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A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE FALL OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE
TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

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PREFACE

THE plan of this "Short History of Europe" was sufficiently explained in the Preface to the first volume published a year ago. Briefly, it is intended to be read either as a text-book of European history in the customary detached manner. Or it may be used concurrently with a text-book of British history, its chapters being interpolated at convenient junctions, in order that the student of British history may be able at every point to view it on a European background. Having regard to the long range of history traversed in the first volume it seemed necessary that I should indicate the "convenient junctions." In the present volume it is unnecessary to do so, since the connecting links are sufficiently obvious, and in each chapter, where possible, a British perspective is maintained. It seemed on the whole advisable to bring the present volume to a close with the establishment of the French and Austrian and the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empires, leaving to a concluding volume the history of the nineteenth century. Hence the postponement of chapters on the Eastern Question and other topics which are better reserved for consecutive treatment.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my Assistant, Mr. Murray L. R. Beaven, for his careful reading of the proof-sheets of this volume.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE RENAISSANCE

“MODERN history professes to deal with mankind in a period when they had reached the stage of civilisation which is in its broad outlines familiar to us, during the period in which the problems that still occupy us came into conscious recognition, and were dealt with in ways intelligible to us as resembling our own” (Bishop Creighton). That period dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, when the two characteristics of modern civilisation came into play—the emergence of nationalities and national interests, and the release of the individual from the medieval bonds which restrained the free exercise of his faculties.

In the Middle Ages there was little opportunity for either the nations of Christendom or the men who composed them to develop their individuality. Medieval Christendom was a single organisation, and the nations which composed it were distinguishable only as units in it. The Crusades are typical of the submergence of national under international interests. In them Christendom as a single fraternity placed itself under the banner of the Cross, actuated by none of the motives which inspire modern wars, territorial expansion, dynastic interests, or commercial gain, but obedient to the call of religion. National particularism was lost in the conception of Christendom as a single community of Christian people. As to the individual, birth determined the groove in which his life was to run. In the Church alone merit could raise him above the degree into which he had been born. At

the same time the Church forbade the individual to work outside the channels itself prescribed. Independent research, such as Roger Bacon and Galileo conducted, was denounced as heretical, and invited persecution. Even his exalted position could not save Pope Sylvester II from suspicion that his great learning had been acquired by selling himself to the devil. The arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture were employed only in the Church's service. Science and philosophy were similarly restricted in their application.

In the thirteenth century forces came into play which tended to differentiate the nations of Christendom, and gave to the individual the liberty of thought and action so far denied him. After Boniface VIII no Pope ventured to represent Rome as the political capital of Europe, and the unity of Christendom receded to the limbo of theories. The war between France and England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the expedition of Charles VIII of France to Italy in 1494, opened a new era in which the nations of Christendom pursued their own aims, dynastic, territorial, and commercial. In the same period the Renaissance took its origin in Italy, and spread thence to France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, England, and Scotland.

The Renaissance was far more than a revival of letters and art, though that was its most patent manifestation. It was, "in the largest sense of the term, the whole process of transition in Europe from the medieval to the modern order" (Sir Richard Jebb). It deprived the Empire and Papacy of their pre-eminence. Their authority ceased to be international and became local and restricted. Europe resolved itself into national units, and national churches and literatures emerged. The social order of the Middle Ages also hastened to its decline; for commerce and industry placed the merchant by the side of the knight-at-arms and landowner. And with the social decay of Feudalism went a transformation of the political conditions under which it had flourished. It began to be held that government exists primarily in the interests of the governed. The history of England in the seventeenth century exemplifies that conception in practice. Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* are earlier manifestations of it in theory. Enormously stimulating also were the maritime and scientific dis-

coveries of the period. The employment of the compass and the astrolabe facilitated maritime adventure, and led to the finding of a New World across the Atlantic, and to an enormous extension of geographical knowledge. The discovery of gunpowder revolutionised the art of war and broke up medieval society. The invention of printing widened the influence of literature and knowledge. The astronomical discovery of Copernicus, which revealed the earth to be but one of many satellites of the sun, undermined a vast structure of superstition.

The most potent of the forces which conducted Europe from medievalism to modernism was the recovery of the lost culture of ancient Greece and Rome, their literature, and, above all, the habit of liberal, untrammelled thought of which it was the outcome. But it must not be supposed that the Renaissance fell upon unprepared soil. Humanism, as the revived study of classical literature was called, had been preceded by the Scholastic philosophy of the thirteenth century, though the Schoolmen, of whom the chief were Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), and Roger Bacon (1214?-94), attempted under the impulse of Aristotle's recently discovered *Organon* rather to codify existing knowledge than to break new ground. Nor had classical learning, the foundation of humanism, been entirely extinguished in the Middle Ages. From 528, when St. Benedict founded the Abbey of Monte Cassino, the Benedictines kept alive the study of the Latin classics. Charlemagne, and after him Otto the Great, were zealous patrons of learning. Hence a knowledge of Latin was never wholly lost, though England, France, and Germany, where Scholasticism drew scholars to the subtleties of logic and metaphysics rather than to ancient literature, were more backward than Italy, where Scholasticism had less vogue. Greek was in a worse plight. After the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century, knowledge of ancient Greek became almost extinct in Europe, and even in Constantinople, and no agencies existed for its teaching. Though she possessed no systematic teacher of Greek until the arrival of Manuel Chrysoloras at Florence in 1397, Italy herein also was ahead of the rest of Christendom. Indeed, the career of Dante (1265-1321) proves that the Italian sky was already bright with the promise of dawn,

and Dante's friend, Ambrogio di Bondone, or Giotto (d. 1337), painter, sculptor, and architect, was prophetic of the artistic revolution which accompanied the Renaissance.

Underlying humanism and the revived study of classical literature was a new mental attitude, which was the motive force of the Renaissance and of the revolution accomplished by it. The dead authors were read as manifestations of a habit of mind, an independent outlook on life and the universe, which were absent from medieval literature. For centuries man's intellect had been in bondage to the Church, and had exercised itself only within the formulas which clerical authority sanctioned. But in the Greek and Roman authors the humanists found a literature in which the writer expressed his thoughts freely and looked out on the world with his own eyes, a characteristic of the classics which the humanists found vastly engaging. They adopted it to view their own age, and found themselves forthwith in conflict with its religion, science, and philosophy.

The Renaissance manifested itself in different ways. In Central and Northern Europe it supported the religious upheaval which we call the Reformation. In Spain and Portugal it displayed itself in maritime and geographical activity. Everywhere it transformed art, and in Italy that was its pre-eminent and particular work. It was natural that such should be the case; for Italy could still look upon the monuments of her ancient glory, while her language was the offspring of that which Virgil, Horace, and Cicero spoke. She possessed also, to a greater degree than elsewhere in Europe, a wealthy and leisured class, able to devote itself and its means to the cause of art and letters. In particular, the Medici of Florence were generous patrons of humanism, and Popes, such as Leo X, the friend of Raffaele, supported a movement whose sinister influence on the Church they could not foresee.

The father of Italian humanism was Francesco Petrarca, or Petrarch (1304-74), whose boyhood was spent at Avignon during the "Babylonish Captivity" of the Popes. From his earliest youth the history and literature of ancient Rome engaged his interest and admiration. His Latin poem, *Africa*, of which Scipio Africanus was the hero, revived the Virgilian epic. He was a zealous searcher for ancient texts, inscrip-

tions, and records of Italy's past, his passionate affection for which made him sympathetic to Rienzi's attempted restoration of the Commonwealth. At the age of thirty-seven he was crowned with laurel on the Capitol, and thenceforward was recognised as the first man of letters in Italy and Europe. His commanding position enabled him to exercise great influence on behalf of humanism, to gain for it the patronage which it needed from the wealthy, and the enthusiasm of scholars. He also influenced the vernacular literature of Italy, of which Dante was the founder, by the songs and sonnets which his loved Laura inspired.

What Petrarch was to Italian poetry Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75) was to Italian prose. Like Petrarch, Boccaccio was deeply interested in and illuminated Italy's past. He was the first of the Italian humanists, apparently, systematically to study Greek. His collection of stories, the *Decameron*, was his greatest work, and influenced not only the literature of Italy, but, among others, that of England through Chaucer, whose *Canterbury Tales* owe much to it for plot and incident.

The enthusiasm for the classics inaugurated by Petrarch and Boccaccio spread rapidly in Italy. Giovanni di Conversino, who had come under the spell of Petrarch's enthusiasm, was the first teacher who journeyed from town to town expounding Cicero and the Latin poets. The systematic teaching of Greek was delayed until twenty years after Petrarch's death, when, from 1397 to 1400, Manuel Chrysoloras lectured at Florence, where the *Signoria* gave him a Chair of Greek. He was the first regular teacher of the language in Italy, a scholar whose lectures roused the enthusiasm of his hearers. His Greek Grammar was among the first modern books of its kind. He was followed by other Byzantine scholars, under whom Greek was widely studied in Italy long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Revived interest in the literature of ancient Rome was accompanied naturally by regard for the relics of her art and architecture. Bracciolini Poggio, in the first half of the fifteenth century, wrote a description of the surviving Roman monuments, and his contemporary Flavio Biondo compiled a wider work on the monuments of Italy. Pius II (1458-64) was the first Pope to attempt to preserve the ruins of ancient Rome; he issued a Bull to that

effect in 1462. A few years later the Vatican Museum was founded for the preservation of relics of ancient Rome, and Raffaele was appointed by Leo X Inspector-General of Antiquities.

The search for texts of the ancient authors was prosecuted with zeal. The printing-press did not as yet exist, but copyists were set to work, and libraries were formed for the reception of the precious manuscripts. Nicolas V (1447-55) was the virtual founder of the most famous of them, the Vatican Library. The discovery and dissemination of texts stimulated humanistic studies. The public lecturers who followed Giovanni di Conversino, of whom Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) and Angelo Poliziano (Politian) (1454-94) were the most famous, were aided by the establishment of humanistic schools for the young, of which Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446) at Mantua and Guarino da Verona (d. 1460) at Ferrara were the most successful founders. Academies also, of which Florence under Cosimo de' Medici possessed the first, were formed by enthusiastic bodies of *litterati* for the prosecution of humanistic study at Rome, Venice, Naples, and elsewhere. The printing-press of Aldo Manuzio put into the hands of scholars the text of the recovered classics. And in Leo X (1513-21), the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, humanism found a papal Mæcenas, a prince whose enlightened love of art made him the patron of Raffaele.

The Italian Renaissance barely survived Leo's death. The invasion of Italy by Charles V and his capture of Rome in 1527 scattered the Italian scholars whose work gave lustre to humanism, while the outbreak of the Reformation withdrew from the new learning the countenance which recent Popes had given to it. But already the Renaissance had accomplished a great work in Italy. "In the interval between the time of Petrarch and that of Leo X, a space of about a hundred and seventy years, ardent and unceasing labours bridged the gulf between the medieval and the modern world. Latin, the universal language, was purged from barbarism. Latin literature was brought back into the full light of intelligent study. Greek was restored to the West. After centuries of intellectual poverty, men entered once more into possession of the poetry and the eloquence, the wisdom and the wit, bequeathed by ancient Greece and Rome. . . .

Italian humanism restored good standards of style in prose and verse, thereby benefiting not classical studies alone, but modern literature as well; it did much for erudition, and prepared the ground for more; it founded literary education of a liberal type; it had a wide outlook, and taught men to regard classical antiquity as a whole, a fruitful stage in the history of human development. Lastly, it achieved a result even larger than its work for scholarship, by diffusing a new spirit, the foe of obscurantism, the ally of all forces that make for light, for the advancement of knowledge, and for reasonable freedom" (Sir Richard Jebb).

Apart from the classical revival, the Renaissance in Italy exhibited itself in art and in the development of a vernacular literature. Giovanni Villani (d. 1348) was inspired by the Roman Jubilee in 1300 to write his *Cronica* or *Istorie de' suoi tempi*, a history of his own period. Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* was printed in 1477. The *Orlando Furioso* of Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), which depicted the wars of Charlemagne against the Saracens, founded a school of romantic epic poetry which inspired Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Torquato Tasso (1544-95) took the Crusades as the groundwork of his *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In prose, though Machiavelli stands pre-eminent, he did not stand alone. Francesco Guicciardini (1482-1540) was the historian of Italy for the period from Charles VIII's invasion in 1494 to 1532. He and others of lesser note wrote history in the humanistic spirit, eschewing tradition in the search for truth.

None attained to the reputation of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). He wrote a history of his native city, Florence, discourses on the art of war, and on the Roman historian Titus Livius. But his greatest work was *The Prince*. After serving Florence as Secretary of the Council of Ten, and from 1499 on diplomatic missions, Machiavelli passed into retirement on the restoration of the Medici in 1512. *The Prince* was written in the hope that it might recover him their favour. Its chief significance is in the fact, that at a time when the medieval world was crumbling and new forces and ambitions were coming into play, Machiavelli attempted to formulate rules to regulate the new order which was arising in Italy and elsewhere. He put forward a new conception of the State, laid down new standards for the conduct of its affairs, and

did not shrink from the assertion that morality is irrelevant to the art of successful government, and that the end justifies the means. "Those who conquer," he wrote, "in whatever way they conquer, never reap disgrace." Other fundamental conclusions were the result of his observation and experience; that men are virtuous only by compulsion, and are prone to evil rather than good; that mankind in the aggregate is similarly biased; that States and their governments are naturally liable to deterioration. Hence, in Machiavelli's view, the need for a despot, unscrupulous, deterred by no considerations of morality, working for the material interests of the State, and to be commended if his policy, however reprehensible morally, be crowned with success.

In Italian art the Renaissance produced results which were not equalled elsewhere in the period and have not been surpassed since. Bramante (1444-1514), the architect, was summoned by Julius II to Rome to plan the Vatican and the Church of St. Peter, which replaced the Basilica of Constantine. Michelangelo Buonarotti (1475-1564), a Florentine, a passionate student of every form of art, a disciple of Savonarola, proceeded to Rome on the invitation of Julius II, and beside his frescoes and sculpture is famous as the architect of the dome of St. Peter's. Lionardo da Vinci (1452-1519), another Florentine, was invited by Francis I to exhibit the glories of Italian art in France, where he died. Raffaello Sanzio (1483-1520), the son of an artist of Urbino and the nephew of Bramante, was called to Rome by Julius II. He embellished the Vatican with frescoes, superintended under Leo X the building of St. Peter's, and acted as Inspector-General of Antiquities at Rome. Northern Italy also had her great artists, though Rome did not invite them to display their talents; Antonio Allegri of Corregio, known as Corregio (1494-1534), Tiziano Vecelli, known as Titian (1477-1576), a Venetian, and Paolo Cagliari of Verona, known as Paul Veronese (1528-88). To the list of contemporary artists may be added the names of Andrea d'Angelo di Francesco, the son of a tailor and known as Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), and Benvenuto Cellini (1500-71), unsurpassed as an artist in metal.

Outside Italy the evangelist of the Renaissance was Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536). A native of Holland, he was

cosmopolitan in his activities, in Italy, France, Germany, and England, where he was a familiar figure at both Oxford and Cambridge, and held a Divinity Chair at the latter. Erasmus viewed the new culture from a standpoint removed from that of the Italians. The latter aimed at self-culture, Erasmus at heightening the moral standards of his age. Hence in Germany the outcome of humanism was the Reformation, and Erasmus was its pioneer. His work largely, though not exclusively, was devoted to sacred literature. His was the first edition of the New Testament in Greek. He published a Latin version of the New Testament more critical and scholarly than the Vulgate. He edited the works of such ancient fathers of the Church as Jerome, Chrysostom, and Athanasius. It has been said that "the paramount task which the New Learning found in Germany was the elucidation of the Bible" (Sir Richard Jebb). More than any other man Erasmus directed its activities into that field. At the same time the Renaissance in Germany developed along lines not exclusively theological. Johann Müller of Königsberg (1436-76), known as Regiomontanus after his birthplace, translated scientific, geographical, mathematical, and astronomical works. Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) devoted himself to the study of Hebrew as the key to the Old Testament. Philip Melanchthon or Schwartzerd (1497-1560), Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, lectured concurrently on Homer and St. Paul's *Epistle to Titus*. In pictorial art the German Renaissance produced Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Hans Holbein (1497-1543).

In France the Renaissance, encouraged by the close connection between that country and Italy from 1494 to 1589, found a patron in Francis I (1515-47), by whom the Royal College (Collège de France) was founded in 1530 especially for the study of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Mathematics. The building of the Louvre was begun, and Raffaele, Lionardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, and others were employed. In literature France boasted her own giants. Clément Marot (1497-1544), Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85), and Joachim du Bellay (1524-60) were the fathers of French poetry, while pre-eminent among the prose writers were François Rabelais (1443-1559), John Calvin (1509-64), and Michel de Montaigne (1533-92). As a classicist Guillaume Budé challenged even

Erasmus. But most characteristic of the Renaissance in France was the building of her glorious *chateaux*, whose turrets became a feature of the so-called "baronial" architecture of Scotland.

In the Iberian peninsula, though Cardinal Ximenes was its patron, the Church was too powerful to allow humanism to run in German channels, and the movement spent itself chiefly in maritime exploration. But it also encouraged the rise of a national literature, of which Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), Luiz de Camoens (1524 ?-80), and Lope de Vega (1562-1635) are the chief luminaries. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, the Renaissance was German rather than Italian, practical rather than æsthetic. Gerard John Vos, or Vossius (1577-1649), stimulated the scientific study of antiquity, and Hugo Grotius, or Huig van Groot (1583-1645), founded the science of international law.

In England humanism found a lodgment before the end of the fifteenth century, and Erasmus in 1499 professed himself astonished at the "harvest of ancient learning" which he found there. Pre-eminent among English scholars were William Selling, or William Tilly of Selling (d. 1494), his pupil Thomas Linacre (1460 ?-1524), William Grocyn (1446 ?-1519), John Colet (1467 ?-1519), and Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), all of them pioneers of the Renaissance at Oxford. At Cambridge the study of Greek dates from the teaching of Erasmus there in 1511-14, and was encouraged by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, the friend of and fellow-sufferer with Sir Thomas More. In 1540 the Regius Chair of Greek in the University was founded by Henry VIII. While humanism was winning the Universities the old scholastic curriculum was ousted from the schools. With his own fortune Colet founded St. Paul's School and set over it as headmaster William Lilly, one of the band of Oxford humanists. In the course of the next hundred years other schools, such as Charterhouse, Christ's Hospital, Westminster, and Merchant Taylors', were founded and adopted the classical curriculum.

Of the Oxford humanists two stand out beyond their fellows. Colet, possibly through the influence of Savonarola, was pre-eminently the Christian humanist. Like Erasmus, humanism with him was a means to an end, the reformation

of society and especially of the Church. Both at Oxford and in London as Dean of St. Paul's he preached and lectured on the New Testament, striving to recover from it the standard of right worship and belief from which the medieval Church had strayed. He was one of the first to advocate the circulation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. Sir Thomas More, on the other hand, perished a martyr to the Church which Colet challenged, but stands with him as a disciple of the Renaissance. He was a voluminous writer both in Latin and English, and in the former language wrote his most famous work, *Utopia*, an attempt to sketch the conditions of the ideal state, inspired by the discoveries of Americo Vespucci which revealed the New World to Europe. English humanism reached its apogee with Shakespeare and Milton, between whom and the earliest humanists stand two men whose works did much to spread a knowledge of the ancients and their spirit, Sir Thomas Elyot (1499?–1546), whose *The Boke named the Governour* contained a store of classical reminiscences, and Thomas Wilson (1525?–81), whose *Arte of Rhetorique* drew largely on Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.

Her traditional alliance with France exposed Scotland to the humanistic forces which influenced the former country. From the middle of the fourteenth century Paris, Orleans, and other French Universities were attended by Scottish students in large numbers. In the course of the fifteenth century three of the four Scottish Universities were founded, St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1451), and Aberdeen by Pope Alexander VI (1495). In 1496 James IV's famous statute directed the better-to-do to send their sons to school to acquire "perfect Latin." But the Reformation, with which were bound up political questions of the largest moment to Scotland, plunged the country into civil war and left her little leisure to cultivate interests outside it. Further, the population of Scotland did not then much exceed half-a-million, to only about half of whom any language other than Gaelic appealed, while the poverty of the land withheld the material encouragement which aided the spread of humanistic literature and ideals in Italy. Hence the Reformation by itself absorbed the activities of Scotland and inspired her vernacular literature, of which the finest examples are

John Knox's (1505-72) *Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland*, the first original Scottish work in prose; Robert Lindesay of Pittscottie's (1500?-65?) *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*; and Archdeacon John Bellenden's (fl. 1533-87) translation into Scots of Hector Boece's (1465?-1536) *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, the first book written in Scottish prose. In Hector Boece, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, and John Major (1469-1550), the author of the *Historia Majoris Britanniae*, Scotland possessed two Latinists of distinction. But her most admired humanist was George Buchanan (1506-82). His Latin version of the *Psalms* "may fairly be considered one of the representative books of the sixteenth century, expressing, as it does, in consummate form, the conjunction of piety and learning which was the ideal of the best type of humanist" (Professor Hume Brown). In his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* he also wrote the history of Scotland to 1571.

Such is a bare outline of the spread of humanism from its home in Italy to the chief European countries. Under the impulse of it Europe, figuratively, passed from the nursery in which truth is the dictum of an elder. Inquisitiveness is the one road to knowledge, and its converse is credulity. Under the stimulus of humanism mankind ceased to be credulous and became inquisitive. It faced the problems of life, religion, philosophy, and science no longer with unquestioning faith in tradition, but in a spirit of alert inquiry. The new habit of mind was the direct result of contact with the recovered literature of the ancients. Therein men found a secular, unfettered, and individualistic outlook to which the medieval world was a stranger, and gained from it a stimulus to intellectual activity which undermined the Church, science, and philosophy of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER II

THE ERA OF MARITIME DISCOVERY

THE two most memorable voyages of the fifteenth century, those of Christopher Columbus to America in 1492, and of Vasco da Gama to India in 1498, were the fruit of nearly a century of effort, and the climax to a longer period of scientific investigation. Science had already contributed many notable discoveries which made possible the ocean voyages of the fifteenth century. The properties of the magnetic needle were known in the thirteenth century through the Arabs. Tradition assigns to an Italian sailor, Flavio Gioja, the association of the magnetic needle with a graduated dial, by which its movements could be readily followed in relation to the points of the compass. It came into general use about 1420. Thenceforward sailors were no longer dependent on the Pole Star to direct them, and could commit themselves confidently to an ocean course. The sextant and quadrant for taking the altitude of the sun and stars were discovered by Tycho Brahé (1546-1601), and earlier still the navigator possessed in the astrolabe an instrument for that purpose. Before the middle of the sixteenth century Copernicus (1473-1543) disproved the Ptolemaic theory that the earth is the centre of the universe round which the seven planets revolve. Galileo (1564-1642), the inventor of the telescope, revealed the mysteries of the solar system, and demonstrated the movement of the earth round the sun. Largely owing to the Crusades, again, accurate knowledge was gained regarding the shape of the earth; for through the Arabs Europe discovered that the ancient Greeks had demonstrated the earth to be a sphere. Towards the close of the fourteenth century Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (Petrus Aliacus), Chancellor of the University of Paris, drew together in his *Imago Mundi* the opinions of

ancient writers which conjectured or established the globular form of the earth, and threw out the conclusion that the Indies or eastern parts of Asia could be reached by sailing westward from the coast of Europe. The book was in the possession of Columbus and influenced him to undertake his voyage.

The era of the Great Voyages was preceded by improvements in the art of ship-building, which gave navigators for the first time vessels in which they could brave the dangers of the high seas. So long as the commerce of Europe was carried over the Mediterranean the ships in use were of two kinds, the galley propelled by oarsmen, and the single-masted sailing ship. The former, though swift, lay too low in the water for employment on the high seas. The latter, in general use for the carriage of merchandise, was very slow, and was so unseaworthy that in the fourteenth century, when the Anglo-French war prevented the conveyance of goods overland through France to the Flemish markets, the Venetians designed a three-masted vessel, the caravel (It. *caravella*). It was comparatively short from stem to stern, but its high decks enabled it to encounter rough seas. In it the great voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were accomplished. The discovery of gunpowder also, whose use became general in the fifteenth century, facilitated the victory of European civilisation in the new lands which the voyages revealed.

If scientific development facilitated the progress of maritime discovery, the advance of geographical knowledge made it inevitable. From the time of Plato (427-347 B.C.) the existence of land in the Western Ocean had been conjectured. Plato pictured a continent west of Mount Atlas, named Atlantis, which had been submerged by earthquakes and deluges. The conception of it was still vivid to Columbus's generation, and his discovery was held to establish its identity with America. Four hundred years after Plato, Plutarch wrote of a continent in the ocean west of Britain in which Saturn was held a prisoner. Strabo conjectured the existence of undiscovered lands in the ocean west of Europe, and the Roman poet, Seneca, ventured to prophesy (*Medea*) their discovery. But the ancients made no effort to test these speculations, though Phœnician sailors explored the African coast and its

contiguous islands. Beyond the rediscovery of Britain, the Romans contributed nothing to maritime exploration.

By the twelfth century the Moors or Saracens of Africa had done pioneer exploratory work of the greatest significance. They established commercial relations with the east coast of Africa as far south as Madagascar. Their ships were the carriers of the commerce of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In India and the further islands they were the unchallenged masters of the spice trade. Equally active were they on the west coast of Africa and in the Canaries. Their caravans traversed the Sahara, and the fertile region watered by the Senegal river was called by them "Bilad Ghana" (whence the name "Guinea") or "The Land of Wealth." In northern latitudes at an earlier period the Norsemen made important discoveries. They colonised Iceland in the ninth century. A settlement was planted in Greenland by Eric the Red in the closing years of the tenth century. A few years later Eric's son Leif is said to have discovered Vinland or Vineland, a part of the North American continent in which the American grape is indigenous. The Norsemen failed to establish themselves in Vinland, though under the names of the "New Isle" or "New Land" the tradition of their discovery survived, and played an important part in the history of fifteenth century exploration.

