe.

During these events in the East, great changes had taken place in the West. When it was known that Nelson had destroyed the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, the enemies of France and the opponents of the Directory arose on every side. Turkey made peace with Russia in order to make an alliance against the French. Austria and the Two Sicilies also became hostile and joined Great Britian and Russia in a new coälition against France. Ferdinand IV., king of Sicily, marched an army of forty thousand men into the States of the Church and recaptured Rome. Only the castle of Saint Angelo remained in possession of the French. But the latter soon turned upon the Neapolitans, drove them out of Rome, and compelled Ferdinand to save himself by going on board of an English fleet. General Championnet then advanced on Naples, the defense of which had been left to an irregular force of militia and lazzaroni. This horde of creatures was under the direction of the Neapolitan bishop, who had as his urim and thummim a vial containing what was alleged to be the dried blood of St. Januarius. Whenever any important action should be taken by the Neapolitans this blood would liquefy! The bishop made himself necessary to the state by reporting when the miracle took place. When Championnet demanded a surrender the blood of the saint refused to liquefy. But when a certain prince who favored the French threat-



NAPOLEON IN THE PEST-HOUSE OF JAFFA.
After the painting by J. A. Gros.

ened to kill the bishop if the omens were not more auspicious, the miracle was quickly performed. The Neapolitan banditti surrendered; the city was occupied by the French, and a new Republic, called the Parthenopean, was proclaimed.

Early in the spring of 1799—Napoleon being then occupied with the siege of Acre—war was declared by France against Austria. A powerful force was sent into the field by the Emperor, the command being given to the Archduke Charles. The Directory ordered General Masséna to throw forward the Army of the Danube against the belligerents, and at the first the Austrians were worsted in the encounter. At length, however, the tide turned, and the Archduke Charles succeeded in driving back the French across the Rhine. At this juncture the French forces in Italy were ordered to take part in the Austrian campaign; but they were so much delayed by the capture of Martinsbrück and Münsterthal that Jourdan had already retreated before they were able to come to his rescue. In April a conference was held at Rastadt, but the Emperor, elated by his successes, suddenly broke off the negotiations, recalled his ambassadors, and permitted those of France to be murdered before they could make their way from the town.



FERDINAND IV.

In the mean time General Gauthier, to whom the Directory had intrusted the reduction of Tuscany, had succeeded to the extent of driving the grand-duke out of the country. The capture of Verona was undertaken by the French under General Schérer, but the latter was repulsed in several engagements before the city, and then decisively defeated in the battle of Magnano. Such was the ill-success of Schérer that he was superseded by Moreau, who strove hard to retrieve the late disasters, but was himself defeated in a battle at CASSANO by the allied forces of Italy under the Russian veteran Suvarof. The latter took possession of Milan, and Moreau was about to be

destroyed with his whole army when orders came from Vienna to Suvarof to leave Milan and lay siege to Mantua. By this fortunate diversion of the enemy's forces Moreau was able to extricate himself from his peril and fall back to Coni. Here he posted himself in a strong position, and called on Genoa and France for reïnforcements. General Macdonald came up from Naples with one army and effected a juncture with Gauthier at Florence. Both might then have joined Moreau; but Gauthier, thinking himself strong enough to meet the enemy single-handed, gave battle to Suvarof, near the Trebia, and was overwhelmingly defeated. The French arms had not suffered so great a reverse since the proclamation of the Republic. The recovery of all Italy by the allies immediately followed. Turin was taken; then Pignerol; then Susa. A division of the Russian forces even passed the mountains and committed ravages in Dauphiné. Moreau was superseded by Joubert, but the latter was routed and killed in the battle of Novi. The Cisalpine Republic was no more, and the whole country renewed its allegiance to the Emperor.

After his success in Italy, Suvarof marched into Switzerland to coöperate with another Russian army under Korsakoff. But his coming was too late. Korsakoff had already suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Masséna. Marshal Soult had also distinguished himself by winning a great victory over the Austrians under General Hotze. The Russians fled into Zurich, where they and their Swiss sympathizers were almost exterminated before Suvarof, coming up by way of the St. Gothard pass, arrived on the scene. He found himself in the midst of the victorious French, through whose lines he barely succeeded in making his way into the territory of the Grisons. There he hastily gathered together the remnants of his forces and then quit Western Europe for Russia.

Such was the course of events in the West, and such was the condition of affairs, when, after his victory over the Turks at Aboukir, Napoleon found it desirable to return to France. It was known to him that there was great dissatisfaction with the government of the Directory; and he was especially desirous, in case of another revolution, to be in a position where he might take advantage of whatever might ensue. On the whole his fame had not been dimmed by his failure in Syria; and the destruction of the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir had not been charged to his account. The people had come to believe in his genius and his invincibility in battle; and

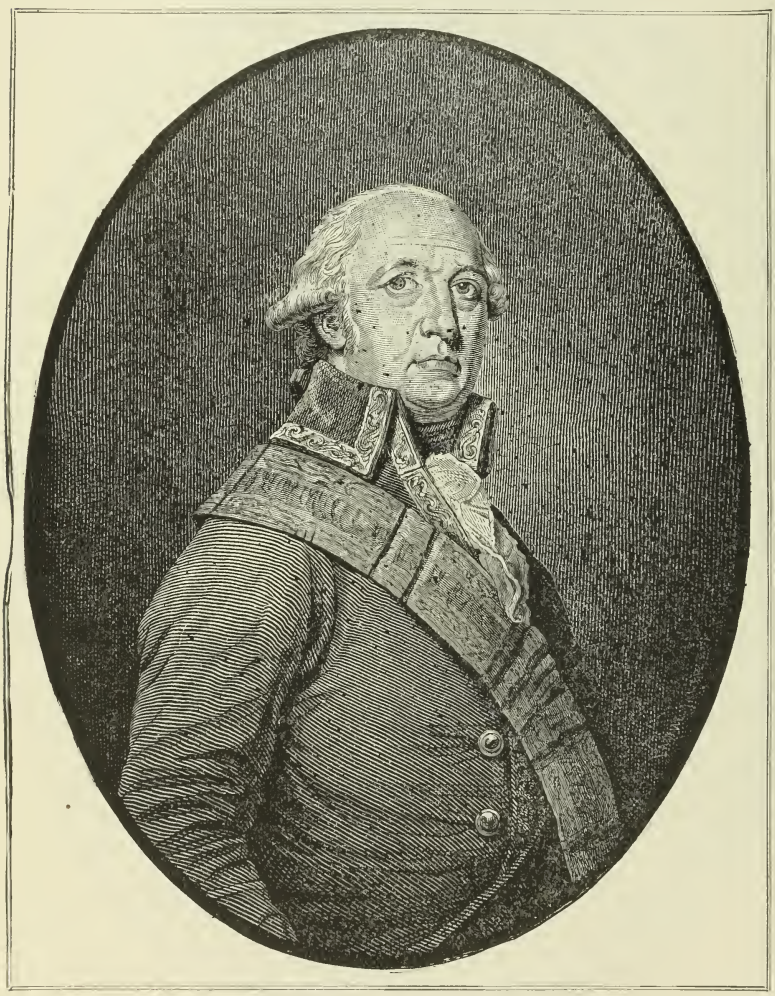


JEAN VICTOR MOREAU.

if there were many who feared his ambition there were more who rejoiced in his victories, and waited for the rising of his star. So, in August of 1799, accompanied by five of his leading generals, he sailed from Alexandria, and returned—not without great danger of capture—to France.

At the time of his coming the Directory was discordant, quarrelsome. The government tottered; revolution was rife. In the change which was now at hand the most influential personage was the Abbé Sieyès, who from being one of the prime movers in the great agitation of 1789, had survived all the vicissi-

tudes of the Revolution, and was now the leading member of the Directory, He was a friend and admirer of Bonaparte, and was perhaps persuaded in his own mind that the democratic tendency in France had overleaped itself and fallen on the other side. Nor is it certain that the general himself was not privy to the conspiracy which was formed against the existing frame of government. At any rate, a movement was started even before Napoleon's arrival for the abolition of the Directory and the substitution therefor of three Consuls as the executive body of the state. The scheme involved the fate of the Republic; for the new plan contemplated the transfer of the right of originating laws from the Council of Five Hundred to the Consuls, thus virtually reversing the theory of government which had been established by the Revolution. The popular assembly resisted the project, but the body was dispersed by a company of soldiers. That portion of the members that had favored the change then reassembled and passed a resolution for the abolition of the Directory, and the substitution of the proposed consular form of government.



MARSHAL SUVAROFF.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the Abbé Sieyès, and Roger Ducos were chosen Consuls, and a Committee of Fifty was appointed from the Five Hundred and the Ancients to revise the Constitution. The plan reported was much less popular than that which it supplanted. The CONSULATE took the place of the Directory. A Senate of eighty members, chosen for life by the Consuls, was substituted for the Ancients. A Tribunate of one hundred and a Legislature of three hundred members were created instead of the Five Hundred, and were to be chosen from a body called the Notables of France, this body in its turn to be elected from another of ten times the number, called the Notables of the Departments, and these in *their* turn to be from another called the Notables of the Communes, elected by the people. It was evident from the first that the real power of the government was henceforth to be lodged with the Consuls, and that the First Consul—Napoleon—was to be the head of the state. But it can not be denied that France was well pleased to have it so. She believed that under this "Constitution of the Year VIII.," as the scheme devised by the Committee of Fifty was called, her favorite general would beat back all her enemies and crown her with glory—a thing for which she and he were equally hungry.


MAP XVIII.
EUROPE
During the Time of Napoleon I.
By A. von Steinwehr.
From Thalheimer's Mediæval and Modern History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300
KDM. = KINGDOM
G. D. = Grand Duchy
NORTH SEA
Baltic Sea
ENGLAND
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
DENMARK
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
POLAND
WARSAW
PRUSSIA
SAXONY
HANOVER
WESTPHALIA
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
GALICIA
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
WURTZBURG
BADEN
ITALY
Kdm. Sardinia
Kdm. Sicily
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Malta
Crete
Candia
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MOROCCO
Algeria
TURKEY
Wallachia
Moldavia
Servia
Rumelia
Bulgaria
Roumelia
EUROPEAN TURKEY
ASIATIC TURKEY
EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN
BLACK SEA
Sea of Azov
Caspian Sea
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Lyons
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Islands
Archipelago
Morea
Navarino
Lepanto
Corfu
Cyprus
Syria
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Volga R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Douro R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Rhone R.
Pruth R.
Bug R.
Pripet R.
Kama R.
Oka R.
Dwina R.
Kuban R.
Kisll Irmak R.
Sweden
Norway
Finland
Russia
Ireland
Scotland
England
Wales
Denmark
Holland
Belgium
Prussia
Poland
Saxony
Hanover
Westphalia
Bavaria
Austria
Hungary
Switzerland
France
Spain
Portugal
Italy
Turkey
Greece
Algeria
Morocco
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Bergen
Christiana
Gefle
Upsal
Stockholm
Norrkoping
Jenkoping
Wener L.
Ladoga
ST. PETERSBURG
Peipus L.
Ilmen L.
Kastroma
Kasan
Simbirsk
Samara
Moscow
Borodino
Mosaisk
Dorogobush
Ostrowna
Valotina
Smolensk
Krasnoi
Orel
Kursk
Tchernigow
Kharkow
Pultava
Kiev
Ekaterinoslav
Crimea
Sevastopol
Odessa
Bender
Ismail
Kamienitz
Lemberg
Brody
Zaslock
Tarnopol
Dubienka
Marienwerder
Praga
Pultusk
Medlin
Tauroggen
Tilsit
Konigsberg
Friedland
Eylau
Grodno
Wilna
Riga
Dunaburg
Drissa
Polotzk
Jutland
Copenhagen
Bornholm
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Emden
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Arnheim
Munster
Wesel
Cassel
Hanau
Frankfort
Mentz
Coblentz
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Waterloo
Jemappes
Amiens
Calais
Boulogne
Havre
Rouen
Caen
Cherbourg
Brest
Paris
Fontainebleau
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Vendee
Rochelle
Bordeaux
Cognac
Angouleme
Bayonne
Pau
Toulouse
Montpellier
Perpignan
Toulon
Marseilles
Nismes
Arles
Avignon
Genoa
Savona
Florence
Leghorn
Rome
Civita Vecchia
Naples
Capua
Benevento
Bari
Brundisi
Otranto
Gaeta
Elba
Ajaccio
Bastia
Cagliari
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Alicante
Valencia
Murviedro
Carthagena
Malaga
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar
Seville
Granada
Badajoz
Castella
Leon
Burgos
Vittoria
Pampelona
Saragossa
Lerida
Gerona
Barcelona
Tudela
Ciudad Rodrigo
Salamanca
Toledo
Madrid
Aranjuez
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Setuval
Evora
Beja
Faro
Abrantes
Torres Vedras
Oporto
Vigo
Corunna
Ferrol
Santander
Bilboa
Irun
Bayonne
Dantzic
Stettin
Berlin
Potsdam
Magdeburg
Leipsic
Dresden
Jena
Weimar
Gotha
Erfurt
Cassel
Hanover
Munster
Minden
Brunswick
Wurtzburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Ulm
Munich
Inspruck
Basle
Bern
Geneva
Lyons
Chalons
Bourges
Orleans
Fontainebleau
Paris
Versailles
Rheims
Metz
Strasburg
Nancy
Luneville
Mayence
Coblentz
Aix-la-Chapelle
Liege
Namur
Brussels
Ghent
Antwerp
Bruges
Ostend
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Amiens
Waterloo
Jemappes
Cologne
Bonn
Coblentz
Mentz
Frankfort
Hanau
Aschaffenburg
Wurtzburg
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Augsburg
Ulm
Munich
Inspruck
Basle
Bern
Geneva
Lyons
Chalons
Bourges
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Vendee
Rochelle
Bordeaux
Cognac
Angouleme
Bayonne
Pau
Toulouse
Montpellier
Perpignan
Toulon
Marseilles
Nismes
Arles
Avignon
Genoa
Savona
Florence
Leghorn
Rome
Civita Vecchia
Naples
Capua
Benevento
Bari
Brundisi
Otranto
Gaeta
Elba
Ajaccio
Bastia
Cagliari
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Alicante
Valencia
Murviedro
Carthagena
Malaga
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar
Seville
Granada
Badajoz
Castella
Leon
Burgos
Vittoria
Pampelona
Saragossa
Lerida
Gerona
Barcelona
Tudela
Ciudad Rodrigo
Salamanca
Toledo
Madrid
Aranjuez
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Setuval
Evora
Beja
Faro
Abrantes
Torres Vedras
Oporto
Vigo
Corunna
Ferrol
Santander
Bilboa
Irun
Bayonne
Dantzic
Stettin
Berlin
Potsdam
Magdeburg
Leipsic
Dresden
Jena
Weimar
Gotha
Erfurt
Cassel
Hanover
Munster
Minden
Brunswick
Wurtzburg
Ratisbon

CHAPTER CXX.—CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

WE now enter upon the epoch of the ascendency of France. She became great. Within the circle of Napoleon's sword her map was extended almost to the limits of Western Europe. The enormous force which she had gathered from her emancipation was expended in beating down the hereditary monarchies that lay against her borders. She came to regard herself as a sort of avenger, a nation apart from the rest, hated because she was better. Finding at the head of her armies and councils one before whose frown the greatest monarch of Christendom durst not stand, she worshiped him as the impersonation of her spirit and glory. She disputed not his will, because it was her own. She cheered his tyranny, because the tyrant was—herself.



THE FIRST CONSUL.

It was on the 29th of December, 1799, that Napoleon became First Consul of France. His sun arose as that of the century set. Finding himself impeded by his colleagues, he managed to have them dismissed, and Cambacérès and Lebrun appointed in their place. The latter, though not inferior in ability, were more conformable to his will. He began his administration with an activity so prodigious as to be without a parallel in history. Every act, moreover, struck home to the heart of the existing condition. He established himself in the Tuileries, and surrounded himself with a court which, though very different in material and character from that of the Bourbons and Hapsburgs, was hardly less splendid. He quickly restored confidence in the government, and added to that which the nation already had in himself. He abolished forced loans, and introduced business methods in the management of the finances. He released the political prisoners, especially the priests whom the fury of the Revolution had condemned to confinement. He showed to the people that a government could be both tolerant and strong.

He aimed to satisfy all classes of Frenchmen, being himself content with their devotion to France and loyalty to the Constitution of the Year VIII. Next turning his attention to foreign affairs, he zealously sought to establish peace with all nations. He wrote pacific let-



BONAPARTE CROSSING THE ALPS.
Drawn by F. Lix.

ters to George III. of England and Francis II. of Austria, expressing to both sovereigns his earnest wish to enter into friendly relations. His appeal, however, was made to deaf ears. The two monarchs addressed made to him the preposterous answer that they would enter into negotiations on condition of the restoration of the Bourbons! They might as well have gone one step further and asked for the restoration of the Merovingians, or perhaps the Pharaohs! The answer was just the sort to consolidate France, and to make sure the ascendency of his army, which he had sent forward by way of the St. Gothard and Mont Cenis. He thus planted himself in the rear of the Austrian lines. Pressing forward with all expedition he reached Milan, which city immediately surrendered. While this movement was in progress, a British fleet, which for two months had been besieging Genoa, compelled that place to capitulate, thus in some measure counterbalancing the success of Napoleon at Milan. But the latter was in no wise disposed to leave events so evenly balanced. He wheeled about



BATTLE OF MARENGO.

Napoleon. The war was at once renewed; and the First Consul took the field in person for the recovery of Italy.

In that country the allies had now possessed themselves of every place formerly held by the French with the exception of Genoa and Riviera. Napoleon quickly, and as if in defiance of nature, forced his way across the Alps by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and before the Austrians were well aware of his movements, debouched into Piedmont. Here he was joined by the other divisions of and bore down upon the Austrians, whom, under command of General Melas, he encountered, on the 14th of June, at the village of MARENGO, in Piedmont. Here was fought the first great battle of the nineteenth century. The attack was made by the Austrians, who fell with great force upon two divisions of French occupying the village. Pouring his whole force of thirty-one thousand men upon his adversaries, Melas succeeded in driving them out of Marengo and sending them in full retreat. At this crisis, however, Bo-

naparte came up in person, and the flight of his soldiers was at once checked. The corps of General Desaix also arrived on the field and bore down on the Austrian right. For a while the battle raged furiously, but at length the army of Melas began to stagger, and a charge of Marshal Kellermann's division completed the rout. The Austrians lost seven thousand in killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, and eight standards. The French loss was also heavy, the veteran Desaix being among the killed. So complete was the triumph of Napoleon that he was able, in a conference at Alessandria, to dictate to Melas, reeling from the blow which he had received, a peace according to his liking. The Austrians were obliged to give up twelve of their principal fortresses in Northern Italy, including Genoa, Turin, and Milan, and to retire beyond the Mincio. The Cisalpine Republic was at once reorganized, and the triumphant Napoleon, after an absence of less than six weeks reëntered Paris amid the huzzas of the populace. This was precisely the sort of campaign in which France delighted.

In the mean time the valiant Moreau had added new luster to the French arms in Germany. Beginning with Würtemberg and Bavaria, he pressed the Austrians back and back to Munich, which he wrested from the enemy, and was about to strike a still more decisive blow, when the news came that the First Consul had concluded a treaty with Melas in Italy. It was believed that this would lead to a general settlement between Austria and France, and Moreau withheld his hand awaiting such an event. Late in the year, however, when the expectation of peace had proved delusive, the contest was renewed. The Austrians, in great force under the Archduke John, pressed down upon Munich, while at the same time General Klenau was ordered to take such a position as should cut off the retreat of the French. Moreau concentrated his forces at HOHENLINDEN in Upper Bavaria, and there, on the 3d of December, 1800, he was attacked by the Austrians advancing through the for-



DEATH OF DESAIX.
Drawn by F. Lix.

est. A terrible battle ensued, which resulted in a complete victory for the French. The Imperialist army was ruined, losing eight thousand in killed and wounded, ten thousand prisoners, and a hundred guns. So great a shock was given to the Austrian cause that the Emperor gladly consented to negotiations. A peace conference was held at Lunéville, and on the 9th of February, 1801, a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which the independence of the Batavian, the Swiss, the Cisalpine, and the Ligurian Republics was recognized by Austria. It was also stipulated that the duchy of Modena should be added to the Cisalpine Republic; that Tuscany should be erected into the kingdom of Etruria, and that France should receive back from Spain her vast American province called Louisiana. Thus did the First Consul of the French begin the work of making a new map for history both in Europe and America.



BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN.

In the autumn of 1800, the island of Malta had been retaken by the English. They then undertook to drive the French out of Egypt. In that country Marshal Kleber was assassinated on the same day of the battle of Marengo, nor was the suspicion wanting that the Turk who did the deed was instigated by the English authorities. The general's death, however, did not induce the withdrawal of the French army. The command was transferred to Menon; and against him General Abercrombie was sent out with a powerful force. Landing from the bay of Aboukir, the English gave battle, and gained, on the 13th and 21st of March, two victories, though in the latter engagement Abercrombie was killed. Another army came into Egypt by way of the Red Sea from India, and Rosetta and Cairo were soon taken by the English. Alexandria was besieged; but Menon held out against his assailants until they agreed, as the price of his capitulation, to convey his army intact to the ports of France.

By this time the conduct of England had given so much offense to the allies that the

Coälition began to fall to pieces. The Czar, Paul I., withdrew from the compact, and asserted that Russia would again uphold the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Having become Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, he found still additional cause of animosity towards England on account of the retention by the latter of the island of Malta. The Czar accordingly busied himself in the general affairs of Europe, and succeeded in bringing about a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden—all agreeing to arm themselves for the maintenance of the rights of neutral States. The Coälition being thus disrupted, Napoleon was able to conclude peace with Naples, Portugal, and Turkey. Only England remained irreconcilable; and even in her case, after the recovery of Egypt, there seemed little substantial ground for continuing the war. She was angered, however, on account of the Quadruple Alliance, and could not be appeased until her fleet under Lord Nelson had fallen upon and almost destroyed that of Denmark in a naval battle before Copenhagen. In all her conduct England was moved solely by the determination to maintain at all hazards her commercial and maritime supremacy—for in that lay her greatness.



MARSHAL KLEBER.

At length, however, after the punishment of Denmark by England, after the conclusion of separate treaties between Russia and Spain and Russia and France, negotiations were successfully opened by the First Consul with the court of St. James. A change of ministry occurred, and the new advisers of George III. were favorable to peace. A conference was held at Amiens, and there, in March of 1802, a general treaty was concluded. In the first place, England made peace with France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic. She agreed to give up Egypt to the Turks, and the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John. Of all her conquests, she was to retain only Ceylon and Trinidad. The ports of the Mediterranean were to be surrendered to the original owners, and the Ionian Islands to be erected into a Republic, and placed under the protection of Turkey and Russia. As to France, she was curtailed in nothing. The First Consul, in the negotiations at Amiens, showed himself to be as great a diplomatist as he was a warrior. He was now by far the most conspicuous figure in Europe. In France, his power and popularity were unbounded. In August of 1802, the polls were opened in all the precincts of France, and over each voting-place was placed this question: *Napoleon sera-t-il Consul à Vie?*—Shall Napoleon be Consul for life? And of more than seven millions of suffrages only a few hundred were recorded in the negative. France was satisfied with her ruler.

The activity of the government in civil matters now became as great as the energies of the Republic had been prodigious in war.

Social order was reëstablished. Paris became glorious. The sunshine flushed the Place de la Revolution, and the memories of the bloody tragedy, in which Feudal France had perished to make way for the France of the future, began to sink behind the horizon. A commission of the ablest lawyers was appointed to make a revision of the civil code, and the work which they produced was the greatest and most enlightened of modern times. Instead of the three hundred local statutes in which the laws of Old France had been buried, a single *corpus juris civilis*—the Code Napoleon—was brought forth, as perfect in execution as the conception was grand. The industrial development of the country was undertaken with equal zeal. Public works were encouraged as never before. A great military road through the Simplon Pass into Italy was constructed under direction of the government. Institutions of learning were endowed, and France more than ever asserted her intellectual supremacy among the nations. A general amnesty was decreed, by the terms of which a hundred and fifty thousand of the emigrant nobility were permitted to return to France, and were, as far as practicable, restored to their confiscated estates. Freedom was declared in matters of religion, and the Church of Rome was allowed to recover her station as the leading hierarchy.

The year 1802 was marked by the desperate revolt of the republican Negroes of St. Domingo against the French Republic. The leader and soul of the movement was the celebrated black patriot, François Dominique Toussaint, surnamed L'Ouverture, who, from being a slave, had become president of the little independency established by his countrymen. His bearing excited the contempt of Bonaparte, who sent his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, to reduce St. Domingo to its former condition. The latter arrived in the island, and to his astonishment was most fiercely resisted. Toussaint put his assailants at defiance, and for several months fought desperately to repel the invasion. At last, however, he was beaten down and captured. He was conveyed to France, shamefully treated,



REVOLT OF THE NEGROES IN SAN DOMINGO.

thrown into prison, neglected, and well-nigh starved to death; though the official report declared his death to have resulted from apoplexy. His destruction, however, did not end the resistance of his people to the French. They continued the unequal contest until the yellow fever came to their aid, almost destroying the French army. The patriots held out until the renewal of hostilities between France and England, when the latter country sent a fleet to their aid and assisted them in recovering their independence.



TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

Meanwhile Bonaparte busied himself with the execution of the Treaty of Lunéville, by which he was able greatly to aggrandize France at the expense of the shattered German Empire. The various electorates of that mythical power were reörganized in a manner pleasing to the First Consul, who hesitated not to modify the map of the countries in question according to his imperious will. In general, however, he was an observer of treaties. It might indeed be truthfully asserted that he never violated a compact without at least a plausible excuse for doing so. Thus much might not be affirmed of the conduct of his enemies, with whom, for the most part—feeling themselves overmatched—the end justified the means. Especially must this be allowed in the case of England, who either signed the Treaty of Amiens intending to break it, or else perceiving that the First Consul had beaten her in diplomacy, resolved to regain by bad faith what she had lost by the genius of her adversary. At any rate she guiltily violated the Peace of Amiens and renewed the war. Her violations of the treaty consisted in this — that she kept her army in Egypt more than a year after the French had evacuated the country, and refused to give up Malta to the Knights, as she had promised. For this conduct she had nothing better than specious pretexts to offer, and for her next step no pretext at all to offer.

George III. issued orders for the seizure of all French ships found in the harbors of Great Britain, and followed this with a declaration of war. The First Consul was not slow to retaliate. With the return of the emigrant nobles vast numbers of foreigners had come into France, among whom were thousands of Englishmen—travelers, adventurers, observers of men and things. Bonaparte ordered the arrest of all British sojourners in the Republic, and at the same time threw an army into Hanover. Foreseeing the magnitude of the struggle, he made every preparation for the conflict. Spain and Portugal desiring neutrality, he conceded the same to them on condition of large subsidies being given to France. He further strengthened himself by selling to the United States of America his province of

Louisiana, for which he received the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.[1] As in former years, he made his preparations as if for an invasion of the British Isles. A great army was collected on the coast and a fleet of transports was made ready in the Seine. Whatever may have been Napoleon's intention, the invasion was never undertaken.

About the time of the outbreak of hostilities a conspiracy was made in London to destroy the First Consul by assassination. The principal parties to the plot were French irreconcilables, who, in the character of refugees, were residing in the British capital. Grounds exist, moreover, for the belief that the English government was not without a guilty knowledge of the plot. At any rate, that opinion prevailed on the continent, and Napoleon was the gainer by the base attempt made on his life. The whole business was unearthed in Paris, and eleven of the ringleaders were executed. General Moreau was accused of complicity in the plot, and though it was proved that he had refused to become a party thereto, he was condemned to imprisonment. Napoleon commuted the sentence into exile in America, but he was less merciful toward the young Duke d'Enghien, a descendant of Condé, and one of the representatives of the House of Bourbon, who, on a charge of being in the conspiracy, was seized at the castle of Ettenheim, was taken to Strasburg and thence to Vincennes, where he was hastily tried, condemned, and shot in the ditch outside the fortress.[2] The deed was one not very consistent with the character of Napoleon, who was put on the defensive for having taken the life of a prince without first establishing his guilt.

But the fact remained that the Past had tried to murder the Present. The Present must, therefore, be made more secure. A project was at once promoted to change the Consulate into an Empire. Napoleon, already Consul for life, should be made Emperor. A decree for this purpose was introduced into the French Senate, and on the 3d of May, 1804, was passed with great enthusiasm. The act was ratified by the Legislative Assembly, and the consular seat became a throne. Napoleon was declared Emperor of the French, and the crown was made hereditary in his family. His two colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, became the one Arch Chancellor and the other Arch Treasurer of the Empire. Prince



JEAN JACQUES REGIS DE CAMBACÉRÈS.