The Middle Ages were prolific in legends of islands in the Western Ocean. The Arabs told of an *Isle of Sheep* which their sailors had discovered. The Portuguese had a tradition of seven bishops who fled from the Moors in the eighth century and found shelter in an ocean island, in which each founded a Christian community, whence it was known as the *Island of the Seven Cities*. The Portuguese also prosecuted a vague search for a large island beyond the Azores to which they gave the name *Antilha* or *Antilhas*, meaning probably "the island in the distance." It was charted on fifteenth century maps, and on that of Martin Behaim in 1492 is shown above the Equator and midway between the coasts of Africa and Asia. The Welsh preserved the tradition of Prince Madoc, who with his followers found a home beyond the Western Ocean. Long before the time of Columbus English sailors were searching for the mythical islands *Brazil* and *St. Brandan*. The former was believed to lie somewhere west of Ireland. The latter

was named after an Irish missionary who was supposed to have found his way there in the sixth century.

While men were conjecturing lands to exist in the unexplored ocean between Europe and Asia, accurate knowledge was gained regarding the eastern countries on the other side of it. Among the ancients knowledge of the Far East was purely speculative, nor was it until the thirteenth century that Europe obtained first-hand knowledge of it. During the continuance of the Mongol dominion founded by Zenghiz Khan (d. 1227) in Eastern Asia, European travellers found their way overland to China or Cathay (Khitai). In the hope of converting the Mongols, Innocent IV in 1245 dispatched the Franciscan Friar John, a native of Plano Carpini in Italy, to the court of their emperor or Grand Khan, who brought back with him definite information that Cathay was washed by the ocean. A few years later (1253) Louis IX of France dispatched another emissary, William de Rubruquis, who returned with alluring tales of the riches of Cathay. More detailed information regarding the Far East was obtained by Marco Polo, the son of a Venetian merchant, who accompanied his father to Cathay in 1271, and spent nearly twenty years there. He was admitted to high office in the service of the Grand Khan and travelled throughout his dominions. On his return to Europe he wrote an account of his adventures, and stimulated the curiosity and cupidity of Europe by his account of the wealth and opulent cities of Cathay. From him Europe heard for the first time of Japan (Cipango or Zipangu), an island where gold was in such abundance that the royal palace was declared to be roofed and paved with it. In 1292 Marco and his kinsmen left Cathay on their return to Europe. Sailing round the Indo-Chinese peninsula they touched India, and passing through the Red Sea returned to Venice, having travelled from China over the route which exactly two hundred years later Columbus attempted to follow.

The intercourse between Europe and Cathay in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries stimulated a curiosity which Sir John Mandeville's (d. 1372) account of his alleged travels in the East sought to satisfy, and roused the interest of Europe with tales of the inexhaustible wealth of Cathay, the Spice Islands, and the Indies. It had also been

proved that Cathay was accessible by sea, a fact which at once acquired importance. About the middle of the fourteenth century a crisis occurred in the trade between Asia and Europe in jewels, silks, velvet, perfumes, and spices. Silks and precious fabrics came overland across Asia to the Black Sea. The products of India and the Spice Islands were carried in Arab vessels over the Indian Ocean and Red Sea to Alexandria. This Eastern merchandise was distributed throughout Europe by two states exclusively: the Genoese monopolised the trade of the Black Sea, the Venetians that of Alexandria, a fact which inspired Western Europe to seek an alternative route to the East. But events took place which threatened the loss of the Eastern trade with Europe altogether. In 1368 the Mongol dynasty in China fell, and the intercourse between Europe and Asia which had lasted for so many generations was checked. Of even greater consequence were the conquests of the Ottoman Turks, which closed the traditional trade routes to the East. The Mediterranean, which for centuries had carried the commerce of Europe, ceased to do so. The Italian cities declined in political and commercial importance, and the Western nations of Europe took their place.

Thus the impulse which impelled Europe to the maritime activity of the fifteenth century was partly scientific, partly economic, partly political. First among the countries of Western Europe, Portugal and Spain resolved their domestic problems and were at liberty to display their activities in a wider field. Their geographical position, which overlooked the routes along which the lost commerce with the East would naturally be sought, also made them the pioneers of the maritime movement. Portugal was first in the field and prosecuted a patient search which brought her tardy reward in the last years of the fifteenth century. Spain, more than half a century after Portugal began the search, and in a single voyage, that of Columbus, found a New World across the ocean. Much later, England, France, and Holland followed the pioneers, challenged their monopoly, and eventually deprived them of it.

The history of Portugal's maritime exploration is intimately associated with Prince Henry (Dom Henrique), a son of King John I of Portugal and great-grandson of Edward III of

England. Later generations called him "Henry the Navigator," a title which obscures his chief aim. In 1415 Portugal took possession of the port of Ceuta, which controlled access to the Atlantic coast of Africa. Its acquisition was the prelude to an exploration of the African coast, inspired by Prince Henry's wish to weld the Azores, Madeira Islands, and the Guinea region into a dependency of the crown under the Portuguese military Order of Jesus Christ, to whose charge the conversion of colonial Portugal to Christianity was entrusted. That, however, was only part of a wider project. On early fifteenth-century maps the Senegal is represented as a large river running due east and west, seemingly an easy avenue to Christian Abyssinia. Could a junction with Abyssinia be effected, Islam in Africa would be between two fires, Christian Europe to the north of it, and the expanding power of colonial Portugal below it. The alluring prospect caused Pope Martin V in 1432 to offer a plenary Indulgence to every sailor who passed the dreaded Cape Bojador. From 1419 expeditions were sent forth almost every year to explore the African coast and to capture slaves, whose sale financed the prince's project and their conversion promised to promote the Christianising of Bilad Ghana. But exploration proceeded slowly. Cape Bojador was not passed until 1433. The Senegal and the Guinea Coast were reached in 1445, and Prince Henry had reason to believe that his cherished project was about to be realised when death removed him in 1460. The Equator was crossed in 1471, and the fable of its fiery zone through which no human being could pass received its death-blow. Very slowly the coast between the Equator and the Cape was unravelled. The Congo was reached in 1484, and three years later Bartolomeo Diaz, having received his sovereign's command to follow the coast to its farthest extremity, was driven past the Cape in a storm, named it "Cabo Tormentoso" (the Cape of Storms), and returned to Portugal (1487). Ten years elapsed before his achievement was followed up, and in the interval Columbus seemingly solved the problem which had engaged Portugal for seventy years. At length in 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon under orders to take his ships to the Indies. He doubled the Cape, and on Christmas Day reached the East African port which from that circumstance took its name, Natal. Sailing north-

ward along the eastern coast, at Mozambique da Gama came into touch with Mohammedan or Arab civilisation. At Melinde he obtained pilots who guided him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, the chief Arab port on the Malabar coast, whence the precious spices, pepper and ginger, were shipped for the Red Sea and Europe. After more than ten months' voyaging da Gama found himself in the commercial capital of the East (1498).

The arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut was the first step towards the Europeanising of the East, a process which has been continuous since that time. In it Great Britain has played the chief part, whether on the Indian peninsula, the Australasian continent, or, at a later time, in Africa. But the seventeenth century dawned before she stretched her hand towards her heritage, and in the interval Portugal created an eastern empire whose extent would have staggered Prince Henry. The commerce of the Indian Ocean passed into her hands. Venice leagued with the Arabs and the Sultan of Egypt to avert the ruin which threatened her in the diversion of the Indian trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Their fleet was destroyed at Diu (1509), and Venice thought of rendering the discovery of the Cape useless by cutting the Isthmus of Suez and connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas, a project carried out by France in the nineteenth century. Undisturbed, therefore, Portugal ousted the Arabs from the monopoly which they had so long enjoyed. The founder of her power in India was Affonso de Albuquerque (1509-15). He captured Goa on the west coast (1510), and made it the Portuguese capital. The acquisition of Hormuz gave him the control of the Persian Gulf. He cherished wild plans of draining the Nile into the Red Sea in order to ruin Egypt, and of seizing Mohammed's coffin at Medina as a hostage for the restoration of the holy places in Syria. In 1511 he took Malacca, the junction of the trade between India and China. In 1515 he died. His successors continued his work. Ceylon and Macao in China were occupied, and the Jesuit Francis Xavier strove to realise the missionary hopes which had animated Prince Henry. At its greatest extent Greater Portugal touched Africa, India, the Moluccas, and Brazil, which was accidentally discovered by Alvarez Cabral in 1500 while following da Gama's track.

But Portugal neither then nor since displayed any aptitude for colonial administration. The maintenance of her commercial interests proved a heavy drain upon the resources of a small population, and her decline was almost as rapid as her rise. Her enforced union with Spain (1580-1640) exposed her to the attacks of Protestant Holland and England. Sumatra, Java, and the Spice Islands were wrested from her by the Dutch, and in 1600 the foundation of the English East India Company formally challenged the monopoly which da Gama's discovery gave her a century before.

Before da Gama reached India, Spain had made an astonishing discovery in the West, the import of which at first was not understood. Late in the fifteenth century a conviction that the Atlantic offered a shorter route to the Indies than that which Portugal was exploring seized Christopher Columbus, whose distinction lies less in the difficulty of the voyage he accomplished, than in the fact that, abandoning the search for intervening islands, he was the first to try to reach the other side of the ocean. Columbus was a Genoese by birth. At the time of his memorable voyage he was about fifty years of age. From his youth he had been a sailor, and had acquired a maritime experience which probably excelled that of any of his contemporaries. He had visited Iceland, was familiar with the Norse legends of Vinland and the New Isle, and with the efforts of Bristol sailors to pierce the mysteries of the Atlantic. The fame of Portuguese navigation drew him to Lisbon about 1470. He married a Portuguese wife, and took part in the exploration of the African coast. His brother Bartolomeo was on board the ship in which Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. It is possible that the seemingly endless trend of the African coast below the Equator spurred Columbus to attempt the western route. For at that period he entered into correspondence with Paolo Toscanelli of Florence, a cartographer of great repute, to whom he expressed his desire to make a western voyage to "the place where the spices grow"—in other words, the East Indies. Toscanelli confirmed Columbus in his belief that the voyage was practicable, and minimised its chief apparent difficulty, namely, its length. For, following the Greek geographers, Toscanelli elongated the land-stretch of Europe and Asia so much that he brought the

coast of China or Cathay nearer to Europe by the width of the Pacific. In other words, Japan appeared to be in the longitude of Mexico, and Columbus died in complete ignorance of the fact that between the point where he touched land in the West Indies and the land he sailed to reach lay the whole width of an unexplored ocean.

For nearly twenty years Columbus vainly endeavoured to procure the equipment he needed, namely, three ships provisioned for twelve months. Portugal and France were approached. England held back until it was too late. Genoa and Venice, whose monopoly the proposed route threatened, rejected the overtures which Columbus made to them. But the fall of Granada in January, 1492, at length disposed Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain, victorious in their long warfare with the Moors, to grant the application which Columbus had made to them seven years earlier. In April, 1492, at Santa Fé, they contracted to give him the ships he required and considerable financial assistance. They also conferred on him the dignity of Admiral and Viceroy of the islands and continental regions he might discover.

On August 3, 1492, Columbus and his three vessels, which had been manned with the utmost difficulty, set sail from Palos for the Canaries. Thence on September 6 he sailed due west for Cipango, which, according to Toscanelli, would be reached on a straight course from the Canaries. After a voyage of thirty-six days, during which his sailors were with increasing difficulty induced to proceed, Columbus made land on October 12 at Guanahani, one of the Bahamas, and named it San Salvador. He supposed himself to be in the region of Cathay and Cipango of which Marco Polo had written, and after cruising about the West Indian archipelago vainly searching for the cities Marco had described, returned to Spain after seven months' absence. The Papacy forthwith (1493) conceded to Spain and Portugal the undiscovered region to which each had revealed an entrance, stipulating that Spain should approach it along the course which Columbus had travelled, and Portugal by way of the Cape. By an agreement (Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494) between the two countries, a meridian (longitude 45.37 W.) 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands was fixed upon as the boundary

of their respective areas, it being midway between Portugal's most westerly possessions in the Azores and the newly discovered islands, an agreement which six years later allowed Portugal to claim Brazil as being within her sphere. Columbus made three more voyages to the West Indies, but his quest for gold and his incompetence as an administrator prevented him from penetrating far beyond the locality reached on his first voyage. The West Indies and the coast of Central America were his only additions to geographical knowledge. He died in 1506, ignorant of the nature of the new continent upon which he had stumbled.

Since the real nature of Columbus's discovery was unsuspected, the success of his voyage was judged in relation to the motive which inspired it. Its object had been the discovery of a route to the Indies. But it was soon discovered that the real India was thousands of miles from the spot Columbus had reached, and that his islands afforded none of the wealth which the Portuguese were enjoying. Hence the neglect which embittered the last years of his life. The monopoly which the agreement of Santa Fé conferred upon him was broken, and in 1499 one of his captains, Vicente Pinzon, visited the coast of Brazil. He was accompanied by a Florentine named Amerigo Vespucci, who, a few years later, explored more of the South American coast. With a view to his own advancement he wrote an account of his voyages which confirmed the growing conviction that the South American continent was distinct from Asia and Cathay and therefore a *mundus novus*. In 1507, the year after Columbus's death, Amerigo's narrative was printed at St. Dié, in Lorraine, in a primer of geography whose author suggested that Amerigo's name should be given to the *mundus novus* which he had revealed. That Columbus also had reached the new continent was not understood, and when the fact was recognised, the name *America* had gained too general currency to allow it to be withdrawn. Applied first to Brazil only, it was attached to both North and South America on Mercator's Map in 1569.

The revelation of the Pacific was the necessary preliminary to the correction of Columbus's confusion of the West Indies with Cipango and Cathay. In 1513 Nunez de Balboa, after traversing the Isthmus of Darien, viewed the Pacific for the

first time, and a few years later Panama was established as a Spanish settlement on its coast. In 1519 the Portuguese Fernão Magalhaes (Ferdinand Magellan) sailed in the service of Spain, discovered the Straits which bear his name, traversed the Pacific, and gave it its name also. In the Philippines he met his death, but his ship, the *Victoria*, continued her voyage, rounded Africa, and returned to Spain in 1522, the first vessel to circumnavigate the globe. Not until the voyage of Francis Drake in 1577-80 was the exploit repeated.

Even while Magellan was proving the error of the calculations which inspired the *navigatio mirabilis* of 1492, Spain was learning that Columbus after all had guided her to El Dorado. At first she occupied only the Greater Antilles (Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Cuba, and Jamaica), in which she failed to discover gold in satisfactory quantities. But soon the Spaniards gathered rumours of vast stores of gold and silver on the neighbouring mainland. From a very early age gold and silver were mined in Mexico and Peru, and deposits of the precious metals had accumulated in both countries; for they did not circulate as a medium of exchange. Their discovery and removal by the Spaniards probably made the first substantial addition to the precious metals circulating in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. Even after the accumulations of the Mexicans and Peruvians had been rifled and distributed, the mines themselves, especially those of Potosi in Bolivia (whence £600,000,000 are said to have been drawn in the three hundred years following their discovery), continued to flood Europe with the precious metals. At once Columbus's discovery acquired importance, and it became the ambition of the other nations of Europe to possess some portion of the New World.

Slave-hunting expeditions first brought the Spaniards from the Antilles to the continental coast of Yucatan, which lay at no great distance from Cuba. Ten years later (1518) exploration along the shores of the Gulf gave the Spaniards the first news of a wealthy country which the Indians called Mexico, whose inhabitants, the Nahuatlaca, like the Algonquins and Iroquois of North America, had moved from their original seat in British Columbia to the regions in which the Europeans found them. Amid their settlements on the plain of Anahuac in Central America were two villages, or *pueblos*,

which had been founded in the fourteenth century by nomads whom the Nahuatlaca called *Aztecs* or "Crane-people." The villages were situated on Lake Tezcuco, and when the Spaniards arrived in the country, formed the capital of a powerful confederation, a city whose size and wealth roused the admiration of the Europeans; though Aztec civilisation was, in fact, not higher than that of semi-barbarous African peoples of modern times. Selected for the command of an expedition to Mexico, Hernan Cortes made himself master of the Aztec city and its territory, and in 1522 received from Charles V the title Captain-General of New Spain, as the province was called.

Transcending Mexico in wealth and extent was the vast region of Peru, and Spain's good fortune added it also to her empire. Lying along the coast and valleys of the Andes, it was inhabited by a people who called themselves *Inca* (People of the Sun), whose chief seat was at Cuzco. In 1532 Francesco Pizarro, an adventurer in search of El Dorado, and a small party of soldiers arrived on the coast of Peru from Panama. The stores of gold and silver which they found drove them to deeds of dreadful cruelty, and within a few years the conquest of the country was completed. A new capital was built by Pizarro at Lima, and in 1547 Charles V took New Castile, as the province was known, under his authority.

On Europe the effect of Spain's fortune was very great. After the discovery of the West Indies gold began to pour into Europe from the New World. The conquest of Mexico increased the flow and that of Peru trebled it. It is computed that by the middle of the sixteenth century there was twelve times more specie in circulation in Europe than in 1492. Much of it was employed by Charles V and his successor Philip II to support their political and religious schemes in Europe. Hence nations like England, whom those schemes particularly threatened, held the rifling of Spanish treasure-ships a patriotic duty as well as a lucrative employment. So vast an influx of the precious metals into Europe increased the fluid wealth in circulation and benefited the great class of producers. Hitherto land had been the principal source of wealth, and its possession conferred social and political influence upon its owners. But the diffusion of wealth in trade and commerce gave the middle class a social and

political importance which so far it lacked, and undermined the monopoly of a land-owning aristocracy.

In spite of the Papal Bull of 1493 and the determination of Spain and Portugal to exclude competitors, the dazzling wealth which both derived from their discoveries attracted other countries. The hugeness of the American continent made acts of trespass easy, and the decay of Spain and Portugal allowed their rivals to found colonial establishments of their own. In North America, where there was the greater opportunity for independent exploration, seeing that the wealth of Mexico and Peru tied the Spaniards to southern latitudes, the exploration, and ultimately, colonisation of the continent fell particularly to the English and French. In 1496, Henry VII, who had missed the chance of employing Columbus for England, issued a charter to John Cabot, an Italian mariner resident at Bristol, empowering him to explore the northern latitudes across the ocean, to take possession of such lands as he might discover in the name of the English crown, and to retain four-fifths of the profits of his voyage. Having regard to the commercial intercourse between Bristol and Iceland, there can be no doubt that Columbus's exploit had revived interest in Vinland, and that the object of Cabot's voyage was to rediscover it. In 1497, and again in 1498, he and his son Sebastian explored the coast of North America, and claimed to have found both the "New Isle" of the Norsemen and also Cathay. But the voyages yielded no profit, and though they enabled England ultimately to base her possession of North America on the ground of prior discovery, they were not followed up for more than half a century.

The Cabots' voyages suggested to Portugal that, like Brazil, the regions explored by them lay to the east of the line of demarcation of 1494, and therefore in her own sphere. In 1500 and the two following years Gaspard Cortereal and his brother Miguel visited the regions which the Cabots had reached. But though Portugal charted Labrador and Newfoundland within her sphere, she took no further steps to substantiate her claim; for the return of Vasco da Gama from India opened to her more promising prospects in the East.

In the reign of Francis I, France entered the lists against the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly. Giovanni da Verrazzano,

a Florentine in Francis's service, obtained practical evidence of the wealth which the Spaniards were drawing from America by the capture of three of their homeward bound treasure-ships in 1522. Refusing to admit the monopoly which the Portuguese and Spaniards claimed, and striving to divert to his own use some of the wealth which was sustaining his rival, Charles V, Francis in 1524 commissioned Verrazzano to explore the North American shore northward from Florida. On his return he claimed the region visited by him and called it "New France," the name of the defunct Latin Empire of Constantinople and, at a later time, of French Canada. Jacques Cartier, in 1534, 1535, and 1540, led France to that part of the continent which in the next century she made her own. In his first voyage Cartier explored the estuary of the St. Lawrence, and in the second ascended the river as far as Montreal.

Thus before the middle of the sixteenth century the chief Powers of Western Europe had staked out claims in the New World which they afterwards developed. But the relation of the North American continent to Asia was not yet understood. Cartier believed the St. Lawrence to be the avenue to Cathay, and English voyages in the reign of Elizabeth were undertaken in the hope of discovering a North-West Passage thither. It was represented as a practicable waterway above North America, and the arguments which established its existence are set out in Sir Humphry Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia (Cathay)*, published in 1576. Martin Frobisher conducted three fruitless expeditions (1576-78) for the discovery of the Passage, and claimed to have found it in Frobisher Bay on the south of Baffin Land. But the glamour of Potosi was over the whole continent, and Frobisher was diverted from further exploration by a profitless search for metalliferous ore. In 1579, in the course of his raid on the Spanish settlements in the Pacific, Drake searched for the North-West Passage north of San Francisco, and had thoughts of returning by it to Europe with the vast booty he had gained. In 1585, 1586, and 1587 John Davis reached a more northerly point than Frobisher, and identified Cumberland Sound in Baffin Land as the desired Passage. In his second voyage he discarded it and explored the Straits which bear his own name. But though

Davis made valuable contributions to geographical knowledge, the North-West Passage was not discovered until the explorations of Sir John Franklin (d. 1847).

The search for Cathay in the sixteenth century stimulated maritime discovery in the Arctic seas above Europe. It was conjectured that by a North-East Passage above Europe the Pacific could be reached along a route far removed from Spanish interference. The enterprise fell first to the English and later to the Dutch. In 1549, Sebastian Cabot received from England the title Grand Pilot, and at his instigation the Company of Muscovy Merchants was formed in 1551 "for the search and discovery of the northern parts of the world." In 1553 its first expedition was dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. After discovering Novaya Zembla, Willoughby and two ships' crews were lost in Lapland. Chancellor entered the White Sea and succeeded in opening commercial relations with Russia. Stephen Borough followed in Willoughby's wake in 1556. But the disappointing results led England to abandon the search for Cathay in that direction, and to turn her attention to the more promising route by the North-West. The Dutch, however, stimulated by Philip of Spain's embargo on their trade with Portugal, which he annexed in 1580, promoted voyages "to discover the Kingdoms of Cathaia and China northward from Norway." In 1594 and the two following years Barents conducted three expeditions which had no better success than the English. But the time had come when Spain could no longer maintain her monopoly of the Portuguese route to the Indies. In 1595 the Dutch dispatched their first expedition to India round the Cape of Good Hope, almost a century after the historic voyage of Vasco da Gama. Six years later (1601) John Davis piloted the first English expedition along the same route.

The sixteenth century was for all the Western nations of Europe pre-eminently a period of exploration, and, except in the case of Spain and Portugal, led to no permanent settlements in the newly discovered lands. The era of colonisation for other countries opened with the seventeenth century. Attempts, however, were made, and failed because the conditions of successful colony-building were not understood. The French followed up Cartier's discovery by an unsuccessful

attempt in 1542 to settle a colony at Quebec. No more successful, though significant as the first attempt to use the New World as a refuge for religious exiles, was the effort of the Huguenot Nicolas Durand (Villegagnon) in 1555 to establish a French Protestant colony in Brazil, on an island which still bears his name, at the mouth of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. Seven years later (1562) certain French Huguenots, led by Jean Ribault, were inspired by Verrazzano's recent voyage to attempt a settlement in South Carolina, near Beaufort on Port Royal Sound. But, as had happened already in Brazil, dissension broke up the colony, whose members were rescued by an English vessel. In 1564 another band of French Protestants under René de Laudonnière, who had served under Ribault, settled at St. John's River on the coast of Florida. As trespassers and heretics they drew on themselves the wrath of Spain, by whom, in 1565, their settlement was destroyed.

Nor were the colonial efforts of England more successful in the sixteenth century. Excluded altogether from the trade of the Mediterranean, and competing on unequal terms with the Dutch and Germans for the trade of the Baltic, England found in America, by reason of its geographical position relatively to herself, her first chance to compete successfully with her neighbours. The motives which impelled her to settle colonies there are set forth by Sir Humphry Gilbert in his *Discourse*. The interests of national policy required her to secure to herself the raw materials necessary for ship-building, and to promote the efficiency of her marine. The settlement of over-sea colonies would relieve her of a growing population which her resources did not enable her to support, while the colonial demand for articles of English manufacture, especially woollens, would stimulate English commerce. There was also the motive of proselytism, and it appealed with double force; for the natives would not only be rescued from heathendom, but also from Popery, if Protestant England broke Spain's monopoly. In 1577 Gilbert procured a patent from the crown empowering him to discover and colonise "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands," and requiring him to establish therein English law and Church discipline. His first attempt to carry out the patent was a complete failure (1579), and a second in 1583 cost him his life.

In that year he took possession of St. John's in Newfoundland, but his companions were more interested in buccaneering than in colony-building, and deciding to return with more hopeful material another year, Gilbert was lost in the *Golden Hind* on his homeward voyage to England.

The prosecution of Gilbert's colonial schemes descended to Sir Walter Raleigh, who, obtaining a patent in 1584 similar to Gilbert's, dispatched two vessels to explore the locality of France's Protestant colonial efforts. Elizabeth herself suggested the name *Virginia* for the region, and in 1585 Raleigh sent Sir Richard Greynville and over one hundred colonists to the Roanoke. They, however, roused the hostility of the Indians, and were glad to take advantage of Drake's appearance to return with him to England (1586). Undaunted, Raleigh sent out another band of colonists to Roanoke in 1587. But the great struggle with the Spanish Armada in the following year prevented the dispatch to them of the necessary succour, and when in 1589 John White, to whom Raleigh's patent had been transferred, visited the colony, he found it deserted, and its members either massacred or the slaves of the Indians whom they had provoked. Thenceforward till his death Raleigh's interests turned to Guiana, an unoccupied region between the Orinoco and the Amazon. Elizabeth's caution forbade him to rouse Spain by occupying it, and her successor, James I, put him to death (1618) to allay Spain's indignation at his voyage thither in 1617. Thus when Elizabeth died in 1603, England possessed claims on Newfoundland, Virginia, and California or "New Albion," founded on the efforts of Gilbert, Raleigh, and Drake respectively. In the seventeenth century she realised them.

CHAPTER III

THE ITALIAN WARS

IN medieval England and elsewhere foreign policy was largely a matter of tradition. Traditionally France was England's natural enemy, while Flanders and Spain were her friends. The accession of the Tudors did not at first change England's traditional relations. Henry VII chose a Spanish wife for his successive heirs and joined the anti-French league promoted against Charles VIII by Maximilian I. But the formation of strong monarchies in the fifteenth century compelled the abandonment of a policy based on precedent for one less rigid and more adaptable to the shifting international situation. The expedition of Charles VIII to Italy in 1494 opened the new epoch.

The most important event in the foreign relations of Tudor England was her contest with Spain in the reign of Elizabeth. But the recognition of Spain as her natural enemy was not made at once by England. Throughout the Habsburg-Valois duel, from 1494 to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, English foreign policy inclined now to one and anon to the other, now aiding France, now aiding the Emperor. Indeed, England's particular interests did not allow her until after 1559 to adopt an unreservedly anti-Habsburg attitude. To that point her foreign policy was the resultant of three impulses: first, the desire to participate in the expansion of sea-power and commerce, a motive which brought her into antagonism with Spain; secondly, the resolution to maintain her Protestant Church, a motive which brought her into opposition to both Spain and France; and thirdly, the endeavour to balance the power of Spain and France, a policy which inclined her now to the one and anon to the other. But the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis opened a new chapter. Spain

took the place so long held by France as England's traditional foe, and held it until Holland became the chief rival to England's progress.

For sixty-five years (1494-1559) Western Europe was almost continuously at war. The French claim upon two of the Italian States, Naples and Milan, was the immediate cause of it. The French were eventually compelled to withdraw from Italy, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis established the Habsburgs in the peninsula. They remained there until the kingdom of Italy was founded in the nineteenth century. From the year 1519 the conflict between the Valois and the Habsburgs was waged round a larger issue; for the accession of Charles of Spain to the Empire as Charles V in 1519 created a vast Habsburg power which dominated Europe for one century and took another to decay. Under a single crown were the destinies of Central and Western Europe, excluding France and the British Isles, while the wealth of the New World, and, after 1580, of the East Indies, was at the disposal of the autocrat of Christendom.

When France invaded Italy in 1494 the peninsula contained five principal States, Milan, Florence, and Venice in the north, the Papal States in the centre, and Naples in the south. For the first half of the fifteenth century Milan was ruled by the Visconti, whose first duke, Gian Galeazzo, died in 1402, and the last, Filippo Maria, in 1447. His death opened the way to the French claim upon Milan nearly fifty years later. Meanwhile, rejecting Francesco Sforza, the husband of Filippo's daughter Bianca, Milan proclaimed herself a Republic. Venice took the opportunity to seize Lodi and Piacenza, and offered the young Republic support if her possession of them was recognised. Milan refused, war followed, Sforza compelled Milan to open her gates to him in 1450, and made terms (Peace of Lodi, 1454) with Venice. Until the arrival of Charles VIII in Italy Milan remained in the possession of the Sforza, and in 1476 the infant Gian Galeazzo became duke, though the real power remained in the hands of his uncle, Ludovico.

The power of Venice had grown steadily since the termination of the Fourth Crusade. In the fifteenth century she was the first maritime power in the Mediterranean, and occupied in North Italy a position which drew upon her the fear and

envy of her neighbours. The jealousy of Genoa led to a trial of strength with her in the fourteenth century, and the surrender of the Genoese fleet in 1380, which brought the War of Chioggia to an end, left Venice supreme as a sea-power. At first she showed little disposition to acquire political influence on the Italian mainland. But in 1338 she won the Marches of Treviso, a corn-growing district valuable to a city otherwise dependent on its navy for food supply. The decline of the Visconti after 1402 enabled her to acquire Padua, Vicenza, Verona, and their districts. To these regions, which for the most part she retained down to the League of Cambray, she added Dalmatia and Friuli, the latter giving her a strong Alpine frontier on the north. But the recovery of the Visconti in Milan threatened to check the expansion of Venice in North Italy. War followed, and when Duke Filippo Maria died in 1447 the Republic was in possession of Brescia and Bergamo, almost at the gates of Milan, and of Ravenna, an acquisition which brought her into touch with the Romagna and contributed to the causes which called the Papacy into the League of Cambray against her. The Peace of Lodi (1454) gave her Crema and Treviglio. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, however, signalled the decline of Venice. Her supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean was challenged by them, and the Treaty of Constantinople (1479) deprived her of Scutari and of her possessions in the Morea. But peace with the Turks freed her to prosecute her ambition in Italy. In 1481 she attacked Ferrara, which lay between herself and Ravenna, and threatened the absorption of the intervening territory. Hence a league against her was formed by Milan, Naples, and the Papacy. The war which followed strained the resources of Venice, and she was compelled to sue for peace, after inviting France to push her claims on Milan and Naples. The invitation proved disastrous to Italy; for the intervention of foreign States enlarged the conflict, and the interests of Italy were sacrificed to those of the intruders. Venice permanently lost the commanding position which she had held so long, and the Portuguese discovery of India shattered her commercial superiority.

Naples, from which Sicily had been detached by the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, was reunited to the island by

Alfonso V, "The Magnanimous," of Aragon. Upon his death in 1458 Naples and Sicily again drew apart. Naples passed to his illegitimate son Ferrante, or Ferdinand I (1458-94), and thereafter to Ferrante's son, Alfonso II. Sicily went to Alfonso's legitimate heir, and in 1494 was ruled by his nephew Ferdinand "The Catholic" (1479-1516).

Florence, professedly a Republic, passed in 1434 under the rule of Cosimo de' Medici, the head of the wealthy family of bankers who had long championed the populace against the Albizzi and oligarchical government. He maintained the forms of constitutional government, and at his death in 1464 was mourned as *pater patriæ*. His grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492), ruled with royal pomp, and his patronage of art and letters made Florence the intellectual capital of Christendom. His son Piero (d. 1503) was at no pains to conceal the despotic nature of his rule, and turned his back on Milan and the friendship of France. The invasion of Charles VIII caused the creation of the Florentine Republic, of which the friar Girolamo Savonarola was the guiding spirit until his death in 1498.

From the thirteenth century France had particular reason to regard Italian affairs with close interest; for on two of the Italian States she could advance claims. Her claim to Milan was based on the marriage of Valentina Visconti to the first duke of Orleans, whose death in 1407 plunged France into the civil war between the Burgundians and Armagnacs. Forty years later the death of Filippo Maria brought the House of Visconti to an end in the male line. Filippo left only an illegitimate daughter, Bianca, the wife of Francesco Sforza, who rescued the interests of the Visconti from ruin and continued their title. On the other hand, the marriage contract of Valentina, confirmed by Pope Clement VII, recognised her right of succession to the duchy of Milan in default of heirs male, and her claim descended to her grandson Louis of Orleans, who in 1498 ascended the French throne as Louis XII. On Naples the French House of Anjou had a more complicated claim. The Angevin dynasty founded in Naples by Charles I in 1266 encountered two crises in the course of the next two hundred years. Joanna I of Naples (d. 1382) disinherited her legal heir, Charles III, of Durazzo, in favour of her distant cousin Louis

of Anjou, the son of the unfortunate John II of France. The disinherited Charles maintained the rights of the Durazzo line until 1435, when his daughter Joanna II died without issue and brought it to an end. She at first named Alfonso V of Aragon her heir, but resenting his attempt to forestall her death, she constituted as her heir, first, Louis III, and then, René the Good, grandsons of Louis of Anjou whom the earlier Joanna had named her successor. Louis died in 1434. René failed to establish himself against Alfonso V of Aragon, and on his death in 1480 devised his possessions in Provence and Naples to his nephew Charles of Mayenne, with remainder to his other nephew, Louis XI of France. In 1481 the death of Charles of Mayenne made Louis XI heir of the House of Anjou. He rested content with the annexation of Provence, leaving his son Charles VIII, young, ambitious, and fired with the desire to secure Naples as the base of a new crusade against the Turk, to prosecute the family claims in Italy.

Events conspired to invite France's intervention in Italy. The tyrannous rule of Ferrante in Naples provoked a rebellion, whose leaders, the princes of Salerno and Bisignan, chiefs of the House of San Severino, with the approval of Venice, repaired to France in 1492 and urged Charles to put forward his claims to Naples against the Aragonese tyrant. Ludovico Sforza of Milan advised the same course. His counsel was entirely self-interested; for he held the young duke Gian Galeazzo in pupilage, though he was of age, and aimed to secure the dukedom for himself. Duke Gian was married to Isabella, granddaughter of Ferrante of Naples, and Neapolitan opposition to Ludovico's intrigue was certain. Unable to count on support in Italy, he trusted to benefit by Charles's intervention.

Thus urged, Charles in 1493 assumed the title King of Sicily and Jerusalem, the titular crown of the latter passing with the former. By 1494 his preparations were complete, and while his powerful artillery and a portion of his army embarked at Genoa, Charles himself crossed the Alps by Mont Genève and descended upon North Italy. There he met with no resistance; for Milan was friendly and Venice was neutral, while Alfonso II (who succeeded his father Ferrante in Naples in January, 1494) disposed his troops to await the French in the Romagna. During Charles's passage

through North Italy the young duke Gian Galeazzo died, and his uncle Ludovico assumed the title. Piero de' Medici, who had run counter to the wishes of the Florentines by taking the side of Naples, abandoned the resistance which he had organised against Charles's advance. His submission came too late, however. Florence rose against him, received Charles within its walls, and a few weeks later a republican constitution was set up under the influence of Savonarola. From Florence Charles marched on Rome, the Neapolitan troops falling back from Viterbo before him, while the infamous Borgia Pope Alexander VI shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo. Rejecting the advice of those who urged severer measures, Charles accepted the temporary surrender of four papal towns, and continued his march on Naples. The courage of Alfonso II evaporated on the approach of the French, and early in 1495 he abdicated in favour of his son Ferrantino, or Ferdinand II. Naples offered to submit to Charles, and five months after the beginning of the campaign the French entered the city.

The success of Charles's military promenade alarmed even those who had invited it. Ferdinand of Aragon and Sicily had no desire to see the French his neighbours in Naples. Maximilian, the future Emperor, suspected Charles of designs on the Imperial crown. Venice realised the danger to her own interests from the intrusion of a foreign power in Italy. The Pope had the same motive for fear. Ludovico, who had invited Charles to advance his claim on Naples, was alarmed by the fact that the French king's cousin and successor, Louis of Orleans, was seeking by force of arms to establish his own right to the duchy of Milan. Hence the Spanish sovereigns, Maximilian, and all the Italian States save Florence, entered into a League professedly defensive, but in fact offensive, against France. Leaving part of his army in the Neapolitan kingdom to withstand Ferrantino, Charles, after three months' stay in Naples, set out on his return to France. He recrossed the Apennines without opposition. But at Fornovo, on the banks of the river Taro, Charles found the army of the League prepared to resist his entrance into Lombardy. The battle that ensued (July, 1495) was indecisive, but the French were not hindered from continuing their march. Before crossing the Alps, Charles concluded

the Treaty of Vercelli with Ludovico and recognised his title to the Milanese dukedom. In Naples the force which Charles had left to guard his interests maintained them for twelve months against Ferrantino. But when the latter died in October, 1496, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederick, or Federigo, the only position held by the French in the Neapolitan kingdom was Gaeta, which surrendered a month later. Such was the unpromising result of France's first intervention in Italy. Charles's death in 1498 prevented him from repeating it. But his cousin and successor, Louis XII, assumed forthwith the titles King of Sicily and Duke of Milan, and prepared to make them good.

The members of the League which had been formed against Charles VIII in Italy were no longer on terms of amity, and Louis had little difficulty in gaining adherents to his projected acquisition of Milan and Naples. Pope Alexander VI and his son Cæsar Borgia were intent upon building up Borgia influence in the Romagna. Venice, jealous of the power of Milan, agreed with Louis in a scheme for the partition of the duchy, under which she was to receive Cremona and the district east of the Adda. In the summer of 1499 the French again took the field in Italy. Milan was occupied with ease, Ludovico fled, and Venice seized the territories which her agreement with Louis assigned to her. Louis crossed the Alps to visit his new acquisition, and appointed Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, a Milanese exile in the French service, as governor. But his arrogance, incompetence, and greed alienated the Milanese, whose hostile demeanour caused the French and their nominee to evacuate the city early in 1500. Two days later, Ludovico, who had succeeded in collecting an army, returned to Milan. But his success was only temporary. The French again moved against him, he was captured while attempting to escape, and remained a prisoner in France until his death in 1508.

Louis's success established France as the predominant power in northern and central Italy, and both Venice and Cæsar Borgia had her assistance in the projects in which each was interested, the former against the Turks, the latter in the conquest of the Romagna (the old Exarchate of Ravenna). Louis resolved to conquer Naples also. The effort was certain to invite the hostility of Spain;

for Ferdinand of Aragon was also king of Sicily, and the establishment of French influence on the Straits of Messina could not be welcome to him. Ferdinand, however, was willing to share the plunder with Louis, and a secret treaty to that effect was concluded between them at Granada in November, 1500. In the following summer the blow fell on Federigo. The Borgia Pope declared him deposed, and confirmed the proposed partition of his kingdom between the two conspirators. Federigo made no resistance, and was given an honourable asylum in France, while the allies turned to the difficult task of dividing his kingdom. Ferdinand naturally received Calabria and Apulia, the districts contiguous to Sicily, while France took the northern region, Naples itself, and the royal dignity. But this rough demarcation left the door open for disputes, which ripened into war. In 1502 it broke out, and after suffering defeats at Seminara and Cerignola the French were compelled to leave Ferdinand in possession of Naples. They attempted its recovery and were again defeated on the Garigliano (1503) by the Spanish "Great Captain," Gonzalo de Cordova. Ferdinand was not again disturbed in his acquisition, and the insular and continental parts of the Sicilian kingdom once more came together under Aragonese rule (1504).

The ambition of France had already condemned Italy to ten years of warfare. The ambition of the Pope now continued it. The issue of the Franco-Spanish war in Naples was still undecided when in August, 1503, Pope Alexander VI died. He was succeeded, after the brief pontificate of Pius III, by Julius II, who was as ambitious for the Papacy as his predecessor for his own family. Aided by the complacency of France, Cæsar Borgia had succeeded in bringing the petty states of the Romagna and the March of Ancona under his personal control, and in 1501 was created duke of Romagna by his father. Julius determined to recover the Romagna for the Papacy. Venice, already possessed of Ravenna, had recently seized the occasion of Alexander's death to occupy Faenza and Rimini, and had employed the warfare just concluded to promote her own interests. Julius, therefore, had no difficulty in concluding a League against her at Cambray (December, 1508). The parties to it were the Pope, the Emperor, and the kings of France and Aragon.

The Pope desired to obtain the restoration of Ravenna, Rimini, Faenza and less important places in the Romagna. Spain aimed at the recovery of Otranto, Brindisi, and other places in South Italy which Venice had acquired in return for her help against the French at the time of Charles VIII's invasion. The Emperor Maximilian hoped to obtain various localities in the north of Italy which Venice either held of or had taken from the Habsburgs or the Empire, notably Friuli (Habsburg), Padua and Verona (Imperial). Venice also had recently refused him passage through her territories on his way to Rome for his coronation. As to France, she hoped to recover the eastern parts of the duchy of Milan which Venice had obtained under her agreement with Louis XII.

The League of Cambray proved too powerful for Venice. The French were the first to take the field on the Adda. In 1509 they gained a victory over the Venetian army at Agnadello and occupied the coveted localities. In the Romagna and Apulia the Pope and Ferdinand recovered the cities held by Venice. In February, 1510, Venice sued for peace and was admitted by the Pope to forgiveness and friendship. Having used the foreigner to gain his own ends, Julius needed the help of Venice to drive the "barbarians," so he termed the French, from North Italy. He had no difficulty in detaching Ferdinand and Maximilian from their recent friendship with France, and was successful in drawing into his "Holy League" the new king of England, Henry VIII, who was anxious not only to recover Guyenne, the bait held out to him, but also to play a part on the stage of European politics. The Swiss also joined, and in 1511 the Holy League was proclaimed at Rome.

The war of the Holy League opened auspiciously for France in Italy. Bologna was besieged by the allies, but was relieved by the young and brilliant governor of Milan, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours. He recovered Brescia, but died in the moment of a successful assault on Ravenna (1512). His death and the advent of a Swiss army in North Italy changed the situation. Forced to evacuate Tuscany, the French withdrew into Lombardy and thence were driven across the Alps. On their departure North Italy resumed the situation which had obtained before 1494. The Medici were restored in

Florence (1512), and Massimiliano Sforza, the son of Ludovico, received the duchy of Milan (1512), in spite of the desire of the Emperor to secure it for his grandson Charles. Nor were these the only blows to the prestige of France. Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512 invaded and incorporated with Castile that part of the kingdom of Navarre which lay on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, leaving the portion of it on the north of the mountain chain to be annexed to the French crown on the accession of the first Bourbon king, Henry IV. In the next year (1513) England attacked France's northern frontier, and won the "Battle of the Spurs" at Guinegaste, while Scotland was defeated at Flodden attempting to divert Henry from his attack on France.

On the death of Julius II in 1513 the Holy League broke up. He had riveted his hold upon the Romagna, and may be regarded as the founder of the Papal States. He had driven the French from the peninsula, but had contributed to the conditions which laid Italy under the heel of the Habsburgs for more than three centuries. Louis XII died two years later (1515). His successor, Francis I, who also was descended from Valentina Visconti, secured the friendship of England and Venice with a view to the recovery of Milan from the Sforza. In 1515 he invaded Italy, and after a stubborn fight of two days' duration defeated the Swiss at Marignano. The victory gained him the duchy of Milan. Duke Massimiliano Sforza retired to France and died there in 1530. In 1516 the Swiss made the "Everlasting Peace" with the French, and agreed not to furnish mercenaries to their enemies, while Leo X, by the Treaty of Bologna (1516), restored Parma and Piacenza, which he had annexed in 1512. Thus entrenched in North Italy, Francis withdrew his claim on Naples (Treaty of Noyon, 1516), and Italy gained a brief respite from wars which had been almost continuous since 1494.

On the death of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1516, his grandson, the Archduke Charles, succeeded to the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in Italy, and to the territory of his ancestors, the Valois dukes of Burgundy, in the Netherlands and Franche Comté. Outside Europe he was lord of the New World, whose vast wealth poured into his coffers, and in 1519 the death of Maximilian made him Emperor. Between France and the wielder of such mighty

power enmity was inevitable. France could but regard with fear a sovereign whose territory touched hers on the north, south, and east. So long as Flanders, Artois, and Franche Comté remained in his hands, Paris itself was a frontier town, protected by no intervening mountain chain or broad river. As the heir of Charles the Bold of Burgundy Charles V also threatened France's vulnerable frontier by his claim on Picardy and the duchy of Burgundy, and on the south he held Navarre to the exclusion of its French owners, the d'Albrets. Unless France submitted to be throttled by the enveloping power of the Habsburgs, war was her only resource. In more than one direction also France stood in the path of Charles's ambition. As the heir of Charles the Bold he inherited the feud of his ancestors with the royal House of Valois. As Emperor he might even challenge France's absorption of Dauphiné and Provence, once the kingdom of Arles. But it was in Italy that France's interests clashed most seriously with his own. That unhappy country, devoid of national sentiment or national unity, was the spoil of the foreigner. In Naples and Sicily the Spanish were established, in Milan the French, and Milan was a fief of the Empire. There was also between Charles V and Francis I a personal rivalry accentuated by their recent candidatures for the Imperial crown.

War being inevitable, both princes sought allies, and especially angled for the friendship of Henry VIII of England, their late competitor for the Imperial dignity, though hardly a serious one. Francis and Henry met in 1520 at the famous Field of Cloth of Gold between the castles of Guines and Ardres. But the tradition of Anglo-French hostility was still vivid, and Henry's wife, Catharine, exerted influence on behalf of her nephew the Emperor. A little more than a fortnight later Henry met Charles at Gravelines and came to terms with him. With the Pope the Emperor was also successful, since he offered not only to check heresy within the Empire, but was ready to countenance Leo X's hopes of territorial aggrandisement in the Romagna.

The war, begun by Francis and Charles in 1520 and concluded by their sons, continued for thirty-nine years. Within that period six distinct wars were waged. The first began with the French invasion of Navarre, in the course of which,

at the siege of Pamplona (1521), Ignatius Loyola received the wound which diverted him to religion and made him the founder of the Society of Jesus. Expelled from Navarre, the French were also driven from Milan by the Imperial troops, and Francesco Sforza, the second son of Ludovico, was restored to the duchy (1521). The Pope recovered Parma and Piacenza and obtained Imperial protection for his kinsmen, the Medici, in Florence. Henry VIII and Charles concluded an alliance against France (Treaty of Windsor, 1522). None the less Francis refused to accept his expulsion from Milan as final. In 1524 a French army invaded Lombardy and was defeated on the Sesia, where the Chevalier Bayard met his death. In 1525 Francis himself led an army into Italy, re-entered Milan without opposition, and besieged Pavia, where he was defeated and made a prisoner.

The capture of Francis was as disastrous to France as that of John II at Agincourt, and led to a humiliating treaty. Anxious to regain his liberty, Francis (January, 1526) signed a treaty at Madrid in which he renounced his claims upon Naples, Genoa, and Milan, surrendered French suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, and ceded to Charles the duchy of Burgundy, which had escheated to France on the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. So disastrous a treaty could not produce a final settlement. Indeed, Francis refused to be bound by conditions extorted by force, and was absolved from them by Pope Clement VII.

No sooner was he free than Francis made preparations to annul the conditions of the Treaty of Madrid. Charles's successes had roused the fears of the Italian states, and within a few weeks of Francis's release the League of Cognac (1526) was formed against the Emperor. The Pope, France, Florence, Venice, and Francesco Sforza were members of it. Henry VIII was invited to join it, but refused. Swift ruin fell upon Francis and his confederates. Milan fell to the Imperialists; the Florentines expelled the Medici and proclaimed a Republic; and in May, 1527, the Imperial army appeared before Rome. Clement VII threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo. The city was assaulted and fell, and for eight days was given up to sack and pillage. The outrage to the Pope roused Christendom, and Henry VIII threw himself into the anti-Imperial League, desirous to obtain the Pope's

sanction to his projected divorce from Catharine of Aragon. Francis forthwith dispatched an army into Italy, upon whose advance towards Rome the Pope was set free. Anxious rather to damage the Emperor than to recover French losses, the French army marched against Naples. But the defection of Andrea Doria, the famous Genoese admiral in the French service, broke the communications of the French army with France. Decimated by the plague, the remnant of it surrendered at Aversa. In Genoa Doria established an oligarchical Republic which lasted until 1796. Again in 1529 Francis sent an army into Italy, but with no better fortune, and both sides agreed to treat for peace. At Cambray terms were arranged (1529) which relieved Francis of the most humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Madrid. He renounced his claims on Naples and Milan and the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois. In exchange for two million crowns Charles withdrew his demand for the cession of the duchy of Burgundy, though he reserved his claim to it. On those terms the two sons of Francis, who had been detained in Spain as hostages, were released. Charles forthwith visited Italy, where Habsburg interests had been so amply vindicated. In 1530 he was crowned at Bologna, the last Emperor who submitted to that ceremony at the Pope's hands. In Milan the Sforza were his vassals, in Florence the Medici were restored by his means, and France's access to the peninsula was closed by the relations which Charles established with Savoy and Genoa.

For nearly thirty years Charles V enjoyed the fruits of the Treaty of Cambray and resisted the endeavours of France to upset it. For, despite his renunciations in the Treaties of Madrid and Cambray, Francis had no mind to abandon Milan. In 1535 Francesco Sforza died, and Francis advanced his son's claim to the vacant duchy. Henry VIII, whose marriage to Anne Boleyn (1533) estranged Charles V and the Pope, was in alliance with Francis, whose daughter Madeleine united Scotland to his interests by her marriage (1537) to James V. Francis sought unsuccessfully the support of the Protestant League of Schmalkalden, and outraged Christendom by allying himself with Suleiman the Magnificent.

In 1536 the third of the six wars between the Habsburgs and Valois broke out. Francis overran Savoy and Piedmont,

and Charles conducted an ineffectual invasion of Provence. In 1538 a ten years' truce (Truce of Nice) was agreed to, which left Francis in possession of Savoy and most of Piedmont upon his confirmation of the Treaty of Cambray. But before the truce expired, the fourth war between the two princes broke out (1542-44). In Piedmont the French gained a notable victory at Ceresole (1544), and Henry VIII, rendered hostile by France's close relations with Scotland, captured Boulogne. Elsewhere the fighting was inconclusive, and in 1544 the Treaty of Crépy was agreed to. Francis again renounced Naples, Artois, and Flanders, while Charles withdrew his claim on Burgundy. Piedmont and Savoy were to remain in the hands of France pending the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance, never completed, which promised to end the rivalry of the two kings in Italy. By the Treaty of Ardres (1546) between England and France the restoration of Boulogne was promised.

The death of Francis I in 1547 left to his successor Henry II the continuation of his hostility towards the Emperor. The latter was deeply concerned to uproot heresy in Germany, and in 1552, upon the invitation of the Schmalkaldic League, Henry II opened the fifth of the Valois-Habsburg wars by annexing the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in French-speaking Lorraine. Francis, duke of Guise, the uncle of Mary Stewart, held Metz against Charles's efforts to recover it, and France remained in possession of a region important in itself and in its promise of future expansion in the same quarter. In 1556 Charles concluded the Truce of Vaucelles with Henry II and confirmed his aggressions. In Italy, though a combined Franco-Turkish fleet gained temporary possession of Corsica, Charles held his own.

For over thirty years Charles V had borne upon his shoulders the care of world-wide dominion. In October, 1555, he resigned the Netherlands to his son Philip, the husband of Mary Tudor, and in the following January (1556) surrendered to him the kingdom of Spain and its dependencies in Italy and the New World. The German possessions of the House of Habsburg he gave to his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him as Emperor. Denuded of his dignities, Charles retired to Spain, and died there two years later (1558).

The death of Charles was seized by the Franco-phil Pope

Paul IV as an opportunity to reverse the policy of Julius II and to attempt the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy. Tempted by the promise of Naples, Henry II broke the Truce of Vaucelles, and dispatched Guise into Italy, who gave siege to Civitella in Naples. But a critical situation in France compelled his recall. Influenced by Philip II of Spain, Mary Tudor had declared war (June, 1557) on Henry II, while the duke of Savoy laid siege to St. Quentin. The fall of the place (August, 1557) exposed Paris itself to the danger of an Imperialist advance. But Philip did not push his advantage, and the return of the duke of Guise and his army from Italy relieved the situation. In January, 1558, he besieged Calais and took it. Guines also was captured, and the last relic of the Plantagenet heritage in France was lost. The victory of the Imperialists at Gravelines led to negotiations, and in 1559 the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was agreed to. The duke of Savoy was restored to Savoy and Piedmont, excepting Saluzzo, Pinerolo, Turin, and a few other places, which France retained. France also was left in possession of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Calais was conveyed to her for eight years, and on payment of a nominal forfeit, for ever. France and Spain bound themselves to a joint crusade against Protestantism, and the treaty marks the beginning of the Counter-Reformation or Catholic reaction as an active force. It marks also the close of a chapter which opened in 1494 when Charles VIII entered Italy. France had fulfilled her appointed task in weakening the Habsburgs, whose Spanish and German branches henceforward were separated, though the treaty left them securely seated in Italy. France had also discharged a more vital duty. She had preserved her organic unity against Habsburg attacks upon her territory, and had made a beginning in the strengthening of her frontier, a policy which the Bourbons triumphantly consummated in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER IV

THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

IN an earlier chapter the intimate relation between the Renaissance and the Reformation has been dwelt upon. The recovered literature of pagan Greece and Rome revived the fearless rationalism, the independent vision, of which itself was the outcome. The Bible, which was also the fruit of the Renaissance, awoke in men a spiritual sense long dormant. Hence, when its pretensions were critically examined, when its formalism was judged by the standard of the recovered Book of God, the medieval Church crumbled and collapsed.