[1] Eleven and a quarter millions for purchase, and three and three-quarters millions for French debts assumed by the United States.

[2] The fact upon which D'Enghien was condemned was that a person believed to be he had been seen on several occasions entering the apartments of Cadoudal, who attemped the assassination. It was proved that the duke was frequently and secretly absent from Ettenheim for as much as ten or twelve days at a time, and it was thought that he visited Paris in disguise. It was afterwards known, however, that it was Pichegru who was seen with Cadoudal, and that the duke had been secretly married, and was perhaps with his wife on the occasions of his absence.

Joseph Bonaparte was appointed Grand Elector, and the office of Constable was conferred on Prince Louis. More meritorious by far was the elevation of eighteen of Napoleon's generals to the rank of Marshal of France. Pope Pius VII. was sent for to come to Paris and attend to his part of the mummery on the day of coronation, which was fixed for the 2d of December, 1804. The ceremony took place at the altar of Notre Dame, where the Soldier of Fortune knelt with Josephine to



THE CORONATION IN NOTRE DAME.

receive the crown which he had conquered and which he persisted in putting on his own head. Of her who shared his glory on this day, something may be appropriately added.

Marie Josèphe Tascher, wife of Napoleon I., was born in the island of Martinique, in June of 1763. Her father was a naval officer serving under the Marquis de Beauharnais, at that time governor of the island. After receiving a good education, she was married in December of 1779 to the Viscount de Beauharnais, brother of the governor. The husband distinguished himself in our war of the Revolution, in which he served under Count Rochambeau, from which service he returned to France to be elected to the States-general in 1789. He was twice president of the National Assembly, and was acting in that capacity when the flight of Louis XVI. was announced. Afterwards he served with Custine on the German frontier, and being accused of causing the surrender of Metz, was condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal and sent to the guillotine on the 23d of July, 1794. Nine years previously he had been divorced from Josephine, rather for his own gallantries than from any misdemeanor committed by her. The latter took up her residence in Paris, and in 1790 was reconciled to Beauharnais, whom, after his arrest she tried to release, and for whom she came near giving her life. For she barely escaped the guillotine. She became acquainted with Napoleon in 1795, and was married to him in March of the following year. She acquired over his mind an ascendency

which none other ever possessed, and generally used her influence to soften his morose disposition, calm his asperity, and moderate the movements of his perturbed spirit. She was disliked by the Bonapartes, especially by Napoleon's sisters, who sought to mar the relations between her and her husband, and particularly to prevent her joint coronation with him by the Pope. Her being childless gave to them and to others of like mind, a political weapon which they were not slow to use, and with which they ultimately effected her undoing.

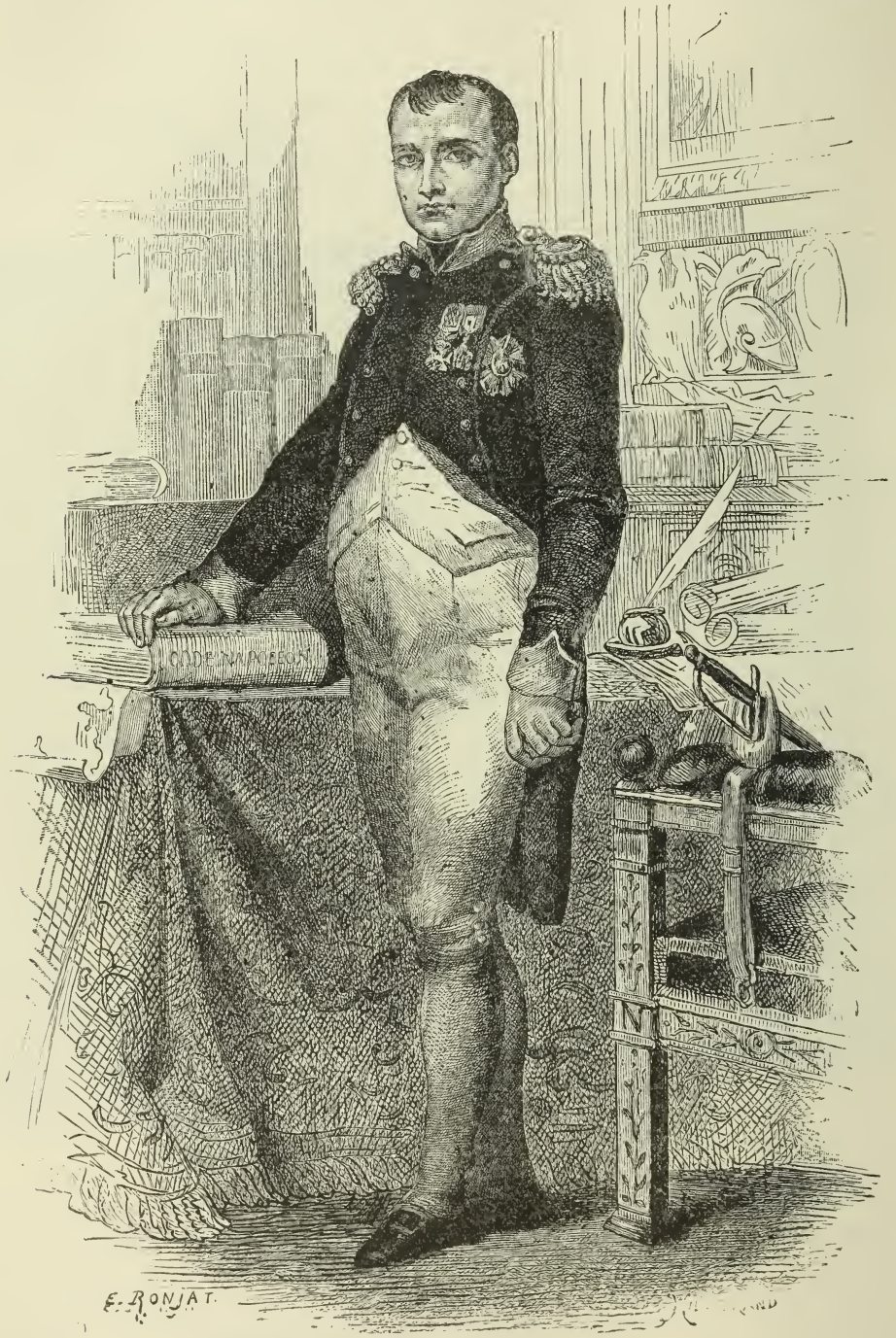
Thus on the banks of the Seine was established a new Empire. Charlemagne had come again. The Emperor of the French was quick to catch the analogy. He, too, would assume the iron crown of the Lombards. In the spring of 1805 he repaired to Northern Italy, and on the 26th of May was crowned at Milan as king of Italy. The Cisalpine Republic was converted into a kingdom, over which as viceroy the Emperor appointed his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais. At the same time the Republic of Liguria was added to the dominions of the Empire.



JOSEPHINE.—From the painting by Gerard.

As it related to the war with England the Emperor made prodigious exertions, and these were answered with like preparations on the part of the British government. That government was now under the energetic direction of William Pitt, who was in the heyday of his renown, the acme of his power. The attitude of Russia had recently been changed from one of friendliness toward France, or at least of indifference to the conflicts in Western Europe, by the assassination of Paul I., who met his fate on the 23d of March, 1801. He was succeeded on the throne by Alexander I., who had strong proclivities in favor of England. This fact enabled Pitt to carry out his project of an Anglo-Russian alliance. A Third Coälition was formed, the principal parties to the same being England, Russia, and Austria. Prussia was solicited to become a member of the compact, but that power, still dominated by the uncertain and wavering, not to say treacherous, policy of Frederick William III., assumed the ground of neutrality, and would fain keep aloof from the conflict. This fact, together with her geographical position, doomed Prussia to become the principal theater of the war, and to suffer its ravages more than did the belligerents themselves. It thus happened that while Napoleon was preparing his immense expedition for the ostensible invasion of England—while he filled the Seine with transports, and massed large bodies of troops along the Channel—the horizon of Germany

suddenly grew black with the clouds of war, and the Austrian General Mack, with an army of eighty thousand men, advanced on Munich.



EMPEROR NAPOLEON I.
Drawn by E. Ronjat.

Whatever may have been Bonaparte's original design, he now gave up the project of attacking the British Isles, and turned his whole energies upon the Austrians. He was now in his element. He had the confidence of France. He could hurl her intrepid soldiery like a thunderbolt against any power that had the temerity to give him battle on the land. He took the field in person, and before the Aus-

trians were well aware of his movements planted himself in their rear, cutting off the communications of Mack with Vienna, and preventing a junction with the Russian army. So masterly was his generalship that the Austrian commander, thus hopelessly isolated at Ulm, was driven to a humiliating surrender. An army of thirty thousand men, with all its equipments, baggage, artillery, and colors, became prisoners of war. Another division, numbering twenty thousand, which had succeeded in breaking out of Ulm, was surrounded and taken at Nördlingen. The Austrian business was completed at a stroke; and the House of Hapsburg had cause to curse the day when it rashly provoked the Emperor of the French.

Before the end of October, Napoleon was on his way to Vienna. On the 13th of the following month, he entered that ancient capital. Meanwhile the czar had succeeded in inducing Frederic William III. to join the coälition. Alexander went in person to Berlin, and he and the Prussian king, after the manner of their kind, went to the tomb of Frederick the Great, embraced each other in that solemn presence and swore to fight Napoleon to the last. But the Prussian soon had cause to lament his folly. He knew too well his own impotence in a struggle with such an adversary as Bonaparte. That victorious son of fortune now crossed the Danube to oppose the advance of the Archduke Charles, who, hearing of the desperate straits to which Mack had been reduced, and hoping to render him assistance before it should be too late, hurried out of Italy with a powerful army, and came into Moravia. Here, on the 2d of December, 1805, just one year to a day from Napoleon's coronation, the two armies met at the town of AUSTERLITZ, on the river Littance. The Austrians had already formed a junction with their Russian allies; but this was precisely the thing which Bonaparte most desired. Scarcely could he restrain his ardor for the decisive conflict. His own forces were compactly arranged in a semicircle, having its center at Brünn, while those of the allies were badly posted in broken masses around the outside of the arc. The French made the onset with the early morning. Just as the battle began, the sun, as if to harbinger the victory of Napoleon, burst in splendor through the mists that had hidden the position of the combatants. The onset of the French was irresistible. In a short time the allied lines were broken,



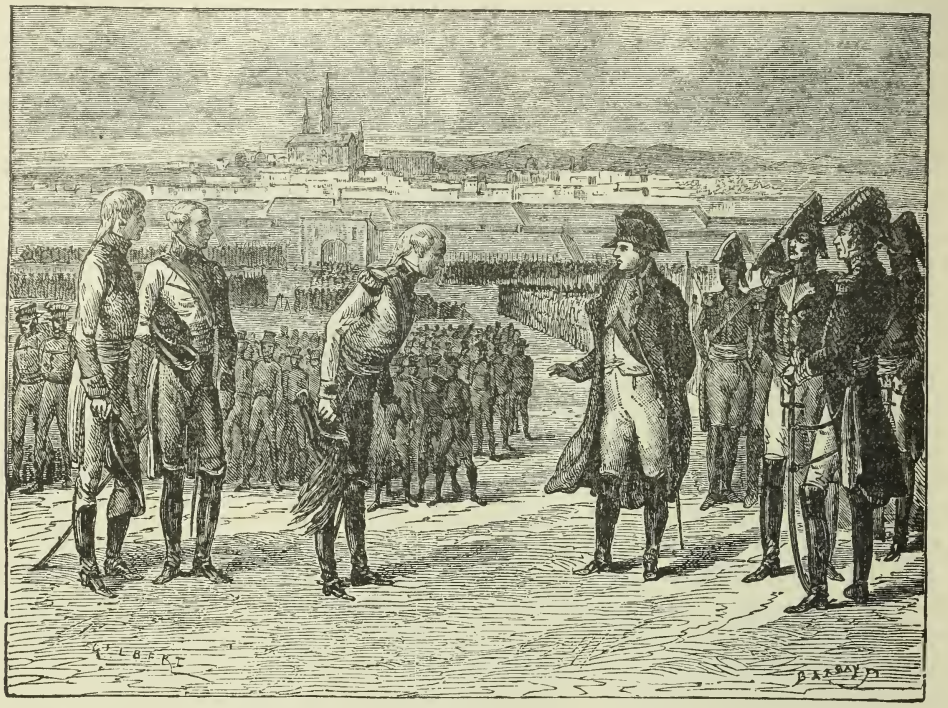
PAUL I.

crushed, trampled in utter rout and ruin. Thirty thousand Austrians and Russians were killed, wounded, or taken. It was as though the whole fabric of the Third Coälition had been shattered at a blow.

The battle of Austerlitz ended the war on the side of Germany. The allies might well have renewed the contest, for their resources were abundant, their reserve population inexhaustible. Indeed, they still had eighty thousand men in the field; but what were they—so reasoned the monarchs—if they might be annihilated in a single battle? As for the

Czar Alexander, he at once began his march for Russia. Francis II. eagerly sought peace;

tory message to the victorious Bonaparte. The latter, on receiving the Prussian king's



CAPITULATION OF MACK.—Drawn by J. Gilbert.

and Frederick William III., who less than a month previously had taken his terrible oath

letter, indulged in some grim humor, saying that Frederick William had intended his con-



THE EVENING BEFORE AUSTERLITZ.—Drawn by C. Delort.

with the Czar Alexander, tore up his compact with that sovereign, and sent a congratula-

gratulations for Alexander, but that Fortune had *changed the address to himself!*

It only remained for the defeated to ask for peace. A conference was held at Presburg, on the Danube, and there, on the 26th of December, 1805, a treaty was concluded by France and Austria. Napoleon spared not the vanquished in dictating the terms of a settlement. Francis II. was obliged to give up Venice, the last possession of the German Empire in Italy, to the victor. The Tyrol and Vorarlberg went to Bavaria, and the elector of that principality, as well as the elector of Würtemberg, was recognized as a king. Such was their reward for their devotion to the French cause. Thus, in a campaign of only two months' duration, the House of Hapsburg lost three millions of subjects and a revenue of fourteen millions of florins. To Austria the war had proved the most disastrous in her history.

The year 1805 did not close without a great disaster to France on the sea. On that element England added another to the list of her splendid victories. On the 21st of October, the combined squadrons of France and Spain, numbering thirty-three ships of the line and seven frigates, were overtaken off Cape TRAFALGAR, at the north-west entrance to the strait of Gibraltar, by the British admiral, Lord Horatio Nelson, already distinguished for his great victory over the French in the bay of Aboukir. He brought into the engagement a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line and four frigates. The conflict that ensued ranks among the great naval battles of the world. Nelson clad himself in the insignia of the orders to which he belonged, and by his heroism courted death almost as much as he strove for victory. Never was the conduct of the British seamen more honorable to their country and themselves than on this memorable day. In beginning the engagement, Nelson oisplayed from his pennon, where it might be read by the whole fleet, this motto: "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Utterly fearless, but with a premonition of his fate, he entered the struggle to conquer or die. Both were in reservation. An hour after the battle began, when the French and Spaniards were already shattered by his merciless fire, but still sternly contesting the victory, he was struck in the shoulder by a musket-ball, and fell mortally



ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

wounded. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," said he to the captain of the ship. He was carried below, whither he was presently followed by Hardy with the news that already fifteen of the enemy's ships had surrendered. "That is well," said the dying hero, "but I had bargained for twenty." Then his thoughts turned to the woman who had obtained the mastery over his spirit—Lady Hamilton, wife of Sir William Hamilton, for whom he had formed a deathless attachment, and on whose account he had recently been

divorced. "Take care of Lady Hamilton, Hardy; take care of poor Lady Hamilton," said he, as the death-dew dampened his brow. And then: "Doctor, I have not been a great sinner. Remember that I leave Lady Hamilton and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country." So he died. England buried him in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the pageant



DEATH OF NELSON AT TRAFALGAR.

surpassed any spectacle ever before witnessed in the kingdom.[1]

In January of the following year the great British minister, William Pitt, died. For many years he had been the leading statesman of England. At the first he had sympathized with the French Revolution, but was afterwards driven by the overwhelming Tory sentiment of Great Britain to promote and support the various wars which that kingdom undertook with France. To his genius must be attributed the various Coälitions which were formed against Napoleon, one of which had been recently wrecked by the battle of Austerlitz. The last illness of Pitt was the result of his anxiety and grief on account of the surrender of Mack at Ulm and the destruction of the allied army by Bonaparte on the Danube. He was succeeded in the ministry by Charles James Fox, his rival, by whom negotiations for peace were begun, only to be broken off by his death a few months afterwards. As soon as the Treaty of Presburg was concluded, Napoleon paid his respects to Frederick William of Prussia, whose tergiversations well merited the treatment which he was destined to receive. The conqueror now compelled him to close his ports against the ships of England and to occupy Hanover, the German dependency of the British crown. The kingdom of Naples, also, was punished for having recently espoused the cause of Austria, in violation of an existing agreement to remain neutral. An army under Masséna invaded the Neapolitan dominions on the very heels of the retiring Austrians and Russians. Ferdinand VI. fled from his capital; but his wife, Maria Caroline, daughter of Maria Theresa, showed herself worthy of her mother's name by attempting a defense of Naples



PITT THE YOUNGER.

[1] Some circumstances of Nelson's death furnish an ample illustration of the greatness and the meanness of England. Before going into his last battle, Nelson made a brief codicil to his will. He said: "I leave Lady Hamilton as a legacy to my king and country." And again: "I leave my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, to the beneficence of my country." And again:

against the French. She raised an army of brigands and beggars, and opened the prisons to swell her forces; but the troops which she thus raised were of so desperate a character that the city turned to Masséna as to a deliverer. All opposition was put down, and Joseph Bonaparte—brother to Napoleon—who had accompanied the expedition, was proclaimed king of the two Sicilies. At the first his hold upon his alleged kingdom was precarious. General Stuart, commanding an English force in Italy, defeated the army of King Joseph in the battle of Maïda, and the peasants who were strongly attached to Queen Caroline rose in revolt against the existing government. It was not long, however, until these disturbances were ended by Masséna, who, by his energy, restored order and secured, at least for the time being, the authority of Bonaparte.



CHARLES JAMES FOX.

By this time Napoleon had conceived the design of establishing the members of his family in most of the high places of Western Europe. He converted his sisters into princesses; his brothers, into kings. He rewarded his generals, as many as distinguished themselves in his service, with dignities and titles. Talleyrand was made Prince of Benevento; Bernadotte, of Ponte Corvo; Berthier, of Neuchâtel. The conqueror contemplated a general revision of the map of Europe. He abolished the so-called Roman Empire of the West, which had had a nominal existence since the days of Octavius Cæsar. The sixteen German principalities, which had constituted the principal members of the Imperial power, were induced to form a sort of loose union, called the Confederation of the Rhine; and between this new power and France the relation of a protected and a protecting state was established. On the 6th of August, 1806, Francis II. published a proclamation in which he declared that it was impossible for him any longer to act as Emperor for the German states. The princes of those states were accordingly absolved from all allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, whose representative, though he still retained the title of Emperor, would henceforth confine his authority to his hereditary kingdom of Austria. Thus, after the lapse of a thousand and six years from the time when, on Christmas day, in the Church of St. Peter,

"These are the only favors I ask of my king and country at this moment when I am going to fight their battle." This will fell into the hands of the hero's brother, the Rev. William Nelson, D. D., and *was by him concealed in his own interest!* The king made *him* Earl Nelson of Trafalgar and Merton, and he was given a pension of six thousand pounds. At length the will of the real Nelson was known, and to it and the hero's dying request neither England nor England's king ever *paid the slightest attention!* The funeral of Nelson and Trafalgar Square are everlasting memorials of how eager the British people are to honor *themselves* at the expense of their great dead.

the shout was raised, of "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus!" who had just then received from the hands of the Pope the golden crown with the title of Emperor of the Romans, that strange political fabric known as "The EMPIRE," was obliterated.

The next move made by Napoleon was the proposed restoration of Hanover to England. The electorate, it will be remembered, had been recently and forcibly annexed to Prussia—this with a view to precipitating a war between that country and Great Britain. Such was the evident contempt which the French Emperor now showed for Frederick William that the Prussians rose in wrath at such indignity, and determined to fight to the death rather than endure any longer the treatment to which they were subjected. Doubtless the war which they undertook with France—considering the tremendous power which that nation had now acquired—was ill-timed and foolish. Nothing could have been more pleasing to Napoleon than this act of an enemy whom he despised. With startling rapidity he bore down upon the armies of Frederick William, and while they were still confused with the problem of his whereabouts, planted himself on their left wing, thereby cutting off communication with the Russians. The first battle was fought and won by Bernadotte at Schleitz, and the next engagement at Saalfeld had a like result. These actions were the first notice which the Duke of Brunswick had of the fact that Napoleon was in his rear. Endeavoring to extricate himself, he began a retreat accompanied by Frederick William and his fugitive brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange. In order to cover this movement Brunswick left one division of his army, under Prince Hohenlohe, at JENA, on the Saale. Here, on the 14th of October, the prince was attacked by Napoleon in person, who, after a short and terrible battle, almost destroyed his antagonist. On the same day the other division of the Prussian army, under the Duke of Brunswick, was confronted at AUERSTADT by Marshal Davoust, and by him routed and dispersed. The double defeat proved to be as ruinous to Prussia as had been the battle of Austerlitz to Austria. Whatever was wanting to the completeness of the overthrow was added by Marshals Murat and Ney, who captured Erfurt and made prisoners of fourteen thousand men, who had been left as its defenders. Universal dismay settled over Prussia. Stettin and Custrin were taken without a show of defense. Magdeburg, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was assailed by an inferior force and given up without a struggle—this though the garrison were twenty thousand strong. General Blücher, reputed to be an able and courageous commander, was cut off at Lübeck, and obliged to surrender his whole command, numbering twenty thousand. The House of Hohenzollern staggered and fell to the earth. The Elector of Saxony, seeking to save himself at whatever sacrifice of honor, left Frederick William to his fate, made peace with Napoleon, was named by him a king and given a



COUNT MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD.

place in the Confederation of the Rhine. Bonaparte proceeded to the Prussian capital, entered the city in triumph, and did what things he would.[1]

On the 21st of November he issued his celebrated "Berlin Decree," by which the British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade. All intercourse with England was prohibited, and all British merchandise, whether found within the limits of hostile states or in those which were neutral, was subjected to confiscation. Harsh and high-handed as was this measure, it was fully justified by the previous conduct of Great Britain, whose actions, as it related to neutral commerce, had been in defiance of both the laws of nations and the manners of civilized states. The British ministry continued the retaliation by issuing an "Order in Council," by which all the ports of Europe, from which the ships of England were excluded, were declared to be blockaded, and the British cruisers were ordered to board and search all vessels which were destined, or supposed to be destined, to those ports which were closed by the paper blockade.



MARSHAL DAVOUST.

Before the news of this proceeding reached Napoleon he had gone into Italy. On the 17th of December, 1807, he issued, as a further retaliatory measure, his celebrated "Milan Decree," by which it was declared that all vessels submitting to the "Order in Council" should henceforth be regarded as lawful prizes of war. These tremendous fulminations by the two great powers of Western Europe indicated with sufficient clearness the respective policies of France and England; that of the one being to monopolize the sea and to drive therefrom the commerce of all nations, save her own, and that of the other, to close, as if by an omnipotent fiat, all the ports of the civilized world against the ships of her who had claimed the mastery of the sea. Both were equally against the laws of nations and humanity.

At this juncture the Polish question came into view as an important factor in the European complication. Poland, or at least the patriotic party in that country, had always looked upon the French as their friends. It was clearly the policy of Napoleon to take advantage of this sentiment in detaching the Poles from Russia, and his agents busily sowed the seeds of insurrection. At this time the Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciusko, was in the ascendant, but he refused to be a party to a movement by which he believed his country had nothing to gain. The Russian armies, however, pressed to the west in the fall of

[1] The chief interest of Napoleon during his brief stay in Berlin centered in the works and haunts of Frederick the Great. He inspected what mementoes soever that warlike king had left at Potsdam, and paid a visit to the modest tomb where the body of the philosopher of Sans-Souci had been laid to rest. But the conqueror forebore not to send the sword and belt and Black Eagle of the Order to which Frederick belonged as trophies to Paris.

1806, and before going into winter-quarters gained some advantages along the outposts of the French. For a short time there was a cessation of hostilities; but as early as February both armies were again in the field. On the 8th of that month, they met at the town of EYLAU, in East Prussia, and here was fought one of the most bloody battles of modern times. Napoleon had eighty-five thousand men and three hundred and fifty guns; while the Russian and Prussian allies numbered seventy-five thousand, with four hundred and sixty guns. The carnage was dreadful on both sides, the Russians losing about twenty thousand in killed and wounded, and the losses of the French being nearly as great. Both parties—the French with better reason—claimed the victory; if, indeed, a victory that might be called which consisted in retaining a field where nearly forty thousand human beings had been stretched on the earth in their own blood. So much was Bonaparte staggered by this sanguinary battle that he fell back to the Vistula and made overtures for peace. In the interim, however, Frederick William had been persuaded to enter into a new compact with Great Britain and Russia. In his infatuation he refused to accept Napoleon's proposion, and continued war. When the campaign of 1807 was fairly opened, the tide again set strongly in favor of the French. On the 14th of June was fought the great battle of FRIEDLAND, in which Bonaparte was victorious. Ten days afterwards, Dantzic surrendered, and an army of thirty thousand Frenchmen, for some time occupied in the siege of that fortress, was liberated for service in the field. Then followed the capture of Königsberg, by which event further resistance on the part of Prussia was rendered useless.[1]

The Czar, too, grew tired of the conflict, and offered to treat for peace. Napoleon readily assented to the proposal, and it was agreed that the two Emperors should hold a conference on a raft moored in the river Niemen, at TILSIT. The meeting was brief and historic. The Czar frankly assured Napoleon that his own dislike of England was as great as his. Whereupon Alexander was informed that, if that were true, peace were made already. And such was the event. Bonaparte was easily satisfied on all collateral points, the main thing being granted. To break the power of England, to humble her pride, to ruin her commerce, to make her as insular as she had been in the days of the Plantagenets—such had become the master passion in the volcanic breast of Bonaparte. In the treaty of Tilsit it was agreed that Prussia should be



NAPOLEON AT THE TOMB OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.
Drawn by G. Weiser.

[1] It was at this juncture, when it seemed that her country was on the verge of utter ruin, that Queen Louisa, the accomplished and beautiful wife of Frederick William, went in person to the head-quarters of Napoleon at Tilsit, and made to him in behalf of fallen Prussia such an appeal as woman has rarely made to man; but the outcry of her broken spirit was in vain. Nothing could move the inexorable Bonaparte from his purpose.

despoiled. A portion of her territory and that of Brunswick was erected into the kingdom of Westphalia, and conferred on Jerome Bonaparte. Louis, another brother of the Emperor, was recognized as king of Holland, while Joseph was acknowledged in his sovereignty over the Two Sicilies. That portion of Poland which by the First Partition had been assigned to Prussia was made into the grand-duchy of Warsaw and given to the king of Saxony. The territories of Frederick William III. were thus reduced to little more than half their limit at the date of his accession. As for Russia, she was to receive all of Turkey in Europe except Constantinople and Roumelia. The Czar was also given *carte blanche* to conquer from the Turks in Asia whatever he would and could. The kingdoms of Northern Europe were to unite in a new league with a view to breaking the commercial dominion of England, and of this league Russia was to be the head. The Czar was to become with Napoleon the joint arbiter of the Mediterranean commerce, and to acknowledge a Bonaparte as king of Spain, should such an arrangement be made by the Emperor of the French.

Thus was concluded the war between France and Russia. The former power was thus set free to contend with England and Sweden, the only two powers with which she was still belligerent. At this time the English government was desirous of drawing Denmark into the alliance against Napoleon; but that power persisted in her neutrality, and it was believed that, as between the two, she would have preferred France. *For this reason*—if for any reason at all other than sheer malignity—a British fleet was sent out, without any declaration of war, to attack the Danish capital! The squadron was under command of Lord Cathcart, who, on the 2d of September, 1807, fulfilled his orders by beginning a bombardment of Copenhagen. For three days he poured upon the city the vomit of his nefarious mortars, demolishing three hundred and fifty buildings, injuring two thousand others to the extent of rendering them unin-



ATTACK OF MURAT'S DRAGOONS AT THE BATTLE OF EYLAU.
Drawn by C. Delort.

habitable, and killing about two thousand people. No act for which Napoleon has been held to judgment at the bar of history was so arbitrary, unprovoked, and outrageous as this bombardment of Copenhagen by the British. Two months elapsed before war was declared against Denmark.