For centuries the Roman pontiff had ruled an empire to which that of the Cæsars alone is comparable. It embraced many nationalities, and was co-extensive with Christendom. In a perverted form of Latin it possessed a language which linked its subjects in the ritual of common worship and its hierarchy in the bond of common speech. To the nations which planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire the Church was both mentor and educator. They resigned themselves unreservedly to its direction. Heaven was closed against all who displeased it. What it sanctioned alone was orthodox, and against its judgment there was no appeal. To the laity the Bible was an unknown book.

The most forceful appeal of the Bible, when it began to circulate in Christian homes, was the contrast it presented between the Apostolic Church, poor and earnest in its care for the souls of men, and the medieval Church, wealthy, immersed in worldly cares, forgetful of its spiritual charge. From an early period the contrast roused a cry for reform; in the twelfth century from the Waldenses or Vaudois, followers of Pierre Waldo or Valdez of Lyons; from John Wycliffe and the Lollards; from John Hus in Bohemia. But in the sixteenth century the ideals of a few became the con-

victions of a great tract of Christendom, and the Reformation, already threatened in the Conciliar movement, burst upon the Papacy from outside.

The specific abuses which caused the Reformation were of many kinds, secular and religious. For generations the Papacy had drawn upon itself the hostility of the temporal princes by its claim to interfere in their affairs, to excommunicate and depose them, and to advance its own interests through its legates or ambassadors at the European courts. Equally resented was the patronage which from the time of Innocent III the Papacy exercised over church benefices, abbeys, and similar foundations, bestowing rich livings upon persons who never visited their charge. Both France and Spain protested that such patronage was killing the Church, and the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were passed in England to meet the evil. Papal nomination to bishoprics was particularly obnoxious to the temporal princes; for the episcopate exercised great political influence, and its dependence on a foreign power was unwelcome. Flagrant as were the abuses attending the Papacy's patronage, its maleficent effect was intensified by the nepotism and pluralism which attended it. Bishoprics and benefices were showered upon kinsmen and favourites, and revenues, withdrawn from the countries whence they were derived, were squandered at the papal court.

It was a further grievance that the Papacy everywhere enforced the immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction. They stood outside its control and were subject only to ecclesiastical courts of law, whose sentences were lenient. A mere smattering of knowledge established a claim to "Benefit of Clergy," as clerical immunity was termed in England, where it was restricted to *bona fide* clergy by the Reformation Parliament in Henry VIII's reign. From the fourteenth century, the papal Curia gave pardon to applicants on the basis of a graduated scale of fees. In the fifteenth century such pardons released their purchasers from the civil consequences of crime, and gave the Papacy an appellate jurisdiction over the civil courts of every country in Christendom. Licensed hawkers, such as John Tetzel, whose activities Luther denounced, traversed Europe to sell pardons which professed to confer God's forgiveness and

also protected their purchasers against civil action. With the Church's claim to exemption from civil jurisdiction went a claim to immunity from secular taxation, proclaimed by Boniface VIII in the Bull *Clericis laicos* (1296). Having regard to the great proportion of the wealth of Christendom which the Church possessed, its attempt to evade secular obligations roused the strenuous opposition of the temporal princes.

Popular opposition to Rome was based on other grounds. Her extortions, the misapplication of her wealth, and the wickedness of her court, matched her disregard for religion and for the spiritual interests of her vast diocese. Her wealth was expended on the promotion of ambitious designs in Italy, or upon the pleasures of the Roman court. Licensed sellers of pardons imposed on the credulity of the poor. Every kind of breach of the canon law was redeemable for money, "as though the Decalogue had been enacted for this very purpose." Morality had little encouragement, and the fears of hell little effect, when money could unbar the gates of heaven. Of another kind were the extortions which the Papacy employed through the sale of benefices and expectatives, that is, the reversion of benefices. The result was to fill the church with incumbents whose lives were a scandal, and their incumbency a means to extort profitable return to its purchaser.

In spite of the effort of the Council of Basle to make an end of them, *annates*, which were roughly one-half of the annual value of a benefice, were exacted on every change of incumbent, and special tithes were demanded for special occasions. Even greater irritation was caused by the corrupt judicial administration of the Curia. At an early period the Papacy secured supreme jurisdiction over the spirituality and all that concerned the Church's interests. An enormous amount of legal business therefore flowed to Rome, and as early as the tenth century the venality of the Curia was notorious. In the sixteenth century it encouraged a shameless system which extracted the utmost in fees from the pockets of its suitors. Litigation was intentionally prolonged, and causes which might easily have been settled on the spot were drawn to Rome for leisurely hearing.

Abuses so patent prejudiced the dignity and honour of the

papal office. Simony also was rampant, and to the College of Cardinals, in whose hands was vested the election of the Pope, the Popes did not scruple to appoint their unworthy kinsmen or the favourites of European princes. Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X exposed the Cardinalate for sale, an office next in dignity to their own, while Alexander VI and Julius II both obtained the papal chair by bribery.

To such a pass had the deterioration of the Church proceeded. Religion had divorced itself from morality. The Church followed worldly interests, and with little heed to higher duties was content with the perfunctory performance of forms and ceremonies. Christendom had reverted to the standards of pagan Rome, where piety was mere formalism, the performance of prescribed ritual. The Church's interest was no longer to promote amendment and contrition, but to enforce mechanical appliances for sin's obliteration. What was needed was the infusion of a new spirit. Outside Italy the need for reform had been recognised for generations past. The *causa reformationis* was raised at the Council of Constance in 1414. The Council of Basle seventeen years later declared for the reformation of the Church *in capite et membris*, the curtailing of papal patronage and jurisdiction, and the abolition of *annates*. But the Papacy weathered the Conciliar movement, and reform was shelved. In 1512, however, Julius II was obliged to heed denunciations of the Roman court and its scandals. A commission of cardinals was appointed by him to reform the Curia, but nothing resulted save some reduction of fees and other exactions. Hopes of reform were aroused by the assembling of the Fifth Lateran Council under Leo X, but its dissolution in 1517 left the chief abuses untouched, and disappointment at so untoward a result confirmed the conviction that reform must come, not from the Church's hierarchy and Councils, but from outside, from the populations so shamelessly exploited, whose spiritual welfare had been so completely ignored.

But so powerful was the sway which the Church exercised, and so universal the respect for tradition and authority, that some new force was needed before men could take courage to challenge an institution under which Christendom had grown to manhood. The Renaissance provided it, while the vernacular Bible put into the hands

of Christian people an authority higher than that which it emboldened them to challenge. The printing press enabled new ideas to spread with a rapidity hitherto impossible, and facilitated common action over a large area. Hence, before the fifteenth century reached its close, Christendom was in a state of ferment, and men were found in all countries bold and able to challenge those characteristics of the Church which were least able to bear instructed scrutiny.

Widespread as the revolt against the Church was, it was in Germany that discontent first developed into revolution. There was more than one reason for the fact. In the first place, the Germans possessed a characteristic which they shared with kindred races of the Teutonic stock, a characteristic which shows itself in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494), namely, a moral and religious earnestness which formalism and ceremonialism failed to satisfy. In Germany humanism appealed to the deeper consciousness of man, to his soul and reason. But even more potent was a patriotic sense which papal oppression had stimulated. Exposed to financial fleecing by her association with the Holy Roman Empire, and, unlike France and England, possessing no central government to stand between her and the Papacy, Germany was the particular object of papal extortion, and the Curia was detested by clergy and laity alike. The Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz in 1439, in which Germany sought to place a limit on papal authority, had no permanent result, and in the *Gravamina* or statement of grievances presented to Maximilian in 1510 the German clergy declared the old abuses to be still rampant, namely; sales of pardons and indulgences; suspensions of pardons already bought in order to compel the purchase of new ones; the appointment of worthless persons to clerical benefices; the conferring of German dignities on aliens; the sale of expectatives, so fruitful of litigation; the summoning to Rome of causes which could better be heard on the spot; the levy of tithes for objects which were never fulfilled, such as Crusades against the Turk. Erasmus, though he was no revolutionary, lent the aid of his powerful pen to castigate the vices of the age, and to bring men to see that true religion is not manifested merely in externals, such as the purchase of Indulgences and veneration of relics. By his translation of the New Testament

he brought home to thousands the story of Christ, and forced them to see how little the Church had remained true to the behests of her divine Founder.

Thus was the way prepared for Martin Luther (1483-1546), a German of the peasant class, a man of the most earnest spiritual nature, sickened by the formalism which did duty for religion. He was born at Eisleben in Saxony in 1483. His father was a miner in the district of Mansfeld, where the boy's childhood was spent. From the village school he passed to Magdeburg, and thence as a "poor student" to Eisenach, where he and other lads in the church choir sang in the streets for food and money. His father meanwhile prospered, and after three years at Eisenach, Luther was sent to the University of Erfurt, then the most famous in Germany, to become a lawyer. He entered the Faculty of Philosophy, and took his Master's degree in 1505. He was twenty-two years old, and ready to begin his legal course, when he suddenly joined the Augustinian convent at Erfurt. In after life he explained as the reason of his sudden step, that "he doubted of himself." Earnest to procure his soul's salvation and escape from the terrors of hell, Luther, in a spasm of doubt, resolved to leave the world and its distractions. After a year's novitiate he took the vows, and found the peace he sought in the conviction that through Christ the repentant sinner obtains forgiveness.

Luther's earnest character attracted the attention of his superiors, and in 1508 he was sent to Wittenberg, whose University, founded a few years earlier, was closely associated with the Augustinian convent in that town. Here, either in the University or the convent, he began to lecture on Aristotle and to preach. In 1511 he was sent to Rome on the business of his Order, and was brought face to face with scandals which he had so far not suspected. Though he was not unsettled in the peace he had found within the Church, he was profoundly moved by the wickedness of a city which he had greeted as "Holy Rome." He returned to Wittenberg, continued his teaching there, and gained a widening circle of listeners. He was still faithful to the Church whose orders he bore. But the spiritual struggle through which he had passed brought him nearer to his challenge of an institution which asked for works and not faith, which accepted stereotyped acts as the

discharge of man's duty to his Creator, but made no effort to stimulate his faith and conscience. Such a religion was that of the Pharisee, who performed to the last detail the prescribed ritual of his cult. Luther's standpoint was that of the Publican, who humbled himself before God, smote his breast, and confessed himself a sinner. Hence Luther was led to impose a new test of the Christian life, and to require faith and not works, on which the Church set the greater store, as the justification for salvation.

The peace of mind which came to him in the Augustinian convent at Erfurt marked the first crisis in Luther's life. The second occurred in 1517. Four years earlier (1513) Giovanni de' Medici ascended the papal throne as Leo X. His predecessor, Julius II, had employed the architect Bramante to construct the great Church of St. Peter at Rome. Leo X, who inherited the tastes of his father Lorenzo the Magnificent, continued the work, and to obtain funds authorised the sale of an Indulgence. The promotion of it in Germany was entrusted to the archbishop of Mainz, who employed John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, to preach its virtues and sell Indulgence tickets throughout the country. The Elector of Saxony, in whose territory Wittenberg lay, forbade Tetzel to ply his trade in it, but many of the Wittenbergers found means to purchase the Indulgence. Luther, who was now Professor of Theology at Wittenberg, was repelled by the crude commercialism which attended Tetzel's campaign; viewing it as a faintly disguised expedient for filling the papal coffers, and as a transaction in which the salvation of the sinner was of secondary consideration. On November 1, 1517, All Saints' Day, the feast of the dedication of the Castle church of Wittenberg, the town was thronged by worshippers. At noon Luther affixed to the door of the church a Latin document inviting public disputation on the subject of Indulgences, and setting forth ninety-five Theses or propositions in disproof of their efficacy.

The main planks of Luther's argument were: that by repentance only can the individual secure pardon, which, if he be sincerely repentant, is his without the intervention of an Indulgence; that God alone can remit sin; that an Indulgence can at most secure the sinner from the punishments ordained by the Church, the vendor of the Indulgence,

but cannot release him from the punishments ordained by God, nor mitigate the punishment of souls in Purgatory, who are beyond the jurisdiction of the Church. Copies of the Theses were distributed broadcast throughout Germany, and were received with extraordinary fervour. In July, 1518, Luther was summoned to Rome to defend his action.

The summons of Luther to Rome offended German sentiment, and Leo X ordered instead that Luther should attend the Cardinal-Legate at Augsburg. Thither Luther proceeded. "I ask only six letters from you," said the Legate, "*revoco* (I recant)." Luther refused, and expected sentence of excommunication. But Leo X preferred first to examine the position in Germany, and dispatched one of his chamberlains, Charles von Miltitz, for the purpose. Miltitz was appalled to discover how general was the support which Luther had from his countrymen, and was surprised to find that Luther himself was far from being a headstrong revolutionary. Outside the propositions he maintained in the ninety-five Theses Luther affirmed his loyalty to the Church, and wrote a letter of that purport to Leo, who replied. But in fact Luther was at the parting of the ways. His conscience had revealed to him conclusions which he believed to be vitally true. He had been bidden to abjure them because they conflicted with those which Rome decreed to be orthodox. Inevitably Luther faced the question, "On what authority does this papal power rest which claims to be the sole judge of truth?" His studies led him to the conclusion that its jurisdiction in Germany was based on evidence which could not bear investigation, and he received from John Eck of Ingoldstadt an invitation to argue the point. The disputation took place at Leipzig in 1519. Challenged by Eck, Luther did not shrink from affirming his sympathy with some of the opinions of Wykliffe and Hus. Thereupon Eck closed the disputation, triumphing in the fact that he had forced a heretic to disclose himself. "But some victories are worse than defeats. Eck had done what the more politic Miltitz had wished to avoid. He had made Luther a central figure round which all the smouldering discontent of Germany with Rome could rally, and had made it possible for the political movement to become impregnated with the passion of religious conviction" (Dr. T. M. Lindsay).

The disputation with Eck had a profound effect on Luther. It cleared his vision. It rallied to him Ulrich von Hütten and the younger humanists, and with the help of his friend and colleague, Philip Melancthon, Luther fearlessly accepted responsibility for his convictions. From Wittenberg in 1520 he addressed the German people in a series of Tracts of which three are especially memorable, the "Reformation Treatises," as they are called. The first, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the reformation of the Christian Commonwealth*, demolished the arguments which supported papal supremacy, and summoned the German people to unite in opposition to it. Luther demanded a national and autonomous German Church, ruled by a national Council analogous to the Diet which represented the political unity of the Empire. The second, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, asserted that the Papacy had for centuries held the Church in bondage, usurping an authority higher than its own, namely, the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, the one and only exposition of truth. The third, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, challenged the medieval contention, that the worshipper could be brought into touch with God and obtain the comfort of religion only through the ministrations of a mediatory priesthood. Religion, Luther contended, was a personal matter between God and the individual, and faith was the only passport to God's favour.

The three Tracts made an extraordinary and instant impression throughout Germany. "Nine-tenths of Germany acclaim Luther," said the papal Nuncio Aleander, "and the remaining tenth condemns the Roman Curia." The sentence of excommunication which Rome pronounced against Luther made little impression in Germany. Luther publicly burnt it at Wittenberg (December 10, 1520), an act of defiance which completed his severance from the Church. The event followed the coronation at Aachen of Charles V, who had succeeded to the Imperial throne vacant by the death of his grandfather Maximilian in 1519. In the following January (1521) he opened his first Diet at Worms. The Pope hoped to induce the Emperor to execute his Bull against Luther. But though Charles viewed Luther's heresies with abhorrence, he refused to act with precipitation, and cited Luther to appear before the Diet.

Not without misgivings his friends allowed Luther to set out from Wittenberg ; for on a similar errand, and, like Luther, under the protection of a passport, Hus had gone to Constance and martyrdom a hundred years before. But Luther obeyed the summons with faith and confidence, and the journey taught him that the people recognised his cause to be their own. In April, 1521, he appeared before the Diet. His writings were piled on a table, and he was asked to retract the opinions they contained. He desired time for reflection. On his next appearance, strengthened after a momentary weakening of spirit, he replied that of his challenge of the papal system he could withdraw nothing. As to the charges he had brought, he was ready to give heed to any who could prove him to be wrong. He affirmed that Popes and General Councils could err and had erred, and that the Scriptures were the one infallible authority. He was again dismissed. The Diet was anxious to delay condemnation until every effort had been made to reconcile Luther to his accusers, and a commission of eight representing its membership was appointed to negotiate with him. But between the extremes which Luther and his accusers asserted there was no possibility of compromise. He was bidden to leave Worms with twenty days' safe conduct, and a month later the Ban of the Empire was laid upon him. He found an asylum in the Castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, under the protection of his patron, Frederick the Wise of Saxony.

For a year Luther remained in the Wartburg, devoting his leisure to the translation of the Bible. The first edition of his New Testament was published in 1522, and the whole Bible was completed in 1534. Its issue was of the last importance to the progress of the Reformation ; for Luther affirmed the Scriptures to be the sole repository of the infallibility which the Church claimed for itself. Its literary influence was also great. Written in the purer Saxon speech, Luther's Bible established a linguistic standard to which German dialects were led to conform. He was, in fact, the father of modern German, and his Bible stands with the English Authorised Version of the next century as a literary classic.

Meanwhile at Wittenberg, Carlstadt, Luther's colleague in the University, had been denouncing the papal system. He was reinforced by sympathisers from outside, among them

three " prophets " of Zwickau, a town in the south of Saxony, who, having failed to impose their opinions on their townsmen, fled to Wittenberg, where the prospect seemed more hopeful. They rejected infant baptism on the ground that without faith, which an infant cannot possess, no sacrament can be efficacious. Hence the Zwickau Protestants and their fellow-believers came to be called Anabaptists. They held themselves to be under the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost, and that violent courses against those who differed from them were justifiable. Spurred on by their fanaticism the people of Wittenberg embarked on extreme courses. Riots broke out early in 1522, and the " prophets " demanded the closing of schools and colleges, unnecessary seminaries for a people guided by the Holy Spirit.

These events marked a crisis in the German Reformation. Moderate and conservative as Luther was, his challenge of the Papacy enabled his enemies to represent him as a menace to constituted authority, political and ecclesiastical alike. The proceedings at Wittenberg seemed to justify their opinion and threatened to alienate middle-class opinion, which was ready to support reform but not to encourage revolution. With characteristic boldness, therefore, Luther, taking his life in his hand, returned to Wittenberg (1522). On eight successive days he preached to the people in the Castle church, denouncing the excesses of which they had been guilty, and the employment of force in matters of conscience. His influence prevailed, and the visionaries and their followers were driven from the town.

Luther's victory at Wittenberg assured that of the Reformation in Germany; for violence would have alienated the sympathy of the princes. After Luther's return to Wittenberg, Frederick the Wise of Saxony and his brother John, who succeeded him, embraced Lutheranism. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Ernest of Lüneburg took a similar step. Frederick I of Denmark promoted Lutheranism in his kingdom and encouraged its spread in the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. Albert of Ansbach, High Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights, declared himself a Protestant, and converted the possessions of the Order into the hereditary duchy of Prussia (1525). Charles V's sister Isabella became a Lutheran, and her husband, Christian II of Den-

mark, invited Luther to preach in his kingdom. The free Imperial cities also very generally ranged themselves under Luther's banner.

Political unrest went hand in hand with social and religious unrest in Germany, and influenced the course which the Reformation took. A rising of the knights or *Ritterschaft* in 1522 was followed by a more serious revolt of the peasantry in 1524. The discontent of the knights or lesser tenants-in-chief was deep-rooted. Within the Diet, whose three Colleges represented the Electors, princes, and free Imperial cities, they had no voice. From the Council of Regency which Charles appointed at the Diet of Worms their class was also omitted. But their chief grievances were economic. They had been for generations a turbulent body, independent of any lord save the Emperor, taking pleasure and profit in private wars and depredations on their neighbours. But the depression of agriculture, the political growth of the several states of the Empire, and the prohibition of private war, had reduced them to poverty by interrupting the brigandage on which they mainly depended. Their discontent found utterance in 1522, when the knights of the Rhenish districts met at Landau under Franz von Sickingen, a fine soldier and a Lutheran. With the Elector of Treves he had a private feud, and laid siege to his city, anticipating the support of Luther's well-wishers within. He was disappointed, withdrew to his own castle, and was in his turn besieged. The castle was battered by artillery and Sickingen died of his wounds. His followers were dealt with with rigour, and the German *Ritterschaft* ceased to be either a power or menace in the Empire.

The peasants' revolt, which broke out in 1524, was a more serious affair. Though Erasmus reproached Luther as the author of it, the peasant revolt was neither directly nor immediately the result of the religious movement which Luther inaugurated. At the root of the rising was the unending conflict between poverty and riches, and the grinding and increasing burden of feudal exactions and ecclesiastical extortions. Since the last decade of the fifteenth century the German peasantry had made intermittent demonstrations of discontent, and in 1493 their device, the peasant's shoe, gained their league the name *Bundschuh* (the "Shoe League"). Their earlier risings were put down with ease. But in 1524

the peasantry rose in Swabia. They complained of excessive labour on their lord's lands, that their own holdings were starved and neglected, their crops trampled down by their lord's hunting, lands which once had been common lands had been swept into his estate, the woods enclosed, and the rivers closed against their fishing. Other bands with similar complaints took arms, and early in 1525 all of them assembled at Memmingen in Upper Swabia. Here they agreed upon a common programme, the "Twelve Articles of Memmingen." They demanded that serfdom should be abolished, and that all other services save those to which they were legally liable should be rendered for a wage; that the woods and rivers should be free to all for food and fuel; that common lands which had been enclosed or seized should be restored; and that the lords should no longer inflict upon them arbitrary punishments nor seize as death-dues the most valuable chattel of their tenants. The peasants had come within the Zwinglian influence which radiated from Zurich. Hence the Twelve Articles asked that each village should have liberty to choose and dismiss its own pastor; that the "little tithe" of animals should be abolished; and that the "great tithe" of corn should be collected solely for the pastor's stipend and relief of the poor. Before the end of the year the whole of South Germany except Bavaria was seething with rebellion. In Thuringia Thomas Münzer, one of the Zwickau "prophets," was inoculating the peasants with communistic doctrines. In Franconia a Utopian scheme was broached for the abolition of the existing constitution of the Empire and the substitution of one in which the peasants were to be admitted to equal influence with the nobles. But in an appeal to arms the peasants were no match for the nobles. Luther threw his influence into the scale against them, and by 1526 the rising had everywhere collapsed. It is computed that it cost at least one hundred thousand peasants their lives.

Revolutionary as were the results of Luther's defiance of the Papacy, he was constitutionally averse from excesses, and realised that the success of his movement depended upon the support of the princes and nobles. While Charles V was occupied with France he had no leisure to stem the progress of Lutheranism in the Empire, and in 1525 Philip of Hesse organised

a league of the most powerful supporters of Lutheranism in North Germany. In the Diet at Speyer (1526), though the representative of Charles demanded execution of the Edict of Worms against Luther and forbade innovations in religion, the princes carried a resolution which established the principle *cuius regio eius religio*, that is, allowed each prince to establish within his dominions the religion which he himself favoured. But after the Treaty of Cambray (1529) Charles was free to turn his attention to Germany. The Diet assembled again at Speyer in that year, and the resolution of 1526 was revoked, but not without a formal Protest signed by six of the princes, including the Elector of Saxony, the margrave of Ansbach, the landgrave of Hesse, and fourteen of the free cities. Among the protesters were some who followed the Swiss reformer, Ulrich Zwingli. But they united for the moment with Luther in a *Protest* for freedom of conscience, and from it the "Protestant" Churches took the name.

In 1530 Charles, fresh from his coronation at Bologna, presided over the Diet at Augsburg. Since the Diet at Speyer a conference between Luther and Zwingli had been held at Marburg in the hope of bringing the two leaders of Protestantism together. But on the doctrine of the Eucharist their views were found to be irreconcilable. Hence the Zwinglians drew apart from the Lutherans at the moment when the second visit of the Emperor to Germany promised a crisis in the progress of Protestantism. Luther, as an outlaw, was not present at Augsburg, and his place was taken by Melancthon. The Emperor asked for a categorical statement of the differences which divided the Lutherans from the Roman Church. Melancthon thereupon drew up the famous "Confession of Augsburg." It disclosed the Lutheran position and its divergence from that of the unreformed Church of Rome, and minimised the divergence with a view to an agreement which would unite Lutheran and Romanist against Zwingli, who denounced the Confession in round terms. But no concession was forthcoming from the Roman side, and Luther took a firmer attitude as the hope of accommodation vanished. In the result the majority of the Diet decreed that if by April 15, 1531, the Protestants had not become reconciled to the Church, force would be applied to that end. Meanwhile

the Lutherans were required to lend their aid in the eradication of Zwinglian and Anabaptist heresies.

In these circumstances, though to Luther's sincere regret, a defensive league alone seemed to promise Protestantism rescue from the dangers which threatened it. The Protestant leaders therefore met in conference at Schmalkalden, and in the course of 1531 a Protestant, the Schmalkaldic, League was drawn up. The landgrave of Hesse, Elector of Saxony, and other princes of lesser rank, together with three great northern cities, Magdeburg, Bremen, and Lübeck joined it. The death of Zwingli at Kappel in the same year allowed the Schmalkaldic League to extend its organisation in south Germany. But the threatened war did not take place. Anxiety to assure the election of his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans moved Charles not to execute the decree of Augsburg, while a Turkish invasion under Suleiman the Magnificent in 1532 prompted him not to alienate the help of the Protestant princes. The Lutheran cause continued to advance, though the growth of sects and the excesses of the Anabaptists and John of Leyden in Münster in 1534-35 threatened to prejudice its interests. Five years later (1539) the duchy of Saxony and Brandenburg conclusively ranged themselves with the Protestants. The three Rhenish electorates, Cologne, Mainz, and Treves, the Habsburg territories, and the Wittelsbach influence in Bavaria and the Palatinate remained faithful to Rome.