The conduct of Great Britain soon bore its legitimate fruits. True, she succeeded almost immediately in conquering the Danish West Indies; but this success could illy compensate her for the storm of indignation which her wanton destruction of the capital of Denmark waked on the continent. Napoleon turned this revulsion in European feeling to good account. Even Austria was induced to join with Russia and France in a league against Great Britain. All the states of Europe, with the exception of Sweden and England, were brought into the alliance, and for the time it appeared that England would be crushed under the weight of a coälition as ponderous and surcharged with animosity as any which had ever been organized against France. A declaration was issued by the allied powers by which the ports of France, Italy, Denmark, Prussia, the Rhine states, Holland, Austria, and Russia were closed to the ships of England and Sweden. For a time the remarkable spectacle was presented of a trade established between London and Hamburg *by way of Constantinople!*



QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA.—After the painting of G. Richter.

The war in the North was chiefly contested

between Sweden and Russia. The former country was ruled by the incompetent and fanatical Gustavus Adolphus IV., whose conduct was such as to encourage the design of Napoleon and Alexander to make a partition of the Swedish dominions. The French minister at St. Petersburg published a declaration that Gustavus IV. had ceased to reign; but that prince, supported by England, with an army of ten thousand men, under Sir John Moore, and a subsidy of six millions of dollars, undertook to defend his throne. Such, however, was the strange conduct of the king



CHARLES IV., KING OF SPAIN.

that in about a year he was declared insane, was confined, and obliged to abdicate. In March of 1809 the crown was given to his uncle, Charles XIII. The latter, wisely determining to save something out of the wreck of his country, sought peace, and was able to secure the forbearance of the allies by ceding to Russia the Aland Islands, Finland, and a part of West Bothnia.

While Russia was thus employed in her war with Sweden, Napoleon had been busy with the affairs of the South. The year 1808 was mostly occupied with the work of converting the Spanish peninsula into a dependency of France. For several years Portugal, which had been ruled by the House of Bragança since 1640, had been completely under the influence of England. Her willingness to continue in this relation was the antecedent of a movement by Bonaparte looking to the expulsion of the Braganças from the kingdom. In November of 1807 a French army under General Junot was sent into the peninsula to carry out this design. On his appearance the effete Portuguese court became alarmed and determined to save itself by flight. In January, 1808, the half crazy queen, Maria I., together with her son, who was Prince Regent, and the rest of the alleged royal family, took ship and sailed for Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where it was proposed to reëstablish the fugitive House in a position somewhat sheltered from the winds of Europe. When Junot arrived before Lisbon he made, in Napoleon's name, the now familiar proclamation that "the House of Bragança had ceased to reign."

Meanwhile affairs had been approaching a crisis in Italy. Pope Pius VII. had never been able to get on smoothly with the illustrious personage whom he had crowned in Notre Dame. Napoleon's view of the Catholic religion was that it should be good for something, and the criterion was that it should subserve his purpose. One of his strong desires was that the Holy Father should cancel a marriage which Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the Emperor, had made in 1803 with an American lady, Miss Elizabeth Paterson, of Baltimore. Napoleon needed Jerome for one of the thrones which he was setting up for the Bonapartes in various parts of Europe, and this American marriage was in the way.

In proportion as Jerome's fitness for power was manifested, in that degree did his impe-

rious brother become anxious that the marriage, which had been duly solemnized by a Roman Catholic bishop, should be annulled. Pius stood fast to the usages of the Church, and an army of French was sent to occupy Rome. For this the Pope excommunicated Napoleon; but the bull was as harmless and ridiculous as that of one of his predecessors against the comet. The Emperor retaliated by at once annexing the better part of the States of the Church to the kingdom of Italy.

While these events were taking place in Portugal and the Italian peninsula, the Spanish Bourbons fell into an imbroglio which gave to Napoleon the needed opportunity for interference in the affairs of that moribund kingdom. At this time Spain was ruled by Charles IV.; he by his wife; she, by her favorite, the minister Manuel de Godoy; he by his own interests and lusts. After having enriched himself by all kinds of corruption, generally at the expense of the king and country, he was honored by Charles with the title of the "Prince of the Peace," and was given a virtual control of the kingdom. It came to pass that Prince Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne, was justly offended at his father, mother, and Godoy: at the first, because he was a fool; at the second, because she was false; at the third, because he was treacherous and depraved. A conspiracy was made in Ferdinand's favor, and when Godoy learned that the north of Spain had already been occupied by an army of a hundred thousand French, he advised the king to abdicate in favor of his son and to fly with the remainder of the court to America. This advice was taken, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed and accepted at Madrid. As soon, however, as thus much was done, Charles IV. sickened at the prospect, and instead of embarking for America, sought the aid of Napoleon in regaining the crown which he had relinquished.

It was the appeal of a sick sheep to a lion. The lion repaired to Bayonne, and thither the whole Spanish court, including Ferdinand VII., was induced to come. It were long to relate the methods by which Napoleon at length induced both father and son to resign



JOACHIM MURAT.

to himself their rights to the Spanish throne; but he succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. Ferdinand was to have the kingdom of Etruria instead of that of Charles V.! The elder dupe was to receive the castle of Chambord and a pension of seven and a half millions of francs. Ferdinand, who had at last sense enough to perceive what part he was made to play, ventured on a rupture, and for his pains was imprisoned along with his brother Carlos in the castle of Valençai. Thus did the Spanish House of Bourbon "cease to

reign." It was a business which put Napoleon in the poorest light of any event in his career, and was redeemed from absolute littleness and contempt only by the insipid character and worthlessness of those whom he deposed.

The military subjugation of Spain had been intrusted to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. He had himself aspired to the crown of Spain, and had cause to believe that his ambition would be gratified; but the Emperor decided otherwise. Instead of Murat, Joseph Bonaparte was called from his kingdom of Naples to occupy the Spanish throne, and his crown of the Two Sicilies was given to the disappointed Murat. The acknowledgment of Joseph was obtained from the Council of Castile; but a junta in Seville refusing to accept the new order of things, made a declaration in favor of Ferdinand VII., and took up arms in his support. In many other Spanish cities the national spirit was aroused, and it became at once evident that Napoleon would have serious work to confirm the disposition which he had presumed to make of the kingdom of Spain. His maneuvers at Bayonne, by which the last of the Bourbon dynasties had been supplanted, must be made good by the sword.



JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF SPAIN.

Such were the beginnings of the Peninsular War. It was an inauspicious day for Napoleon when he undertook it—the beginning of the end. Here it was that his limitless ambition turned to folly. Had he paused before entering into the machination at Bayonne, it appears that no power could have shaken his dominion over the better part of Western Europe. He was arbiter of states and nations. In his relations with Spain he stooped to intrigue and started a new and needless complication which, with all his genius, he was never able to solve—a new outgoing of hostile causes which he could never trammel up. For a long time the peril was not imminent—perhaps not appreciated by himself; but in the course of three or four years he had good cause to curse Bayonne and all its recollections.

The war between the French and the Spanish insurgents began with the capture by the Spaniards of a small squadron in the harbor of Cadiz. Then followed the overthrow of a French army under Marshal Moncey, who was marching on Valencia. Shortly afterwards was fought the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, in which the Spaniards were routed with great losses; but in the battle of Baylen, in Andalusia, General Dupont was defeated and captured with a division of the French army twenty thousand strong. Then, for the space of two months, from June to August, 1808, followed the memorable siege of Saragossa. The garrison and the inhabitants of the town defended themselves with a

heroism hardly equaled in the annals of Spanish warfare, and at last the French were repulsed and obliged to abandon the siege. But in the following December they returned to the attack, reïnvested the city, and in February of 1809, compelled a surrender. The



TAKING OF SARAGOSSA.
Drawn by C. Delort.

losses of the assailants had been tremendous, and fifty-four thousand people perished in the city.[1]

The attention of Great Britain was at once turned to the Spanish peninsula, and it was resolved by the ministry to make the same the theater of a great struggle. This purpose was favored by a revolt in Portugal. Encouraged by the comparative success of the Spaniards, the Portuguese took arms against the French and inflicted a decisive defeat on General Junot. The latter was brought into such straits that, in a convention at Cintra, he was obliged to obtain as a favor the poor privilege of retiring from the country with the remnant of his army. The Russian allies of the French did not fare much better at the hands of the insurgents. The Czar's fleet was blockaded in the Tagus, and obliged to surrender to the English fleet, which then took possession of Lisbon.



HEROIC DEFENSE OF SARAGOSSA.
Drawn by F. Lix.

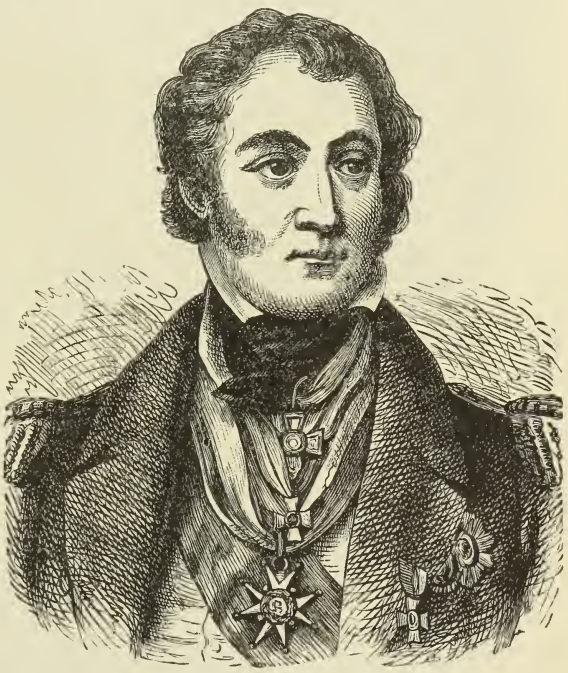
Already had the condition of affairs in the Spanish peninsula become so critical that Napoleon deemed it prudent to enter into a still closer alliance with Russia. He and the Czar accordingly held a kind of royal congress at Erfurt, in September and October of 1808, at which were present the kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Westphalia, and a multitude of minor dignitaries, by whom the political condition of Europe was considered. The status of Italy and the peninsular kingdoms, as already fixed by Napoleon, was ratified by the Czar, who, on his part, was given the right of annexing Finland, Wallachia, and Moldavia. The sovereigns then drew up a letter addressed to the demented George III. of England, requesting that monarch, or those who acted in his name, to consent to a general peace. If England had really desired the pacification of Europe, she might well have acceded to this proposal; but she chose to refuse on the ground that the House of Bourbon had not been represented in the Erfurt congress. Thus, for the sake of an antiquated dynasty, not one of whose living representatives was capable by merit of being mayor of a town, the war was indefinitely prolonged.

[1] The defense of Saragossa has furnished the theme for three celebrated stanzas in *Childe Harold*. During one of the assaults, in June, a Spanish girl, named Augustina, better known as the Maid of Saragossa, saw a soldier fall at his gun. She seized the match from his quivering hand, discharged the piece herself, and thenceforth became the spirit of the defense. Nothing could daunt or distract her from her purpose:

"Her lover sinks—she sheds no ill-timed tear;
Her chief is slain—she fills his fatal post;
Her fellows flee—she checks their base career;
The foe retires—she heads the rallying host;
Who can appease like her a lover's ghost?
Who can avenge so well a leader's fall?
What maid retrieve when man's flushed hope is lost?
Who hang so fiercely on the flying Gaul,
Foiled by a woman's hand before a battered wall?"

As soon as the refusal of the British government was known, Napoleon, in his usual electrical manner, took the field in person. He crossed the Pyrenees at the head of his army, bore down like an avalanche on the revolted Spaniards, swept their juntas as with a besom, gained victory after victory, and in less than a month entered Madrid in triumph. Here he made haste to strike down and obliterate the mediæval institutions with which the Spanish kingdom was cumbered. He issued an Imperial decree abolishing the Inquisition, sweeping out of existence two-thirds of the convents, and abrogating those feudal rights and privileges which were still exercised by the Spanish nobility. The English army in Spain was at this time under command of Sir John Moore, who undertook to save himself and his forces by retreating into Galicia. Thither he was pursued by Marshal Soult, who overtook the retreating British, and was by them defeated in the battle of Corunna. The victory of the English, however, was dearly purchased by the death of Sir John Moore, who was struck down by a cannon-ball, and was hurriedly buried by his disheartened soldiers—an incident which has furnished the theme of Charles Wolfe's famous poem.[1] Sir Charles Napier, who commanded one of the British divisions, also fell under five severe wounds, and was left for dead in the hands of the enemy. The English retreat was continued to the coast, and the army embarked for other fields. The province of Galicia submitted to Soult, but the latter was so staggered by his recent defeat that military operations were for a while suspended.

While these events had been taking place in the peninsula, England had been slowly but surely at work sapping the foundations of the Coälition against herself and Sweden. Her efforts had been especially successful in Germany. Austria was at heart disloyal to France—as she had ever been. To her the Peace of Presburg had been a delusion and a snare. There was still penetration enough in the brain of Francis II. to discern the coming break with Bonaparte. So the Austrian silently armed for the event. So great were the resources of this ancient kingdom that a tremendous army, well equipped and well disciplined, was brought into the field. Superficially there was peace. England, employing her usual argument, gave Francis four millions of pounds to go to war. The moment seemed auspicious for the Hapsburg to thrust its head like that of an ancient turtle from under the *testudo*. Napoleon was busy with his Spanish campaign. How could he make war in two places at once? So reasoned the Past in the



SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

court of Vienna; and then the bugle sounded. The Austrian army, under command of the Archduke Charles, was thrown into Bavaria. The event soon showed how completely, even after years of experience, the Austrian monarch had underestimated the genius of his adversary.

While yet at Madrid, Napoleon gathered into his wakeful ear the rumor of what was doing in Germany. Leaving the Spanish business to Marshal Soult, he hastened to Paris, arriving there on the 13th of April. In three days more he was at Stuttgart and Carlsruhe. In two days more he had established his head-quarters at Ingolstadt. As if

[1] "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried."

by magic he drew to himself an army out of Würtemberg and Baden. With these forces under the hot inspiration of battle he flung himself upon the Austrians, and in five days



RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH AFTER CORUNNA.

retreated towards Bohemia, as if to save themselves by distance. The way to Vienna again lay open, and the conqueror trod that way with his usual audacity. On the 12th of May the Austrian capital surrendered, and the French entered in triumph. On the 21st and 22d Napoleon was worsted in two battles at Aspern and Essling; but on the 5th and 6th of July he gained one of his most glorious victories on the bloody field of Wagram. In the first struggle the Austrians were routed with great slaughter, and driven back to the heights of Znaym, where, on the second day, they were again defeated and ruined. On

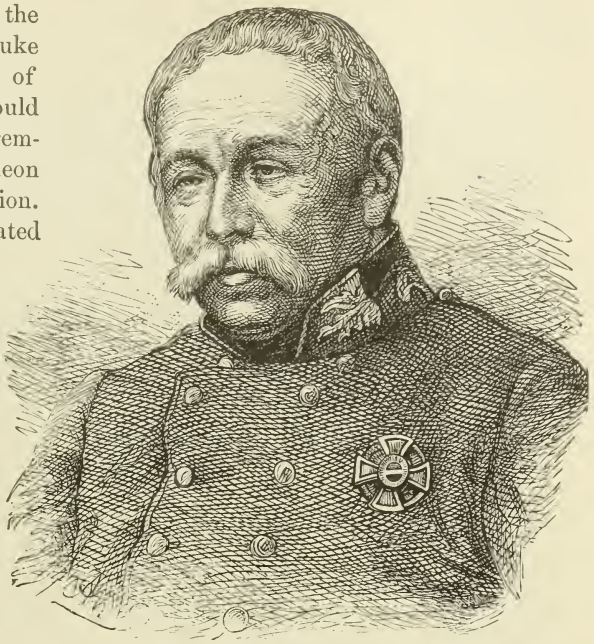


NAPOLEON AT THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM.—Drawn by Th. Weber.

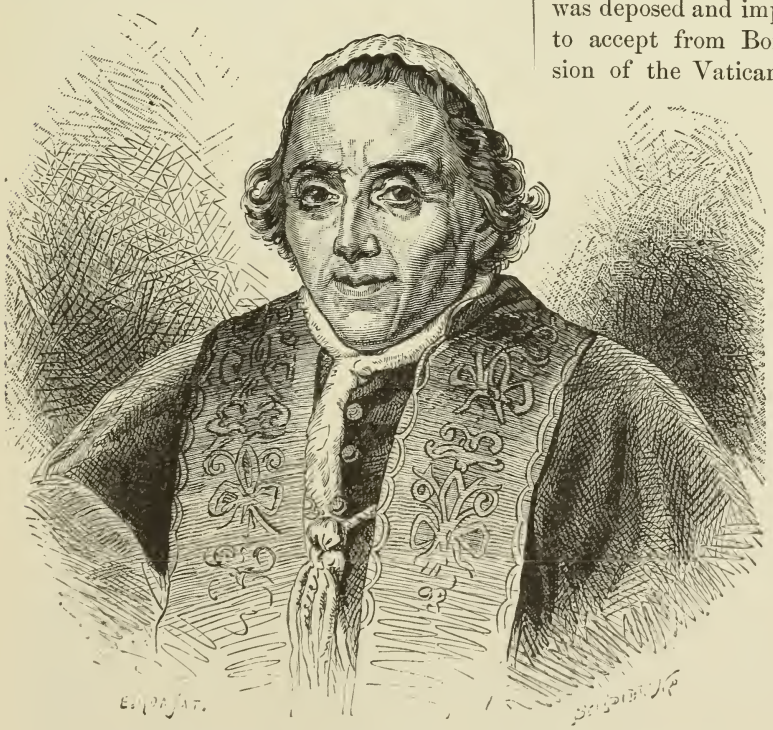
gained as many victories! Resistance was disorganized. The broken columns of Austria both sides the losses had been tremendous. Of the Austrians fully twenty-five thousand

men were killed, wounded, or taken, and the French loss was almost as great. Archduke Charles and Count Radetsky, commander of the Austrian cavalry, saved what they could from the wreck and fell back with the remnant of their forces into Moravia. Napoleon was again completely master of the situation.

It now only remained for the humiliated Francis II. to sue for peace, and to obtain it on the best terms he could. A conference was held between the victor and the vanquished at SCHÖNBRUNN, and there the conditions of a new peace were settled. Austria was obliged to cede to French Italy the Illyrian provinces about the head of the Adriatic. In the next place, that part of Austrian Poland which had fallen to Austria by the First Partition was taken away and divided between the Czar and the king of Saxony. The king of Bavaria received Salzburg, with the territories thereunto belonging. The Austrian Emperor was compelled to renounce his alliance with England,



COUNT JOSEPH WENZEL OF RADETZKY.



POPE PIUS VII.

and to become a partner in that "Continental System" which Napoleon had projected as a counterpoise to the maritime dominion of Great Britain. Berthier was created Prince of Wagram. The recusant Pope Pius VII. was deposed and imprisoned. Having refused to accept from Bonaparte's hands the possession of the Vatican palace and the spiritual dominion of christendom—these in lieu of the temporal authority which he still claimed over the States of the Church—he immured himself in the Quirinal, set his Swiss guards around, and claimed to be a prisoner. On the latter score Napoleon became willing to satisfy the Holy Father with a real imprisonment beyond the Alps. Accordingly the palace was surrounded by the French soldiers in the night, and Pius was taken forth with as much gentleness as violence was capable of showing. He was conveyed as a prisoner to Grenoble and afterwards to Fontainebleau, where for awhile he was relieved of the cares of state. As a further punishment the Eter-

nal City was reduced to the second rank in the Empire.

The time had now come for sorrow to settle on the childless Josephine. That decree of the French Senate by which Napoleon was made Emperor of the French had declared the crown to be hereditary in his family. But of what use was such a decree to Napoleon, who had no child? An alleged "state necessity" thus arose that a provision should be made for the succession. Out of this was born the suggestion that Josephine be divorced and another Empress be substituted in her place. In itself the measure was distasteful to Bonaparte, to whom for many years Josephine had been an inspiration, and between whom and himself few clouds had arisen to mar the confidence of either. But he had become callous to many sentiments that might have moved him in former years. For nearly two decades he had been almost constantly at war. He had trampled the banded powers of Europe under his feet. He had become proud by unparalleled success—haughty, defiant, unscrupulous. It was not likely that affection would now stand in the wind of his ambition. So it was decided in the counsels of his imperious will that the Empress should be divorced.[1] This purpose was at length broken to her who was to be supplanted, and she yielded to the inevitable. Why should she resist? After thirteen years of intimate contact with that relentless and unbending spirit she knew too well the uselessness of resistance. Of course he did whatever might be done to palliate the fall of her whom he had loved with a certain tyrannical fondness. It was ordered that she should continue to hold her imperial rank and titles and receive a pension of two millions of francs.

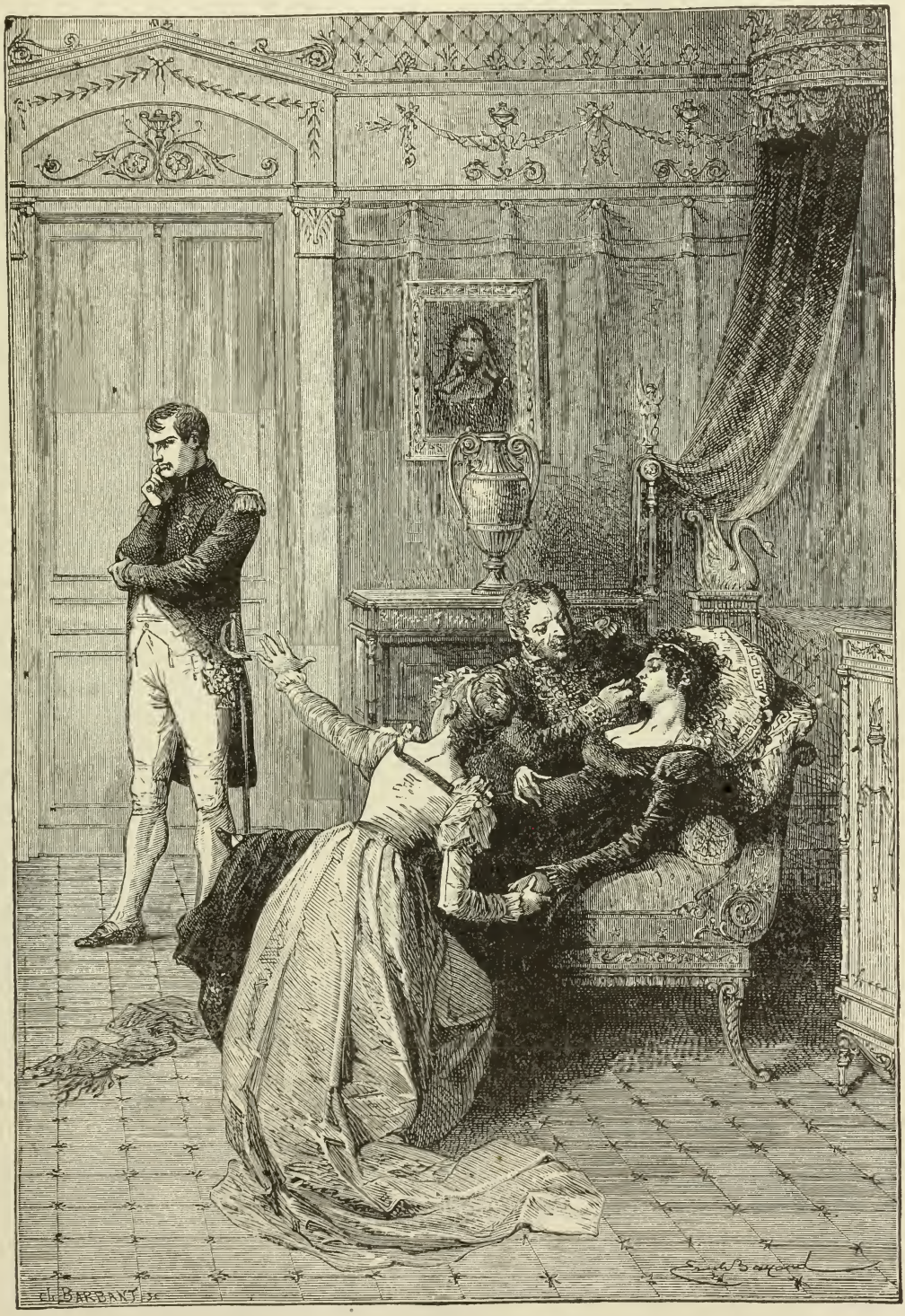


THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.

And what next? After Josephine whom? Would the Man of Destiny choose a peasant? Some girl like her of Domremy? Nay. A new sentiment—to which may the manhood on this side of the sea forever remain a stranger—had taken possession even of Bonaparte. The parvenu had become an aristocrat. The charity student of Brienne was fascinated with dynastic glory. The child of the Republic was dazzled with the fictitious splendors of a defunct royalty. The tremendous eagle of France swept down into the thicket of the Past, startling the solemn owls with the brush of his

[1] It is illustrative of the far-reaching vision and secret purposes of Napoleon that, when, at Milan in 1805, he was crowned King of Italy, Josephine was not permitted to share the ceremony. She was *not* crowned *Queen* of Italy. For she was childless; and Napoleon's heir must be King of Rome. "If I crown her,"—so was he already saying to himself—"that may itself be a bar against the possible; and nothing must be a bar against the possible. I must reserve the crown of Italy for the mother of the King of Rome that is to be."

mighty wings, and mated with a daughter of Hapsburg! The *Princess* Maria Louisa of Austria, child of Napoleon's well-beloved friend and brother, the good and faith-keeping Francis II., was chosen to become Empress of the French and mother of the King



NAPOLEON ANNOUNCING TO JOSEPHINE HIS DETERMINATION TO DIVORCE HER.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

of Rome! We will become the son-in-law of our true ally, whose subjects we lately met on the field of Wagram! Thus will we establish our Imperial House, and on his mother's side our coming King of Rome shall be descended from an ancient and royal House! Even so.

Perhaps the Emperor Francis was secretly averse to giving his daughter in marriage to Bonaparte; but he smoothed his front and



PRINCESS MARIA LOUISA.

smiled complaisance. On the 11th of March, 1810, the marriage was celebrated at Vienna, and on the 2d of the following month at Paris. Maria Louisa assumed the place to which she had been assigned by "state necessity," by the pride of one monarch to establish and the hope of another to save a dynasty.

Those writers who have not yet learned that the law of universal causation is the prevailing force in history, and have been anxious to make mankind believe that a system of petty retributions and human spites is the governing principle in events, have been accustomed to find in Napoleon's divorce of Josephine the cause of his downfall. Such authors would meet an unexpected difficulty if asked to show a single fact arising from this event which contributed to the overthrow of Bonaparte. Things went on as before. He was neither stronger nor weaker; but if either he was stronger. For on the 20th of March, 1811, the hoped-for King of Rome was born, and the hundred guns, whose thunders on that night aroused all Paris to a pitch of unprecedented enthusiasm, proclaimed that the Imperial and dynastic programme had been fulfilled.[1]

Among those whom Napoleon had raised to power along with himself, a conspicuous place must be assigned to his brother Louis, King of Holland. The crown was conferred upon him somewhat against his wishes, by an Imperial proclamation at St. Cloud, June 5, 1806. For three years he had successfully governed the country which had been placed under him; but the relations between him and Napoleon were never thereafter smooth, rarely amicable. The Emperor insisted that his brother should regard himself as a Frenchman, and should rule in the interest of France; but Louis, with equal persistency, devoted himself to what he conceived to be the interests of the Dutch. The latter, after the English, were

[1] The night of the birth of Napoleon II. was turned into a fête. The Emperor had ordered that a salute of forty-nine guns should announce the birth of a *daughter;* a hundred guns, a *son.* All Paris was in the brilliantly lighted streets. Minute by minute the cannon boomed. The fiftieth gun would, of course, be the announcement. The forty-ninth was fired, and the echoes died. Paris held her breath with suppressed excitement. And then the FIFTIETH! The King of Rome was born. Perhaps Josephine heard the shout at Malmaison! Did she wish that the firing had ceased with the forty-ninth?

the most sea-faring people in Europe. To them, as to the British, commerce was the first consideration. This fact made Holland very averse to maintaining that Continental System by which the dominion of the sea was to be rendered worthless by the dominion of the land. King Louis was thus placed between two fires. Vainly he strove to perform his duties in a way that should prove acceptable both to his English-loving subjects and English-hating brother. With the latter he had a stormy interview at Paris in December of 1809. The Emperor was at one time on the eve of making him a prisoner, but forbore. He deemed it prudent, however, to occupy Amsterdam with a division of French troops, and when this measure was resisted by Louis, Napoleon threatened to annex Holland to France.