In spite of the moderation which marked Charles's relations with the German Protestants, a moderation imposed on him by his interests outside Germany, the Emperor never lost hope that an opportunity would arise to restore religious unity to the Empire. The Peace of Crépy in 1544, which reconciled him to France, gave the Emperor the freedom he needed, and on the same day the summons was issued for a General Church Council at Trent. Luther had consistently demanded a General Council of the Church, but the choice of Trent for its session was unfortunate. Its locality made it certain that the Council's composition would be Italian and Spanish rather than German, and that little sympathy with Lutheranism would be found within it. The Lutherans therefore asked that, independently of the Council, the Emperor should regularise the religious situation in Germany. His refusal

was held to imply that Lutheranism was in danger and an appeal to arms necessary.

In 1546, the year of Luther's death, the Schmalkaldic War, so long avoided, broke out. At first the Imperial and Catholic cause triumphed. Maurice of Saxony, to whom the Emperor transferred his cousin's electorate, defeated the latter at the battle of Mühlberg (1547). The Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg and others agreed to stand neutral. Philip of Hesse made his submission and was thrown into prison. Charles felt himself strong enough to impose religious peace upon Germany on his own terms. In 1548 he secured from the Diet at Augsburg acceptance of the *Interim*, a Confession of Faith which Charles had caused to be drawn up and which he hoped would prove acceptable to both Lutherans and Catholics. While it retained such characteristics of the Roman Church as the seven sacraments, the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation, it conceded the Lutheran position in the matter of clerical marriages, communion in both kinds to the laity, and in a modified form accepted the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. But the compromise pleased neither party, and in spite of Charles's efforts to enforce it, was generally disregarded.

Unpopular by reason of his determination to enforce the *Interim*, and from the lack of sympathy which throughout his reign he had shown towards German sentiment, Charles, who was on the point of abdicating, ruined the success which he had gained by his resolution to procure his son Philip's selection as king of the Romans in succession to the Emperor-designate, Ferdinand of Austria. But the prospect of a Spanish Emperor was obnoxious to a nation already uneasy under Spanish military occupation. Maurice of Saxony, who had deserted the Schmalkaldic League, again changed sides, holding the interests of religion of less moment than the weakening of a strong Habsburg monarchy in the interests of the princes. Henry II of France was approached, and in the Treaty of Friedwald (1552) promised his aid in return for the French-speaking bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. War broke out forthwith and went hardly with Charles, who reluctantly agreed in the Treaty of Passau (1552) to submit the religious settlement to a Diet. He failed to recover Toul, Metz, and Verdun from France, and his sole ally, the Hohenzollern

Albert Alcibiades, was driven from Germany, though his conqueror, Maurice of Saxony, was killed in the battle of Sievershausen (1553).

The way was at length open for the promised Diet, and in 1555 it met at Augsburg under the presidency of Ferdinand of Austria. An attempt to put forward the *Interim* as the basis of a settlement failed, and the Lutheran princes assembled at Naumburg let it be known that the Confession of Augsburg alone would satisfy them. Eventually, and after agreement seemed impossible, the Diet came to a resolution, the Peace of Augsburg (1555). It conceded that each secular territorial prince should be allowed to profess and enforce upon his subjects either the Catholic or Lutheran faith, and that the Lutheran princes should retain ecclesiastical property secularised before the Treaty of Passau in 1552, provided that it was not held immediately of the Emperor. But two points threatened trouble in the future. The Catholics demanded that any holder of an ecclesiastical fief who thereafter adopted Lutheranism should forthwith vacate his lands and his titles, and an "ecclesiastical reservation" in those terms was included in the Peace. The Lutherans, however, declared themselves not bound by it. They also demanded that Lutheran subjects of Catholic princes should have toleration, but on this matter were unable to make their wishes prevail.

The Peace of Augsburg destroyed the ecclesiastical unity of Germany, and sanctioned the detachment of a great part of it from the Papacy. But the settlement was neither a victory for freedom of conscience, nor was it more than a truce in a conflict some of whose most difficult points still had to be determined. The only persons to whom the Peace gave freedom of conscience were the territorial princes, and even their liberty was restricted. They might remain in communion with Rome, or they might adopt the Lutheran Confession. There was no other alternative. Neither the creed of Zwingli nor that of Calvin was countenanced, a restriction which affected South Germany, and was among the causes of the resumption of conflict in the Thirty Years' War. The German people as a whole had no liberty to choose between Rome and Wittenberg. Their conscience was in the keeping of their princes, to whose religion they were bound to conform or be banished. The Lutherans desired to relax this rule in

favour of their adherents in Catholic states, and their failure compelled them to regard the Peace as merely a truce. Nor were they satisfied with the so-called "ecclesiastical reservation," which compelled bishops and holders of spiritual fiefs to surrender them if they abjured the Catholic Church; for the "reservation" preserved Catholic supremacy in West Germany by making it impossible to carry the three ecclesiastical electorates over to the Lutheran side.

Outside Germany Lutheranism established itself only in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Those countries were the last of the Germanic kingdoms to receive Christianity, and until the early part of the twelfth century they were within the metropolitan province of the German see of Bremen. Of the same racial stock as the North Germans, and in the Reformation period intimately in touch with German politics, the movement inaugurated by Luther naturally spread to the peoples of the Scandinavian peninsula. In 1397 its three kingdoms had concluded the Union of Kalmar, under which, while obeying the same sovereign, each retained its own laws and customs. But the union was dynastic rather than popular, and fifty years later, on the accession (1448) of the House of Oldenburg in the person of Christian I, Carl Cnutson secured the crowns of Norway and Sweden. Christian soon recovered Norway, and in 1460 was chosen duke of Schleswig-Holstein. His grandson, Christian II, a strong ruler, crafty and treacherous, acquired an importance beyond that of his predecessors by his marriage to the sister of Charles V. He was also the nephew of Frederick the Wise of Saxony, the patron of Luther. He had conquered Norway for his father and determined to bring back Sweden into the union. In 1520, after winning a battle against the Swedes on the ice of Lake Asunden, he was admitted into Stockholm on a promise of amnesty to his opponents, and was crowned king of Sweden. But no sooner was he crowned than he seized and summarily executed nearly one hundred Swedish magnates assembled in the capital. Among them was the father of Gustavus Vasa, the future king of Sweden. The tragedy is known as the *Stockholm Bath of Blood*. It stirred Sweden to the depths, and provoked her to strike for freedom.

In Denmark Christian ruled wisely, encouraged the University of Copenhagen and schools for the poor, improved

the material resources of the country, and looked with favour on the movement which Luther was conducting in Saxony. For in all the Scandinavian kingdoms the clergy possessed enormous wealth relatively to the resources of the country. More than half of Denmark, it is said, belonged to the bishops. Yet their possessions, like those of the nobles, were exempt from public burdens. Secularism was rampant, and the higher clergy were strangers to the people among whom they lived. With an eye to a redistribution of national wealth, rather than moved by profound moral convictions, Christian in 1519 induced his Saxon uncle to send a teacher to the University of Copenhagen to expound the Lutheran position. Christian tried to secure Luther himself, but after the Edict of Worms deemed it prudent to avoid relations with Wittenberg. However, he proposed reforms Lutheran in spirit: clerical marriages, the better education of the clergy, the forbidding of clerical non-residence, and the abolition of the Pope's appellate jurisdiction. But before these could take effect, the nobles, whom he had systematically neglected, rebelled (1523) and gave the crown to his uncle Frederick. Christian withdrew to Germany, was reconciled to the Roman communion, and after an attempt to recover the crown remained a prisoner until his death in 1559.

The ten years' reign of Frederick I (1523-33), though it did not see the victory of the Reformation in Denmark, was vital in preparation for it. He had purchased his election with an undertaking not to admit any Lutheran teachers into the country. But in fact the leaven was already working in Denmark, and men like Hans Tausen, the "Danish Luther," were publicly condemning the abuses of the Church and asserting Luther's opinions. The attempt of the Pope to provide a non-resident Italian to the see of Lund caused general indignation. Frederick disregarded the papal nomination, made the appointment himself, and took the fees aforesaid paid to Rome. His son and successor Christian was a Lutheran, and his daughter married the Protestant Albert of Ansbach, the first duke of Prussia. In these circumstances Frederick, while he refrained from actual measures for the overthrow of the old Church, gave his countenance to Lutheran preachers, under whose stimulus the progress of Protestantism went on apace. On the death of Frederick in 1533 the bishops made a vain effort to keep his Lutheran son, Christian III, from the throne. In 1536 Chris-

tian summoned a national assembly (*Rigsdaag* or *Thing*) to Copenhagen. By it the episcopal order was overthrown, and the property of the Church was attached to the crown for national purposes. By later ordinances in the same reign the Augsburg Lutheran Confession was adopted, the monastic orders were abolished, a native and married clergy was established, and a liturgy and Bible in the vernacular were provided.

In Norway, which Christian III decreed to be a dependency of Denmark for all time, the episcopate fell with that of Denmark. Some of the bishops adopted Lutheranism, and Lutheran ministers were sent from Denmark. But the reformed Church in Norway long remained wretchedly equipped. In Iceland the attempt to impose ecclesiastical innovations was strongly resisted until 1554, when the opposition was broken.

In Sweden the Reformation was preceded by an insurrection, which terminated the union with Denmark, and created a national monarchy which raised Sweden to eminence in Europe. Among the nobles who were the victims of Christian II in the *Stockholm Bath of Blood* was Eric Johansson, whose son Gustavus had distinguished himself in the national resistance to the Danes. He had been given up as a hostage to Christian II, and in 1518 was carried to Denmark, whence a year later he escaped to Sweden. The massacre at Stockholm filled him with the resolve to rid Sweden for ever of the Danes. After two years spent in quiet preparation, he took the field in the remote province of Dalecarlia in 1521, and marched southward. The Danish garrisons were expelled, and Gustavus (known as "Vasa" from the sheaf (*vasa*) or bundle of faggots which was his device) was in 1523 elected king of Sweden, whose union with Denmark came to an end.

The kingdom to whose throne Gustavus was elected was in a pitiable plight. Its fields lay untilled or devastated, its mineral resources were no longer worked, its industries were at a standstill, its population was one-quarter of what it had been at the beginning of the century, and even in Stockholm most of the houses were untenanted. Amid the prevalent ruin the Church, which is said to have owned two-thirds of the soil, preserved its wealth and claimed immunity from

secular taxation, while it had viewed the war of independence with little favour. There were grounds, therefore, to predispose the king to undermine the Church's authority and to attach its wealth. Lutheran preachers had his favour, he denied the competence of papal authority in his kingdom, and at his direction the Bible was translated into the vernacular. In 1527 the position was ripe for a definitive settlement, and in that year Gustavus summoned a Diet (*Riksråd*) to Vesterås to consider questions of faith and determine Sweden's relations with the Papacy. At the outset Gustavus through his Chancellor drew attention to the inadequacy of the public revenue, and indicated the Church as the only source from which the public income could be augmented. The clergy yielded before the king's threat that, unless his demand was granted he would leave Sweden for ever. Thereupon the *Riksråd* agreed to the famous "Recess of Vesterås," by which the greater part of the Church's property was made over to the crown, the nobles were allowed to resume possession of all taxable land which had passed from them into the possession of the Church at any time, and of non-taxable land which had so passed since 1454, while liberty was given to preach the pure word of God and to teach it in the schools.

Gustavus was too wise to press with undue haste the Protestantising of Sweden. The bishops remained, shorn of their former wealth, and the king created the archbishopric of Upsala. But as his reign drew towards its close the Swedish Church came into closer touch with Lutheranism. A Swedish liturgy, hymn-book, and Communion office were issued. Gustavus's son and successor, Eric XIV (1560-68), held Calvinist views and wished to make Sweden a place of refuge for his co-religionists. Amid the troubles of his reign the Church fell into dire neglect, and save on one or two minor points the position left by his father was not materially disturbed. His brother John III (1569-92), who succeeded him, held views very different from those of his predecessors. Strongly opposed to both forms of Protestantism, he restored the episcopate to its ancient powers, replaced the vernacular liturgy by one based on the Roman Missal, and endeavoured to force its use upon the clergy. The Jesuits were invited to Sweden, and the king endeavoured to restore the papal

authority. At the same time, he insisted upon certain concessions to Protestant feeling which the Papacy refused to grant.

The attempt of the Counter-Reformation to recapture Sweden in the reign of John threatened to be continued in that of his son Sigismund, a strong Roman Catholic. At the moment of his father's death in 1592 Sigismund was in Poland, to whose throne he had been elected in 1587. Like the Scots a generation earlier, the Swedes resolved to place Protestantism on an impregnable foundation before their sovereign's arrival. The new king's uncle, Charles, had already opposed the late king's Romanising policy, and with the consent of the *Riksvääd* he summoned to Upsala in 1593 a Synod of the Swedish Church. Having decided that the Scriptures were the test of truth, the Council formally adopted the Lutheran Augsburg Confession as the doctrinal standard of the Swedish Church, and Luther's Catechism as the groundwork of religious instruction. John's liturgy, known as the "Red Book," was abolished, and the earlier vernacular liturgy sanctioned by Gustavus Vasa was restored. Sigismund made attempts to reverse the Upsala settlement, but without success. In 1604 he was deposed, and the crown passed to his uncle Charles IX, whose reign ushered in the seventeenth century, in which her recent adhesion to the Augsburg Confession allowed Sweden to play a heroic part under Charles's son, Gustavus Adolphus.

During the years in which the medieval Church was overthrown in Germany and the Scandinavian kingdoms, a similar movement was at work in England. Though the English Reformation was influenced by Germany and Switzerland, by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, England was never captured, as the Scandinavian kingdoms were, by Lutheranism, or as Scotland and the French Protestant Church were, by Calvin. The English Reformation followed a course of its own, and evolved a Protestant Church which differed then and differs still from all her sisters. No Luther, Calvin, or Knox arose to guide its course, and the immediate cause of the breach with Rome grew out of Henry VIII's desire to secure a divorce from his wife. Subserving to the interests of the monarch at the outset, the English Reformation throughout was held in leading strings by civil authority, and the ultimate

settlement in the reign of Elizabeth was deliberately framed in the interests of the state and its ruler.

In England, Colet and the English humanists were on Luther's ground in their recognition of the Scriptures as the only infallible authority in matters of belief. Clerical abuses were general. The clergy neglected their spiritual duties, even discarded clerical attire, and were absentees from the parishes committed to their charge. The bishops were occupied in the service of the State. Pluralities were general. Though all the monasteries were not equally corrupt, many of them were scandalously conducted. In such a soil the seed sown by Luther was bound to fructify, even had not Lollardy survived, especially in Buckinghamshire, to maintain the principles of Wykliffe.

While he was ready to despoil the Church and its monastic establishments, Henry had no sympathy with Lollards or Lutherans. Many of the former were sent to the stake in his reign, and in 1521 the king received sympathetically the Pope's mandate ordering the public burning of Luther's writings. At Wolsey's suggestion he wrote a tract in answer to Luther's *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, for which he received the title *Fidei Defensor*, which he and his successors held in spite of their abjuration of the authority which conferred it. But the king's controversy with Rome regarding his divorce, though it did not diminish his orthodoxy, spurred him, as Luther had been spurred, to challenge the authority of a foreign prince, for such the Pope was, over the kingdom and Church of England. Accordingly, in the Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1536, Henry established his own headship of the English Church, abolished the appellate jurisdiction of the papal Curia, and deprived the Papacy of the revenues which had so far flowed Rome-ward in the form of annates, Peter's pence, pensions, and fees. Not unwilling that his people should understand how little authority there was for the papal supremacy which he had overthrown, Henry issued the Bible in the vernacular, and towards the close of his reign allowed certain parts of divine service, such as the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, to be recited in English.

Once in Henry's reign the European situation held out the prospect of union between Lutheran Germany and

England. A papal Bull of excommunication against Henry had been drafted in 1535, and in 1539 there was danger that it might be executed by a Catholic crusade in which the Emperor, France, and Scotland would participate. In these circumstances Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey in Henry's confidence after the Cardinal's fall, saw in the Schmalkaldic League a useful weapon against Charles in Germany, and negotiated a marriage between Henry and Anne, sister of William, duke of Cleves. The marriage took place in 1540. But Henry dissolved it six months later, and the hope of an Anglo-German agreement based on the Augsburg Confession was defeated by Henry's unbending orthodoxy; for the Act of the Six Articles (1539) took under royal protection the doctrine of Transubstantiation, a celibate clergy, and other characteristics of the Roman Church which Lutheranism vehemently opposed.

The death of Henry in 1547 removed one who has been described as an "Orthodox Erastian," that is, one who remained true to the doctrines of the old Church while asserting the authority of the state in his person over the English branch of it. His son Edward VI's minority left the government in the hands of his uncle, the duke of Somerset, whose sympathies were Lutheran. Many theologians from Germany and Switzerland made their way to England in the hope of influencing the movement. But though the Act of the Six Articles and earlier statutes against heretics were repealed, and in 1549 an Act of Uniformity imposed an English liturgy, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, Cranmer's work therein owed little to foreign influence. After the fall of Somerset, his successor, the duke of Northumberland, for his own purposes desired to carry the Protestant movement in England further, and under Zwinglian influence a new liturgy was drawn up and was enforced by a second Act of Uniformity (1552). The early changes in Edward's reign probably had been popular with the majority of Englishmen. The unpopularity of the later ones is patent from the ease with which Mary Tudor put down her Protestant rival, Lady Jane Grey. Her brother's reign had witnessed the excesses of Protestant zeal. Her own reign occasioned even greater Roman Catholic intolerance. Englishmen had no liking for either extreme, and the wisdom of Elizabeth and her advisers gave England a Church which

all but the extremists could call their own, Protestant in doctrine, but with a liturgy which retained much of the stately ritual of the old Church, and a constitution which allowed the bishops to exercise that influence in Church and State which had distinguished them for centuries—a national Church whose head on earth was the chief of the State. Such was the English Church which the Stewarts received from the Tudors. The Puritan revolt in the seventeenth century was at once the test and vindication of the wisdom of those who fashioned it.

CHAPTER V

ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

THE Reformation radiated from two centres, Germany and Switzerland. England stood aloof from both and pursued a course of her own. Scotland, guided by John Knox, laid her reformed Church on Genevan or Calvinist foundations, and the French and Dutch Protestants were similarly influenced. It was the characteristic of Calvinist Protestantism that it was everywhere insurrectionary, whereas Lutheranism marched with and not in opposition to the civil power. In Scotland the Protestant Lords of the Congregation took arms against the Regent, Mary of Lorraine, and established the Reformation in defiance of their queen, Mary Stewart. The French Calvinists, or Huguenots (probably from the German *Eidgenossen* = confederates), also pitted themselves against the civil power. In the Dutch Netherlands Calvinism assisted the birth of a new State, the United Provinces, the fruit of revolt against Spain.

The Swiss Cantons in the Reformation period were thirteen in number. In the centre, about Lake Lucerne, lay the three round which the Confederation grew up, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. On the west, towards France, were Lucerne, Berne, and Freiburg. On the Rhine and bordering Germany were Basle, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Appenzell. Contiguous to Schwyz were Zug and Glarus. In addition to the thirteen cantons were allied districts: the Valais, the town and abbey of St. Gall, the Graubünden (or Grisons), the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, and the League of God's House in the Engadine. The Confederation attained to the full number of twenty-two cantons in the European settlement of 1815.

After the Perpetual League in 1291 the confederated cantons acquired the respect of their neighbours by their

successful warfare against the Habsburgs. In 1474 Louis XI secured their services as mercenaries, and when the ambition of Charles VIII of France made Italy the battle-ground of French and German interests, the assistance of the Swiss, whose geographical position rendered their participation so convenient, was sought by both sides. Charles VIII, Louis XII, the Popes, Venice, and Savoy solicited their alliance. With the Empire they concluded a treaty in 1511 which placed Franche Comté under their observation. Four years later, at Marignano (1515), Francis I inflicted a crushing defeat upon them, and in 1516 secured the Everlasting Peace, in which the Swiss undertook not to furnish the enemies of France with mercenaries.

Their participation in the Habsburg-Valois war in Europe had a baneful effect upon the Swiss. The activity of the Confederation was directed to the career of arms; commerce and agriculture languished; a mercenary spirit was engendered; and the European struggle dominated their civic interests. The Reformation, on the other hand, encouraged a sense of patriotism. Their close relations with Italian politics made the Swiss familiar with papal duplicity, and the Conciliar movement for ecclesiastical reform was not strange to a people in whose midst the Councils of Constance and Basle had assembled.

The man who played Luther's part in Switzerland was Ulrich Zwingli, who was born early in 1484, a few weeks after Luther. Zwingli's youth was not attended by the poverty which hampered Luther. His father was the bailiff, and an uncle the priest, of Wildhaus, a village in the valley of Toggenburg on the east of the Lake of Zürich. Other relatives were in the Church, and to its service Ulrich was dedicated in his early years. His means allowed him to proceed for his education to Basle, Berne, and Vienna. In 1504 he graduated at Basle, and after two years spent as a schoolmaster was ordained to the charge of Glarus. Probably on two occasions he accompanied the Glarus contingent on their Italian campaigns. He is said to have been present at Marignano, and his experiences convinced him of the disaster which threatened Switzerland from the mercenary employment of her sons. In 1518 he was called to the charge of the minster church of Zürich.

To what extent Luther influenced Zwingli is a debated point. Like Luther, Zwingli's first public protest was against the sale of an Indulgence. His influence procured the rejection of France's request for mercenaries in 1521, and in 1522 Zürich discountenanced foreign service altogether. He attacked the abuses of the Church, the monastic system, fasting, tithes, the doctrine of Purgatory, and Invocation of Saints. He rejected a celibate ministry, and himself took a wife. In 1523, the year after Luther's emergence from the Wartburg, Zwingli held at Zürich a public disputation with Johann Faber, the vicar-general of Constance, his most able opponent. The result was favourable to Zwingli, and established his influence over the municipality of Zürich. Later in the same year, at a second disputation at Zürich, Zwingli maintained his views against the use of pictures and images in churches, and also against the Mass. The outcome of the disputation was Zwingli's *Short Introduction to Christian Doctrine*, published in 1523, which set forth his opinions on the Mass, and was circulated with immediate results. In defiance of the bishop, and through the authority of the municipal council of Zürich, Zwingli carried the abolition of the religious Houses, the disuse of images and organs in churches, the abolition of the Mass in 1525, and the institution of the Lord's Supper, not as a sacrament, but as a social gathering or commemoration.

The progress of the Reformation in Zürich was viewed with alarm by the Catholic cantons, Uri, Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug; especially as Zürich enforced her innovations upon the Common Lands in the Aargau and Thurgau, over which she held only joint authority with other cantons. In 1524 the five cantons leagued with Freiburg for the suppression of heresy. Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen followed Zürich, while Glarus and Appenzell were divided. Switzerland was rent by two hostile organisations, the *Christian Union* of the Catholic cantons, and the *Christian Civic League* of the Protestants. A general war was averted by the first Peace of Kappel in 1529, which conceded liberty to each canton to adopt the religion agreeable to its inhabitants. But the Catholic cantons refused the right of free preaching which Zwingli and his allies were determined to enforce, and in 1531 war broke out. At the battle of

Kappel Zwingli was slain. The second Peace of Kappel (1531) confirmed the right of each canton to manage its own religious affairs, and Catholic minorities received protection. Thus Zwingli not only failed to establish Protestant uniformity in the Confederation, but was practically the cause of the dissolution of the old federal constitution. In 1586 Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Solothurn, and Freiburg formed the "Borromean League" for the maintenance of the Catholic faith.

On many points Zwingli was at one with Luther. The fundamental point of difference between them was their interpretation of Christ's words when instituting the Last Supper: "This is My Body." The Roman Catholics interpreted the words literally, and held that the elements of bread and wine were actually Christ's Flesh and Blood (*Transubstantiation*, i.e. the *change* of the elements *into another substance*). Luther, while unable to accept the Roman doctrine in its fullest mystery, held that the Flesh and Blood of Christ were present *with* the bread and wine (*Consubstantiation*). Zwingli rejected both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation. He interpreted the word "is" in Christ's declaration as equivalent to "signifies," and the Eucharist as merely a commemorative feast. For that reason Zwingli has been called the "revolutionary theologian" of the Reformation. Again, while Lutheranism placed the Reformation under the control of the territorial princes, Zwingli carried his innovations with the consent of his fellow-citizens in the republic. In both characteristics Calvin followed his predecessor.

John Cauvin or Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy in 1509, the year of Henry VIII's accession to the throne of England, and was junior to both Luther and Zwingli by twenty-five years. The descendant of bargemen on the river Oise, Calvin's father settled at Noyon and held a responsible position under the bishop of Noyon. In 1523 Calvin proceeded to Paris as an Arts student in the University. Thence he passed to Orleans (1528) and Bourges (1529) to study law, his father having decided against a clerical career for him. He there came under the influence of the writings of Erasmus and Luther, and the persecution of the Protestants by Francis I completed his break with a Church from which since 1532, when he published his first work, *De Clementia*,

he had been steadily drifting. In 1534 he left France and settled at Basle.

At Basle, where Erasmus and John Hausschein (Æcolampadius) had lived and worked, Calvin found himself in a Protestant atmosphere, and two years after his arrival, being then twenty-six years of age, he published (1536) his greatest work, the *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, and dedicated it to Francis I. In a preface he challenged the king's intolerance, asserted the loyalty of himself and those who shared his views, and claimed liberty of thought for the individual. The body of the book sketched his programme of ecclesiastical reform. Like Luther, Calvin admitted no authority superior to that of Holy Scripture. But whereas the more conservative Luther was willing to accept what was not forbidden by the Bible, Calvin, and Zwingli also, required positive Biblical sanction as the condition of their concurrence. Like Luther, Calvin upheld faith as the ground of justification. But he qualified Luther's position by holding that faith is a gift of God conferred or withheld irrevocably; every soul entering the world with its salvation or damnation already decreed (*Predestination*). The æsthetic accompaniments of public worship Calvin put aside. His pastor or minister was the elected mouthpiece of the congregation in prayer to God, and in the pulpit their instructor and monitor.

Having finished his book, Calvin visited France for the last time, and on his return to Switzerland passed through Geneva, which two months earlier had abjured the jurisdiction of its bishop and the ancient Church. The Council of citizens was supreme, and seized the occasion of Calvin's visit to appoint him (1536) colleague of the chief pastor of the city. Calvin regarded the call as from God, and with Geneva the rest of his life was intimately bound up. He set himself forthwith to organise its Church, drew up a Short Catechism or Confession of Faith based on his *Institutio*, organised a mixed board of ministers and magistrates to superintend the moral deportment of the citizens, and excluded those who were unworthy from the monthly celebrations of the Lord's Supper. But Calvin's discipline proved irksome to the Genevans, and in 1538 sentence of banishment was passed upon him.

For three years Calvin was debarred from returning to Geneva. He first withdrew to Basle, and then accepted

a call to a congregation of French Protestant refugees at Strassburg. Eventually Geneva experienced a revulsion of feeling and Calvin was invited to return. For some months he declined. But yielding to the supplications of his friends, he returned to Geneva in 1541, which under him became the capital of Protestantism in Europe. In spite of opposition, till his death in 1564 Calvin ruled Geneva with absolute power. He gave its Church an organisation which was reproduced in France, Scotland, and the Netherlands. His *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* established a *Consistory*, composed of six ministers and twelve laymen or elders appointed by the municipal council, which met every week. Though its authority was nominally limited to matters of religion and morality, yet Calvin's view of Geneva as a Church-State conveyed the government of the city to its keeping. The private life of every citizen was regulated by it, levity of dress and manner was corrected, attendance at public worship and the Lord's Supper was enforced, and heresy was punished as treason. To the education of the young Calvin attached the first importance, a characteristic which distinguished the daughter Church in Scotland, and before ordination his ministers were obliged to satisfy ministerial examination and popular approbation. Geneva possessed a College or School and an Academy or University. At the former youths were carefully trained in the humanities and, through Calvin's *Catechism*, in the principles of their faith. To the Academy there flocked men from all over Europe, especially from France, from whose number Calvin was able to supply ministers to congregations founded in accordance with his principles in France and elsewhere.

It has been said of Calvin that he was the one Reformer whose influence was international. His unflinching dogmatism appealed to the determined opponents of Rome, whom Luther's more conservative attitude failed to satisfy. He was also one of the most learned men of his time, a commentator and expounder of the Bible, a great educationist, and through his French version of the *Institutio*, which has been described as "the first book written in French which can be described as logically composed," a father of the French language and literature.

With France naturally Calvin's relations were most inti-

mate. Two years after his death Geneva had sent upwards of 150 ministers to serve French Protestant congregations, of which at the time of his death there are said to have been some two thousand. A generation, however, had still to elapse before the persecuted French Protestants received liberty to exercise their religion without molestation.

Unlike Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland, the Reformation in France never became a national movement. The exceptional relations of the French Church to the Papacy deprived that country of the patriotic incentives which operated in Germany and England. Her Church's liberties were assured by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438, and the Concordat of 1516 gave to the crown of France ecclesiastical patronage.

Under the impulse of the Renaissance Frenchmen turned their gaze upon the Church's abuses. The man who first called his countrymen to reflect and reform was the humanist Jacques Lefèvre, who like Calvin was a native of Picardy and a student at the University of Paris. Abandoning secular studies when he was about fifty years old, Lefèvre published in 1512 a Latin version of St. Paul's Epistles, with a commentary wherein he anticipated Luther's opinions regarding justification by faith and his denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Lefèvre asserted the exclusive authority of Holy Scripture, rejected a celibate ministry, and condemned the offering of prayers in a dead language. Ten years later he published a *Commentary* on the Gospels, whose Preface has been called "the Manifesto of the French Reformation," and demanded that religion should build itself solely on the revealed word of God. To Lefèvre also France owes vernacular versions of the Old and New Testaments and of the Psalms.

The teaching of Lefèvre was admitted forthwith into the diocese of Meaux, of which his pupil Guillaume Briçonnet was bishop. The king's sister, Margaret duchess of Alençon, was in sympathy with his views, and her influence with the king allowed Briçonnet to invite Lefèvre himself to his diocese. But meanwhile Luther had sounded a note which reverberated throughout Europe. In 1521 the Sorbonne, the Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris, condemned Luther's writings, and the Paris *Parlement* ordered those possessed

of his writings to deliver them up or submit to fine or imprisonment. In 1523 the suppression of Lefèvre's *Commentary* was ordered, and Lefèvre was cited to answer charges of heresy preferred against him. His New Testament was condemned to be burnt, and he himself went into exile (1525).

For nine years Francis I pursued a vacillating policy, though he showed himself not unfavourably inclined towards the Protestants, corresponded with Melancthon, and contemplated putting him at the head of the Collège de France. But in 1533 the delivery in the University of Paris of a Rectorial address (of which Calvin was the author) of doubtful orthodoxy roused Francis, whose interests inclined him to be on good terms with the Papacy. The following year (1534) the more fanatical of the reformers completed the king's estrangement from their party. One autumn morning the thoroughfares of Paris and other towns were placarded with "True Articles concerning the monstrous abuses of the popish Mass," coarse and scurrilous. A placard was actually affixed to the door of the king's bedroom at Amboise. Indignation was general, and vigorous measures were demanded against the Protestants. A great number of persons were imprisoned and more than twenty were burnt. The persecution of the Vaudois of Provence was prosecuted with increased fervour, and many were martyred for their faith. At length, in 1535, the king issued the Edict of Coucy (where he then was), ordering the persecution to cease and inviting Protestant exiles to return.

It was at this crisis, when the two religions in France had drawn apart beyond the hope of reconciliation, that Calvin's *Institutio* appeared (1536). So far French Protestantism had directed itself to the remedy of practical abuses. But Calvin's *Institutio* was forthwith adopted by the Huguenots as their charter and as the vindication of their Protestantism. With it the French Reformation, which had so far been the expression of profound unrest, became a veritable revolution. Calvin's pronouncement roused his opponents. The *Parlement* of Paris ordered copies of it to be confiscated and burnt. The Sorbonne drew up articles to refute it, and Francis ordered more stringent measures to be taken against its professors. At Meaux, where the Protestants had organised a church, fourteen persons — The Fourteen of Meaux —

were put to death. Other persons were burnt in Paris and elsewhere, and upon the unhappy Waldenses or Vaudois the full vengeance of the Catholics was allowed to fall (1545). Their villages were burnt and some three thousand persons were massacred.

Had his secular policy allowed him to give expression to his preferences, it is probable that Francis I would have shown favour to the Protestants. His son and successor Henry II (1547-59) declared it his ambition so to act that posterity should say: "Had not Henry II reigned, the Church would have perished." The reading of the Bible was forbidden, public employment was closed against all but those who could furnish a certificate of orthodoxy, and informers were encouraged to denounce suspects by the promise of one-third of their victim's confiscated property. A new criminal court was created, which justified its popular name, *La Chambre Ardente*. In two years it sent probably one hundred persons to the stake. But for the resistance of the Paris *Parlement* the Inquisition would have been set up; Mary Stewart's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had already received from the Pope his appointment as Grand Inquisitor.

Persecution yielded its invariable result. The Huguenots grew in numbers and resolution. In particular in Languedoc, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Saintonge, Poitou, and Normandy their number increased. In 1555 they organised themselves in churches or congregations, following the plan of Calvin at Strassburg twenty years earlier. Paris set the example. In the following ten years more than one hundred pastors were sent from Geneva to serve the French Protestant churches. Before the death of Henry in 1559 two princes of the royal House, Antony of Bourbon, king of Navarre by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, and his brother Condé, as well as members of the noble families of France, the Admiral Gaspard de Coligny among them, joined the persecuted Church. Their adhesion gave an entirely new character to French Protestantism. Led by the nobles it offered armed resistance, and the French Wars of Religion began.

The reign of the sickly Francis II (1559-60), the husband of Mary Stewart, was short but decisive in the relations of the two religions. A few weeks before his accession the Protestant churches, about fifty in number, proceeded a step further in

their organisation. They held their first Synod at Paris (1559), adopted Calvin's Confession of Faith, and gave unity to their organisation by instituting a "Colloquy" or association of neighbouring congregations (analogous to the Scottish Presbyteries); above it a Provincial Synod or association of Colloquies; and a National Synod or Association of Provincial Synods. The domination of the Guises, their unpopularity as foreigners, and their uncompromising hatred of the Protestants spurred the latter to meet violence with violence. Early in 1560 the Huguenots planned to seize Francis duke of Guise and his brother Charles Cardinal of Lorraine at Amboise, where the court then was. But the plot was betrayed, and the Tumult of Amboise, as it was called, was followed by severe reprisals.

The death of Francis II in 1560 interrupted the power of the Guises, and the new king, Charles IX (1560-74), began his reign under the regency of his mother Catharine de' Medici. Herself indifferent to religion, it was her desire to rule tolerantly. She gave her confidence to the broad-minded Michel de l'Hôpital, and in response to the representations of the States General at Orleans, the Concordat of 1516 was abolished. The royal patronage over the Church was in effect conveyed to a commission of clergy and laity. Non-residence was forbidden. Animated by the desire to bring the rival religions to some agreement, the Regent in 1561 summoned a "Colloquy" at Poissy. Theodore Beza was the spokesman of the Calvinists, while the Cardinal of Lorraine headed an imposing phalanx of Cardinals, bishops, and doctors of the Sorbonne. The Colloquy failed to bring about the reconciliation which Catharine hoped for, but strengthened her resolve to secure toleration for the professors of the Calvinist creed. In January, 1562, the Edict of January granted to the Huguenots the right of free assembly elsewhere than within the walls of a city. Though it was the first public recognition of their Church, the Protestants could not regard the Edict as adequate, and it spurred their opponents to resistance. It needed but a spark to fire a conflagration, and a conflict at Vassy in March, 1562, between the local Calvinists and the duke of Guise, whose escort interrupted a Protestant service, gave the signal for a civil war which lasted for more than a generation.

The French Wars of Religion were eight in number. Beginning in 1562 they were concluded by the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Throughout those years France was in a hapless plight. Commerce and industry were neglected. Neither side scrupled to call in the foreigner, and France became what Italy had been and Germany was still to become, the cock-pit of Europe. In the *first* war (1562-63), though the Protestants obtained men and money from Elizabeth of England in return for the cession of Havre and Dieppe, the campaign at the outset went badly for them. The king of Navarre was mortally wounded at an assault on Rouen delivered by Guise, and Condé was made prisoner at the battle of Dreux. But at the siege of Orleans, which Guise undertook, the duke was shot dead by a Protestant fanatic. Catharine seized the opportunity to negotiate a peace, and the Pacification of Amboise (1563) was accepted. The terms of it were somewhat less liberal than those of the edict of the previous year; for the localities in which the Protestants might exercise their religion were restricted.

For four years peace was not broken. But in 1565 an event took place which boded ill for the Protestants. Two years earlier the Council of Trent had completed its session, and the Roman Catholic world was eager for a forward movement against heresy under Philip II of Spain. The latter was chiefly anxious to extirpate heresy in the Spanish Netherlands, and realised the difficulty of doing so, so long as Calvinism maintained itself in France. In 1565, in the course of a tour, the French court arrived at Bayonne, where Charles and his mother were visited by the Spanish queen and the duke of Alva on behalf of Philip, who was anxious to draw the French court into a Catholic League. To what extent the interview moulded the intolerant policy which Catharine eventually adopted cannot be determined, but Protestants in France and the Netherlands attributed to it the persecution which followed.

The march of Alva to the Netherlands in 1567 stirred the suspicions of Condé and Coligny, who formed a plan for the capture of the young king's person. But their attempt—The Enterprize of Meaux—did not succeed, and the *second* civil war (1567-68) followed. In the course of it the Huguenots obtained possession of Rochelle, which enabled them to keep

in touch with their well-wishers in England. But the general course of the war was indecisive, though the Peace of Longjumeau (1568) which terminated it confirmed the Treaty of Amboise. Within a few months the two parties were again in arms. A plot to seize Condé and Coligny failed, but at Jarnac (1569) the former was killed, and at Moncontour (1569) Coligny was severely defeated. Yet in spite of their ill-success in the field, the Peace of Saint-Germain (1570), which brought the *third* war (1568-70) to an end, accorded the Huguenots more favourable terms than so far they had obtained. They were permitted the public exercise of their religion in two cities in each of France's twelve provinces. Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité were given up to them, and the public services were declared open to them.

The Peace of 1570 promised to conclude the unhappy war. Coligny was admitted to the Royal Council and to the favour of the king. At the same time a marriage was arranged between the king's sister Margaret and Henry of Bourbon, son of the queen of Navarre, and heir to the throne of France failing issue to Charles IX and his brothers. In 1572 the marriage was celebrated at Paris, and Coligny and a host of Huguenot nobles and gentlemen attended the ceremony. Whether the events which followed were unpremeditated or the result of a deep-laid plot is still doubtful. Catharine perhaps was anxious to withdraw Charles IX from Coligny's influence, and Spanish and Guise interests favoured any means to stamp out heresy. Four days after the Bourbon marriage Coligny was shot at and wounded in Paris. Two days later, on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, Henry duke of Guise and other Catholic nobles with their retainers appeared in arms in the streets. Coligny was murdered in bed. Henry of Navarre was spared, but was compelled to abjure Protestantism. Before the day closed several thousand Huguenots had been massacred in Paris.

Deprived of their leaders, the Huguenots took instant measures for their protection in the provinces, and the operations which followed constitute the *fourth* war (1572-73). The Huguenots threw themselves into Nîmes, Montauban, and Sancerre, and in Rochelle maintained so vigorous a defence that the Peace of Rochelle (1573) again accorded to them

satisfactory terms; Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes were surrendered to them. On the anniversary of St. Bartholomew the Huguenots in Languedoc and Guyenne linked together on the Swiss model the cities in each area, with a central assembly at Nîmes and Montauban respectively. To confront this revolutionary movement the advanced and uncompromising section of the Roman Catholic party formed a Catholic League under the direction of Henry of Guise (nicknamed *Balafré*, the scarred). Midway between these opposing camps were the Malcontents or *Politiques* or Peaceable Catholics, who, remaining faithful to the old Church, wished none the less for tolerance and liberty of conscience. At their head was the king's brother Francis duke of Alençon (afterwards of Anjou).

A union of the Huguenots and *Politiques* led to the *fifth* war (1574-76). Charles IX died while it was in progress, and the new king Henry III (1574-89) made peace (the Peace of Beaulieu, or of Monsieur) in 1576 upon terms more favourable than the Huguenots so far had received. Outside Paris they were allowed unrestricted liberty to practise their worship. Eight towns (*places de sûreté*) were surrendered to them, and legal cases in which they were concerned were to be tried by a tribunal in which half of the judges were of the Protestant religion. The terms of the agreement were viewed with dismay by Guise and the extremists. The States General at Blois (1576) demanded that the public and private exercise of the Protestant religion should be forbidden, and the king's brother, Francis of Anjou, deserted the Huguenots. In these circumstances the Huguenots again resorted to arms, and the *sixth* war (1577) ended with the Peace of Bergerac, which gave them less favourable terms than those of the previous year. Three years of peace were followed by the *seventh* war (1580), whose terminating treaty (Peace of Fleix) confirmed its predecessor.

But in 1584 the situation was altered by the death of Anjou, the youngest of the sons of Henry II and Catharine de' Medici. His death made Henry of Navarre heir apparent to the crown of France, and the prospect of his succession stirred Guise and the League to a supreme effort. With Philip II of Spain Guise made the Treaty of Joinville (1585), a joint undertaking to exclude Henry of Navarre from the

throne and to vest the succession in the Cardinal of Bourbon. To this powerful league Henry III was compelled to capitulate (1585). He proscribed the practice of the Protestant religion, and the new Pope Sixtus V declared Navarre incapable of succeeding to the throne of France. Navarre perforce took arms, and the *eighth* civil war, "The War of the three Henries" (1585-89) began. The king, divided between the desire to break the League and to repress the Huguenots, after finding himself the prisoner of the League in Paris, where Guise's partisans raised barricades and confined him to the Louvre, contrived Guise's assassination (1588). Guise's brother, the Cardinal of Guise, was put to death the following day. His treachery lost Henry the allegiance of the Catholics and compelled him to seek an accommodation with Henry of Navarre. In 1589 a treaty was agreed to, in which the king promised to refrain from molesting the Huguenots, while Navarre undertook to support the king. Together they marched on Paris, but on the eve of the assault the king died, the victim of an assassin (1589). His death ended the House of Valois, which had ruled France since 1328.

The death of Henry III gave the crown by hereditary succession to Henry of Navarre, Henry IV (1589-1610). But his position was precarious. The League was powerful, and Henry, though he undertook not to press the claims of Protestantism unduly, was not yet prepared to adopt the religion of the majority of his subjects. The League therefore refused to recognise him, and while one section of it brought forward the Cardinal of Bourbon, another preferred the duke of Mayenne, the brother of the murdered Guise. Henry IV therefore had to win both capital and kingdom. At the battles of Arques (1589) and Ivry (1590) he proved his superiority over Mayenne, and in 1590 the Cardinal of Bourbon died. In the Edict of Mantes (1591) Henry sought without success to propitiate the Catholics by acknowledging theirs as the established religion. Two years later (1593), for his religious convictions were not very profound, Henry abjured Protestantism and thereby won the allegiance of a nation preponderantly Roman Catholic. In the following year he recovered Paris. In 1598 the Peace of Vervins relieved him of the hostility of Spain, and Henry sat secure, master of his kingdom.

Having relieved France of external dangers, Henry in 1598 published the Edict of Nantes and brought the religious wars to an end. The Huguenots, as the result of various edicts since Henry's accession, already possessed the right of public worship in 200 towns, 3000 castles, and also (with the chief exception of Paris) in one town in each *bailliage* or *sénéchaussé* throughout the kingdom. The Edict of Nantes confirmed the rights of public worship already accorded, and extended them to two places in each *bailliage* or *sénéchaussé*, and to a number of the nobility of lesser jurisdiction than those to whom the privilege had yet been accorded. Protestant schools and colleges were sanctioned, towards which the king contributed funds. Full civil rights and public offices were thrown open to Huguenots. To hear causes in which they were concerned a special chamber was established in the Paris *Parlement*, and *chambres mi-parties* in the provincial *Parlements* of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, in which the two religions were equally represented on the bench. In addition to these concessions, the Huguenots were allowed for eight years (prolonged to 1612) to retain in their hands the towns and garrisons, 200 in number, then held by them, and received public funds for their maintenance.

The Edict of Nantes was blemished by obvious defects. It afforded only partial toleration, and on that ground failed to satisfy those to whom it was accorded. Yet, having regard to the fact that the Huguenots represented only a small fraction of the population of France, the surrender to them of so many towns and fortresses was in excess of their rights, and tempted them to carry further a tendency to political segregation which had already shown itself. Hence their treatment at the hands of Richelieu, who deprived them of their strongholds and paved the way for their repression by Louis XIV.

Calvinism in the Netherlands underwent a more searching test, and the full resources of the Counter-Reformation were brought to bear upon it, in circumstances which will be detailed in the following chapter. The Netherlands were the richest part of the territory of the Burgundian Duke Charles the Bold, whose daughter's marriage to Maximilian I brought them into the possession of the Habsburgs and so of Charles V and his son Philip II of Spain. Coextensive with the

modern kingdoms of Belgium and the Netherlands, the Spanish Netherlands, or Low Countries, consisted of the seventeen provinces which Charles V united under his rule. Four of them were duchies (Brabant, Gelderland, Limburg, Luxemburg). Five were lordships (Friesland, Overijssel, Mechlin, Groningen, Utrecht). Seven were counties (Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Zutphen, Namur). One (Antwerp) was a marquisate. To the south of the Meuse the population was French or Flemish. In the north, where the Reformation took root, the German stock, Dutch and Frisian, prevailed. Flanders was wealthy and industrial. In the north the population was relatively poor and made its livelihood from the sea, which threatened constantly to overwhelm it.

On a soil already prepared by Erasmus and the humanists Luther's challenge to Rome found a sympathetic response, and the Augustinian convent at Antwerp became the centre of Lutheran activity and propaganda. In 1521, Charles V issued his first edict against Lutheranism in the Netherlands and ordered the burning of Lutheran literature. Next year (1522) the Inquisition was organised for the suppression of heresy, and in 1523 two of the Antwerp brotherhood were burnt, the first martyrs of the Reformation. Successive edicts or "Placards" against Protestantism culminated in the Perpetual Edict of 1550, and many hundreds of Protestants had lost their lives before Philip II embarked upon more drastic courses. Calvinism and Anabaptism had taken firm hold on the Netherlands when in 1555 Philip succeeded his father with a resolute intention to eradicate every suspicion of heresy. A war which established the independence of the Protestant Netherlands was the result.

In Scotland the seed of the Reformation fell on ground particularly prepared to receive it. Nowhere else was the Church so inert and secular. Nowhere else was so large a proportion of the national resources absorbed by it. Its richest benefices were not infrequently in the hands of laymen whom the king desired to reward, or of his base-born children for whom he had to provide. Ecclesiastical titles did not extinguish lay interests—among those who fell at Flodden were an archbishop, two abbots, and a bishop. Lollardy early found an entrance into Scotland, and in or

about 1406 James Resby, an Englishman of Wykcliffe's school, was burnt at Perth for heresy. Hussitism also exerted its influence, and in 1433 Paul Craw of Prague was burnt at the stake. In 1494 thirty persons, the "Lollards of Kyle," were summoned on a charge of heresy in Ayrshire. The writings of Luther also influenced Scotland. In 1525 an Act was passed forbidding their importation, and three years later (1528) Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, was burnt at St. Andrews. He was the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation.

John Knox dated the Reformation in Scotland from the death of Patrick Hamilton. But its progress and ultimate victory were delayed by the fears which the aggressive policy of England aroused in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. James V's widow, Mary of Lorraine, ruled Scotland as Regent for her daughter Mary Stewart with all the devotion of her family (the Guise) for the ancient Church. In Cardinal Beton she found one whose zeal matched her own, until his condemnation of the reformer George Wishart was followed by his own assassination in 1546. The Cardinal's assassins threw themselves into the castle of St. Andrews and were joined by John Knox, who was already known to the Regent as a heretic and a friend of England. On the fall of the castle, Knox and its garrison were sent to France (1547), where the reformer spent a year and a half as a galley-slave. Upon his release Knox proceeded to England, became one of Edward VI's chaplains, and was offered the bishopric of Rochester. The Catholic reaction which attended the accession of Mary Tudor placed him in grave jeopardy, and making his way to Switzerland, he came conclusively under the influence of Calvin.

Knox did not revisit Scotland until 1555, when his fearless preaching gained converts, and the Reformation proceeded apace. In 1557 the first Covenant was signed by nobles and others styling themselves "The Congregation of Jesus Christ" in antagonism to the "Congregation of Satan," as they termed the Church of Rome. Therein they bound themselves to set up the reformed faith in Scotland. Fruitlessly they petitioned the Regent to take the reformation of the Church in hand, and were answered by the burning at St. Andrews of Walter Milne, the last of the Scottish Protestant martyrs. But on the accession (1558) of Elizabeth to the English throne

the prospects of Scottish Protestantism brightened. Mary Stewart's open assertion of her claim to the English crown induced Elizabeth to send help to the Congregation, and in 1560 their joint forces gave siege to Leith. The Regent died in the course of it. The Treaty of Edinburgh, which brought the campaign to an end, left Scotland under the control of the Congregation until the return of Mary Stewart from France, and Knox and his associates hastened to place the Reformed Church on a secure footing before the young queen's arrival. At a meeting of the Estates (1560) a Protestant Confession of Faith, the work of Knox and his colleagues, was accepted and ratified; the jurisdiction of the Pope was overthrown; doctrines and practices contrary to the new Confession were condemned; and the celebration of the Mass was forbidden. So much had been accomplished when the return of Mary Stewart in 1561 exposed Scotland to the attack of the Counter-Reformation.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

FROM the close of the fourteenth century the need for reform was admitted in authoritative quarters. Under Paul III (1534-49) the Papacy ranged itself on the side of the reformers and summoned the long-looked-for General Council for the correction of abuses. The reorganisation of the old and formation of new religious Orders, the Society of Jesus in particular, and the institution of the Inquisition, gave the Papacy powerful instruments in its counter-attack upon Protestantism. The Roman Church's onslaught upon heresy is the key to the international history of the second half of the sixteenth century, and its doughtiest champions were Philip II of Spain (1556-98) and the Guises in France.

The Council which effected the reform of the Roman Church assembled in 1545 at Trent on the confines of Germany and Italy, whence its delegates were chiefly drawn. The Council sat, with two suspensions, until 1563, and closed the door against a reunion of Christendom. Whereas in the interpretation of the text of Scripture the Protestants employed all the resources of scholarship, the Council decreed the fourth century Latin translation of the Bible by St Jerome, known as the Vulgate, to be infallible, and the Church's interpretation of it to be authoritative. The Council rejected the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, upheld the sacraments whose efficacy the Protestants challenged, and affirmed the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, a doctrine which Luther accepted incompletely, and Calvin denied. The Council forbade the marriage of priests, and permission to receive the chalice in Communion was not generally conceded to the laity. Against the Protestant contention that public worship ought to be conducted in a language "understood of the

people," the Council, holding it an indignity to address the Almighty in the vernacular of ordinary converse, refused to discard Latin as the official language of the Church's liturgy. Nor were the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the saints and the use of Indulgences abandoned.

On the other hand, the Council for the first time categorically defined the belief of the Roman Church. Its discipline and cohesion were strengthened. The supreme authority of the Papacy was admitted and affirmed. The more flagrant abuses were removed or mitigated. The excesses of its financial system were corrected. The abuses arising from pluralities and non-residence were considered, and the bishops and clergy were enjoined to preach regularly to their flocks. The episcopate was closed to all under thirty years of age, and the priesthood to all under twenty-five years. The institution of clerical seminaries removed the reproach which the Protestants had brought against the clergy of the unreformed Church as ignorant and uninstructed. Thus, though the Council set the Roman in determined antagonism to the Protestant Church, and vetoed the hope of a reunion of Christendom, it made the Roman Church stronger by defining its beliefs and centralising the discipline wherewith to enforce them. Rejected inevitably by the Protestant powers, the decisions of the Council (*Decreta Tridentina*) were accepted in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Poland. The Catholic princes of the Empire adopted them at the Diet of Augsburg (1566). In France they were acknowledged by the clergy (1615), though they were never formally ratified by the crown.