For a while the king seemed to yield. Intercourse with England was cut off, and the reluctant Dutch were obliged to build a great navy in the interest of the French. In the course of time the pressure of Napoleon's demands became intolerable, and Louis was



THE KING OF ROME.

driven to abdicate the throne, which he did on the 1st of July, 1810. Before leaving the country for his retirement in Austria he named as his successor his son, Napoleon Louis, and Hortense, the mother, as regent. In a short time, however, the Emperor's threat was executed, and Holland, together with the Hanse towns, was annexed to the Empire.



EMPRESS MARIA LOUISA.

Further changes belonging to this period in the Napoleonic ascendency were the absorption of the electorate of Hanover into the kingdom of Westphalia, of the Swiss Valois into France, and the bold struggle of the Tyrolese to gain their independence. This brave people had, in the long strifes and animosities of France and Austria, been made the plaything of the combatants. It will be remembered that by the treaty of Presburg the Tyrol was assigned to the kingdom of Bavaria. This transfer of sovereignty was exceedingly distasteful to the Tyrolese patriots, who found in their countryman, Andreas Hofer, a leader worthy of the greatest cause. In 1809 an insurrection broke out, and the French and Bavarians were expelled from the country. Napoleon found it necessary to send two armies into the Tyrol to suppress the revolt. The first under command of Marshal Lefebvre overthrew the Austrians at Wörgl;

and the second defeated the Tyrolese in the battle of Feuer-Singer. But Hofer, nothing daunted, rallied his countrymen and gained a decisive victory at Innsprück. Then followed the battle of Wagram and the evacuation of the Tyrol by the Austrians. Nevertheless the Tyrolese sustained their cause, and Marshal Lefebvre was defeated. A provisional government was established with Hofer at its head; but after the peace of Vienna the Tyrolese were commanded by the Austrians to submit to their former rulers. Hofer accordingly surrendered his authority to Eugene Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. A month later, however, being deceived by false information as to the intentions of Austria, he again took up arms, but was defeated and driven a fugitive into the mountains. In January of 1810 he was betrayed to General D'Hilliers and taken a prisoner to Mantua. Here he was tried, and though a majority of his judges would have saved his life a condemnation was secured under orders from Napoleon. On being led to his execution Hofer refused to have a bandage placed over his eyes and himself gave the order to fire. He died as he had lived, a stranger to fear and without a stain of reproach.



INSURRECTION OF THE TYROLESE.
After the painting by Defregger.

In other acts, besides the putting away of Josephine and the virtual deposition of King Louis of Holland, were the weaker elements in Napoleon's character manifested. His encouragement—even his friendliness—to the intellectual greatness of France was somewhat restricted. The genius of the French was expected to bow to himself, his plans, his dynasty. He was willing that the Consulate and Empire should be praised without stint, but was averse to criticism and angered with opposition. Himself quick to penetrate the designs of others and a laconic satirist of other men's ambitions, he was nevertheless vulnerable to the same weapons when leveled at himself and his schemes. This disposition led him not infrequently to illiberality and even to the persecution of some of the greatest men and women of that Republican France to which he had fallen heir. Among those who braved his ire and felt the weight of his iron hand the most noted was the celebrated

Madame de Staël-Holstein, who may fairly be reckoned the most intellectual woman of the eighteenth century. She was the daughter of Necker, the great finance minister of Louis XVI. Even from childhood she displayed a genius of astonishing precocity. With girlish enthusiasm she hailed the Revolution as the beginning of the age of humanity. Just before the outbreak she was married to Baron de Staël-Holstein, the ambassador of Sweden to the court of Versailles. Though she was thus thrown into the highest society of France, the union did not much conduce to her happiness. She became an author. She sought to stay the ravages of the Reign of Terror, and was instrumental in saving several distinguished persons from the guillotine; herself she barely saved. For Napoleon she conceived an early and strong dislike, nor could any thing avail to soften her prejudice. The abyss widened, deepened, became an impassable gulf. In 1802 Madame de Staël was forbidden by the government to come within forty leagues of Paris. This was wormwood.



ANDREAS HOFER LED FORTH TO EXECUTION.

Two years afterwards her father died. Then she was broken-hearted. Nearly all the remainder of her life was passed under the cloud of banishment, but out of her sorrows were born the beauties of *Corinne*, the delicate criticisms of *Germany*, the life-like pictures of the *Revolution*.

After the capture of Saragossa by the French, the Peninsular war was continued with great obstinacy on both sides. The English and the Portuguese rallied to the support of the malcontent Spaniards, in the hope of expelling Joseph Bonaparte from the throne and country. On the 27th and 28th of July, 1809, a terrible battle was fought at TALAVERA between the French under Jourdan and the English under Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. The French were finally repulsed, but the English suffered so greatly from sickness and the bad conduct of their Portuguese allies that Wellesley was obliged to give up what he had gained and fall back beyond the Tagus. In the succeeding campaign the French were generally successful, overrunning Catalonia and capturing Girona after a hard siege of six months.

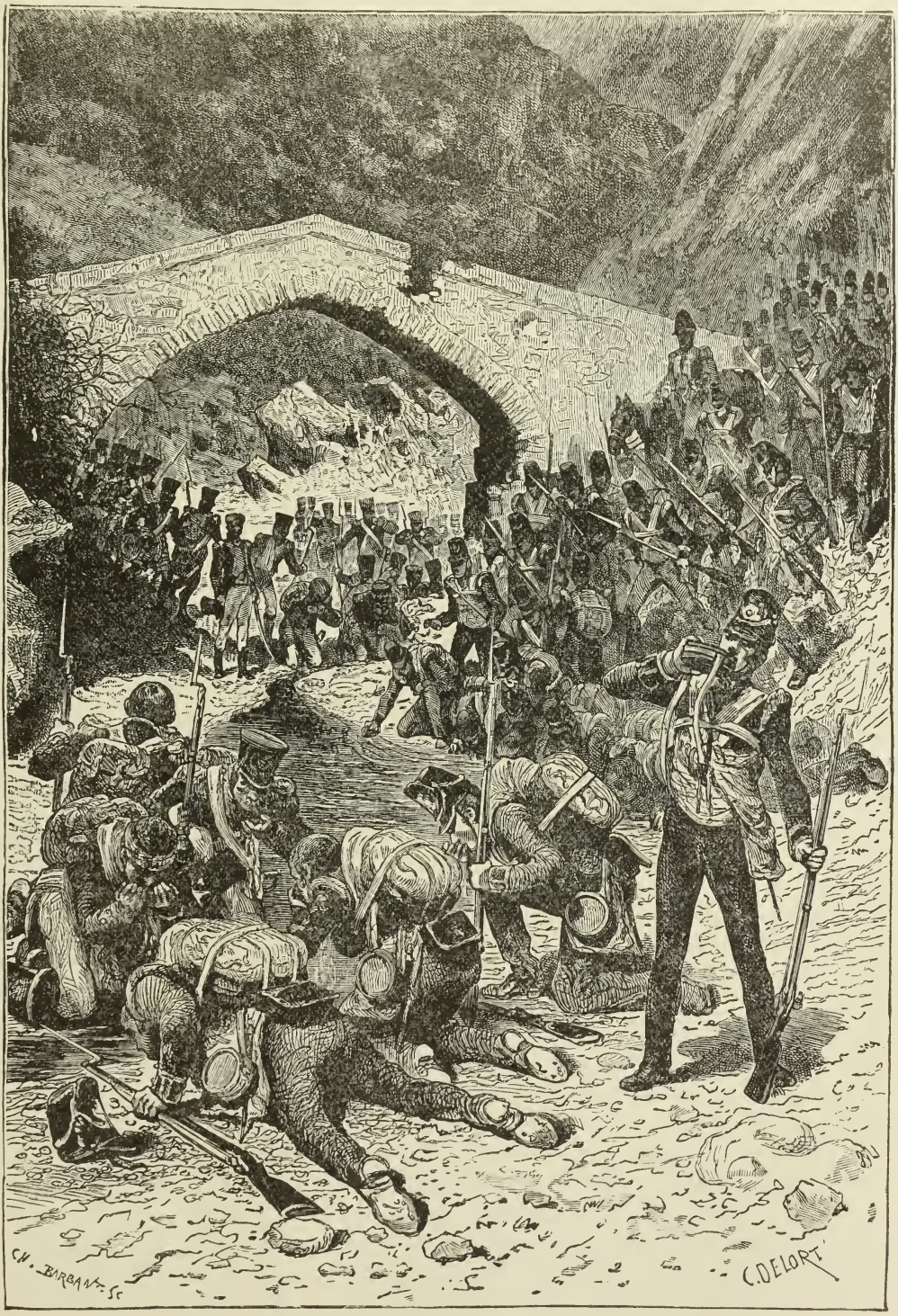


MADAME DE STAËL.

Wellesley was so hard pressed that, on learning of Napoleon's purpose to throw a large army into the peninsula, he fell back to a range of heights surrounding the town of Torres Vedras. These he fortified with extraordinary skill, and here planted himself like a lion at bay. Three lines of defense were drawn around the town, and forts and redoubts were constructed at intervals, rendering the situation well-nigh impregnable. The theory of Wellington was that, by holding Torres Vedras, Lisbon would be protected, and a free entrance to the allied armies into Portugal and Spain would be assured. Napoleon, on his part, after concluding the peace of Schönbrunn, was able to devote almost his whole energies to the work of recovering Portugal. He collected a vast army of three hundred and sixty-five thousand men, and sent forward the first division, under Marshal Masséna, to clear the way by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Both of these strongholds were taken, and in the autumn of 1810 Masséna established himself at Santarem, where he passed the winter. Wellington refused to go into the field to oppose these movements of the French, preferring to act on the defensive behind the batteries of Torres Vedras.

By the opening of the following spring, the English were sufficiently reïnforced to assume the offensive. An army was put into the field, and both Almeida and Badajos were besieged with great vigor. A battle was fought at Fuentes de Onor, in which Masséna was defeated. On the 16th of May, General

Beresford, with thirty thousand Spanish, British, and Portuguese troops, attacked an inferior force of French, under Marshal Soult, at ALBUERA, and gained a decisive victory. The force thus defeated was the reserve of the French army, at that time engaged in the



TRUCE DURING THE BATTLE OF TALAVERA.
Drawn by C. Delort.

siege of Badajos. After the battle, reïnforcements were hurried forward to Soult, and Wellington, acting with his usual caution, raised the siege of Badajos and again retired to his defenses. At this time the fugitive Spanish government was maintaining a precarious existence at Cadiz; but even this place was besieged by the French, who had already become masters of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and most of the other principal places in Spain.

With the beginning of 1812, the war was renewed with the greatest fury. Wellington took the field, and again laid siege to Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo. The latter place was defended by Masséna, who exerted himself to the utmost to beat back the inveterate Wellington, but without success. On the 19th of January the place was carried by storm, and the French were obliged to save themselves by a retreat. Badajos was also wrested from the French, and a powerful English army was thrown into the interior of Spain. On the 22d of July a great battle was fought four miles from SALAMANCA, in which the French were defeated with great losses. So serious was their reverse that they were obliged to give up Andalusia and New Castile and to abandon the siege of Cadiz. Even Madrid was taken by the English; but the event proved that the so-called national or anti-French party among the Spaniards had almost as much antipathy towards their deliverers as for the enemy. As a result of this feeling, strengthened, as it was, by some reverses to the English arms, the British presently withdrew from Madrid, and the city remained in the hands of the French. Thus, as the year 1812 drew to a close, the Peninsular War was still undecided, hanging in a dubious balance, stained with the blood of counter victories.



MARSHAL ANDRE MASSÉNA.

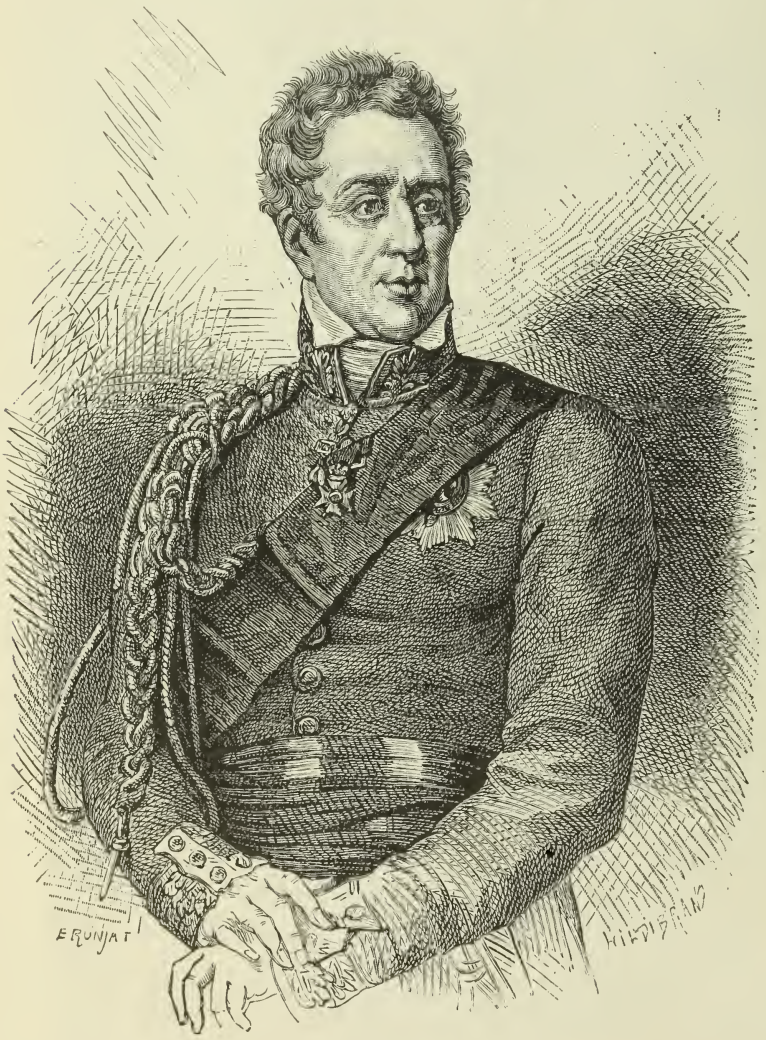
In the mean time, the East of Europe became profoundly stirred by the changed and changing policy of Russia. In that country the anti-French sentiment at last prevailed over the purposes and pledges of Alexander, and brought the great power of the North again into antagonism with France. True, the Czar adhered to his alliance with Napoleon until after the treaty of Schönbrunn, to which he was a party. Notwithstanding the fact that Alexander looked with ever-increasing jealousy and alarm on the growing and never appeased ambition of Bonaparte, he continued, at least outwardly, to observe the compact which he had made with the French Emperor at Tilsit until the latter part of 1810. By this time the urgency of his councilors, and the distress of Russian commerce on account of the continuance of the continental blockade, led him to violate his treaty stipulations by a renewal of intercourse with England. Nor were there wanting to the Czar several causes of complaint which might well be urged in justification of his course. On the West the peace of his dominions was menaced by the growth of

the duchy of Warsaw. A more tangible fact of offense was the annexation to the French Empire of Oldenburg, a fief of the Romanoffs. The plan of Napoleon to unite Denmark, Sweden, and Warsaw in a sort of Northern confederation, like that of the Rhine, and his



RETREAT OF MASSÉNA AFTER THE BATTLE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.
Drawn by C. Delort.

evident purpose to support this policy with an army, which he established between the Oder and the Vistula, gave additional ground for alarm and discontent in Russia. Fortified with these excuses, and backed by an overwhelming national sentiment, Alexander determined to break with France. He planted an army of ninety thousand men on his borders. He interdicted the importation of French merchandise at the same time when he was removing the restrictions on British commerce. With the Sultan he concluded a treaty at Bucharest, by which a cession was made to Russia of Bessarabia, Ismail, Kilia, and a part of Moldavia, together with the fortresses of Bender and Chotzim. Thus did the Czar clear his mighty deck for action.

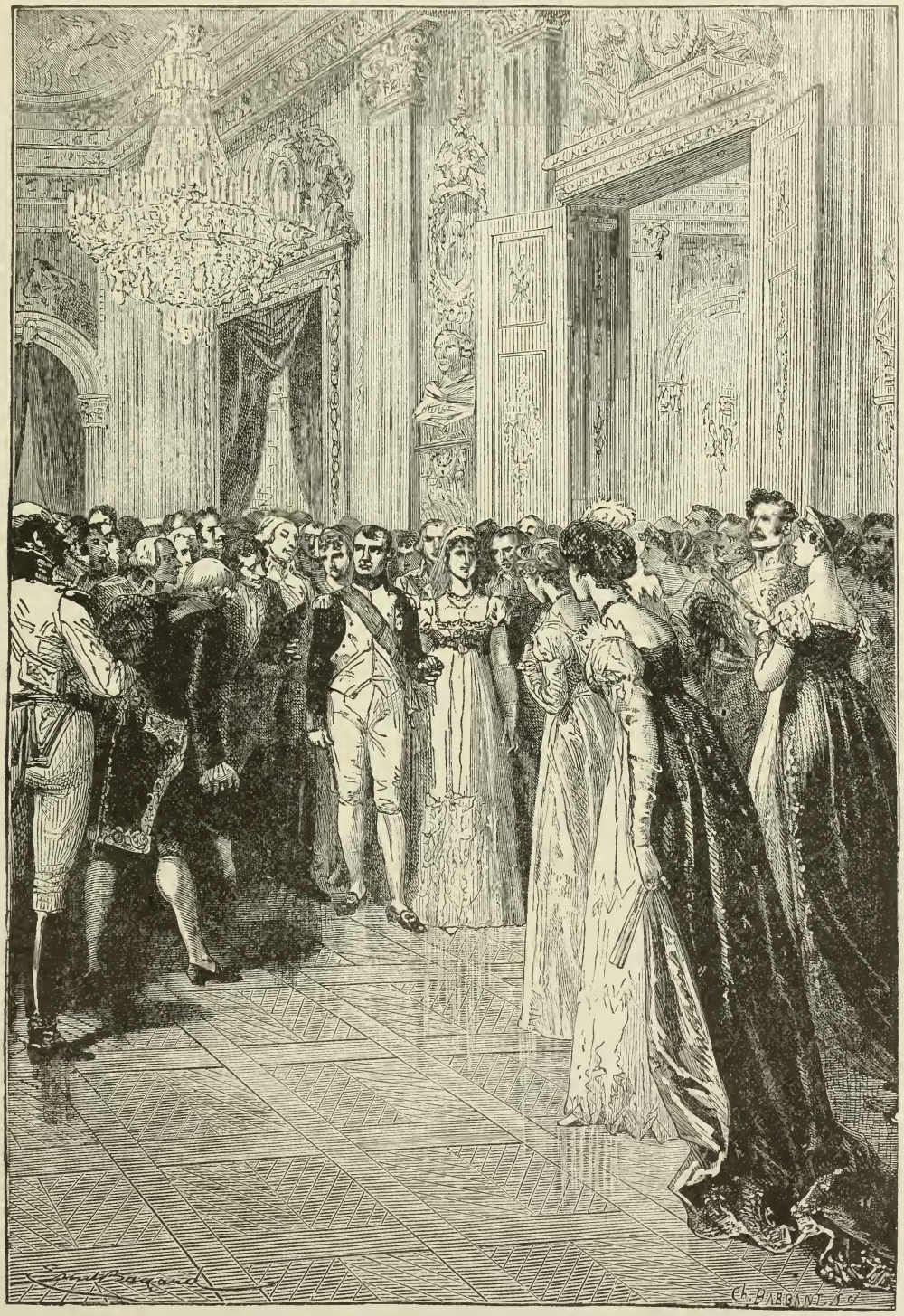


BERNADOTTE.

In this condition of affairs the crisis was hastened by the conduct of Sweden. The childless Charles XIII., at that time king of the Swedes, had in 1810 adopted as his son and heir that Charles John Bernadotte upon whom, as one of his marshals, Napoleon had conferred the title of Prince of Ponte Corvo. This act of Charles was doubtless born of a desire to be on good terms with the French Emperor, but that sovereign could not have been worse served. As a matter of fact, Bernadotte had never been loyal to Napoleon, except in so far as his own interest seemed to be subserved thereby. At length he became crown prince and regent of Sweden, and in that capacity distinguished himself by his lukewarm support or direct opposition to the Continental blockade—a course for which he sought to excuse himself by the alleged necessity to the Swedes of English goods. British ships began to be admitted into the harbors of Pomerania, and for this the Swedish vessels in the harbors of Germany were seized and their crews imprisoned. As a further retaliation a French army, under Marshal Davoust, was sent to occupy Pomerania and enforce the blockade. This work he performed with his usual energy; the Swedish officers were expelled from Hamburg, and Bernadotte, finding himself hard pressed, appealed to the Czar for aid. Thus, at the very time when Alexander, from other causes, was about to go to war with France, the Swedish appeal came to hasten his decision, and precipitate a crisis in Eastern Europe.

For the coming struggle the two Emperors

made gigantic preparations. The earth trembled under the tremendous armies which were organized. Napoleon determined to invade Russia, trample the Romanoffs under his feet as he had done the Bourbons, the Hohenzollerns, the Braganças, the Hapsburgs. Could



NAPOLEON IN DRESDEN.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

he, from Moscow or St. Petersburg, as he had done from Berlin, Vienna, and Milan, thunder forth his imperial decrees? Such, at any rate, was his fixed and haughty purpose. The crisis between the two great powers of continental Europe was precipitated in the spring of 1812, and the struggle of the giants at once began. On the one side was France, backed by the better part of the Western States. She had pride, power, ambition, resources, civilization, Bonaparte. On the other side was Russia. She had savage force, vast domains, barbarous populations, inaccessible cities, rivers winding the steppes and forests for thousands of miles. She had courage, patriotism, physical hardihood; she had the Cossacks; she had knowledge of herself, which her enemy had not and could not have. And then she had snow. She had winter — real winter — that horrible yellow-black winter, blowing in from the frigid zone with all his hyperborean terrors, to which the men of the South were strangers. Could they endure the rigors of such a campaign? the desolation and awful solitudes of such a land? the close embrace of deadly conflict with such a race of shaggy bears, so hardy as to continue the fight when shot through the head, and riotous in the open air at forty degrees below zero? The sequel would show.

In the early spring Napoleon made his head-quarters at Dresden. There for a season he held his court. Around him were gathered a majority of the princes of Europe. His loving father-in-law, Francis II., of Austria, was of the number. Here the preparations for the great expedition and the future settlement of Europe were completed. Napoleon gave a series of entertainments in which the energy and pride of his natural and the magnificence of his acquired character were strangely blended. Having completed his arrangements he gave the word of command, and on the 29th of May, 1812, the Grand Army set out on its long, long march. It was the most formidable military display of modern times. Could Bonaparte have reached his antagonist in his then condition of strength and struck him on ground of his own choosing the Emperor of all the Russias must have staggered and fallen dead from the shock. Arriving on the Russian frontier Napoleon made a declaration of war. The Czar was charged with having willfully and wantonly violated the solemn compact into which he had entered at Tilsit, and was held up before mankind as the guilty cause of the conflict. On the 22d of June the French forces gathered on the banks of the Niemen. The Grand Army numbered more than a half million of men. On the opposite banks the Russians had collected a force aggregating about three hundred thousand. It was evident to the Czar and his subjects that they were for the present unable to cope with their adversary in the field. But they had the spirit of battle, and when on the 24th of June the invasion began by the passage of the Niemen, the French were at once somewhat impeded in their progress. Napoleon's theory of the invasion was to obtain posession of the watershed between the Dwina and the Dnieper, and to traverse this ridge to a point from which he could at his option turn to the left against St. Petersburg or to the right against Moscow.

At the very beginning of the campaign Bonaparte was confronted by a new and unfamiliar enemy—Nature. Hitherto he had made war with men and nations. Now he was obliged for the first time to begin a struggle with the blind forces of the world. It was a branch of warfare on which education could throw no light, to which experience could give no insight, and in which genius was of no avail. In a war with nature Napoleon could no longer claim that Providence was on the side of the heaviest guns.

Soon after the beginning of the march into the interior, violent tempests and hurricanes beat the French camps as with a scourge. All Lithuania bellowed, pouring out storms and floods. The roads became impassable. The artillery trains (the Grand Army had twelve hundred guns) sank into the mire. The services of the sappers and guards were in constant requisition. Cold blasts, terrible in their bitterness for summer time, chilled the French soldiers to the heart. Hundreds of horses died from exposure to climatic changes to which they were not hardened. The advance of the two army corps led by King Jerome and Prince Eugene was greatly retarded by the unfavorable conditions.



ADVANCE OF THE GRAND ARMY.—After the painting by Meissonier.

Meanwhile the Russians, commanded by the old veteran Kutusoff, adopted the plan of falling back and wasting the country before the advancing French. By the middle of July the invaders were already embarrassed by the want of food. The first battle occurred on the evening of the 16th of August, at the town of Smolensko. The place was strongly defended and was reduced to a heap of ruins before it was taken. So stubborn had been hated French. At the village of Borodino Kutusoff made his stand, and there on the morning of the 7th of September was begun the bloodiest battle of modern times. A thousand cannons poured out their horrible vomit of death. Under the sulphurous smoke that hid the heavens from view more than a quarter of a million of men fought like tigers in the arena. All day long and until darkness put an end to the work, the bloody struggle



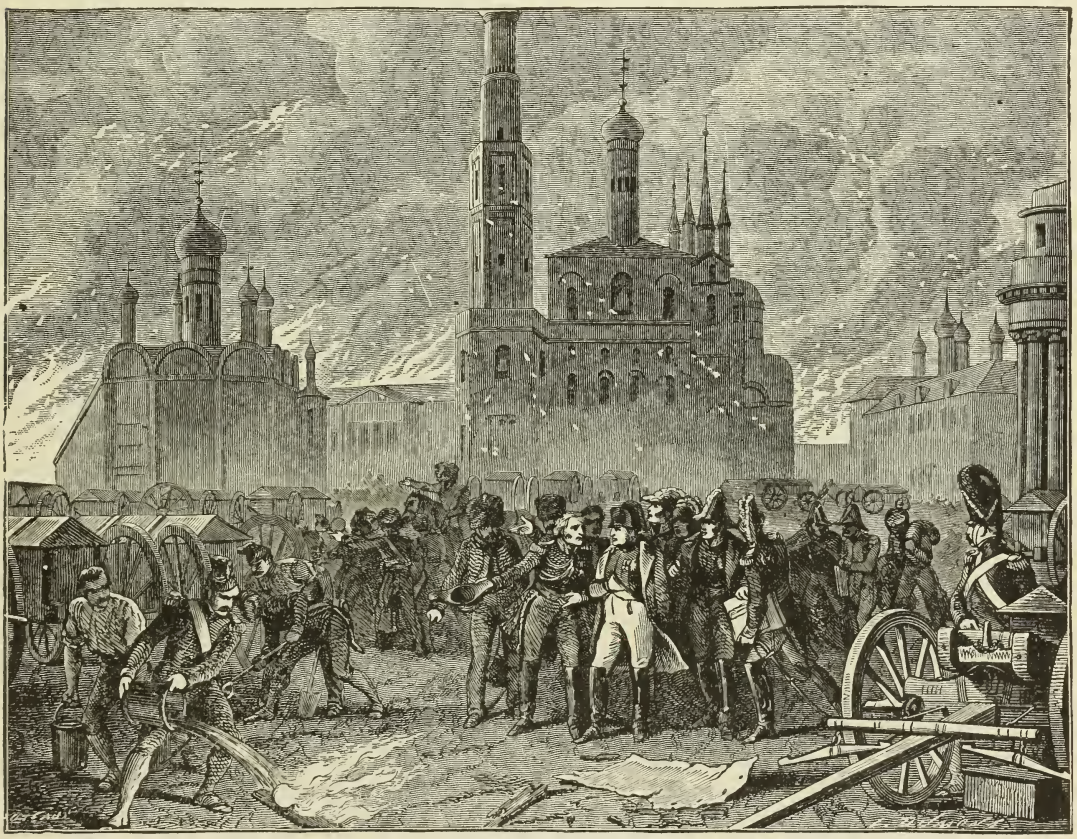
SAPPERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.
Drawn by A. Beck.

the resistance of the Russians that the French purchased the victory at the price of nearly twelve thousand men. Kutusoff again retired before the army which he durst not meet in the field. In the course of his retreat towards Moscow he destroyed the towns of Dorogobourg, Viazma, and Gjatsk. After falling back to within a short distance of the capital he determined to risk a general battle.