While the Council was in session Paul III took out of the papal armoury an old weapon for use against heresy. In the thirteenth century Gregory IX had instituted (1233) a papal Inquisition to eradicate the Albigensian heresy, and entrusted its execution to the Dominicans and Franciscans. Its work had long been accomplished when, more than two centuries later, the Spanish sovereigns asked for its rehabilitation to aid their crusade against the Moors and Jews. The Papacy consented (1477), and the success of the Spanish Inquisition encouraged Paul III to fashion a similar institution for the whole Church. In 1542 he established the Holy Office of the Universal Church, a commission of six cardinals being empowered to act as Inquisitors to try all matters of faith. In Italy the

Holy Office rapidly accomplished its work, and prominent reformers, such as Peter Martyr, were obliged to leave the country. But a judicatory so secret and relentless could not be imposed upon the other Catholic States of Christendom without their consent. Though the Guises would fain have used it, and the Cardinal of Lorraine received from the Pope the title Grand Inquisitor, the opposition of the Paris *Parlement* kept the dreaded Inquisition out of France. Philip II of Spain, on the other hand, employed it with fanatical zeal throughout his wide empire. In the Netherlands especially the excesses perpetrated by it defeated the object for which it had been created. So far from Protestantism being cowed to surrender, it was nerved to resist a ruthless tyranny, and the loss to Spain of the United Provinces was the result.

Less drastic, but effective in repelling the intrusion of heretical opinions, was the institution by Paul IV in 1559 of an Index of books which the faithful were prohibited from reading (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*). It enumerated the names of the heresiarchs and other authors of harmful writings, and the titles of prohibited books. The Index met with much opposition, even in Italy, and was condemned by the Council of Trent. In its stead was issued in 1564 the Tridentine Index, which was very generally accepted, and cut off Catholic Europe for a time from the tide of advancing thought.

Every crisis in the progress of the Church had been attended by a stirring of the religious Orders. In the eleventh century the Cluniac movement supported the ideals of Gregory VII. Innocent III had with him the Dominicans and Franciscans, and now, at the moment when great tracts of Christendom had withdrawn from her obedience, and she herself was recognising the need of reform, the Roman Church, between the years 1524-1641, transformed the old religious Orders and created more than fifteen new ones. Among the old ones, the Carmelites, Benedictines, and Franciscans were reformed. From the latter sprang the Capuchins, so called from the hood or cowl which they wore. The new Orders for the most part took their origin in North Italy. Among them were the Theatines (1524), and the Barnabites (about 1530), by whom valiant work was done for the Church in Italy and elsewhere. But the most famous of the new Orders, the Society of Jesus (1540), gave the Papacy a more aggressive and potent force

than it had ever possessed, and accomplished for the Church generally what the Inquisition achieved in Italy.

The founder of the Jesuits, Inigo Lopez de Recalde, a Basque of noble birth, was born at the castle of Loyola in Spain in 1491. He followed the tradition of his family by adopting a soldier's career, and was seriously wounded at the siege of Pamplona by the French in 1521. A man of mystic temperament, the whole tenor of his life was changed by his illness. He became a student of the Scriptures and of the lives of St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi. Convalescence found him eager to free Jerusalem from the infidel, and thither he set out as a pilgrim. He returned to Spain with the ambition to follow the career of his countryman, St. Dominic, as a preacher. But he lacked education, and a course of University study in Spain followed. Then he proceeded to the University of Paris, where he gathered round him a small band of visionaries, among them Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. The recovery of Jerusalem was still their ambition, and in 1537 Loyola and his companions were at Venice on their way thither. But the war between the Republic and the Turks prevented their design, and Loyola proceeded to Rome to place himself at the disposal of the Papacy. In 1540 Paul III accepted his proffered service and the Society of Jesus was founded. Its members were the militia of the Holy See, acting wherever the Pope directed them, and obeying with implicit obedience the General of the Order, Loyola himself being the first.

The constitution of the Society developed gradually. Originally limited to sixty members, it was found necessary within three years of its foundation to remove the restriction. As novices the members of the Order were carefully set apart and educated to fulfil the particular career, whether religious or secular, which their superiors assigned to them. At the head of the Order was the General, who was himself supervised by an elected Admonitor and six elected Assistants (one each for Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland). The operations of the Order were divided into Provinces, each administered by a Provincial. Its constitution was monarchical, but it was a monarchy constitutional and limited. The General Congregation elected the General and alone could alter the constitution. The General could be deposed by the General

Congregation, and in cases of urgency by the Assistants. In imitation of the Theatines, the Jesuits rejected the monastic habit. Nor were they tied to the conventual life. Their work was in the world among their fellow-men, and their influence was exerted in the pulpit, the confessional, and the arena of diplomacy. In the schoolroom they were the most efficient teachers of the young whom Europe had yet seen. Whatever the nature of their work, their success was particularly due to their severance alike from secular and monastic ties, the abandonment of their members to the spirit of the motto of the Order, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* ("to the greater glory of God"), and the unswerving obedience to superior authority to which they were pledged.

The growth of the Society was rapid. When Loyola died in 1556 it embraced fourteen Provinces in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and their colonies, and possessed more than one hundred colleges and houses. North of the Alps its progress was less active until after the Council of Trent rose in 1563. It then won back to Rome lost ground in South Germany, Bavaria, and the Habsburg territories. In the Belgian Netherlands it was equally successful. In France it encountered much opposition before it was able to found its chief college at Clermont (1564). In England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms it actively seconded the efforts of the Counter-Reformation, though without success. In the mission-field it spent itself with devotion. Francis Xavier was the Apostle of India, China, and Japan, and at a later time the Jesuits made Canada their mission-field.

In Philip II, who ascended the throne of Spain in 1556, the year of Loyola's death, the Catholic reaction found a prince who in the spirit of narrowest bigotry acted as its champion. Among his contemporaries none could boast resources comparable to his. Outside Spain he was master of the greater part of Italy by virtue of his possession of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. He possessed Franche Comté, Artois, Flanders, and the Low Countries or Netherlands. The whole of Central America and all of South America that was not Portuguese belonged to him, and provided the wealth which supported his great enterprises in Europe. His marriage to Mary Tudor in 1554 gave him the crown matrimonial of

England, and his wife could claim the titular crown of France. But his hopes of attaching England permanently to his political interests and religion were disappointed by a childless union. In 1555 he left England for ever, and three years later Mary Tudor died (1558). In 1580 Philip found compensation in another quarter. The union of the Portuguese and Spanish kingdoms had for long been the ambition of the Spanish sovereigns, and intermarriages between the two royal houses had been frequent. Philip's mother was a Portuguese princess, the daughter of Manoel the Great, and upon the death of the childless Henry I of Portugal in 1580, Philip advanced a claim to the vacant throne, and by bribery and the display of military force compelled the Portuguese to accept him as their sovereign. The union of the two kingdoms continued until 1640, when the House of Braganza restored to Portugal a national dynasty which endured until the deposition of Manoel II in 1910. While the union lasted, the colonial resources of Portugal swelled those of Spain in the hands of Philip. South America and the empire which Portugal had built up round the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands increased Spain's resources, while in Portugal itself she acquired the finest Atlantic ports—it was from Lisbon that the Great Armada sailed for the destruction of England. With justification Philip's subjects could boast the proverb: "When Spain stirs the whole earth shakes."

The arrival of Philip in Spain in 1559 and the accession of Mary Stewart's husband Francis II to the throne of France in the same year brought the political forces of the Catholic reaction into play. It was upon Elizabeth and England that their attack was concentrated, and the battle was fought round the English Channel and the North Sea. In the circle of England's defences were three weak places: (1) Scotland, (2) the Netherlands, (3) the Ocean. In the first, Mary Stewart, herself the rightful queen of England if Elizabeth's asserted illegitimacy was maintained, menaced the Protestant settlement in Scotland and England alike. While Mary threatened England's northern front, Philip's attack upon the religion and liberties of the Netherlands threatened her on the east; for if Protestantism were once dislodged in the Low Countries its maintenance in England would be in jeopardy. As to the Ocean, so long as Philip's galleons ruled the high

seas, the position of the island-kingdom and all that it stood for were precarious.

The accession of Mary Stewart to the throne of France was followed at once by the open assertion of her claim to Elizabeth's crown. Elizabeth therefore, abandoning her previous cautious policy, sent troops to Scotland to co-operate with the Protestant Lords of the Congregation, who were already in arms against the Regent, Mary's mother, Mary of Lorraine. The Treaty of Edinburgh (1560) crowned Elizabeth's intervention with success. The French troops withdrew from Scotland; the Scottish Estates abolished the Pope's jurisdiction; the celebration of the Mass was forbidden; and the Calvinistic Confession of Faith was adopted as that of the Scottish Church. The death of her mother and of her husband in the same year (1560) swelled the tale of Mary Stewart's misfortunes. The Guise influence at the French court gave place to that of Catharine de' Medici, the queen mother, and in August, 1561, Mary Stewart returned to Scotland. Like her son at a later time, her policy was directed upon one absorbing object, to secure recognition as Elizabeth's heir. To that end she gave her hand to her cousin Lord Darnley, a naturalised Englishman, descended like herself from the first Tudor king of England, a Catholic, and next after herself in lineal succession to Elizabeth. The marriage took place in 1565, and from that moment the tragedy of her domestic career stood between Mary and the accomplishment of the task which Catholic Europe imposed on her. Darnley's vicious and weak character soon turned the queen's love to hatred, and disposed her to the intrigue with the earl of Bothwell which associated her, whether rightly or wrongly is immaterial, with the crime at Kirk o' Field which removed Darnley from Bothwell's path. Her marriage to Bothwell raised Scotland against her. Defeated at Carberry Hill (1567), Mary was forced to abdicate in her son James's favour. Her political career seemed at an end. But its most dangerous period as an agent of the Catholic reaction was still to come. In 1568, after nearly a year's imprisonment, Mary escaped from Loch Leven, encountered another defeat at Langside, and fled to England. There she lived, the pivot of every plot against Elizabeth, until her execution in 1587 ended her scheming life.

During the four years which intervened between Charles V's abdication of the sovereignty of the Netherlands in 1555 and Philip's departure for Spain in 1559, Philip continued his father's measures. Charles's severe edict of 1550 against the Protestants was confirmed, and the civil judicatories remained subservient to the Inquisition. To the Netherlands Philip was a foreigner, and from the outset the object of general distrust. His manner was distant, his temper not conciliatory, and after his departure in 1559 his measures and the means by which he supported them forced the conclusion that the provinces were ruled by and in the interests of a foreign state.

The Low Countries had passed from the French Valois to the Austrian Habsburgs upon the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1477, through the marriage of his heiress Mary to the future Emperor Maximilian I. From Maximilian they descended to his son Philip the Handsome, and on Philip's death in 1506 to his son Charles of Ghent, afterwards the Emperor Charles V and king of Spain. In spite of his multifarious occupations Charles retained a particular interest in the land of his birth. He gave it political unity by making the provinces one and indivisible in the Pragmatic Sanction of Brussels (1549). He increased the provinces to seventeen in number by acquiring the duchy of Gelderland, the lordships of Friesland, Groningen, Utrecht, Overijssel, and the county of Zutphen. The counties of Artois and Flanders (and also Tournay, his conquest), which since the Treaty of Verdun (843) had been in allegiance to the crown of France, were released from that attachment by the Treaties of Madrid (1526) and Cambray (1529), and were among the fiefs which the Pragmatic Sanction of Brussels formed into a single and indivisible state. For its government Charles instituted at Brussels three Councils: a Council of Finance; a Privy Council to control the administration of law and justice; and a Council of State, with such wide and supervisory powers that it dwarfed the other two. The measures which Charles took for the repression of heresy in the Netherlands have been detailed. They and the heavy drain of men and money which his wars entailed roused murmurs which swelled to rebellion under the less sympathetic rule of his son.

Upon his departure for Spain in 1559 Philip appointed as Regent of the Netherlands his half-sister, Margaret duchess of

Parma. But the real ruler and repository of Philip's confidence was Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, who for thirty years had been Charles V's chief adviser, and to whom Philip gave precedence over the nobility of the Netherlands by procuring for him a Cardinal's hat and the Primacy of the Netherlands. As the agent of an unpopular policy, Granvelle was the object of much distrust and hatred. Within the Council of State he was opposed by two Flemish nobles, the count of Egmont, the victor of St. Quentin, and William of Nassau, the head of a noble family of German origin which had acquired great possessions in Brabant. He also held the principality of Orange, whose owner had the status of a sovereign prince until the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) attached Orange to the French crown. William's discreetness gained him the sobriquet "the Silent" and Charles V's favour. From Philip he received a seat on the Council of State and the Stadtholdership of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht.

The national resentment which Egmont and Orange voiced was based on the presence of Spanish troops in the country, the implacable prosecution of the laws against heresy, and Philip's fulfilment of his father's scheme for the increase of the Netherland bishoprics from four to seventeen. Both nobles resigned their command of Spanish regiments, absented themselves from the Council, and with count van Hoorn, Admiral of Flanders, petitioned Philip for Granvelle's dismissal. The Regent also was tired of his domination, and in 1564 Philip dismissed him.

For a short time opposition to Philip and his government ceased. But in the summer of 1564 the king sent orders to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent, which had held its last meeting in December of the previous year. Loud protests were raised in the Council of State, to which Orange and his colleagues had returned. Although he was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, Orange spoke eloquently for liberty of conscience, and Egmont proceeded to Spain to plead with Philip. His mission was fruitless, and in 1565 Philip sent insistent orders that his commands should be obeyed. "This is the beginning of a fine tragedy," Orange is reported to have said when the Council was informed of the king's insistence.

Indignation at the king's order was general. The first step towards a national resistance to it was taken by the lesser nobles, gentry, and burghers. In 1566 they formed themselves into a confederacy whose programme was set forth in a document known as "The Compromise." Orange's younger brother, Lewis of Nassau, and more than two thousand Catholics and Protestants joined the Association, undertook to uproot the Inquisition, and to protect each other from persecution. It was resolved to submit the "Compromise" in conciliatory language to the Regent in the form of a "Request," and a deputation of nearly 1000 persons presented it to her. One of her attendants referred to them contemptuously as *gueux* (beggars), and the name was forthwith adopted for their party by the enemies of Spain.

The presentation of the "Request" induced the Regent to moderate the execution of her brother's orders pending further directions from him. The result was a striking demonstration of the strength of the religion which Philip sought to suppress. Protestant preachers, for the most part Calvinists, preached openly to the people, and conventicles were held under the very eyes of the authorities. Popular excitement found expression in acts of violence. Infuriated Protestant bands fell upon the churches. Altars, images, windows, and pictures were destroyed. At Antwerp the treasures of the cathedral were destroyed or distributed among the rioters (1566), and in the northern provinces similar scenes were enacted. The outbreak alienated the moderate Catholics. But Orange was not of their number, much as he deprecated violence. He was ready to take arms for the deliverance of his country, and failing to convince Egmont that such a step was now inevitable, he left the Netherlands for Dillenburg, the German seat of his family (1567).

Orange correctly gauged the situation; for Philip now submitted the Netherlands to a scourging which stands among the most cruel in the history of the human race. Four months after Orange withdrew to Germany, the duke of Alva, the most able of Philip's generals, and a picked force, for the most part Spaniards, arrived in the Netherlands (1567) with powers which virtually superseded all other than his own. Garrisons of Spanish troops were placed in the chief towns.

Egmont and Hoorn, summoned to confer with Alva, were treacherously arrested and executed (1568). Orange's heir, Philip William, count of Buren, a student at the University of Louvain, was kidnapped and sent to Spain. To deal with the rank and file of the heretics Alva set up a special court, the Council of Troubles, popularly known as the Council of Blood, over which he himself presided. Its activities extended over the whole of the seventeen provinces. Nearly two thousand persons were put to death by its orders in three months, and when its work was done Alva boasted that his victims numbered over 18,000.

Orange, who had refused to obey a summons from Alva to appear before the Council of Troubles, proceeded to organise the military operations which Egmont had neglected to undertake. But his invasion of the Netherlands in 1568 proved the strength of Alva's position. For though his brother Lewis won a barren victory at Heiligerlee, Orange was signally defeated by Alva a few weeks later at Jemmingen. But the tide turned when it was realised that Alva and his master were vulnerable at sea. As a sovereign prince, Orange issued letters of marque, and in 1569 some eighteen vessels, manned by "Sea-Beggars," were preying on the Spanish shipping in the narrow seas. England at first offered them the hospitality of her ports. But on Philip's protest the privilege was withdrawn, and with important consequences; for in 1572 a large fleet of the Beggars, which had been denied access to a port in England, put into Brill for shelter, and finding no Spanish garrison, sent a force on shore, took the town, and held it for the prince of Orange. Flushing and other towns on the coast were similarly dealt with. Alva's authority ceased in Utrecht, Zeeland, Overijssel, and Friesland, except in garrisoned places, and a meeting of the Holland Estates at Dort (1572), while acknowledging Philip as their sovereign, voted Orange supplies to rid the country of the Spaniards. In the south, the sympathy of Charles IX enabled Lewis of Nassau to capture Mons. But the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) changed the drift of French policy. Lewis was forced to surrender the fortress, and its capitulation was followed by the extinction of anti-Spanish activity in the southern provinces. But the attempt to recover lost ground in the north proved arduous. For seven months Haarlem held out against the

Spaniards, and Alva suffered the loss of his fleet off Enkhuyzen (1573).

Already in bad odour with his master for his failure to pacify the unhappy country, Alva now begged for his recall (1573). He was succeeded by Don Luis Requesens, who cherished hopes of a settlement. But in the opinion of Philip's representative, Orange's terms were impossible. He demanded the withdrawal of the Spaniards from the country, the restoration of public charters and liberties which Philip's rule had violated, and permission to Protestants to worship and preach unmolested. It was at this time (1573) that Orange became a member of the Calvinist communion. As a boy he had been brought up in the Lutheran faith. He became a Roman Catholic upon succeeding to his Orange title, and he now adopted the creed of the people whose deliverance from Spain he believed to be his appointed task.

Requesens, his hopes of accommodation dissipated, made but little headway in the task in which his predecessor had failed, though Lewis of Nassau and his brother Henry were defeated and slain in the battle of Mookerheide (1574). But in the north the Sea-Beggars held their own, captured Middleburg (1574), the last Spanish stronghold in Zeeland, and sailed through the opened dykes to relieve Leyden (1574), which for months had been besieged by the Spaniards. The University of Leyden was founded in memory of the deliverance.

In 1576 Requesens died suddenly, and Orange took the first step towards the creation of the Republic of the United Provinces. At Delft (1576) the delegates of Holland and Zeeland formed a federal union, and conferred upon William the control of its financial and military resources. He was empowered to offer the Protectorate of the provinces to a foreign prince if that course seemed necessary. The Union of Delft, in fact, contemplated breaking all connection with Spain save the slender tie of allegiance. A fearful outbreak of Spanish violence at Antwerp (1576), the "Spanish Fury," in which thousands were done to death, brought an immediate expansion of the Delft Union in the Pacification of Ghent (1576), in which the other provinces also conferred powers upon Orange for the expulsion of the Spaniards. So deep was anti-Spanish feeling that the new Spanish governor, Don

John of Austria, Philip's half-brother and commander of the fleet which had won the battle of Lepanto against the Turks five years before (1571), found it necessary to yield in order to obtain recognition of his authority. Early in 1577 he signed the "Perpetual Edict," and undertook that the foreign soldiery should be withdrawn. Orange, accurately gauging Don John's sincerity, held aloof from the recognition of him which the southern provinces accorded. He acted wisely; for Don John was soon discarded by those whom his "Perpetual Edict" sought to placate.

Though the Catholic provinces invited the Archduke Matthias, the brother of the Emperor, to Brussels (1577), and Orange himself resumed occupation of his Brussels palace, whence he had fled ten years before, he realised that when once their common need to shake off Spanish tyranny was satisfied, the southern provinces would draw apart from the northern Protestant group. The inevitable cleavage between them was carefully fostered by the able Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, who succeeded Don John as governor in 1578. The Catholic provinces were warned that the Pacification of Ghent would tie them to toleration of heresy in their very midst. Farnese had his reward in 1579, in the Treaty of Arras for the protection of the Catholic religion and reconciliation with Spain. It was answered by the northern Union of Utrecht, in which Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Zutphen bound themselves to support religious toleration and resistance to Spain. The Union of Utrecht was followed by the issue of a ban against Orange, which set a price upon his head and offered a patent of nobility to any who should relieve Philip of him (1581). William in reply published his "Apology," a bitter indictment of Philip's misrule. At the Hague, representatives of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Brabant (where Orange's influence was strong), and Flanders published an Act of Abjuration deposing Philip (1581) on the ground of his tyranny and misrule.

Orange had already taken steps to procure the foreign aid necessary to support the Hague declaration of independence, and Francis duke of Anjou, the heir to the French throne and a suitor for the hand of Elizabeth of England, accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands. The prospects of his candidature were destroyed by his own conduct. Chafing at the restraints

imposed on him, Anjou attempted to make himself master by *coup de main*. Early in 1583 his troops were let loose in Antwerp and the city experienced the "French Fury." A few months later Anjou, realising that his position was hopeless, returned to France, and death prevented Orange from looking elsewhere for another champion. Philip's ban had already encouraged one attempt upon Orange's life. In July, 1584, a young Burgundian named Balthasar Gérard shot him dead with a pistol bought by money which Orange had given to the assassin for bringing news of Anjou's death. His people mourned him as the "Father of the country." He had been denied the privilege of building the fabric of the Republic. But his ability and doggedness had kept its cause alive, and the foundations of the edifice were truly his.

Orange's eldest son Philip William was still in Spain. The dead prince's task in the Netherlands therefore devolved upon his second son Maurice, a youth of seventeen, who proved himself more than equal to the responsibility. But meanwhile the Estates of the northern provinces pursued Orange's design to secure foreign help. An offer of the protectorship of Holland and Zeeland and sovereignty of the other provinces to Henry III of France (1585) was not accepted. England was then approached, and Elizabeth was moved to action by the success of Parma in the districts south of the Meuse, and by his capture of Antwerp. In the hands of Spain the latter was a serious menace to England, and late in the year (1585) Elizabeth sent over her favourite, the earl of Leicester. He accepted the title of Governor-General, displayed little tact, and had but little success in his administration. In 1587 he withdrew.

The mistakes of her adversary saved Holland at this crisis. Parma was master of the country south of the Meuse. Foreign aid had proved of little help, and nothing seemed to stand between Spain and the complete reduction of the Netherlands. But Philip himself intervened to save the confederates. His resolution to coerce the Netherlands yielded for the moment to a passionate determination to humble his arch-foe Elizabeth, to avenge the damage which English sailors had done Spain upon the high seas and in her colonies, and now that Mary Stewart was no more, to strike for a kingdom whose

crown he once had worn as king-consort. After the departure of Leicester, Parma was able to do little more than mark time until the great Armada called him to take part in the projected invasion of England. France also, where the Protestant Henry IV came to the throne in 1589, involved Philip in a fruitless war which contributed to save the Netherlands from their sovereign's vengeance.

Hence the thirty years which followed the departure of Leicester witnessed the conclusive severance of the seven northern provinces from the Belgic group, and the Dutch Republic took form as a separate state. The agents in the work of construction were Orange's son, Maurice, and Orange's friend, Johan van Oldenbarneveldt. The latter had been appointed Advocate of Holland in 1586, held office for more than thirty years, and was the spokesman of his province in the States General. Maurice had none of his father's genius for affairs, but surpassed his father in military aptitude, and was one of the finest soldiers of his day. So soon as he was of age he was created Admiral and Captain-General of the Union, and before the end of the year 1589 had been appointed Stadtholder of all the seven federated provinces save Friesland, of which his cousin, William Lewis of Nassau, was Stadtholder, and Groningen, which came later into the Union. While Oldenbarneveldt's genius made the political joints of the Union work smoothly, Maurice organised its armies and conducted them to victory against the enemy. By 1594, as the result of four campaigns, Maurice practically wiped out the Spanish garrisons upon the territory of the Union and brought the province Groningen into it, of which William Lewis was appointed Stadtholder. Such successes had their reward, and in 1596 the United Provinces were recognised by France and England, with whom they made a triple alliance, the Union furnishing a considerable force in France as well as a larger army in the Netherlands for service against the common enemy. In 1598 France and Spain came to terms in the Treaty of Vervins, and Philip settled the sovereignty of the Belgic or Catholic Netherlands upon his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, and her husband the Austrian Archduke Albert, with the proviso that failing children to them the crown should revert to Spain—a contingency which came to pass on the death of Isabella in 1633. In the autumn of 1598 Philip died.

Late in the year 1599 the new sovereigns of the Netherlands made their entry into Brussels, and a desultory war with the provinces of the Union followed. Both sides were thoroughly exhausted, and Oldenbarneveldt succeeded in 1609 in inducing the Estates to agree to a twelve years' truce (Truce of Antwerp). By it Spain and the archduke virtually recognised the independence of the United Provinces, and threw open to them the colonial commerce which Spain was no longer able to retain exclusively for herself.

The years of truce were darkened by the trial and execution (1619) of Oldenbarneveldt, the victim of religious dissensions, and when war with Spain was resumed in 1621 Maurice felt the need of the statesman whose death he had sanctioned. The war was not attended by any striking successes, and in 1625 Maurice died. He was succeeded in his Orange and Netherland dignities by his brother Frederick Henry.

Though Frederick Henry did not live to see the admission of the United Provinces among the States of Europe, his statesmanship made that conclusion inevitable. The times were favourable; for Europe was engaged in the Thirty Years' War, and behind the strife of creeds the preponderance of the Habsburgs in Europe was involved. The Dutch therefore re-entered the struggle in 1621 with their own interests at issue in the wider warfare, and in 1635 an offensive and defensive alliance with France promised them half of all conquests made at the expense of Spain in the Belgic Netherlands. Four years later (1639), in the battle of the Downs, the Dutch admiral Marten van Tromp annihilated the Spanish fleet as it lay off the English coast between Dover and Deal. Though England resented the violation of her neutral waters, Frederick Henry was successful in negotiating a marriage (1641) between his son William and Charles I's daughter Mary, the parents of William III of Great Britain and Orange.