The Russians, indeed, were growing desperate, and many preferred to die rather than give up their ancient and sacred city to the continued. But the Russians, though still clinging to the skirts of the field, were defeated. They left more than forty thousand of their dead and wounded to attest the valor with which they had resisted the avalanche; and the French losses were almost as great! No such gory field had been seen since those ancient days of carnage when the great conquerors of antiquity mowed down nations in a day.

Kutusoff with his shattered army fell back on Moscow. Perceiving that he would be un-

able to hold the great city against the onset of the foe, he passed through with only a brief delay, and drew after him the great body of the inhabitants. Though he had been defeated, the Russians still had unbounded confidence in their veteran chief, and they followed him with what property they could bear away into the great plains east of Moscow. On the 15th of September, Napoleon rode into the ancient capital. The city was deserted; the streets were as silent as the avenues of a cemetery. The conqueror took up his residence in the Kremlin, the splendid but now abandoned palace of the czars.



BURNING OF MOSCOW.

But a drama was soon to be enacted very different from that which had been exhibited in the palaces of Frederick William and Francis II. To the French soldiers—to Bonaparte himself—the Russian capital promised rest and comfort after the hardships of the campaign. Tired with marching and fighting and starving, they hoped now to spend the winter in the comfortable, even luxurious quarters which the Russian grandees had left behind them. But Napoleon had been for a few hours only in the Kremlin when volumes of smoke were seen rolling up from a mass of buildings called the Bazaar, situated near the Kremlin. It was the announcement of a conflagration. At this very moment the equinoctial gale arose and blew the fire with fearful violence into other districts. Other quarters of the city were also seen aflame, and some wretches who were caught skulking in basements and questioned under pain of instant death, revealed the fact that before the flight of the population the governor, Count Rostopchin, had given orders and made every preparation for burning Moscow to ashes. At once the whole French army was called into requisition to save the burning city. But the flames swept east and west, north and south, and nothing could stay their ravages. For five days the horrible conflagration rolled on, and at the end of that time but little was left which the flames had power to destroy. Napoleon returned to the Krem-

lin, and from that place undertook to negotiate with Alexander. The Czar heeded not the appeal. He had wisdom enough to perceive that Napoleon's call, however bravely expressed, was the cry of weakness. What shall that conqueror do in the dead of winter in the ashes of a burnt-up Russian city? The case is clear. If he stays there he and his grand army shall starve. If he retreats, we and our Cossacks will be upon him.

The Czar refused to treat while the enemy remained in Russia. The time, the circumstance brooked no delay. Winter was at hand. Snow was already falling, and the roads would soon be rendered impassable, if not wholly obliterated by the drifts. So on the 19th of October, Napoleon, at length overtaken by his destiny, turned his back on Moscow and began his retreat to the Niemen. Then the Cossacks rose by thousands on his flanks and rear. Then the dispirited French struggled through the heaps of snow, dropping dead of hunger and fatigue. Then the winter came howling out of the North and smote with darts of ice more terrible than bayonets, the shuddering soldiers of France. By night and by day the terrible Cossacks swooped down upon the staggering columns and cut them right and left. The line of the retreat was heaped with the carcasses of men and horses. Thousands were frozen to death in a single night. At the beginning of the retreat Napoleon still had a hundred and twenty thousand men; but every day reduced the roll of his famishing columns until hardly a division was left to struggle on through the snow.



THE GRAND ARMY LEAVING THE KREMLIN.
Drawn by C. Delort.

On arriving at the Beresina the ruined army, hard-pressed by Kutuzoff and Wittgenstein, attempted to cross at the bridge of Borisov; but this passage had already been seized by the Russians. The construction of two new bridges across the stream became a necessity, and this work was undertaken by the French with the courage of despair. On the 26th of November the structure was sufficiently advanced to permit the beginning of the passage. On the following day the French continued their march—or escape—to the right

bank of the river, but on the morning of the 28th the Russians fell upon the rear with such fury as has rarely been witnessed in battle. Finally a battery of twelve guns was so planted as to command the bridge, and the retreat became a rout. The French fell by



CROSSING THE BERESINA.
Drawn by E. Bayard.

thousands. The sick, wounded, and stragglers were still unsaved—exposed to the murderous fire of the Russians. On the 29th orders were given that the bridge should be burned. The flames were kindled, but still the tide of fugitives rushed upon the burning timbers until at last the whole went down with a crash into the merciless waters.[1]

The defense of the rearguard of the Grand Army was intrusted to Marshal Ney, whom Napoleon, with no wasted compliment, was wont to call "the Bravest of the Brave." Out of the wreck he saved as much as could be rescued from destruction; and when at last a mere handful of despairing, frozen, half-starved wretches came to the passage of the Niemen, the intrepid Ney, soiled with dirt, blackened with smoke and exposure, without any insignia of his rank, but with drawn sword and facing backwards towards the hated region which he was leaving, was *the last man to cross the bridge!*

With the passage of this river the dying remnants of the Grand Army were no more assailed by the enemy; but the sufferings of the French were not yet ended. The country which they now entered was nominally friendly, but the event showed that the Lithuanians were as much disposed to look to their own interests for the future as to try to save the remnant of the French from perishing. The latter continued to drag themselves wearily through the desolations of a half hostile region, until at last they came to Königsberg, where the haggard and starving survivors were permitted to lie down to rest in the barracks and hospitals of the city.



BREAKING DOWN OF THE BRIDGE AT BERESINA.

Meanwhile, as soon as the fate of his great campaign was decided, Napoleon, leaving Murat in command of the army, took a sledge, sped with all haste across the snow-covered wastes of Poland, and came unannounced to Paris. In that city a rumor of his death had been circulated, and a revolt had broken out,

[1] It is narrated that with the following spring, when the ice-gorge broke in the Beresina, the bodies of *twelve thousand* French soldiers were washed up on the banks.

instigated by the faction of Bourbon. All this, however, dissolved like mist when it was known that Bonaparte had come. His presence roused the capital to action, and then all France sprang again at his call. In a short time, he had again raised and equipped a half a million of soldiers. But they were raw recruits. His veterans were under the snows of Russia. Very fatal, too, had been the other losses which he had sustained in that ill-starred campaign. His supply of horses was



THE REMNANT OF THE GRAND ARMY AT KÖNIGSBERG.

exhausted, and, as a result, the cavalry divisions of the new armies were weak and ineffective. Nevertheless he took the field, with all his old-time audacity. History must ever record that he quailed not as fate rose up against him.

During the year 1813, Europe was in a state of universal turmoil. As soon as it was known that the Grand Army had been buried in Russia, there were signs of a general break up among the states in alliance with France. The movement began on the side of those Germanic powers which had acknowledged the sway of Napoleon and were now quick to profit by his misfortunes. The Confederation of the Rhine showed signs of falling to pieces. The king of Prussia struck hands with the Czar, and the latter sent to Berlin a Russian army to save the city from a possible recapture by the French. An insurrection broke out in Hamburg; the French garrison was expelled and the blockade was raised. These movements drew the attention of Napoleon first of all to the protection of his eastern frontier. He threw his armies to the front, planting the left on Lübeck, and the right on Venice. On the 2d of May, 1813, a great battle was fought at LÜTZEN, on the same field where Gustavus Adolphus was slain in the hour of victory, in 1632. In the beginning of the engagement the allied army of Russians and Prussians gained a decided advantage over the French; but the latter rallied, wrested victory from defeat, and inflicted a terrible punishment on the enemy. Alexander, Fred-

erick William III., and Napoleon were all on the field where the giants had wrestled in the days of the Thirty Years' War. On the 20th and 21st of the same month, Bonaparte hurled an army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men upon the allies at BAUTZEN, and inflicted on them a decisive, though not very disastrous, defeat. The Russian and Prussian monarchs managed to effect a retreat so skillfully planned as to save the artillery and baggage. Marshal Davoust, with a division of French and Danes, attacked and recaptured Hamburg, and the city was terribly punished for her recent defection from the cause of France. On the whole, the campaign had been highly favorable to the French, who retained their hold on Dresden with one hand while they beat back the allies with the other.

After the battle of Bautzen, a truce of eight weeks was agreed upon, and the belligerents met at a Peace Congress in Prague. The event showed, however, that the allies merely desired a breathing-time for recuperation and additional preparations and intrigues against their common enemy. At the very time when the conference was in session, England, Russia, and Prussia were using all of their endeavors to rouse Austria and Saxony from their neutrality, and bring them into the Fifth Coälition against Bonaparte. As motives to secure this end, Prussia used hatred; Russia, self-interest; and England, money—her usual argument. At length these powers were successful. Napoleon's royal father-in-law went into the alliance, thus setting his fate on the cast of the die. On the 10th of August the truce expired. The allies had gained by the delay; but Napoleon was, as ever, keenly alive to the situation. On the



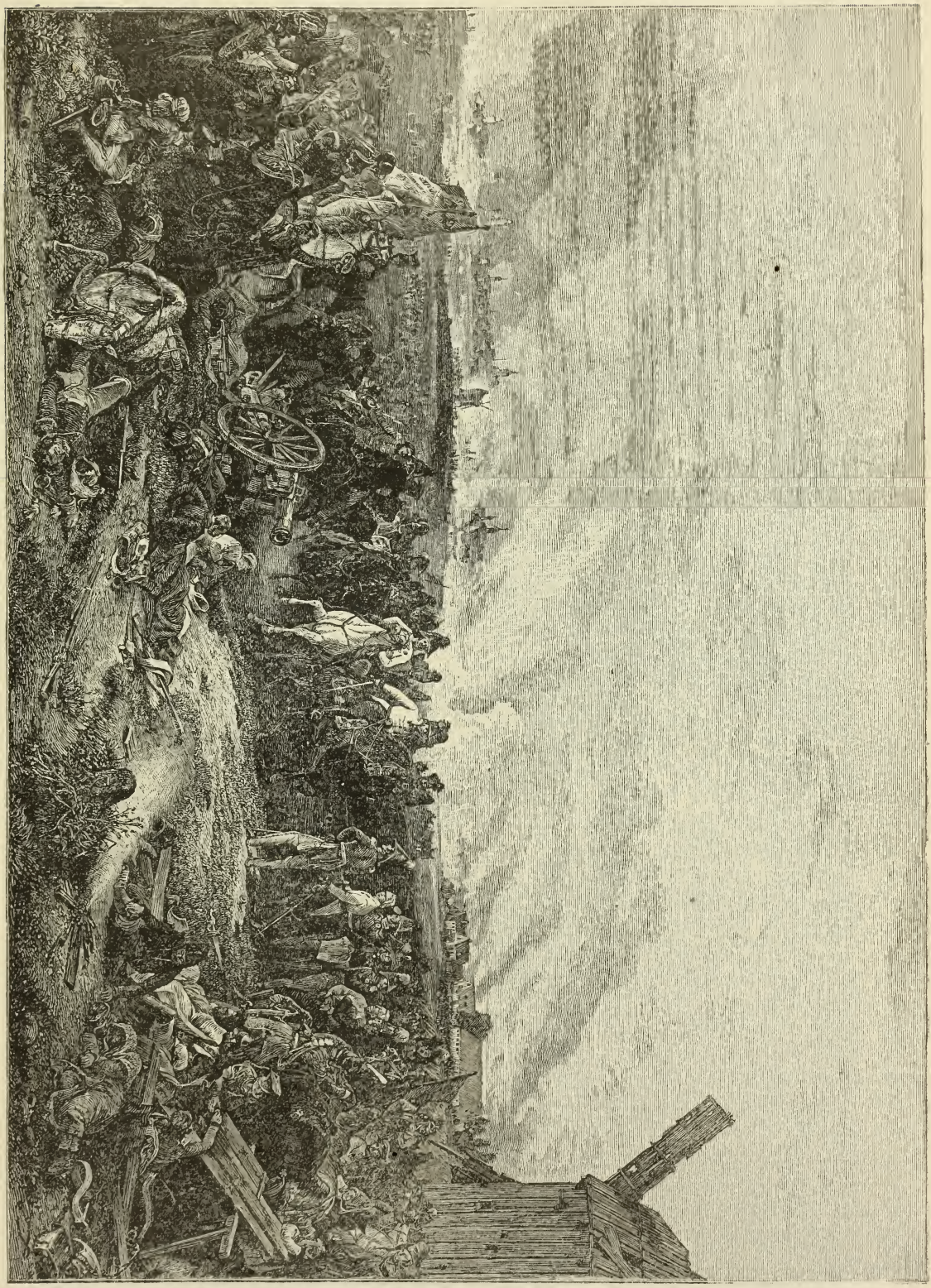
NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM RUSSIA.
After the painting by A. W. Kowalski.



BATTLE OF KATSBACH.

26th of the month, a powerful army of Russians and Prussians bore down on the French in DRESDEN, but the Emperor, who had reïnforced his army in that city, gave battle on the following day, in which he was deprived of a complete and decisive victory only by the weakness of his cavalry. It was at this juncture that the personal superiority of Napoleon, as a general in the field, became more than ever conspicuous. It rarely happened in a struggle where he was personally present that the enemy could gain any advantage.

But equal success did not attend the campaigns of his marshals. At Grossbeeren a battle was fought between the allies and General Oudinot, commanding the French, in which the latter were defeated. On the river KATSBACH, August 26, 1813, the Prussians under General Gebhard Blücher, already greatly distinguished in the service, won a victory over Marshal Macdonald which, though insignificant in itself, resulted in the capture of nearly eighteen thousand French prisoners, together with a hundred pieces of artillery and three hundred wagons of the ammunition and baggage trains. Marshal Ney, at this time conducting a campaign against Berlin, was met and almost ruinously defeated by Bernadotte in a battle at Dennewitz, on the 6th of September. By these various successes, the allies were enabled to concentrate in tremendous force at Leipsic, where sixty thousand Russians were joined to the allied army of Prussians and Bavarians. Notwithstanding the tremendous odds with which he had to contend, Napoleon determined to risk a battle. On the 16th of October the conflict began before LEIPSIC. In the first day's fight, the advantage was altogether on the side of the French, and Bonaparte availed himself of the opportunity to renew his proposals for peace. But the allies rejected his overtures, and on the 18th the battle was renewed. After a terrible conflict, lasting till night-fall, the allies were victorious. Napoleon's legions were crowded from the field. On the following morning they began a retreat. The allies crowded into the city, blew up a bridge, and captured nearly twenty-five thousand prisoners. The duty of covering the retreat of the French army was intrusted to Prince Poniatowsky, who just before the battle had been made a marshal of the Empire. In attempting to perform the task which was assigned him by Napoleon, he with a small retinue was so hard pressed by the foe that in order to avoid capture he plunged into the Elster and was drowned. The retrograde movement continued to the Rhine, which the Emperor crossed with only eighty thousand men. The attempt of the Bavarians under Wrede to intercept the retreat at Hanau was thwarted by Napoleon, who cut his way triumphantly through the ranks of his late friends. On the 9th of November, the Emperor arrived in Paris, where he found the temper of the people somewhat changed from their former enthusiasm. The Legislative Assembly made the impossible demand that he should conclude a peace. How could he make a peace with a foe that was inexorable? Instead of that, he began new preparations which in their success exibited more than ever before the immense fertility of his genius. All fall and winter long, with miraculous activity, he wrought at the problem which destiny had now forced upon him. He clearly foresaw that with the opening of the following year, France herself would be invaded by such hostile armies as had never crossed her borders. While he was engaged in this work, the Empire which he had established was rapidly resolved into its elements. All along the frontier of the Baltic, the Oder, the Vistula, the Elbe, the garrisons which he had planted for the protection of his borders, were expelled from town and fortress. An English army wrested Hanover from French dominion. Holland threw off the yoke, and proclaimed Prince William I. of Orange as king of the Netherlands. Jerome Bonaparte was obliged to abdicate the throne of Westphalia; and the princes of Brunswick, Oldenburg, and Hesse reclaimed their ancient dominions. Even the Danes fell away, and by agreeing to a cession of Norway to Sweden, in lieu of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen, came to an agreement with Great Britain. Denmark thus became a member of the Coälition against the French. Illyria, Carinthia, and Dalmatia succumbed to the Austrians; and Murat, king of Naples, hoping to save himself from impending ruin, abandoned Napoleon, and, on the 11th of January, 1814, made a treaty with Austria. He was to retain his crown on condition of aiding in the overthrow of Bonaparte. The allies next made overtures to Prince Eugene,



BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.

Viceroy of Italy; but he stood fast in his integrity, and rejected their proposals with disdain.

By the end of January, 1814, the great movement, known as the Campaign of France, was begun. By his marvelous powers of combination and his tireless energy, Bonaparte was again able to present a bold front to the enemy. The combined armies of Austria,



DEATH OF PRINCE PONIATOWSKY IN THE ELSTER.

Prussia, and Russia hung in dark clouds along the eastern horizon of France. More imminent still was the danger on the side of the Pyrenees. For in the mean time the Duke of Wellington had, on the 21st of June, 1813, fought and won the great battle of VITTORIA, in which the French, under King Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, were disastrously routed, losing a hundred and fifty guns and nearly all of the spoils of war and occupation which they had gathered in a five years' possession of Spain. Joseph retreated into France. For a while Marshal Soult planted himself like a lion in the passes of the Pyrenees; but Wellington was irresistible, and the French were driven beyond the confines of Spain. Even San Sebastian and Pampeluna were torn away. Then came the siege of Bayonne by the English and Portuguese. The project of making Spain one of the French kingdoms was given up, and Ferdinand VII. was formally acknowledged as sovereign. At last *one* of the Bourbons had gotten back into his mediæval nest.

Then followed a reconciliation of Napoleon and the Pope. Pius was released from his confinement at Fontainebleau and permitted to resume his office as temporal sovereign at Rome. The whales and other monsters of the Middle Ages came up from the deep sea, and Bonaparte threw them tubs, which they swallowed—and then wanted more. At the beginning of 1814 the eastern frontier of France was broken by a three-fold invasion. The allies laid their plans to concentrate from all directions on Paris. A powerful army of Austrians, under Marshal Carl Philip Schwartzenburg, began the work by crossing the Rhine at Basle. Blücher came out of Cilicia and made a passage of the river between Coblentz and Mannheim. The Russians entered France by way of Holland. Out of the North came the treacherous Bernadotte with a hundred thousand men. It appeared that no power on earth could stay the tremendous avalanche.

It is quite certain that at no epoch in human history have the prodigious resources and genius of a man been so wonderfully exhibited as were those of Napoleon when his implacable foes came in upon him. His vigilance was sleepless. Nothing daunted or discouraged him; he took good and evil fortune with the same unwavering mood. In his first struggle with Blücher at Brienne, he was virtually defeated; but he returned to the charge and gained one victory after another until Blücher was obliged to rest himself upon the advancing army of Bülow. The Emperor then turned upon Marshal Schwartzenburg, and in the battle of Montereau inflicted on him so terrible a defeat that Austria made proposals for peace! Europe was astonished, amazed at the audacity with which the pent-up Emperor of the French beat back her banded legions.

Blücher now returned to the attack and gained a victory over the French at Laon; but Napoleon, planting two divisions before the Prussians, wheeled to Arcis-sur-Aube, fell upon Schwartzenburg more fiercely than ever, and fought as though the world were staked on the issue. It was a drawn battle. In the next place he formed the design of putting himself in the rear of the allies and invading Germany, hoping, perhaps believing, that as his lines were narrowed around the French capital his Marshals could hold the enemies in check until he, by rapid marches and devastating work beyond the Rhine, could compel the withdrawal of the German armies from France. But in this he was unsuccessful. In fact, his long struggle with the combined powers of the continent had developed the military genius of Europe to such a degree that he had now to contend with an array of generals among the greatest the world has ever produced. The grip of these upon Imperial France could no longer be broken by a ruse. So, when it was known that Napoleon had undertaken an invasion of Germany, the allies, instead of following him abroad, roused all their energies to the task of capturing Paris. Bonaparte was obliged to abandon his design. He strained every nerve to arrive at the capital in advance of his enemies, but was unable to do so. When he arrived by night at Fontainebleau he found the city already in the hands of the allied army. For the enemy had ravaged the environs of the city, gained possession of the heights of Montmartre and Belleville, and compelled the authorities to surrender. On the 31st of March, 1814, Alexander of Russia, Frederick William III., and the generals of the allies, entered with their victorious armies and planted themselves in the capital of France.

It was clear that the Empire had fallen. The French Senate, overawed by foreign powers, passed a decree that Napoleon, by arbitrary acts and violations of the constitution, had forfeited the throne, and that all Frenchmen were absolved from their allegiance. The leading generals of the French army accepted what seemed to be the inevitable, and agreed that the Emperor should abdicate. Napoleon himself was of a different opinion, but yielded to necessity, and on the 11th of April, having signed an abdication in favor of his son, gave up the power which had been conferred upon him by the suffrages of the French people and for twelve years maintained by the sword. The terms, however, which Napoleon named, were rejected by the victorious allies, who declared their purpose never to treat with Napoleon Bonaparte or any member of his dynasty. Nothing short of an absolute surrender of all the imperial and kingly rights and titles which Napoleon had held would satisfy their will and purpose. An unconditional abdication was accordingly enforced. Napoleon was granted a pension of two millions of francs and the sovereignty of the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean. As to a settlement of the sovereignty of France, that matter was left to the decision of the allies and their now serviceable instrument, the French Senate.

Meanwhile Louis of Bourbon, now for twenty-three years an exile in foreign lands, loomed up as a possibility in the future of France. He was proclaimed at Bordeaux with the title of Louis XVIII., and his brother the Count of Artois, acting as Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, signed the agreement which was drawn up by the allies at Paris. The House of Bourbon was to be restored to the sovereignty of France, and the anti-revolutionists flattered themselves that the Past which they so much worshiped would come again in a day. As for Napoleon, he bade farewell to the scenes of his glory, took an affectionate leave of his guard at Fontaine-



THE ALLIES ON THE ROAD TO PARIS.

bleau, and set out for his petty place as ruler of Elba.

In the mean time the British and their allies in the south had been completely victorious. Toulouse had fallen into their hands, and the Duke of Wellington was continuing his triumphant progress northward. Louis XVIII., already infirm and old, and suffering under a complication of diseases, left England and returned in the wake of the allied army. His appearance in France, and slain. None the less, there was a pretended Restoration. The old throne was set up amid some shouting of the reäctionists, and the well-meaning representative of the ancient Bourbonism undertook the government of France. With him returned to Paris a great crowd of the long-absent royalists, who imagined that the evening shadows were the morning twilight. They demanded that the king should restore to them their lost estates and privileges. They might as well have asked

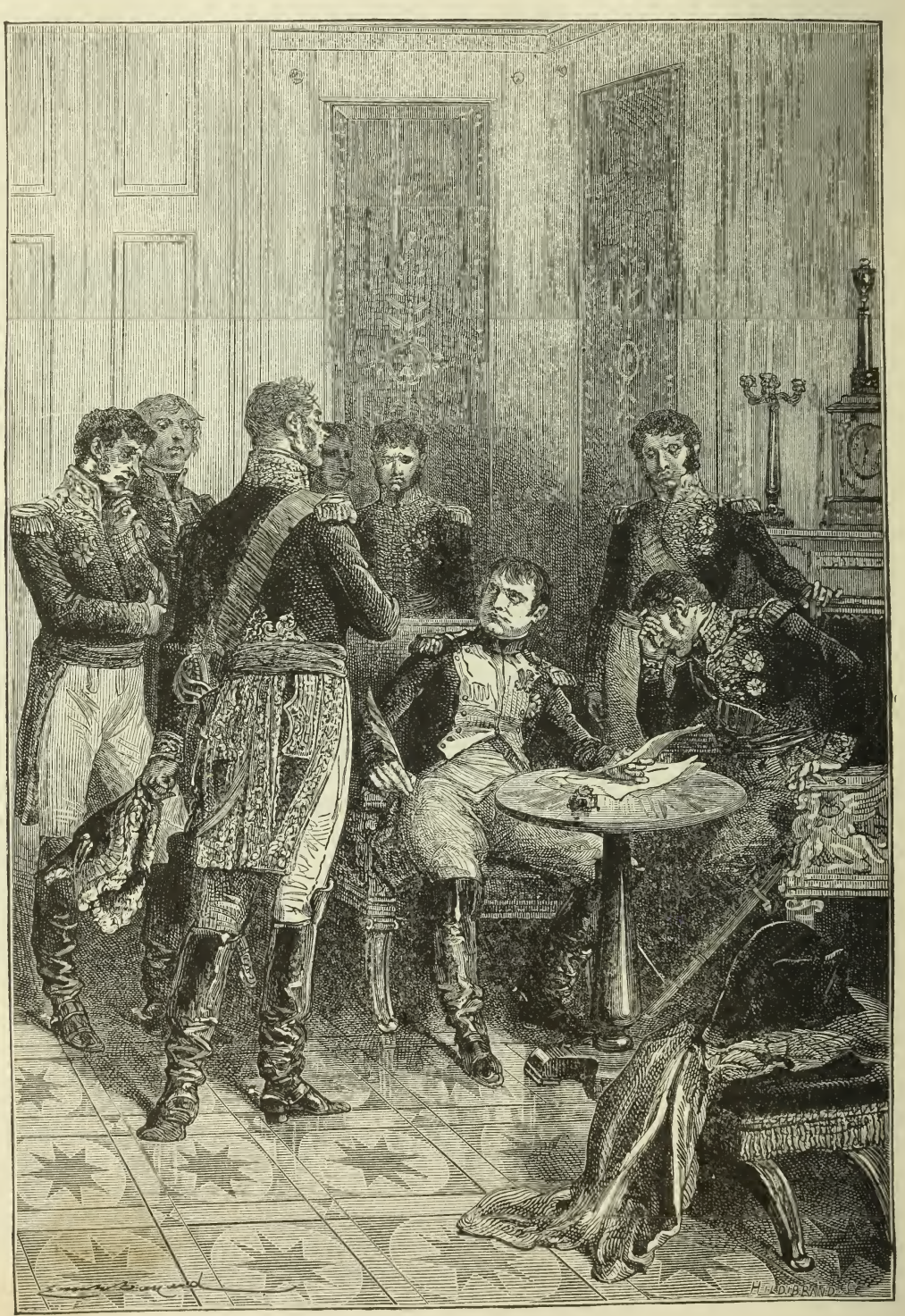


BLÜCHER'S CAVALRY DEVASTATING THE ENVIRONS OF PARIS.
Drawn by C. Delort.

especially in Paris, revealed a fact. It was this: Old France, the France of Henry of Navarre, of Louis le Grand, of Pompadour, was dead. No trumpet call could ever again raise her from the dust. Though the Republic had perished, though the great Napoleon was humbled, though all of the mighty achievements of the last twenty years seemed to have melted into nothingness, no wave of the enchanter's wand, no display of royal ensigns and banners could awake from her endless sleep that despotic and worn-out France which the glorious Revolution had assaulted and for a return of the days of Saint Louis and Barbarossa.

The analogy between the return of Louis XVIII. and that of Charles Stuart of England had a further illustration in this—that the French king, refusing to recognize the Revolution, treating the Republic as a nullity, and counting as naught that tremendous movement which had transformed the society of France and started all Europe on a new career, began his administration by dating the royal acts *in the nineteenth year of his reign.* The very charter, which the changed order of

the realm made it necessary for him to sign, granting and confirming to the people many of the rights which the Revolution had wrung from the hands of the old-time despotism, was thus dated in defiance of both the logic of events and the law of common intelligence.



NAPOLEON SIGNING HIS ABDICATION.

Drawn by E. Bayard.

So at the very beginning of the restored Bourbonism, a certain degree of political freedom, which the House of Capet would never have granted of itself, was allowed to stand as an everlasting memorial of the work done by the men of '89. There was no serious attempt to rob the press of the freedom which had been so hardly won, or to violate the rights of person and property which had been guaranteed by the Constitution of the Year VIII.

On the 30th of May, 1814, a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris. To France, the conditions of the settlement were sufficiently humiliating. Nearly every thing which she had achieved in her heroic struggle with banded Europe was ruthlessly torn away. Her territory was reduced to the limits recognized at the beginning of the Revolution. The whole theory of the ambassadors who framed the treaty was to reïnstate the past. In carrying out the programme, Belgium was added to Holland. The German states were in general restored to the territorial and political condition which they had held in 1792. The Prince of Orange was recognized as king of the Netherlands. Prince Eugene of Italy, on learning of the overthrow of Napoleon, surrendered his kingdom to the Austrians. Such was the general outline of the Peace of Paris, agreed to by the allies in the spring of 1814.

The summer went by with a kind of sufferance. The French people, always easily elated and easily dispirited, began to recover from the shock, and to become indignant at the harsh terms which the allied powers had imposed upon them, and at the spectacle of a decrepit Bourbon on the throne. They soon began to recollect their idol, and to reässociate his name with the deeds and glory of France. As for Napoleon, he had quietly repaired to his nominal sovereignty of Elba. There he remained for ten months, watching from afar the course of events on the continent. He knew well that the whole fabric reared by the allies on the ruins of the Republican empire was a flimsy and artificial structure of no more actual solidity than a pagoda built of bamboo. Doubtless he expected the very thing which came to pass. The old Republicans of France laid a plot for the overthrow of Louis XVIII., and the recall of Bonaparte.

The commissioners at Paris, in 1814, had provided before their adjournment for a general congress to be held at Vienna, in the following October. When the time came, all the sovereigns of Europe either came in person to the conference, or sent ambassadors to represent them in the deliberations. A discussion was begun in the ancient and orthodox manner of the condition and prospects of the European kingdoms. The winter months wore away before the work was completed. At length, while the titled and untitled representatives of the past were still debating how the present might be undone and the future prevented, they were greeted with the astounding news that Napoleon had left Elba and gone to France. Such was, indeed, the case. On the 26th of February, 1815, he quitted the island and landed at Cannes. The intelligence created such a sensation throughout France as had never been known in her history. The old soldiers of the Republic and the Empire rose up on every hand to meet and follow him who had been their leader on a hundred fields of victory. His march towards Paris was an ever-swelling triumph. On the 5th of March, near Grenoble, he was joined by a large body of officers and soldiers who were stationed at that place. At Lyons, he was confronted by an army under command of Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans, who had been ordered to prevent the Emperor's further progress. The result was that the soldiers went over to his standard. Marshal Ney, who, with his usual impetuosity, had accepted the Restoration, who had been made a peer of France by Louis XVIII., and who had promised that monarch to put Napoleon in an iron cage and bring him up to Paris, went forth on his mission, and proceeded as far as Auxerre, where he heard of Bonaparte's reception at Lyons. At this, the marshal recaught his old enthusiasm, threw himself into the Emperor's arms, and followed him on the way to Paris.

On the 19th of the month, Napoleon reached Fontainebleau, and on the following day reëntered Paris. In the mean time the government of Louis XVIII. melted away like a shadow. Not a figment of the Restoration remained as a token of last year's revolution. Louis and his court fled to Belgium, and most of the nobility went back to their refuge in England. The whole machinery of

state was suddenly reversed by the tremendous hand which for nearly twenty years had been the stay and glory of France. Nothing could exceed the dispatch with which a new army was organized to beat back the hosts which already, under the Congress of Vienna, were on their way to the borders of France. While this work was progressing, the Emperor put forth a decree embodying "An Act additional to the Constitutions of the Empire," in which such liberal concessions were made that even extreme Republicans were



THE RETURN FROM ELBA.
Drawn by C. Delort.

satisfied. All the while he sought diligently, but vainly, to open negotiations with the allies. They had sworn in their wrath never again to treat with a Bonaparte. The fact was, that the banded sovereigns of Old Europe could not coëxist with Napoleon. One or the other must be crushed to the wall. The ideas which the two parties represented were irreconcilable. The imperial Republicanism personated in Bonaparte and flourishing in the wind of his sword must either triumph to the borders of continental Europe or perish miserably under the heel of the ancient Bourbonism.



NAPOLEON.
After the painting by E. Meissonier.

The period from the return of Napoleon to France and the battle of Waterloo is known as the Hundred Days. Up to the 1st of June the Emperor labored with astonishing energy to prepare an adequate resistance against the coming avalanche. The allies had now become desperate, and were making gigantic preparations to crush Napoleon and his dynasty into the very earth. By the first days of summer the north-eastern horizon of France was black with their coming. At this time, notwithstanding the long exhaustion which the French people had suffered, Bonaparte had succeeded in organizing and equipping an army of three hundred and sixty-seven thousand men. In this work the Empire was drained to the bottom. It was the last great call to arms, and age and youth together answered the summons. It was Napoleon's own judgment of the situation that if he could have had a few weeks longer to prepare for the defense, he would have placed around his beloved France "a wall of brass which no earthly power would have been able to break through." As it was, he was obliged to enter the arena before his preparations were complete; but he threw

himself into the final struggle with an audacity and courage never surpassed in the annals of war.

By this time it had become apparent from the position of the several armies that the decisive conflict would take place in Belgium. In that country, a junction was about to be effected between the allies under the Duke of Wellington and a powerful Prussian army under Marshal Blücher. Adopting his usual tactics, Napoleon made all haste to prevent the union of his enemies. He crossed the Belgian frontier on the 15th of June, with a hundred and twenty-four thousand men. On the following day he attacked and defeated Blücher at Ligny. At the same time he ordered Marshal Ney to attack the British at Quatre Bras; but the latter movement was unsuccessful, and on the morning of the 17th, Ney fell back and took up a position at the little village of WATERLOO, on the skirts of the forest of Soignes, eight miles south-east of Brussels. It had been already arranged by the allied commanders that in case Blücher should be defeated, he also should retreat to Waterloo to form a junction at that place with Wellington. Napoleon perceiving the plans of his enemies, ordered Marshal Grouchy with a division of thirty-four thousand men to follow up Blücher and prevent his junction with the English. Or should he fail in holding the Prussians in check, he should at any rate be near enough to unite his army with that of Napoleon as soon as Blücher could join Wellington. Having adopted this plan, Napoleon marched rapidly to Waterloo, where he hoped to attack and defeat Wellington before the arrival of the Prussians. But he failed to

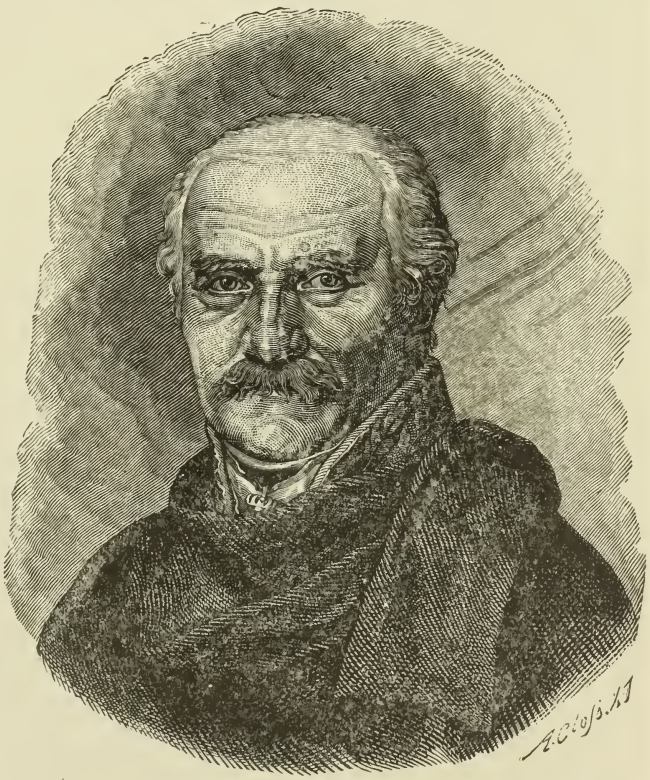


THE LAST CALL TO ARMS.
After the painting by F. Defregger.

reach the field on the evening of the 17th of June in time to give battle on that day, and the conflict was postponed till the morrow. During the night both armies lay in bivouac and awaited the coming of the dawn to decide the destinies of Europe.

Circumstances rather than design had determined that the battle should be fought at Waterloo. The morning of the 18th of June found the allied armies of England and the Netherlands occupying a semicircle of hills in front of the village. Their lines extended a mile and a half, and were concave towards the French. The latter occupied an opposite ridge at a distance of from five hundred to eight hundred yards. About half-way between the British center and the French position stood the stone château of Hougoumont, held by a strong force of English. In front of Wellington's left center were the hamlet of Mont Saint-Jean and the farm of La Haie Sainte, also held by the British. The French were drawn up in three lines on and parallel with the road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. On this road, at the farm of La Belle Alliance were the head-quarters of Napoleon, near the center of his position. The two armies were of about equal strength, numbering nearly eighty thousand on each side.

From noon of the 17th of June until the following morning there was a heavy rainfall—a circumstance exceedingly unfortunate to the French, to whom it was all important to fight Wellington before the coming of Blücher. Napoleon, however, had little anxiety on this score; for he was confident that Blücher would be held in check by Grouchy, and he therefore waited on the morning of the 18th until the sun and fresh wind should dry the ground. His plan of battle was to double back the allied left upon the center; but in order to conceal this intention, the first attack was made on Hougoumont at half-past eleven, in the forenoon. In this part of the field the wood was taken, but the stone château was held by the British. Shortly after noon the Prussian division under Bülow came upon the French right, and Napoleon was obliged to weaken his center in order to repel this advance. About the same time he changed his plan of battle and determined, if possible, to break Wellington's center. For this duty he ordered Marshal Ney to move against La Haie Sainte. That officer charged with his usual valor, and after a fierce assault, carried the British position. He was then checked in his further course by the English divisions under Picton and Ponsonby. In this part of the field there was terrible fighting, the line of battle surging back and forth until half-past three in the afternoon, when La Haie Sainte was still held by the French. Then there was a pause. Strenuous efforts were presently made to dislodge the British from Hougoumont, but they held the château to the last, in spite of the furious storm which was poured upon it by the howitzers of the French. Napoleon, in the mean time, had gone to the right to watch the movements of Bülow. While he was thus occupied, Wellington made an attempt to retake La Haie Sainte, but was repulsed by Ney. The latter then sent to Bonaparte for reïn-



BLÜCHER.

forcements, with a view to carrying a counter charge into the British center, breaking the enemy's lines and sweeping the field. Napoleon had already so weakened his reserves that the forces which he ordered to Ney's support were insufficient, and were indeed only intended by the Emperor to enable the Marshal to hold his position against the assaults of the British. A misunderstanding ensued, however, and Ney apprehending that the time for the decisive struggle had come, gave orders for the charge. "It is an hour too soon," said Napoleon, when he perceived the work which his impetuous general had begun. Nevertheless he sought to support Ney's movements, and it can hardly be doubted that could the latter have been immediately reïnforced by heavy masses of infantry, the British center, formed as it was of Wellington's famous squares, would have been utterly routed and swept from the field. As it was, the British lines wavered, staggered, clung desperately to the bloody earth, gave a little, then hung fast and could be moved no further. But Ney's charge was in a measure successful. Durutte in another part of the field drove the allies out of Papelotte, and Loban succeeded in routing Bülow from the village of Planchenois, on the right. At half-past four, every thing portended disaster to the allies and victory to the French.



BLUCHER ARRIVING ON THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.

To Wellington it appeared that the hour of fate had struck. "O, that night or Blücher would come!" said he as he saw his lines stagger and his squares quiver under the renewed assaults of the French. The uncertain factor in the conflict was Blücher and his forty thousand Prussians. If he should come

without Grouchy upon his rear then Napoleon would be defeated; but if Grouchy should hold him back or beat him to the field, then not only was the allied cause lost in this bloody work at Waterloo, but the old Bourbonism of Europe would be forever exploded and blown away in smoke. So for nearly two hours the battle hung in suspense. Not that the fighting ceased or was any less deadly; but the British hung to their position with a hope that was half despair, while the French batteries vomited upon them their terrible discharges, and desultory assaults in various parts of the field added to the horrid carnage. By five o'clock there were rumors of Blücher's coming. Soon afterwards bugles were heard far to the French right, and the noise of the approaching army became ominous in the distance. Was it Blücher or Grouchy?

It was Blücher. The Prussian banners shot up in the horizon. With Napoleon it was now or never. The hour of his destiny had come. His sun of Austerlitz hung low in the western sky. Could he break that British center? Should he not, he was hopelessly, irretrievably ruined. None knew it better than he. The fate of Imperial France, which he had builded with his genius and defended with his sword, hung trembling in the balance. He called out four battalions of his veterans, and then the Old Guard. More than a hundred times in the last fifteen years had that Guard been thrown upon the enemy and never yet repulsed. It deemed itself invincible. Would this hour add another to its long list of victorious charges? At a little after seven o'clock in the evening, just as the June sun was setting in the horizon of fated France, the bugle sounded, and the finest body of horsemen that ever careered over the field of battle started to meet its doom on the bristling squares of Wellington. Those grim and fearless horsemen went to their fate like heroes. The charge rolled on like an avalanche. It broke upon the squares. They reeled under the shock, then reformed and stood fast. Round and round those immovable lines the fierce soldiers of the Empire beat with unavailing courage. Then arose from the lips of those who witnessed the desperate struggle the fatal cry, *La Garde reculée, La Garde reculée!*

It was indeed true. The Old Guard was repulsed, broken, ruined. Vainly did Marshal Ney, glorious in his impetuous despair, attempt to stay the tide of destruction. Five horses had been shot under him. He was on foot with the common soldiers. His hat was gone. He was covered with dust and blood; but his grim face was set against the enemy, and with sword in hand he attempted to rally his shattered lines. The English, now inspirited by the hope of almost certain victory, threw forward their lines, and the Prussian army rushed in from the right. Napoleon threw a single regiment of the Guard into a square, and strove to rally the fugitives around this nucleus of resistance. He placed himself in the midst, and declared his purpose to make there an end by dying with the men who had so long formed the bulwark of his Empire. But Marshal Soult succeeded in hurrying him out of the *mêlée*, and the last square was left to perish alone. The allies bore down upon it, and numberless batteries were opened on this last heroic band of the defenders of the glory of France. There they stood. "Sur-



MARSHAL NEY.

render, brave Frenchmen!" cried an English officer, dashing up with a flag and struck with admiration at the dauntless lines which had planted themselves before the victorious allies for no other purpose than to reach a glorious death. "The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders," was the defiant answer. Then they raised the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, threw them-



LAST CHARGE OF THE OLD GUARD.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

selves with wild enthusiasm upon the advancing lines, and perished almost to a man. There, to-day, the traveler pauses where the Stone Lion is planted, and reflects with wonder that within the memory of men still living human nature could have been raised by the inspiration of battle to such a tremendous exhibition of heroism as that which was in this spot displayed by the Old Guard of Napoleon in the hour of its annihilation.

"All is lost," said the sullen Bonaparte, as he left the field and started to Paris. His prescience divined too well the uselessness of a further struggle. Again he sought to secure for his son, the King of Rome, a recognition as sovereign of France. Neither the allies nor the French legislature would any longer concede any thing. He sought to open negotiations with the powers that had conquered him; but they would hear to nothing until "General Bonaparte" should be delivered into their hands.

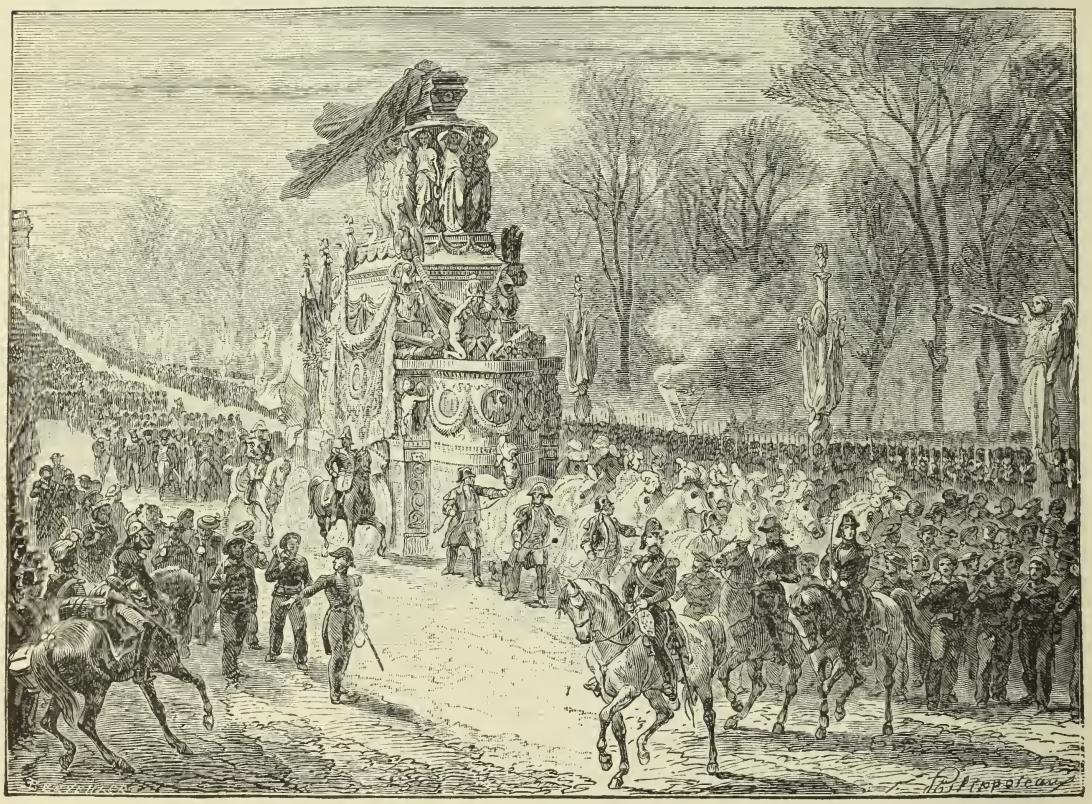
Napoleon was obliged a second time to sign an act of unconditional abdication, and to become a fugitive. He left Paris, and, on the 3d of July, reached Rochefort, on the western coast of France. It was his purpose to make his escape to the United States, and to this end he embarked on a small frigate bound for America. But it was impossible for him to get away. An English vessel lay outside ready to seize him as soon as he should leave the harbor. He then changed his plans, and determined to surrender himself to the British government. This was accordingly signified to the English officer, and he was taken on board and conveyed to Torbay, where he arrived on the 25th of July. Then followed long and heated discussions in the British Parliament and ministry as to what should be done with their prisoner. At last it was determined to carry him in banishment to the island of St. Helena, whither he was accordingly taken, and landed on the 16th of October, 1815. This for him was the last scene of that amazing drama of which he had been the principal actor. His residence was fixed at a place called Longwood, where he was allowed a certain degree of free-



NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

dom under the general surveillance of his British masters. He devoted himself to the work of dictating the memoirs of his wonderful career, sometimes apparently absorbed in his present task, sometimes living over again the scenes of the past, and still more frequently expressing his displeasure and sense of wrong at the restraints to which he was subjected. For five and a half years he thus remained at Longwood. Then his health gave way under the ravages of an ulcer in the stomach, and, on the 5th of May, 1821, he died during the prevalence of the most terrible storm which had ever been known in the island. He was buried under the willows near a fountain in Slane's valley, where his body remained until 1840, when it was conveyed to France, received with the utmost pomp and pageant in Paris, and, on the 15th of December in that year, deposited beneath a splendid monument in the Hôtel des Invalides.—Such was the end of the most remarkable character of modern history.

The other great men who had been associated with Napoleon met various fates. Murat, the king of Naples, who had abandoned the cause of his brother-in-law, distrusted the sincerity of the allies as expressed in the Treaty of Paris, and in 1815 took up arms against Austria. He seized Rome, and threw forward an army as far as the river Po. On the 2d and 3d of May, he was met by the Austrians, and utterly routed in the battle of Tolentino. Giving up all for lost, he fled to Naples, thence to France, and thence to Corsica. The exiled Ferdinand returned and took possession of the throne. Murat, as if to play the Napoleon on a smaller scale, made his way back to Italy, and in the following October began an invasion of Calabria. A battle ensued, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Murat himself was taken, tried by a court-martial, and executed on the 14th of October, 1815.



FUNERAL CORTEGE OF NAPOLEON.

After the battle of Waterloo, the heroic Marshal Ney returned to Paris, entered the chamber of peers, and urged the necessity of saving the country by immediate negotiations. His course was conciliatory, and if the gov-

ernment had been magnanimous, the impulsive hero would have been spared. But on the 24th of July a decree of proscription was issued against him, and he was constrained to save himself by flight. Attempting to escape from the country he was seized at Auvergne, brought back to Paris, tried, and condemned to death. On the morning of the 7th of December he was led out to the end of the garden of the Luxembourg, where, placed before a file of soldiers, he faced them without a tremor. He placed his hand upon his heart, *Vive la France!* he cried in a clear, ringing tone, and then added: "Fellow-soldiers, fire *here!*" The volley was discharged, and the hero lay dead before his comrades.

Immediately after the battle of Waterloo the allies marched on Paris. On the 6th of July, 1815, they reëntered the city, and two days afterwards Louis XVIII. was reseated on the throne. The Past had now come to stay. The reäction had set in in earnest. The Republican Empire was down. The Congress of Vienna had completed its work on the 11th of June; and something, called peace, was now restored on nearly the same basis as had been agreed upon at the Treaty of Paris in the preceding year. France was curtailed of most of her disputed territories on the side of Germany and the Netherlands. It was stipulated that the line of fortresses reaching from Cambray to Alsace should be occupied by allied garrisons for the space of five years, to the end that any further disturbance in France might be immediately quelled. The expense of this occupation was to be taxed to the French government, which was also obliged to pay an indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs to meet the expenses of the allied powers in the Hundred Days' war. The French were further compelled to restore to the galleries of Italy and Germany those treasures of art which Napoleon had brought to Paris. Such were the general provisions of the settlement which was concluded and signed at Paris on the 20th of November, 1815.



CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

It might be appropriate in this connection to pause and consider briefly the general results of the great revolutionary movement with which Europe was convulsed at the beginning of the present century. The leading fact which arose out of the convulsions of this epoch was the transformation of society, first in France and afterwards in the greater part of Europe. This movement went on most rapidly during the French Revolution from 1789 to 1795. Then came the ascendency of Napoleon. Civilization was greatly the gainer by his appearance. True, his ambition made him a tyrant, but his genius made him a reformer. The nascent institutions of the fiery Revolution and the young Republic became organic under his powerful hand. He was a representative of the future rather than of the past; and the future was defeated and the engines of civilization for the time reversed on the field of Waterloo. Let us then return for a brief space to the annals of our own country and sketch the principal events in the history of the United States during the period covered by the French Revolution, the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire.

CHAPTER CXXI.—AMERICAN EVENTS: WAR OF 1812.

THE New Government for the United States of North America, so painfully elaborated in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, went into operation on the 30th of April, 1789. On that day the great Washington stood up on the balcony of the Old City Hall, in New York, and took the oath of office as first President of the new Republic. By the Federalists the event was hailed with delight, and by the anti-Federalists was accepted as a necessity. The day was appropriately celebrated in New York, which had been selected as the present seat of government. The streets and house-tops were thronged with people; flags fluttered; cannon boomed from the Battery. As soon as the public ceremony was ended, Washington retired to the Senate chamber and delivered his inaugural address. The organization of the two houses of Congress had already been effected.

Many were the embarrassments and difficulties of the new situation. The opponents of the Constitution were not yet silenced, and from the beginning they caviled at the measures of the administration. By the treaty of 1783 the free navigation of the Mississippi had been guaranteed. Now the jealous Spaniards of New Orleans hindered the passage of American ships. The people of the West looked to the great river as the natural outlet of their commerce; they must be protected in their rights. On many parts of the frontier the malignant Red men were still at war with the settlers. As to financial credit, the United States had none. In the very beginning of his arduous duties Washington was prostrated with sickness, and the business of government was for many weeks delayed.

Not until September were the first important measures adopted. On the 10th of that month an act was passed by Congress instituting a department of foreign affairs, a treasury department, and a department of war. As members of his cabinet Washington nominated Jefferson, Knox, and Hamilton; the first as secretary of foreign affairs; the second, of war; and the third, of the treasury. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, a supreme court was also organized, John Jay receiving the appointment of first chief-justice. With him were joined as associate justices John Rutledge, of South Carolina; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; John Blair, of Virginia; and James Iredell, of North Carolina. Edmund Randolph was chosen attorney-general. Many constitutional amendments were now brought forward, and ten of them adopted.

The national debt was the greatest and most threatening question with which the new government had to deal; but the genius of Hamilton triumphed over every difficulty. The indebtedness of the United States, in-

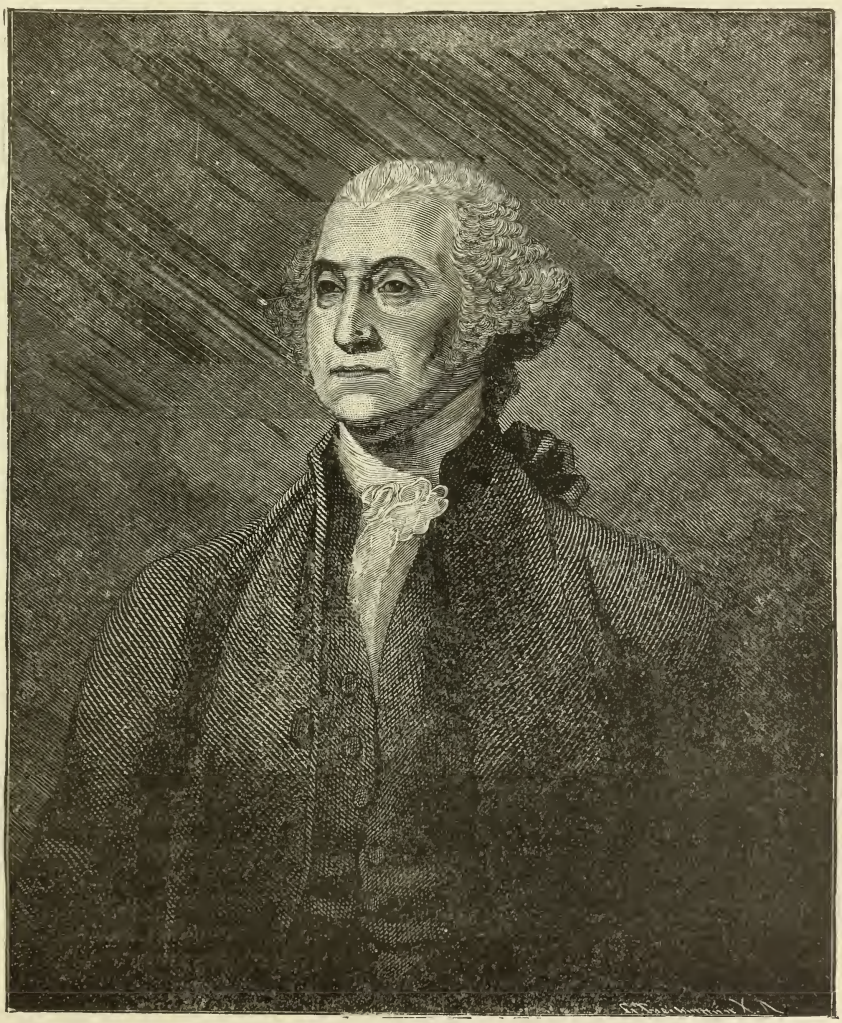

ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ASIA
ALASKA
THE UNITED STATES
DOMINION OF CANADA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
NORTH WEST TERRITORY
KEEWAYDIN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NOVA SCOTIA
NEWFOUNDLAND
GREENLAND
ICELAND
BAFFIN LAND
BAFFIN BAY
HUDSON BAY
HUDSON STRAIT
DAVIS STRAIT
LABRADOR
C. Bismarck
King William Ld.
C. Brittania
Francis Joseph Fd.
Liverpool L.
Scoresby Ld.
Reikiavik
Mt. Hecla
C. Columbia
Disraeli B.
Markham 1876
Tyson Ch.
Newman Bay
Hall Ld.
Polaris B.
C. Alfred Ernest
Grant Ld.
Lady Franklin Sd.
Grinnell Ld.
Kane Sea
Washington Ld.
Peabody B.
Prudhoe Ld.
Ellesmere Ld.
North Lincoln
C. Parry
C. York
Melville B.
Upernavik
C. Dan
Jacobshavn
Omenak Fd.
Waigat Str.
Disko I.
Disko B.
Holsteinborg
C. Farewell
C. Desolation
Julianshaab
Frigriolsthal
Lichtenfels
Frederikshaab
C. Walsingham
C. Hooper
Home B.
C. Horsburgh
N. Devon
Jones Sd.
Coburg I.
C. Liverpool
Ponds B.
Lancaster Sound
Barrow Str.
Melville Sd.
Cornwallis I.
Melville I.
Eglinton I.
Banks Str.
Pr. Alfred C.
Pr. Patrick I.
Parry Is.
Prince of Wales Ld.
Nth. Somerset
Pr. of Wales Ld.
Bellot Str.
Boothia Land
Boothia
Gulf of Boothia
Cockburn Island
Baffin Land
Pr. Albert Land
Victoria Land
Wollaston Land
Pr. Albert Sd.
Dolphin & Union Str.
Coronation Gulf
Victoria Str.
Simpson Str.
Wm. Ld.
Melville Pen.
Committee B.
Fox Channel
Fox L.
Kennedy Channel
Cumberland Sd.
Frobisher B.
Resolution I.
C. Chidley
Hudson Strait
Southampton I.
Charles I.
Akpatok I.
Mansell I.
C. Wolstenholme
Hebron
Okkak I.
Unyava Bay
Hopedale
Inuktoke Inlet
Quebec to Liverpool Miles
C. Charles
Bella I.
Notre Dame B.
Trinity B.
Conception B.
St. Johns
C. Race
NEWFOUNDLAND
Cape Breton
Fortune B.
Sydney
Pictou
Liverpool 2460 Miles
Liverpool 3100 Miles
Halifax
C. Sable
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Str. of Belle Isle
Anticosti
Bathurst
New Brunswick
St. Edward
Fredericton
Quebec
Three Rivers
Montreal
Ottawa
Saguenay
St. John R.
Grand L.
Abittibbe Ho.
Albany Ft.
Albany R.
Moose Ft.
Moose R.
Brunswick Ho.
James Bay
E. Main Factory
Rupert Ha.
Mistassinie L.
Hannah Bay Ho.
Whale R. Ho.
Lit. Whale R.
Gt. Whale R.
C. Henrietta Maria
Ft. Severn
York Ft.
Churchill Ft.
Port Nelson
Churchill R.
Nelson R.
Nelson Ho.
Severn R.
Deer L.
English R.
Buttons B.
C. Churchill
Northlined L.
Marble I.
C. Southampton
Mosquito B.
Repulse Bay
Clear Water L.
Petchekapau R.
Conigapiscau R.
Lit. Whale R.
Ft. Chimpewyan
Ft. Fond du Lac
Ft. Reliance
GT. SLAVE L.
Ft. Resolution
Ft. Providence
Ft. Simpson
Ft. Liard
Ft. Halkett
Ft. Norman
Ft. Franklin
Ft. Good Hope
GRT. BEAR LAKE
L. Garry
Back R.
Petly L.
Gt. Fish R.
Wager R.
Chesterfield Inlet
Aylmer L.
Doobaunt L.
Petly R.
Mackenzie R.
Rae Isthmus
Rae Wellcome
Mt. St. Elias
Mt. Fairweather
Cross Sd.
Chilcagos I.
Sitka Arch.
New Archangel
Baranow I.
Pr. of Wales I.
Dixon Entrance
Queen Charlotte Is.
Qn. Charlotte Sound
C. Scott
Vancouver I.
Juan de Fuca Str.
Victoria
C. Flattery
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Baker
Mt. Brown
Mt. Hooker
Acton
Cumberland Ho.
Ft. George
Carlton Ho.
Norway Ho.
L. WINNIPEG
Berens R.
Ft. Pelly
Assiniboine R.
Winnipeg
Osnaburgh Ho.
Kewayden L. of the Woods
Rainy L.
Mouse R.
Milk R.
Saskatchewan R.
Peace R.
Athabasca
L. Athabasca
L. Wollaston
Methy L.
Buffalo L.
Lesser Slave L.
La Crosse Ft.
Rocky Mt. Ho.
Ft. Chipewyan
Ft. Liard
Ft. Halkett
Ft. Simpson
Ft. Providence
Ft. Reliance
Ft. Resolution
Ft. Good Hope
Ft. Norman
Ft. Franklin
Ft. McPherson
Ft. Macleod
Ft. Colville
Ft. Walla Walla
Ft. Vancouver
Ft. Hall
Ft. Boise
Ft. Laramie
Ft. Union
Ft. Pierre
Ft. Garry
Ft. Abercrombie
Ft. Snelling
Ft. Dalles
Ft. Kearney
Ft. Leavenworth
Ft. Riley
Ft. Gibson
Ft. Towson
Ft. Jesup
Ft. Brown
Ft. Worth
Ft. Belknap
Ft. Phantom Hill
Ft. Chadbourne
Ft. Mason
Ft. Inge
Ft. Lincoln
Ft. Ripley
Ft. Atkinson
Ft. Crawford
Ft. Winnebago
Ft. Howard
Ft. Wayne
Ft. Dearborn
Ft. Gratiot
Ft. Mackinac
Ft. Brady
Ft. Niagara
Ft. Erie
Ft. Detroit
Ft. Stanwix
Ft. Oswego
Ft. Ontario
Ft. Covington
Ft. Hamilton
Ft. Columbus
Ft. Schuyler
Ft. Independence
Ft. Adams
Ft. Trumbull
Ft. Constitution
Ft. Sullivan
Ft. Preble
Ft. Knox
Ft. Kent
Ft. Fairfield
Ft. Sumter
Ft. Moultrie
Ft. Pulaski
Ft. Marion
Ft. Brooke
Ft. Jefferson
Ft. Pickens
Ft. Morgan
Ft. Gaines
Ft. Barrancas
Ft. Jackson
Ft. Wood
Ft. Livingston
Ft. Brazos
Ft. Duncan
Ft. Clark


MAP XXI.
NORTH AMERICA
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800
Longitude West
of Greenwich
120
110
100
90
80
30
20
10
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
WEST INDIES
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
Fisk & See, N.Y.

cluding the revolutionary expenses of the several States, amounted to nearly eighty millions of dollars. Hamilton adopted a broad and honest policy. His plan, which was laid before Congress at the beginning of the second session, proposed that the debt of the United States due to American citizens, as well as the war debt of the individual States, should be assumed by the general government, *and that all should be fully paid.* By this measure the credit of the country was vastly improved, even before actual payment was begun.

The proposition to assume the debts of the States had been coupled with another to fix the seat of government. After much discussion it was agreed to establish the capital for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterward at some suitable locality on the Potomac. The next important measure was the organization of the territory south-west of the Ohio. In the autumn of 1790 a war broke out with the Miami Indians. These tribes went to war to recover the lands which they had ceded to the United States. In September General Harmar, with fourteen hundred men, marched from Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati, to the River Maumee. On the 21st of October the army was defeated with great loss by the Miamis at a ford of this stream, and General Harmar retreated to Fort Washington.

In 1791 the Bank of the United States was established by an act of Congress. On the 4th of March Vermont, which had been an independent territory since 1777, was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth State. The claim of New York to the province had been purchased in 1789 for thirty thousand dollars. The census of the United States for 1790 showed a population of three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand.



WASHINGTON.

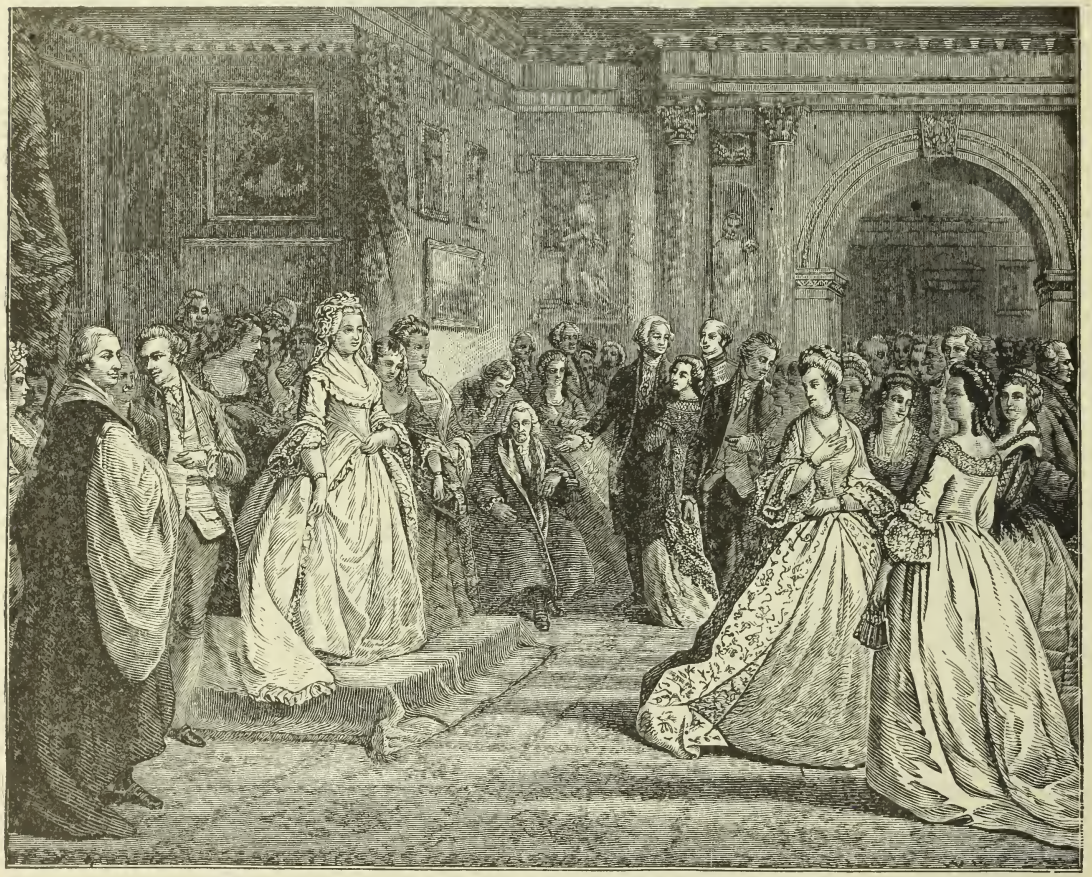
Reduced fac-simile after the copperplate engraving of James Heath. Original painting, 1795, by Gilbert Charles Stuart.

After the defeat of Harmar, General Arthur St. Clair, with two thousand men, set out from Fort Washington to break the power of the Miamis. On the 4th of November he was attacked in the south-west angle of Mercer County, Ohio, by more than two thousand

warriors, led by Little Turtle and several American renegades. After a terrible battle St. Clair was completely defeated, with a loss of half his men. The fugitives retreated precipitately to Fort Washington. The news of the disaster spread sorrow throughout the land. St. Clair was superseded by General Wayne, whom the people had named Mad Anthony, and who, after a vigorous campaign, succeeded in crushing the Indian confederation and restoring peace throughout the North-west.

At the presidential election of 1792 Washington was again unanimously chosen; as Vice-president, John Adams was reëlected. The second administration was greatly troubled in its relations with foreign governments. Citizen Genet, who was sent by the French Republic as minister to the United States, arrived at Charleston, and was greeted with great enthusiasm. Taking advantage of his popularity, the ambassador fitted out privateers to prey on the commerce of Great Britain, and planned an expedition against Louisiana. When Washington refused to enter into an alliance with France, the minister threatened *to appeal to the people*. But Washington stood unmoved, and demanded the minister's recall. The authorities of France heeded the demand, and the rash Genet was superseded by M. Fouchet.

In 1793 George III. issued instructions to British privateers to seize all neutral vessels found trading in the French West Indies. The United States had no notification of this measure, and American commerce, to the value of many millions of dollars, was swept from the sea. Chief Justice Jay was sent as envoy to demand redress of the British government. Contrary to expectation, his mission was successful, and in November of 1794 an honorable treaty was concluded. It was specified in the treaty that Great Britain should make reparation for the injuries done,



LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION.

and surrender to the United States certain Western posts which until now had been held by England.

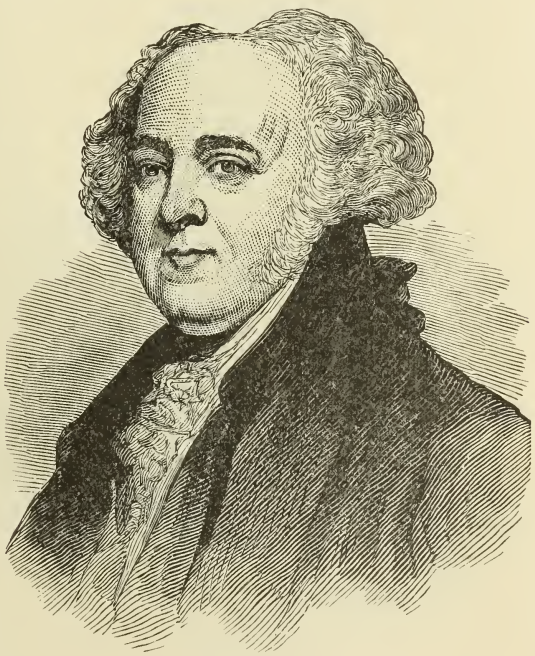
In 1795 the boundary between the United States and Louisiana was settled. Spain granted to the Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi. About this time a difficulty arose with the Dey of Algiers. For many years Algerine pirates had been preying upon the commerce of civilized nations. The Dey had agreed with these nations that his pirate ships should not attack their vessels if they would pay him an annual tribute. The Algerine sea-robbers were now turned loose on American commerce, and the government of the United States was also obliged to purchase safety by paying tribute.

Washington was solicited to become a candidate for a third election; but he would not. In September of 1796 he issued to the people of the United States his Farewell Address—a document full of wisdom and patriotism. The political parties at once put forward their candidates—John Adams as the choice of the Federal, and Thomas Jefferson of the anti-Federal party. The chief question between the parties was whether it was the true policy of the United States to enter into intimate relations with Republican France. The anti-Federalists said, *Yes!* The Federalists said *No!* On that issue Mr. Adams was elected, but Mr. Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, became Vice-president; for according to the old provision of the Constitution of the United States, the person who stood second on the list became the second officer in the government.

On the 4th of March, 1797, President Adams was inaugurated. From the beginning, his administration was embarrassed by political opposition. Adet, the French minister, urged the government to conclude a league with France against Great Britain; and when the President and Congress refused, the French Directory began *to demand* an alliance. On the 10th of March, that body issued instructions to French men-of-war to assail the commerce of the United States; and Mr. Pinckney, the American minister at Paris, was ordered to leave the country.

These proceedings were equivalent to a declaration of war. The President convened Congress in extraordinary session. Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall were directed to join Mr. Pinckney abroad in a final effort for a peaceable adjustment of the difficulties. But the Directory refused to receive the ambassadors except upon condition that they would pay into the French treasury a quarter of a million of dollars. Pinckney answered that the United States had *millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute.* The American envoys were thereupon ordered to leave the country.

In the following year an act was passed by Congress completing the organization of the



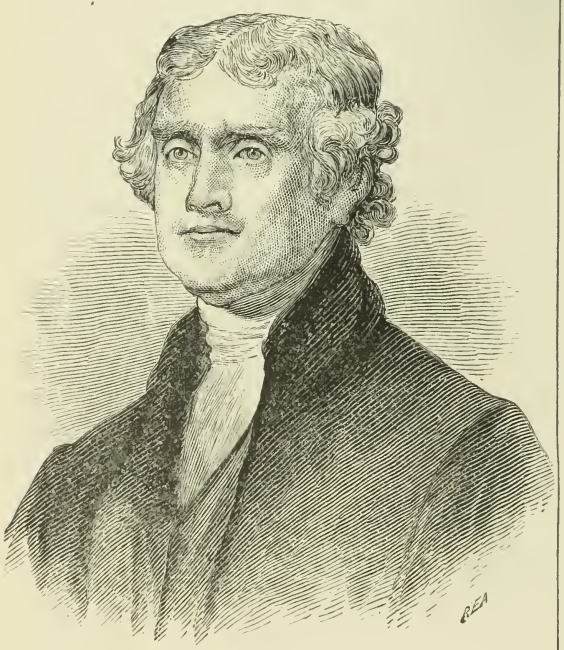
JOHN ADAMS.

army. Washington was called from his retirement and appointed commander-in-chief. Alexander Hamilton was chosen first major-general. A navy of six frigates had been provided for at the session of the previous year, and a national loan had been authorized. The treaties with France were declared void, and vigorous preparations were made for war. The American frigates put to sea, and, in the fall of 1799, did good service for the country. Commodore Truxtun, in the *Constellation*, won distinguished honors. On the 9th of February, while cruising in the West Indies, he attacked the *Insurgent*, a French man-of-war, carrying forty guns and

more than four hundred seamen. A desperate engagement ensued, and Truxtun gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile Napoleon Bonaparte, as already narrated, overthrew the Directory of France, and made himself first consul. He immediately sought peace with the United States. Three American ambassadors—Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie—were sent to Paris in March of 1800. Negotiations were at once opened, and, in the following September, were successfully terminated with a treaty of peace.

Before the war-cloud was scattered, America was called to mourn the loss of Washington. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of only a day, the chieftain passed from among the living. All hearts were touched with sorrow. Congress went in funeral procession to the German Lutheran church, where General Henry Lee delivered a touching and eloquent oration. Throughout the world the memory of the great dead was honored with appropriate ceremonies. To the legions of France, Napoleon announced the event in a beautiful tribute of praise. The voice of partisan malignity, that had not hesitated to assail even the name of Washington, was hushed into silence; and all mankind agreed with Lord Byron in declaring the illustrious dead to have been among warriors, statesmen, and patriots



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"——The first, the last, the best,
THE CINCINNATUS OF THE WEST."

The administration of Adams and the eighteenth century drew to a close together. The new Republic was growing strong and influential. The census of 1800 showed that the population of the country had increased to over five millions. The seventy-five post-offices reported by the census of 1790 had been multiplied to nine hundred and three; the exports of the United States had grown from twenty millions to nearly seventy-one millions of dollars. In December of 1800 Congress assembled in the new capital, Washington City. Virginia and Maryland had ceded to the United States the District of Columbia, a tract ten miles square lying on both sides of the Potomac. The city was laid out in 1792; and in 1800 the population numbered between eight and nine thousand.

With prudent management the Federal party might have retained control of the government. But much of the legislation of Congress had been unwise and unpopular. The "Alien Law," by which the President was authorized to send foreigners out of the country, was specially odious. The "Sedition Law," which punished with fine and imprisonment the freedom of speech and of the press, was denounced as an act of tyranny. Partisan excitement ran high. President Adams and Mr. Charles C. Pinckney were put forward as the candidates of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr of the Democrats. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and the choice of that body fell on Jefferson and Burr.

At the beginning of his administration the new President transferred the chief offices of the government to members of the Democratic party. Such action was justified by the adherents of the Democracy on the ground that the affairs of a republic will be best administered when the officers hold the same political sentiments. One of the first acts of Congress was to abolish the system of internal revenues. The unpopular laws against foreigners and the freedom of the press were also repealed.

In the year 1800 a line was drawn through

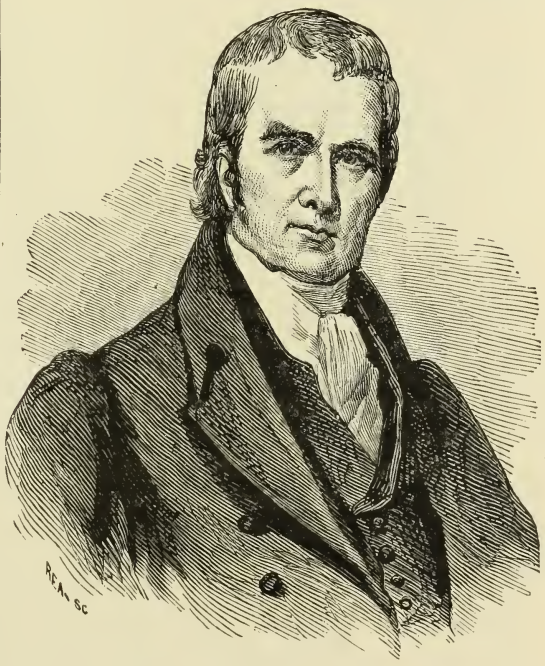
the North-west Territory from the mouth of the Great Miami River through Fort Recovery to Canada. Two years afterwards the country east of this line was erected into the State of Ohio, and in 1803 was admitted into the Union. The portion west of the line was organized under the name of INDIANA TERRITORY. Vincennes was the capital; and General William Henry Harrison was appointed governor. About the same time MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY was organized.

More important still was the purchase of Louisiana. In 1800 Napoleon had compelled Spain to make a cession of this territory to France. He then prepared to send an army to New Orleans to establish his authority. But the United States remonstrated against such a proceeding; and Bonaparte authorized his minister to dispose of Louisiana by sale. The President appointed Mr. Livingston and James Monroe to negotiate the purchase. On the 30th of April, 1803, terms were agreed on; and for the sum of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars Louisiana was ceded to the United States. It was also agreed that the United States should pay certain debts due from France to American citizens—the sum not to exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus did the vast domain west of the Mississippi pass under the dominion of the United States.[1]

Out of the southern portion of the great province the TERRITORY OF ORLEANS was organized, with the same limits as the present State of Louisiana; the rest continued to be called THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA. Very justly did Mr. Livingston say to the French minister as they arose from signing the treaty: "This is the noblest work of our lives."

In 1801 John Marshall became chief-justice of the United States. In the colonial times the English constitution and common law had prevailed in America. When the new Republic was organized, it became necessary to modify the principles of law and to adapt them to the altered form of government. This great work was accomplished by Chief-justice Marshall, whose penetrating mind and thorough republicanism well-fitted him for the task.

The Mediterranean pirates still annoyed American merchantmen. The emperors of Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli became especially troublesome. In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent to the Mediterrancan to protect American commerce and punish the pirates. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, sailed directly to Tripoli. When nearing his destination, Bainbridge



JOHN MARSHALL.

gave chase to a buccaneer, which fled for safety to the harbor. The *Philadelphia*, in close pursuit, ran upon a reef of rocks near the shore, and was captured by the Tripolitans. The officers were treated with some respect, but the crew were enslaved. In the following February, Captain Decatur sailed to Tripoli in a Moorish ship, called the *Intrepid*. At nightfall Decatur steered into the harbor, slipped alongside of the *Philadelphia*, sprang on deck with his daring band, and killed or drove overboard every Moor on the vessel. In a moment the frigate was fired; Decatur and his crew escaped to the *Intrepid* without the loss of a man.

[1] Bonaparte accepted in payment six per cent bonds of the United States, payable fifteen years after date. He also agreed not to sell the bonds at such a price as would degrade the credit of the American government.

In July of 1804, Commodore Preble arrived at Tripoli and began a siege. The town was bombarded, and several Moorish vessels were destroyed. In the mean time William Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, had organized a force, and was marching overland to Tripoli. Hamet, who was the rightful sovereign of Tripoli, was coöperating with Eaton in an effort to recover his kingdom. Yusef, the Tripolitan Emperor, alarmed at the dangers around him, made overtures for peace. His offers were accepted by Mr. Lear, the American consul for the Barbary States; and a treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1805.

In the preceding year the country was shocked by the intelligence that Vice-president Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel. As his term of office drew to a close the ambitious and unscrupulous Burr foresaw that he would not be renominated. In 1803 he became a candidate for governor of New York; but Hamilton's influence in that State prevented his election. Burr thereupon sought a quarrel with Hamilton; challenged him; met him at Weehawken on the morning of the 11th of July, and deliberately murdered him. Thus the brightest intellect in America was put out in darkness.

In the autumn of 1804 Jefferson was reëlected. For Vice-president George Clinton, of New York, was chosen in place of Burr, whose reputation was ruined. In the next year a part of the North-western Territory was organized under the name of MICHIGAN. In the same spring Captains Lewis and Clarke set out from the falls of the Missouri River, with thirty-five soldiers and hunters, to explore Oregon. For two years, through forests of gigantic pines and along the banks of unknown rivers, did they continue their explorations. After wandering among unheard-of tribes of savages, and traversing a route of six thousand miles, the adventurers, with the loss of but one man, returned to civilization, bringing with them the first authentic information which the people had obtained of the vast regions between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

After the death of Hamilton, Burr fled to the South. At the opening of the next session of Congress he returned to preside over the Senate. Then he took up his residence with an Irish exile named Blannerhassett, who had built a mansion on an island in the Ohio, near the mouth of the River Muskingum. Here Burr made a treasonable scheme to raise a military force, invade Mexico, detach the South-western States from the Union, and overthrow the government of the United States. But his purposes were suspected. The military preparations at Blannerhassett's Island were broken up. Burr was arrested in Alabama and taken to Richmond to be tried for treason. Chief-justice Marshall presided at the trial, and Burr conducted his own defense. The verdict was, "Not guilty—*for want of sufficient proof.*" Burr afterwards practiced law in New York, lived to old age, and died in poverty and disgrace.

During Jefferson's second term the country was much agitated by the aggressions of the British navy. England and France were now engaged in deadly war. The British authorities struck blow after blow against the trade between France and foreign nations; and Napoleon retaliated. The plan adopted by the two powers was, as already narrated, to blockade each other's ports, either with paper proclamations or with men-of-war. By such means the commerce of the United States was greatly injured. Great Britain next set up her peculiar claim of citizenship, that whoever is born in England remains through life a subject of England. English cruisers were authorized to search American vessels for persons suspected of being British subjects, and those who were taken were impressed as seamen in the English navy.

On the 22d of June, 1807, the frigate *Chesapeake* was hailed near Fortress Monroe by a British man-of-war called the *Leopard*. British officers came on board and demanded *to search the vessel for deserters*. The demand was refused and the ship cleared for action. But before the guns could be charged the *Leopard* poured in a destructive fire, and compelled a surrender. Four men were taken from the captured ship, three of whom proved to be American citizens. Great Britain disavowed this outrage and promised reparation; but the promise was never fulfilled.

The President soon afterwards issued a

proclamation forbidding British ships of war to enter American harbors. On the 21st of December Congress passed the EMBARGO ACT, by which all American vessels were detained in the ports of the United States. The object was to cut off commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain. But the measure was of little avail, and after fourteen months the Embargo Act was repealed. Meanwhile, in November of 1808, the British government, as previously narrated, published an "Order in Council," prohibiting *all* trade with France and her allies. Thereupon Napoleon issued the "Milan Decree," forbidding all trade with England and her colonies. By these outrages the commerce of the United States was well-nigh destroyed.

While the country was thus distracted Robert Fulton was building THE FIRST STEAMBOAT. This event exercised a vast influence on the future development of the nation. It was of great importance to the people of the inland States that their rivers should be enlivened with rapid navigation. This, without the application of steam, was impossible. Fulton was an Irishman by descent and a Pennsylvanian by birth. His education in boyhood was imperfect, but was afterwards improved by study at London and Paris. Returning to New York, he began the construction of a steamboat. When the ungainly craft was completed, Fulton invited his friends to go on board and enjoy a trip to Albany. On the 2d of September, 1807, the crowds gathered on the shore. The word was given, and the boat did not move. Fulton went below. Again the word was given, and *the boat moved*. On the next day the company reached Albany, and for many years this first rude steamer, called the *Clermont*, continued to ply the Hudson.

Jefferson's administration drew to a close. The territorial area of the United States had been vastly extended. Burr's wicked conspiracy had come to naught. Pioneers were pouring into the valley of the Mississippi. The woods by the river-shores resounded with the cry of steam. But the foreign relations of the United States were troubled. Jefferson declined a third election, and was succeeded by James Madison, of Virginia. For Vice-president, George Clinton was reëlected.

The new President had been a member of the Continental Congress, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and secretary of state under Jefferson. He owed his election to the Democratic party, whose sympathy with France and hostility to Great Britain were well known. On the 1st of March, the Embargo Act was repealed by Congress, and another measure adopted by which American ships were allowed to go abroad, but were forbidden to trade with Great Britain.[1] Mr. Erskine, the British minister, now gave notice that, by the 10th of June, the "Orders in Council," so far as



ROBERT FULTON.

they affected the United States, should be repealed.

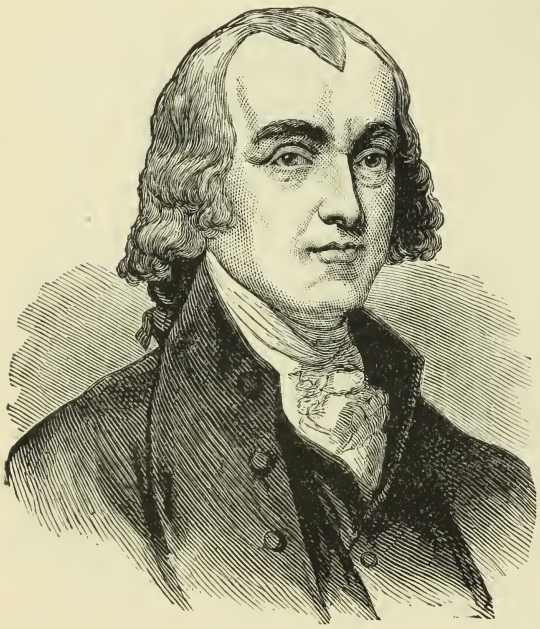
In the following spring Bonaparte issued his decree for the seizure of all American vessels that might approach the ports of France. But in November the decree was reversed, and all restrictions on the commerce of the United States were removed. But the government of Great Britain adhered to its former measures, and sent ships of war to enforce the "Orders in Council."

The affairs of the two nations were fast ap-

[1] The Embargo Act had been the subject of much ridicule. The opponents of the measure, spelling the word backward, called it the *O Grab me* act.

proaching a crisis. The government of the United States had fallen completely under control of the party which sympathized with France. The American people, smarting under the insults of Great Britain, had adopted the motto of FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS, and had made up their minds to fight. The elections held between 1808 and 1811 showed the drift of public opinion; the sentiment of the country was that war was preferable to national disgrace.

In the spring of 1810 the third census of the United States was completed. The population had increased to seven million two hun-



JAMES MADISON.

dred and forty thousand souls. The States now numbered seventeen; and several new Territories were preparing for admission into the Union.[1] The rapid march of civilization westward had aroused the jealousy of the Red men, and Indiana Territory was afflicted with an Indian war. The hostile tribes were led by the great Shawnee chief, Tecumtha, and his brother, called the Prophet, who gathered their forces on the Tippecanoe, where General Harrison, in command of the Whites, had encamped. On the morning of the 7th of November, 1811, the savages, seven hundred strong, crept through the marshes, surrounded Harrison's position, and burst upon the camp. But the American militia fought in the darkness, held the Indians in check until daylight, and then routed them in several vigorous charges. On the next day the Americans burned the Prophet's town, and soon afterwards returned to Vincennes.

Meanwhile, Great Britain and the United States had come into conflict on the ocean. On the 16th of May, Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate *President*, hailed a vessel off the coast of Virginia. Instead of a polite answer, he received a cannon-ball in the mainmast. Rodgers responded with a broadside, silencing the enemy's guns. In the morning—for it was already dark—the hostile ship was found to be the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. This event produced great excitement throughout the country.

On the 4th of November, 1811, the twelfth Congress of the United States assembled. Many of the members still hoped for peace; and the winter passed without decisive measures. On the 4th of April, 1812, an act was passed laying an embargo for ninety days on all British vessels within the harbors of the United States. But Great Britain would not recede from her hostile attitude. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities, Louisiana, the eighteenth State, was, on the 8th of April, admitted into the Union. Her population had already reached seventy-seven thousand.

On the 19th of June, a declaration of war was issued against Great Britain. Vigorous preparations for the conflict were made by Congress. It was ordered to raise twenty-five thousand regular troops and fifty thousand volunteers. The several States were requested to call out a hundred thousand militia. A national loan of eleven million dollars was authorized. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was chosen commander-in-chief of the army.

The war was begun by General William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory. On the 1st of June, he marched from Dayton with fifteen hundred men. For a full month the army toiled through the forests to the western extremity of Lake Erie. Arriving at the Maumee, Hull sent his baggage to Detroit. But the British at Malden were on the alert, and captured Hull's boat with every

[1] Kentucky had been admitted in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

thing on board. Nevertheless, the Americans pressed on to Detroit, and on the 12th of July crossed the river to Sandwich.

Hull, hearing that Mackinaw had been taken by the British, soon returned to Detroit. From this place he sent Major Van Horne to meet Major Brush, who had reached the river Raisin with reïnforcements. But Tecumtha laid an ambush for Van Horne's forces, and defeated them near Brownstown. Colonel Miller, with another detachment, attacked and routed the savages with great loss, and then returned to Detroit.

General Brock, governor of Canada, now took command of the British at Malden. On the 16th of August he advanced to the siege of Detroit. The Americans in their trenches were eager for battle. When the British were within five hundred yards, Hull *hoisted a white flag over the fort.* Then followed a surrender, the most shameful in the history of the United States. All the forces under Hull's command became prisoners of war. The whole of Michigan Territory was surrendered to the British. Hull was afterwards court-martialed and sentenced to be shot; but the President pardoned him.

On the 19th of August, the frigate *Constitution,* commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, overtook the British *Guerriere* off the coast of Massachusetts. The vessels maneuvered for awhile, the *Constitution* closing with her antagonist, until at half-pistol shot she poured in a broadside, sweeping the decks of the *Guerriere* and deciding the contest. On the following morning, the *Guerriere,* being unmanageable, was blown up; and Hull returned to port with his prisoners and spoils.

On the 18th of October, the American *Wasp,* under Captain Jones, fell in with a fleet of British merchantmen off the coast of Virginia. The squadron was under protection of the *Frolic,* commanded by Captain Whinyates. A terrible engagement ensued, lasting for three-quarters of an hour. Finally the American crew boarded the *Frolic* and struck the British flag. Soon afterwards the *Poictiers,* a British seventy-four gun ship, bore down upon the scene, captured the *Wasp,* and retook the wreck of the *Frolic.*

On the 25th of the month Commodore Decatur, commanding the frigate *United States,* captured the British *Macedonian,* a short distance west of the Canary Islands. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded amounted to more than a hundred men. On the 12th of December the *Essex,* commanded by Captain Porter, captured the *Nocton,* a British packet, having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th of December the *Constitution,* under command of Commodore Bainbridge, met the *Java* on the coast of Brazil. A furious battle ensued, continuing for two hours. The *Java* was reduced to a wreck before the flag was struck. The crew and passengers, numbering upward of four hundred, were transferred to the *Constitution,* and the hull was burned at sea. The news of these victories roused the enthusiasm of the people to the highest pitch.

On the 13th of October a thousand men, commanded by General Stephen Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River to capture Queenstown. They were resisted at the water's edge; but the British batteries on the heights were finally carried. The enemy's forces, returning to the charge, were a second time repulsed. General Brock fell mortally wounded. The Americans intrenched themselves, and waited for reïnforcements. None came, and after losing a hundred and sixty men, they were then obliged to surrender. General Van Rensselaer resigned his command, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth.

The Americans now rallied at Black Rock, a few miles north of Buffalo. From this point, on the 28th of November, a company was sent across to the Canada shore; but General Smyth ordered the advance party to return. A few days afterwards another crossing was planned, but the Americans were again commanded to return to winter quarters. The militia became mutinous. Smyth was charged with cowardice and deposed from his command. In the autumn of 1812, Madison was reëlected President; the choice for Vice-president fell on Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.

In the beginning of 1813, the American army was organized in three divisions: THE ARMY OF THE NORTH, under General Wade Hampton; THE ARMY OF THE CENTER, under the commander-in-chief; THE ARMY OF THE

West, under General Winchester, who was soon superseded by General Harrison. Early in January the latter division moved towards Lake Erie to regain the ground lost by Hull. On the 10th of the month, the American advance reached the rapids of the Maumee, thirty miles from Winchester's camp. A detachment then pressed forward to Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, captured the town, and on the 20th of the month were joined by Winchester with the main division. Two days afterwards the Americans were assaulted by a thousand five hundred British and Indians under General Proctor. A severe battle was fought. General Winchester, having been taken by the enemy, advised his forces to capitulate. The American wounded *were left to the mercy of the savages*, who at once began and completed their work of butchery. The rest of the prisoners were dragged away, through untold sufferings, to Detroit, where they were afterwards ransomed.

General Harrison now built Fort Meigs, on the Maumee. Here he was besieged by two thousand British and savages, led by Proctor and Tecumtha. Meanwhile General Clay, with twelve hundred Kentuckians, advanced to the relief of the fort. In a few days the Indians deserted in large numbers, and Proctor, becoming alarmed, abandoned the siege and retreated to Malden. Late in July, Proctor and Tecumtha, with nearly four thousand men, again besieged Fort Meigs. Failing to draw out the garrison, the British general filed off with half his forces and attacked Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky. This place was defended by a hundred and sixty men, under Colonel Croghan, a stripling but twenty-one years of age. On the 2d of August, the British advanced to storm the fort. Having crowded into the trench, they were swept away almost to a man. The repulse was complete. Proctor now raised the siege at Fort Meigs and returned to Malden.

At this time Lake Erie was commanded by a British squadron of six vessels. The work of recovering these waters was intrusted to Commodore Oliver H. Perry. His antagonist, Commodore Barclay, was a veteran from Europe. With great energy Perry directed the construction of nine ships, and was soon afloat. On the 10th of September the two fleets met near Put-in Bay. The battle was begun by the American squadron, Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, leading the attack. His principal antagonist was the *Detroit*, under command of Barclay. The British guns had the wider range and were better served. In a short time the *Lawrence* was ruined, and Barclay's flag-ship was almost a wreck.

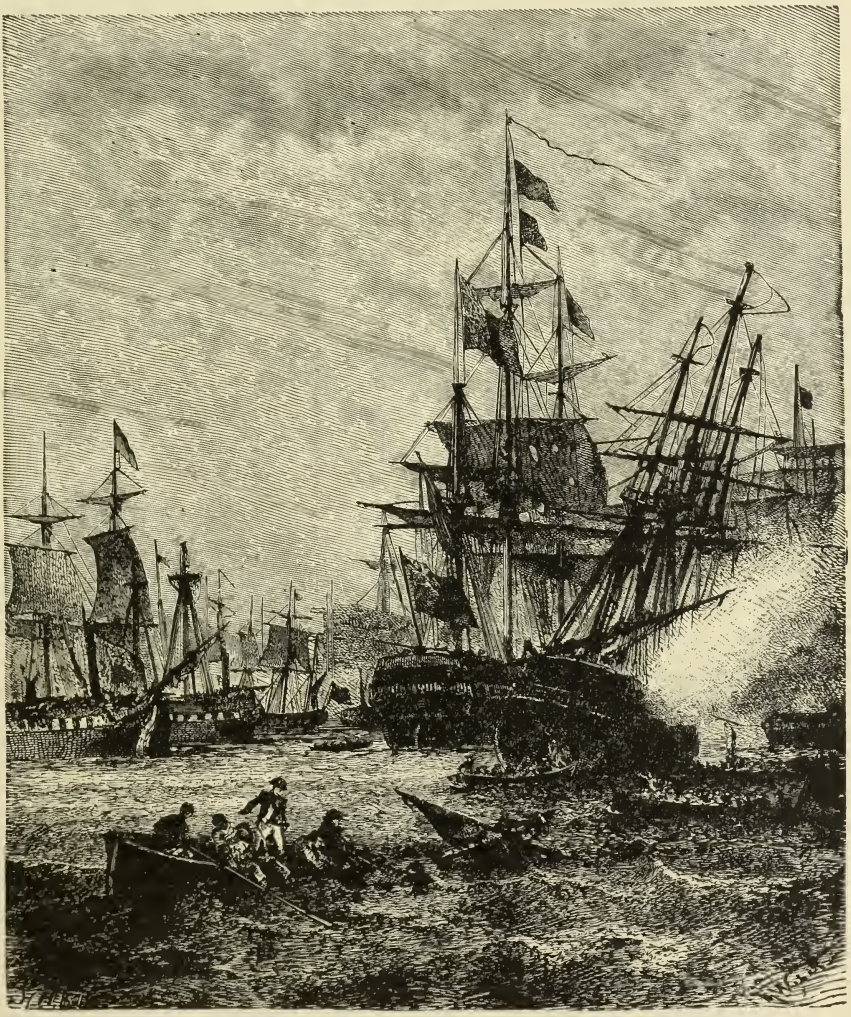
Perceiving how the battle stood, Perry seized his banner, got overboard into an open boat, and transferred his flag to the *Niagara*. With this powerful vessel he bore down upon the enemy's line, drove right through the midst, discharging terrible broadsides right and left. In fifteen minutes the British fleet was helpless. Perry returned to the hull of the *Lawrence*, and there received the surrender. And then he sent to General Harrison this dispatch: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

For the Americans the way was now opened to Canada. On the 27th of September Harrison's army was landed near Malden. The British retreated to the River Thames, and there faced about to fight. A battle-field was chosen extending from the river to a swamp. Here, on the 5th of October, the British were attacked by Generals Harrison and Shelby. In the beginning of the battle Proctor fled. The British regulars were broken by the Kentuckians under Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The Americans wheeled against the fifteen hundred Indians, who lay hidden in the swamp. Tecumtha had staked all on the issue. For awhile the war-whoop sounded above the din of the conflict. Presently his voice was heard no longer, for the great chieftain had fallen. The savages, appalled by the death of their leader, fled in despair. So ended the campaign in the West. All that Hull had lost was regained.

Meanwhile, the Creeks of Alabama had taken up arms. In the latter part of August Fort Mims, forty miles north of Mobile, was surprised by the savages, who murdered nearly four hundred people. The governors of Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi made immediate preparation for invading the country of the Creeks. The Tennesseeans, under General Jackson, were first to the res-

cue. Nine hundred men, led by General Coffee, reached the Indian town of Tallushatchee, burned it, and left not an Indian alive. On the 8th of November a battle was fought at Talladega, and the savages were defeated with severe losses. Another fight occurred at Autosse, on the Tallapoosa, and again the Indians were disastrously routed.

During the winter Jackson's troops became mutinous, and were going home. But the general set them the example of living on acorns, and threatened with death the first man who stirred from the ranks. And no man stirred. On the 22d of January, 1814, the battle of Emucfau was fought. The Tennesseeans again gained the victory. At Horseshoe Bend the Creeks made their final stand. On the 27th of March the whites, under General Jackson, stormed the breastworks and drove the Indians into the bend of the river. There, huddled together, a thousand Creek warriors, with the women and children of the tribe, met their doom. The nation was completely conquered.



PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE.

On the 25th of April, 1813, General Dearborn, commanding the Army of the Center, embarked his forces at Sackett's Harbor, and proceeded against Toronto. Here was the most important dépôt of supplies in British America. The American fleet, under Commodore Chauncey, had already obtained the mastery of Lake Ontario. On the 27th of the month seventeen hundred men, under General Pike, were landed near Toronto. The Americans drove the enemy from the water's edge, stormed a battery, and rushed forward to carry the main defenses. At that moment the British magazine blew up with terrific violence. Two hundred men were killed or wounded. General Pike was fatally injured; but the Americans continued the charge and drove the British out of the town. Property to the value of a half million dollars was secured to the victors.

While this movement was taking place, the enemy made a descent on Sackett's Harbor. But General Brown rallied the militia and drove back the assailants. The victorious

troops at Toronto reëmbarked and crossed the lake to the mouth of the Niagara. On the 27th of May the Americans, led by Generals Chandler and Winder, stormed Fort George. The British retreated to Burlington Bay at the western extremity of the lake.

After the battle of the Thames, General Harrison had transferred his forces to Buffalo, and then resigned his commission. General Dearborn also withdrew from the service, and was succeeded by General Wilkinson. The next campaign, planned by General Armstrong, embraced the conquest of Montreal. The Army of the Center was ordered to join the Army of the North on the St. Lawrence. On the 5th of November, seven thousand men, embarking twenty miles north of Sackett's Harbor, sailed against Montreal. Parties of British, Canadians, and Indians, gathering on the bank of the river, impeded the expedition. General Brown was landed with a considerable force to drive the enemy into the interior. On the 11th of the month a severe but indecisive battle was fought at a place called Chrysler's Field. The Americans passed down the river to St. Regis, where the forces of General Hampton were expected to form a junction with Wilkinson's command. But Hampton did not arrive; and the Americans went into winter quarters at Fort Covington. In the mean time, the British on the Niagara rallied and recaptured Fort George. Before retreating, General McClure, the commandant, burned the town of Newark. The British and Indians crossed the river, took Fort Niagara, and fired the villages of Youngstown, Lewiston, and Manchester. On the 30th of December, Black Rock and Buffalo were burned.

Off the coast of Demerara, on the 24th of February, 1813, the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*. A terrible battle of fifteen minutes ensued, and the *Peacock* struck her colors. While the Americans were transferring the conquered crew, the ocean yawned and the brig sank. Nine British sailors and three of Lawrence's men were sucked down in the whirlpool.

On returning to Boston, the command of the *Chesapeake* was given to Lawrence, and again he put to sea. He was soon challenged by Captain Broke, of the British *Shannon*, to fight him. Eastward from Cape Ann, the two vessels met on the 1st day of June. The battle was obstinate, brief, dreadful. In a short time every officer of the *Chesapeake* was either killed or wounded. Lawrence was struck with a musket-ball, and fell dying on the deck. As they bore him down the hatchway, he gave his last order—ever afterwards the motto of the American sailor—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!" The *Shannon* towed her prize into the harbor of Halifax. There the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow, second in command, were buried by the British.

On the 14th of August, the American brig *Argus* was overtaken by the *Pelican* and obliged to surrender. On the 5th of September, the British brig *Boxer* was captured by the American *Enterprise* off the coast of Maine. Captain Blyth, the British commander, and Burrows, the American captain, both of whom were killed in the battle, were buried side by side at Portland. On the 28th of the following March, while the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, was lying in the harbor of Valparaiso, she was attacked by two British vessels, the *Phœbe* and the *Cherub*. Captain Porter fought his antagonists until nearly all of his men were killed or wounded; then struck his colors and surrendered.

From honorable warfare the naval officers of England stooped to marauding. Early in the year, Lewiston was bombarded by a British squadron. Other British men-of-war entered the Chesapeake and burned several villages on the shores of the bay. At the town of Hampton the soldiers and marines perpetrated great outrages. Commodore Hardy, to whom the blockade of New England had been assigned, behaved with more humanity. Even the Americans praised him for his honorable conduct. So the year 1813 closed without decisive results.

In the spring of 1814, another invasion of Canada was planned; but there was much delay. Not until the 3d of July did Generals Scott and Ripley, with three thousand men, cross the Niagara and capture Fort Erie. On the following day, the Americans advanced in the direction of CHIPPEWA VILLAGE. Before reaching that place, however, they were met by the British, led by General Riall.

On the evening of the 5th, a severe battle was fought on the plain south of Chippewa River. The Americans, led on by Generals Scott and Ripley, won the day.

General Riall retreated to Burlington Heights. On the evening of the 25th of July, General Scott, commanding the American right, found himself confronted by Riall's army on the high grounds in sight of NIAGARA FALLS. Here was fought the hardest battle of the war. Scott held his own until reïnforced by other divisions of the army. The British reserves were brought into action. Twilight faded into darkness. A detachment of Americans, getting upon the British rear, captured General Riall and his staff. The key to the enemy's position was a high ground crowned with a battery. Calling Colonel James Miller to his side, General Brown said, "Colonel, take your regiment and storm that battery." "I'LL TRY, SIR," was Miller's answer; and he *did* take it, and held it against three assaults of the British. General Drummond was wounded, and the royal army, numbering five thousand, was driven from the field with a loss of more than eight hundred. The Americans lost an equal number.

After this battle of Niagara, or Lundy's Lane, the American forces fell back to Fort Erie. General Gaines crossed over from Buffalo and assumed command of the army. General Drummond received reïnforcements, and on the 4th of August invested Fort Erie. The siege continued until the 17th of September, when a sortie was made and the works of the British were carried. General Drummond then raised the siege and retreated to Fort George. On the 5th of November Fort Erie was destroyed by the Americans, who recrossed the Niagara and went into winter quarters at Black Rock and Buffalo.

The winter of 1813–14 was passed by the army of the North at Fort Covington. In the latter part of February General Wilkinson began an invasion of Canada. At La Colle, on the Sorel, he attacked the enemy and was defeated. Falling back to Plattsburg, he was superseded by General Izard. At this time the American fleet on Lake Champlain was commanded by Commodore MacDonough. The British General Prevost now advanced into New York at the head of fourteen thousand men, and ordered Commodore Downie to ascend the Sorel with his fleet.

The invading army reached PLATTSBURG. Commodore MacDonough's squadron lay in the bay. On the 6th of September, Macomb retired with his forces to the south bank of the Saranac. For four days the British renewed their efforts to cross the river. Downie's fleet was now ready for action, and a general battle was planned for the 11th. Prevost's army was to carry Macomb's position, while the British flotilla was to bear down on MacDonough. The naval battle began first, and was obstinately fought for two hours and a half. Downie and many of his officers were killed; the heavier British vessels were disabled and obliged to strike their colors. The smaller ships escaped. After a severe action, the British army on the shore was also defeated. Prevost retired precipitately to Canada and the English ministry began to devise measures of peace.

Late in the summer, Admiral Cochrane arrived off the coast of Virginia with an armament of twenty-one vessels. General Ross, with an army of four thousand veterans, came with the fleet. The American squadron, commanded by Commodore Barney, was unable to oppose so powerful a force. The enemy entered the Chesapeake with the purpose of attacking Washington and Baltimore. The larger division sailed into the Patuxent and on the 19th of August the forces of General Ross were landed at Benedict. Commodore Barney was obliged to blow up his vessels and take to the shore. From Benedict the British advanced against Washington. At Bladensburg six miles from the capital, they were met on the 24th of the month by the forces of Barney. Here a battle was fought. The militia behaved badly; Barney was defeated and taken prisoner. The President, the cabinet, and the people betook themselves to flight, and Ross marched unopposed into Washington. All the public buildings, except the Patent Office, were burned. The unfinished Capitol and the President's house were left a mass of ruins.

Five days afterward, a portion of the British fleet reached Alexandria. The inhabitants purchased the forbearance of the enemy by the surrender of twenty-one ships, sixteen thousand barrels of flour, and a thousand hogsheads of

tobacco. After the capture of Washington, General Ross proceeded with his army and fleet to Baltimore. The militia, to the number of ten thousand, gathered under command of General Samuel Smith. On the 12th of September, the British were landed at the mouth of the Patapsco; and the fleet began the ascent of the river. The land-forces were met by the Americans under General Stricker. A skirmish ensued, in which General Ross was killed; but Colonel Brooks assumed command, and the march was continued. Near the city, the British came upon the American lines and were brought to a halt.

Meanwhile, the British squadron had ascended the Patapsco, and begun the bombardment of Fort McHenry. From sunrise of the 13th until after midnight, the guns of the fleet poured a tempest of shells upon the fortress.[1] At the end of that time, the works were as strong as at the beginning. The British had undertaken more than they could accomplish. Disheartened and baffled, they ceased to fire. The land-forces retired from before the intrenchments, and the siege of Baltimore was at an end.

On the 9th and 10th of August, the village of Stonington, Connecticut, was bombarded by Commodore Hardy; but the British, attempting to land, were driven back. The fisheries of New England were broken up. The salt-works at Cape Cod escaped by the payment of heavy ransoms. All the harbors from Maine to Delaware were blockaded. The foreign commerce of the Eastern States was totally destroyed.

From the beginning, many of the people of New England had opposed the war. The members of the Federal party cried out against it. The legislature of Massachusetts advised the calling of a convention. The other Eastern States responded to the call; and on the 14th of December the delegates assembled at Hartford. The leaders of the Democratic party did not hesitate to say that the purposes of the assembly were disloyal and treasonable. After remaining in session, with closed doors, for nearly three weeks, the delegates published an address, and then adjourned. The political prospects of those who participated in the convention were ruined.

During the progress of the war the Spanish authorities of Florida sympathized with the British. In August of 1814, a British fleet was allowed by the commandant of Pensacola to use that post for the purpose of fitting out an expedition against Fort Bowyer, on the bay of Mobile. General Jackson, who commanded in the South, remonstrated with the Spaniards, but received no satisfaction. He thereupon marched a force against Pensacola, stormed the town, and drove the British out of Florida.

General Jackson next learned that the British were making preparations for the conquest of Louisiana. Repairing to New Orleans, he declared martial law, mustered the militia, and adopted measures for repelling the invasion. From La Fitte, a smuggler, he learned the enemy's plans. The British army, numbering twelve thousand, came from Jamaica, under Sir Edward Pakenham. On the 10th of December, the squadron entered Lake Borgne, sixty miles north-east of New Orleans.

On the 22d of the month, Pakenham's advance reached the Mississippi, nine miles below the city. On the night of the 23d, Generals Jackson and Coffee advanced with two thousand Tennessee riflemen to attack the British camp. After a bloody assault, Jackson was obliged to fall back to a strong position on the canal, four miles below the city. Pakenham advanced, and on the 28th cannonaded the American position. On New Year's Day the attack was renewed, and the enemy was driven back. Pakenham now made arrangements for a general battle.

Jackson was ready. Earthworks had been constructed, and a long line of cotton-bales and sand-bags thrown up for protection. On the 8th of January, the British moved forward. The battle began with the light of morning, and was ended before nine o'clock. Column after column of the British was smitten with irretrievable ruin. Jackson's men were almost entirely secure from the enemy's fire, while every discharge of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles told with awful effect on the exposed veterans of England. Pakenham was killed; General Gibbs was mortally wounded. Only General Lambert was left to call the fragments of the army from the field.

[1] During the night of this bombardment, Francis S. Key, who was detained on board a British ship in the bay, composed *The Star Spangled Banner*.

Of the British, seven hundred were killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners. The American loss amounted to *eight killed and thirteen wounded.*

General Lambert retired with his ruined army into Lake Borgne. Jackson marched into New Orleans and was received with great enthusiasm. Such was the close of the war on land. On the 20th of February the American *Constitution*, off Cape St. Vincent, captured two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant.* On the 23d of March, the American *Hornet* ended the conflict by capturing the British *Penguin* off the coast of Brazil.

Already a treaty of peace had been made. In the summer of 1814, American commissioners were sent to Ghent, in Belgium, and were there met by the ambassadors of Great Britain. The agents of the United States were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. On the 24th of December, a treaty was agreed to and signed. In both countries the news was received with deep satisfaction. On the 18th of February, the treaty was ratified by the Senate, and peace was publicly proclaimed.

Never was there a more absurd treaty than that of Ghent. Its only significance was that Great Britain and the United States, having been at war, agreed to be at peace. Not one of the distinctive issues to decide which the war had been undertaken was settled or even mentioned. Of the impressment of American seamen not a word was said. The wrongs done to the commerce of the United States were not referred to. The rights of neutral nations were left as undetermined as before. Of "free trade and sailors' rights," which had been the battle-cry of the American navy, no mention was made. The principal articles of the compact were devoted to the settlement of unimportant boundaries and the possession of some petty islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy. There is little doubt, however, that at the time of the treaty Great Britain gave the United States a private assurance that impressment and the other wrongs complained of by the Americans should be practiced no more. For the space of sixty years vessels bearing the flag of the United States have been secure from such insults as caused the war of 1812. Another advantage gained by America was the recognition of her naval power. It was no longer doubtful that American sailors were the peers in valor and patriotism of any seamen in the world. It was no small triumph for the Republic that her flag should henceforth be honored on every ocean.

The country was now burdened with a war-debt of a hundred million dollars. The monetary affairs of the nation were in a deplorable condition. The charter of the Bank of the United States expired in 1811, and the other banks had been obliged to suspend specie payment. Trade was paralyzed for the want of money. In 1816 a bill was passed by Congress to re-charter the Bank of the United States. The President interposed his veto; but in the following session the bill was again passed in an amended form. On the 4th of March, 1817, the bank went into operation; and the business and credit of the country began to revive.

During the war with Great Britain the Algerine pirates renewed their depredations on American commerce. The government of the United States now ordered Commodore Decatur to proceed to the Mediterranean and chastise the sea-robbers into submission. On the 17th of June, Decatur fell in with the principal frigate of the Algerine squadron, and after a severe fight, compelled the Moorish ship to surrender. On the 19th, the commodore captured another frigate. A few days afterward he sailed into the Bay of Algiers, and obliged the frightened Dey to make a treaty. The Moorish Emperor released his American prisoners, relinquished all claims to tribute, and gave a pledge that his ships should trouble American merchantmen no more. Decatur next sailed against Tunis and Tripoli, compelled these States to give pledges of good conduct, and to pay large sums for former depredations.

The close of Madison's administration was signalized by the admission of Indiana into the Union. The new commonwealth was admitted in December, 1816. About the same time was founded the Colonization Society of the United States. Many distinguished Americans became members of the association, the object of which was to provide a refuge for free persons of color. Liberia, in Western

Africa, was selected as the seat of the proposed colony. Immigrants arrived in sufficient numbers to found a flourishing negro State. The capital was named Monrovia, in honor of James Monroe, who, in the fall of 1816, was elected as Madison's successor. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was chosen Vice-president.

On the whole the War of 1812 conduced largely to the *independence* of the United States. The American nation became more conscious of its existence, more self-sufficient, than ever before. The reader will have readily perceived that the conflict was in the nature of a side issue, or corollary, of the greater struggle going on in Europe. On the side of Great Britain the war was waged but feebly, as though she knew herself to be in the wrong. As soon as a fair opportunity was presented she receded from a contest in which she had engaged in only a half-hearted way, and of which she had good cause to be ashamed. At the close of the conflict the historian comes to what may be called the Middle Ages of the United States—an epoch during which the tides of population rolled into the Mississippi Valley, a powerful physical civilization was developed, and the institution of African slavery began to throw its black and portentous shadow over all the landscape.



END OF VOLUME III.

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