Outside Europe the Republic also won for itself a position which compelled recognition. Founded in 1602, the Dutch East India Company rapidly secured the monopoly of the East Indian insular trade. The Portuguese were ousted, and the Dutch, whose seat of government in the East Indies so far had been in the small island Amboyna, established it in 1619 at Batavia in the rich island of Java. Sumatra, Borneo, Ceylon, Malacca, and other acquisitions riveted Dutch control

in the East Indies. They were the first to bring tea from China in 1610 and coffee from Mocha in Arabia six years later. In Africa the foundations of Cape Colony were laid by Antoni van Riebeeck in 1651, and Dutch sailors were the discoverers of Australia (which bore the name New Holland for two hundred years after), Tasmania (named after Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer), and New Zealand (whose name also betrays its Dutch origin). The Dutch monopoly of the islands of the Far East compelled the English, whom the decadence of Spain and Portugal tempted to enter their preserves, to establish factories upon the Indian mainland. In the New World also the Dutch were active. A long-continued attack upon Portuguese Brazil was without permanent success. But early in the seventeenth century the Dutch began to occupy the region of the Hudson in North America. Their settlements grew into the colony of "New Netherland," with its capital, New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. New Netherland and a contiguous colony of the Swedes cut off England's Puritan colonies from her Virginian group in the south, nor was it until the Treaty of Breda (1667) that England secured both.

Their successful resistance to Spain, the part which they had played in the European struggle, the commercial supremacy which they had won, and the consideration due to them as a colonial power, all combined to extort from Europe recognition of the United Provinces (Holland, Zeeland, Groningen, Overijssel, Friesland, Gelderland, and Utrecht) as a new member of the European family of nations. The recognition was accorded by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which terminated the Thirty Years' War. The Republic was therein confirmed in the possession of its conquests at the expense of Portugal, and Amsterdam was left in unchallenged commercial supremacy by the closing of the Scheldt, the waterway over which for centuries the commerce of Western Europe passed to and from Antwerp, to whose supremacy Amsterdam had succeeded. The river remained closed until 1792, when Antwerp was declared a free port by the French.

The execution of Mary Stewart in 1587, and her son James's attachment to Protestantism, left the Catholic cause without a champion in England. Philip resolved to play that part in his daughter the Infanta Isabella's behalf. There were other

grounds for the supreme effort which Philip made in 1588. As has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, the monopoly which Spain claimed in the regions which Columbus gave her was lightly regarded by her neighbours. While in the East Indies the Dutch possessed themselves of Portugal's lucrative commerce, the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and the New World were the prey of the English. Early in Elizabeth's reign English sailors were breaking Spain's monopoly by trading with her American settlements in slaves from Africa and in other merchandise. It was upon such an enterprise that John Hawkins with his kinsman, Francis Drake, visited San Juan in the Gulf of Mexico in 1568, when he was surprised by a Spanish force and lost his cargo and some of his ships. Elizabeth herself was financially interested in the venture, but refused to be goaded by public indignation into a declaration of war against Spain. She took a step which was equally damaging to Philip, by impounding some Spanish vessels which put into Plymouth harbour under stress of weather while conveying money to Alva in the Netherlands. Drake took his own revenge. In 1570 and 1571 he was again on the Spanish Main. In 1572 he attacked Nombre de Dios and cut off the mule-train of treasure from Peru as it crossed the Isthmus. In 1577 he sailed from England on his most memorable voyage, surprised the Spanish settlements in the Pacific, accumulated much booty, and returned to England in 1580 after circumnavigating the globe. Spain and England were nominally at peace, and from Spain came a threat of invasion. In 1584 complicity in Throckmorton's plot against the life of Elizabeth led to the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador from England. In the next year (1585) Drake with a large fleet was again in the West Indies. The death of Mary Stewart in 1587 therefore found Philip with ample cause to strike on behalf of the religion and material interests of Spain against Elizabeth and her people.

Preparations for invasion were pushed forward, and the attempt was planned for the summer of 1587. Drake, however, boldly entered the harbour of Cadiz, destroyed more than thirty of the Spanish vessels assembled there, and compelled the postponement of the design. At length, in May, 1588, the great Armada put out from Lisbon. It num-

bered 103 ships, of which probably no more than fifty were serviceable as fighting vessels. The duke of Medina Sidonia was in command. His orders were to seize Margate, convoy Parma's force thither from the Low Countries, land a portion of his naval force, and leave Parma to complete England's conquest. Heavy weather gave the Armada a very slow passage. Not until July 19 was it sighted off the Lizard, and on the same day the English fleet, about seventy ships under Lord Howard of Effingham, put out from Plymouth. In effective fighting strength the two fleets were not unevenly matched. But the English ships were better built, less unwieldy, better manned. For a week the Armada passed down the Channel with the English vessels on its flanks. Driven from its anchorage at Calais by fire-ships, the Armada was harried by its pursuers up the North Sea. A fierce battle off Gravelines completed its rout. It followed its shattered course round the north of Scotland, down the Irish coast, and home to Spain. Over sixty ships and thousands of men were the material losses of an expedition which rang the knell of Spain's greatness and of the Catholic reaction in Western Europe which Philip had directed.

For the rest of Elizabeth's reign the naval war with Spain continued. Its most striking events were the engagement off the Azores fought by Sir Richard Greynville in the *Revenge* in 1591, and the capture of Cadiz in 1596. The voyage of Essex and Raleigh to the Azores in 1597, though it failed in its purpose to intercept the treasure fleet, demonstrated Spain's inability to contest the command of the sea with the English. Spain in fact was at the end of her resources, and to her deep satisfaction, but to the indignation of his own subjects, one of the earliest acts of James I was to make peace with her (1604).

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

BEFORE the end of the sixteenth century the Catholic reaction had spent itself in Western Europe. In England and Scotland the defeat of the Armada signalled its collapse. In the Low Countries it assisted the birth of a new Protestant state, the United Provinces. In France the Edict of Nantes obliged it to tolerate the religion which it sought to exterminate. Beyond these disappointments, there resulted a complete shifting of the political balance in Western Europe. Protestant England and Protestant Holland stood at the end of the century in the position which Catholic Spain and Catholic Portugal occupied at the beginning of it. Yet the death of Philip II in 1598 did not end the activities of the Catholic reaction. Defeated in Western Europe it assailed Germany twenty years later, and involved the Empire, and ultimately Europe, in a war which from its duration (1618-48) is known as the Thirty Years' War.

Since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 the Catholic position in the Empire had improved. The Council of Trent breathed a new spirit into the Church, and the Jesuits successfully attacked the Protestant position. They founded schools in the Western electorates, Cologne, Mainz, and Treves, as well as in Austria, Bavaria, Bohemia, Poland, and elsewhere. Sigismund III, elected to the throne of Poland in 1587, used the Jesuit organisation to exterminate heresy in his kingdom, and with success. Protestants were excluded from public offices, and their churches were taken from them. The archduke Ferdinand, who succeeded in 1596 to the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and as Ferdinand II to the Imperial throne itself in 1619, pursued a similar policy. Protestant ministers were expelled, their churches were destroyed, and the archduke's subjects were made to conform to the

religion of their ruler. About the year in which Ferdinand succeeded to Styria, Maximilian of Bavaria succeeded his father in that duchy, and aided by the Jesuit College at Ingoldstadt purged it of Protestants. In Rudolf II (1576-1612) the Empire acquired a ruler who actively promoted the interests of the Catholic Church. In Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia repressive measures against the Protestants were sanctioned. Nor was the Catholic reaction confined to the south of Germany or to localities in which Catholicism was the predominant religion. In Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, Minden, Würzburg, Salzburg, and Bamberg, the Catholic reaction was also vigorous.

Between the two Churches in the Empire there were specific matters of dispute, the legacy of the religious pacification of 1555. The Peace of Augsburg did not establish religious toleration, but merely allowed the princes of the Empire to force their own religion upon their subjects. None of the princes in 1555 belonged to the Calvinist communion, which therefore was debarred from the legal exercise of its religion. An attempt to secure toleration for the Calvinists in Saxony was defeated, and the Elector John George, who was the leader of the Lutheran party, resolutely opposed recognition of the "Reformed" or Calvinist creed. In the Palatinate, under the Elector Frederick IV (1583-1610), Calvinism was the predominant religion. That he and his co-religionists should tolerate indefinitely the non-recognition of their religion was impossible.

A more complicated difficulty arose out of the article of the Peace of Augsburg regarding the secularisation of Church property. It was the contention of the Catholics that the Peace impliedly vetoed the secularisation of Church property after 1552. Much Church property had been secularised since that date, however, and it was maintained by the Protestants that the Peace of Augsburg had not the limiting effect which the Catholics asserted. The "ecclesiastical reservation" attached to the Peace of Augsburg also constituted a difficulty. The Catholics insisted that if the Catholic occupant of an ecclesiastical benefice became a Protestant, he *ipso facto* vacated his benefice. On the other hand, the Protestants declared themselves not bound by the "reservation." For instance, Archbishop Gebhard of Cologne, who was elected

as a Catholic, became a Protestant, sought to retain his see, but was driven from it by Spanish and Bavarian troops (1584); for the transference of his vote to the Protestants threatened to destroy the Catholic majority in the Electoral College of the Diet. For the same reason the Catholics were perturbed by events in Aix-la-Chapelle and Magdeburg. Aix-la-Chapelle was a free Imperial city whose representatives sat in the College of Cities in the Diet. The city fell under Protestant influence, and the Catholics unsuccessfully sought to exclude its deputies from the Diet. Magdeburg was a secularised archbishopric, whose holder by prescriptive right was President of the College of Princes in the Diet. Its holder in 1582 was a Protestant layman, and the exclusion of his deputy both from the Presidentship and the Diet itself was demanded.

The rival religions came first into active opposition at Donauwörth, a free Imperial city in the Swabian Circle. Its population was preponderantly Protestant, but the Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Cross within its walls was wont to organise processions to demonstrate the vitality of its creed. In 1606 one of them took place. Its demeanour was provocative, and it was dispersed by a riotous crowd. The Emperor Rudolf laid the ban of the Empire upon the city, and commissioned Maximilian of Bavaria to execute it. His army occupied the city, the Protestant ministers fled, and the Catholic worship was restored. In natural alarm the Protestant princes demanded ratification of the ecclesiastical agreements of 1552 and 1555. Failing to obtain it, they formed a Union of the Evangelical Estates (1608). At its head was the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV. It was joined in 1609 by John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, but the Elector of Saxony held aloof. Prince Christian of Anhalt, a Calvinist, was available to command its forces should they take the field. War seemed imminent in 1609, when the death of the duke of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg enabled the Emperor to intervene in the hope of strengthening the Catholic position in the West. Henry IV of France took arms to counter Habsburg policy, and his assassination by François Ravaillac (1610) deprived the Evangelical Union of a powerful ally. Meanwhile the Catholic princes of the Empire had formed a League of their own (1609), under the direction of Maximilian

of Bavaria, and with the countenance of Pope Paul V and Philip III of Spain.

The outbreak of war was delayed until 1618. Its course falls into four periods. Beginning in Bohemia as a civil war within the territories of the Habsburgs (1618-20), it developed into a German war upon the entry into it of Christian IV of Denmark (1625-29). It became a European conflagration upon the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1630-35) and of France under Richelieu (1635-48). The Austrian Habsburgs came to terms with France and Sweden in 1648. As between France and Spain the war was prolonged till the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659).

The opening of the war was due to the bigotry of the future Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37) and the rashness of Frederick V, Elector Palatine (1610-32), the son-in-law of James I of Great Britain by his marriage (1613) with Elizabeth Stewart, the "Queen of Hearts." In 1617 the childless Emperor Matthias, anxious to prepare for the succession of Ferdinand, his cousin and heir, to the Habsburg heritage, procured from the Bohemian Estates recognition of him as king-designate of that kingdom. In Bohemia, as befitted the home of Hussiteism, Protestantism was strong, and had already exacted from the Emperor Rudolf II a "Letter of Majesty" (1609), granting to all inhabitants of Bohemia liberty to choose between the Catholic and Lutheran religions, but reserving exclusively to the nobles, knights, and royal towns (the three Bohemian Estates) the right to erect churches and schools. By a supplementary agreement permission to erect churches was conceded to tenants upon the royal domain, a term which by custom included ecclesiastical territories as well as the domains of the crown.

Ferdinand, the king-designate, lost no time in demonstrating his slight regard for the "Letter of Majesty." Protestant churches which had been built in reliance upon it were closed, and two strong Catholics, Jaroslav von Martinitz and Count William Slawata, were appointed Regents. Ferdinand's reactionary policy was the more resented seeing that his recognition as king-designate of Bohemia violated the elective character of the Bohemian throne. Opposition showed itself and Count Matthias Thurn put himself at the head of it. In 1618 Protestant deputies from each Bohemian Circle assembled

at Prague and petitioned the Emperor for redress of grievances. They received a discouraging reply, and a deputation thereupon waited upon the unpopular Regents. High words passed, and Martinitz and Slawata were hurled from the windows of the Town House into the ditch below (1618). The Prague "defenestration" was followed by the formation of a provisional government, one of whose first acts was the banishment of the Jesuits from the kingdom. Thurn was appointed the commander of a hastily raised army.

Thurn and his colleagues looked round for allies. Count Ernest von Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, brought a small army nominally from the Elector Palatine, but actually from Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, a sturdy enemy of the Habsburgs. Thurn hoped to gain the support of the Evangelical Union and the Elector Palatine. He therefore offered the Bohemian crown to Frederick, who proceeded to Prague and was crowned king of Bohemia (1619), though warned of the effect upon Catholic opinion in the Empire, while his father-in-law James refused him active help. Two days later his rival Ferdinand succeeded Matthias as Emperor. The ill-advised action of Frederick, the "Winter-King," rallied the Catholic League to the Emperor's side, while John George of Saxony and the Lutheran princes pledged themselves to neutrality at Mühlhausen in return for an Imperial promise to respect their secularised church lands. The army of the League under Count Tilly and Maximilian of Bavaria entered Bohemia, defeated Frederick at the battle of the White Hill (1620), and drove him out of the kingdom. The Spaniards occupied the Lower Palatinate, and the Upper fell to Maximilian, to whom the Emperor transferred Frederick's electoral hat, thereby giving the Catholics a majority in the Electoral College. Bohemia was subjected to Ferdinand's vengeance. The Jesuits returned, the leaders of the revolt were executed, an enormous amount of landed property was confiscated to the crown, and Bohemia was drawn back permanently into the Catholic fold. In the other Austrian territories the Catholic reaction also pushed its triumph.

The completeness of Ferdinand's victory roused apprehensions in Protestant Germany. Richelieu, who came to power in France as the chief minister of Louis XIII in 1624, viewing the Protestant cause in Germany as a means to humble

the Habsburgs, occupied the Valtelline, one of the "gates of Italy," which controlled the pass between Lombardy and Germany. James I was anxious to aid his son-in-law to recover the Palatinate, and Christian IV of Denmark was looking for an opportunity to intervene in the quarrel in his own interests. Such were the considerations which now enlarged the area of conflict.

In 1623 the Protestant Lower Saxon Circle in North-West Germany agreed to put an army into the field. Christian IV, as duke of Holstein, was a member of the Circle and was anxious to protect his interests in the secularised sees of Bremen and Verden. England promised subsidies and made an attack upon Cadiz in 1625, which was farcical in execution and fruitless of result. English subsidies also proved unreliable owing to Charles I's relations with his Parliament. Still, the alliance against Ferdinand was formidable, and the resources of Maximilian and the League were strained to the utmost. Opportunely, therefore, Albrecht von Waldstein, or Wallenstein, a Bohemian of good family, dispassionate in religious matters, of great ambition and great ability, placed himself at Ferdinand's disposal. He had raised troops to repress the Bohemian rebellion, and had received from Ferdinand the title Prince of Friedland. He was now (1625) created commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in the Empire and the Netherlands, and undertook to raise an army and to officer it. Its ranks were open to Protestants and Catholics alike. It subsisted upon free quarters and the contributions of localities anxious to avoid that burden. It made no call upon the Imperial exchequer, and strengthened the position of the Emperor by releasing him from his dependence on the Catholic League.

In the campaign of 1626 Christian of Denmark operated in North-West Germany, where Tilly and the army of the Catholic League confronted him, for the protection of Bremen and Verden. Mansfeld at the head of an army of mercenaries opposed Wallenstein on the Elbe. Defeated at the Bridge of Dessau, Mansfeld succeeded in reaching the Transylvanian prince, Bethlen Gabor, in Hungary. Wallenstein covered Vienna against their threatened attack, and Mansfeld died before the end of the year. The Treaty of Pressburg between Ferdinand and Bethlen Gabor removed the latter from the

coalition in return for the confirmation of his possession of seven of the Hungarian counties. In North-West Germany the campaign also went well for the Imperialists. Christian of Denmark, hampered by the failure of England to provide the promised subsidies, was roundly beaten by Tilly at Lutter and retreated upon Holstein. The campaign of 1627 completed his discomfiture. Tilly and Wallenstein overran Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland. Christian sought refuge in the islands, and the want of a fleet alone prevented the Imperialists from subjugating the Danish kingdom. Wallenstein now assumed the title "General of the Oceanic and the Baltic Sea," and devoted the campaign of 1628 to realising the Habsburg design to control the Baltic, force the Hanse towns into the Habsburg alliance, and close the Sound against the Dutch. He occupied the duchies of Mecklenburg (which were conferred upon him as Imperial fiefs) and Pomerania, and appeared before Stralsund. His failure to capture it, though he had vowed to batter it as flat as a table, encouraged the Hanse towns to reject association with the Habsburg maritime design. The Treaty of Lübeck (1629) restored Christian to his kingdom, and he withdrew his pretensions to Verden and Bremen.

The seemingly impregnable position which the Imperialists occupied in 1629 induced the Catholic League to exact reward for its services. The defeat of the Elector Palatine and the dissolution of the Evangelical Union had given the victory to the Catholic League in southern Germany. The time seemed to have come to repeat its victory in the north, and with some misgiving Ferdinand issued in March, 1629, a fatal Edict of Restitution. It ordered the restitution of property appropriated by Protestants since the Peace of Passau in 1552, and thereby threatened to change the ownership of over one hundred smaller foundations, two archbishoprics (Bremen, Magdeburg), and twelve bishoprics (among them, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Minden, and Verden). The Edict roused the indignation of the Protestants and even caused friction between the League and the Emperor, who hoped to procure a share of the spoils produced by the Edict for his son, the Archduke Leopold William. Wallenstein's unpopularity, which was already great, became greater owing to his coldness towards the scheme of the Catholic reactionaries. The very

existence of an Imperial army was resented by them, since it rendered the Emperor independent of the League. Ferdinand therefore was required to make his choice between the League and Wallenstein. He had already forbidden Wallenstein to increase his levies, and in 1630 he dismissed him.

The dismissal of Wallenstein (September, 1630) almost synchronised with the landing of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in Germany (June, 1630). Though he came as the champion of Protestantism, which his father's victory over Sigismund of Poland had planted impregnably in Sweden, Gustavus's appearance in Germany was the natural sequel to the earlier activities of his reign. Wallenstein's presence in the Baltic challenged the supremacy of its waters which Gustavus held essential to Sweden's interests and expansion and his reign had done much to realise. From Russia, by the Treaty of Stolbova (1617), he had won Carelia, Ingria, and the renunciation of her recent attempt to acquire Esthonia and Livonia. The grand duchy of Finland was already Swedish, and so far as its eastern and western coasts were concerned Gustavus could boast with truth that the Baltic was a Swedish lake. His successes brought Gustavus next against his kinsman, Sigismund of Poland, and the war between them was prolonged till 1629 (Truce of Altmark). As the result of it, Gustavus maintained his hold on Livonia, obtained a strip of the coast of Prussia, and disciplined his army to the highest degree of proficiency. He himself stands with Frederick the Great and Napoleon among the masters of military science. He made infantry a more mobile force, and revolutionised the use of artillery by introducing quicker-firing and more portable guns.

When the war with Poland ended, Gustavus controlled the south coast of the Baltic east of Pomerania. But the concurrent development of the Habsburg design challenged his maritime supremacy. Realising how vital it was to their interests that this design should be defeated, Gustavus and Christian of Denmark jointly garrisoned Stralsund in 1628, and in 1629 Gustavus instructed his Estates that her safety demanded Sweden's intervention in the German war. Twelve months later (June, 1630), he landed his army on the island of Usedom off the Pomeranian coast. His reception was dis-

couraging. Neither the Protestant Electors of Brandenburg (his brother-in-law) nor of Saxony allied themselves with him. Gustavus stood alone until January, 1631, when Richelieu negotiated with him the Treaty of Bärwalde, which promised him an annual subsidy for five years, Gustavus undertaking with some reluctance to treat Bavaria and the Catholic League as neutrals unless they attacked him (in other words to concentrate his activities against the Habsburgs, the common enemy of the allies), and to respect the Catholic religion where he found it established.

The timorous policy of the two Protestant Electors tied Gustavus to the Baltic coast. He won ground in Mecklenburg, and captured Frankfort-on-the-Oder. But he did not venture to advance to the relief of Magdeburg, which, refusing to accept the Edict of Restitution, was captured by Tilly and sacked in May, 1631. The horrors committed by the Imperialists at Magdeburg enabled Gustavus to overcome the timidity of his kinsman of Brandenburg. He marched on Berlin, forced the surrender of the fortress of Spandau for the duration of the war, and obtained the promise of a monthly subsidy. Hoping to prevent Saxony from taking a similar course, Tilly's army threatened the electorate. The indignant John George thereupon invited Gustavus's alliance, and their united armies inflicted upon Tilly a crushing defeat at Breitenfeld near Leipzig (September, 1631).

The opposition of Tilly and the League released Gustavus from the pledge of neutrality towards Bavaria which he had given to France. Dispatching the Saxon army into Bohemia therefore, where it occupied Prague, Gustavus set out upon the astonishing march through Germany which ended with his death the next year. In planning a campaign which for the moment completely destroyed the Catholic position in the West and South-west of Germany, Gustavus was not influenced solely by the desire to pose as the champion of Protestantism. Rather he designed to complete the elimination of Habsburg influence from those localities in which Wallenstein had already operated to promote the Habsburg maritime design. He overran Franconia, marched to the Rhine, and before the end of 1631 captured Bamberg, Würzburg, and Mainz. Early in 1632 he continued his march against Bavaria, forced the passage of the Lech against Tilly (who retired from the

engagement mortally wounded), and entered Munich, the Bavarian capital. It seemed probable that Gustavus's next move would be against the Austrian territories, and Ferdinand turned for help to Wallenstein, the one man whose military ability could meet the crisis. Almost sovereign powers were conferred upon him, and seemingly he was promised the revocation of the Edict of Restitution. With that to offer, and the promise of an Imperial alliance, Wallenstein obtained the withdrawal of the Saxon army from Bohemia and his own occupation of Prague. Thence Wallenstein marched against Gustavus, and barred his advance at Nürnberg. After failing to carry Wallenstein's entrenched position, Gustavus withdrew his army unmolested. Wallenstein then turned against Saxony, which had again joined Gustavus. The Swedes followed, and at Lützen near Leipzig the two armies met. The victory rested with the Swedes, but at the irreparable cost of their king's life (1632).

Under the guidance of his great chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, Gustavus's daughter Christina, a child of six years, succeeded her father and continued the war. The plan which Gustavus had formed for the formation of a confederation of the Protestant states under his direction to balance the Habsburg interest was never realised, though Oxenstierna united the four Circles of Swabia, Franconia, Upper and Lower Rhine, in an offensive and defensive alliance (League of Heilbronn, 1633). Wallenstein meanwhile, after the death of Gustavus, withdrew into Bohemia. His negotiations for peace, conducted without regard for the policy of the extreme Catholics, gained him the hatred of Spain and the Jesuits, who poisoned the Emperor's mind against him. His own ambition demanded satisfaction either in the Palatinate, a project which roused Spain's opposition, or in Bohemia itself. Even his officers began to desert one whose policy threatened to bring the lucrative war to a conclusion. Ferdinand again dismissed him from his command, and soon afterwards he was assassinated (1634).

In spite of the crime the star of the Imperialists remained in the ascendant. At Nördlingen (1634) the Swedes were decisively beaten, and the Heilbronn alliance in South Germany collapsed. Negotiations for peace had already been proceeding with Saxony, and were brought to a conclusion

by the Peace of Prague (1635). Saxony acquired Lusatia. In regard to the ownership of ecclesiastical lands, it was agreed that 1627 instead of 1552 should be the determining year. Ecclesiastical lands held by Protestants at that date were to remain in their hands, or to be restored to them, for forty years, during which period a friendly settlement was to be made by a mixed and impartial tribunal.

The Peace of Prague was generally accepted by the Protestant princes of the Empire, and had the religious question been the sole one at issue, Germany might have been saved thirteen more years of warfare. But German interests were no longer the only issue, and with the formal entry of France into the war in 1635 Germany became the cock-pit of other nations' ambitions. Richelieu had already done much to further Bourbon policy by strengthening France's frontier on the Rhine. In 1632 French troops occupied the electorate of Treves. Her allies the Swedes handed over Coblenz, and in 1633 France occupied the duchy of Lorraine. After Nördlingen (1634) the Swedes abandoned Colmar and Schlettstadt in Alsace and also Philippsburg to France. These and other acquisitions in the same region were gained without an actual declaration of war; for France's military strength was not yet organised, and the Huguenots rendered her internal situation insecure. But the collapse of the Protestants in Germany called France into the open field, and an attack upon her position there gave her reasonable pretext. Early in 1635 the Imperialists recovered Philippsburg, and, shortly after, the Spaniards surprised Treves. Hence before the Treaty of Prague was published (May, 1635) Richelieu made an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces, renewed the agreement with Sweden (Treaty of Compiègne), and declared war against Spain. War with Austria was not declared until 1638.

The first armies which Richelieu put into the field were no match for the veterans of Austria and Spain. But she profited by experience, and the victory of Condé over the Spaniards at Rocroi in 1643 proclaimed the advent of a new military power. Bernard of Weimar and a German army in France's pay won for her Alsace and the Upper Rhine in 1638. Her ally Sweden doggedly continued the war, and her victory at Wittstock in 1636 wiped out the memory of Nördlingen.

Saxony withdrew from the arena, and Maximilian of Bavaria encountered a crushing defeat at Zusmarshausen in 1648. Unable to continue the war alone, Ferdinand yielded to necessity, and peace at length was given to the distracted Empire.

Terms were arranged by two treaties which were signed in 1648 at the Westphalian towns, Münster and Osnabrück, whence the general pacification bears the name, Treaty of Westphalia. At Münster the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor treated with France, at Osnabrück with Sweden. Outside questions of domestic interest to the Empire the vital matter which engaged the Congress was the "satisfaction" to be given to France and Sweden. France demanded and received recognition of her sovereignty over Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the three border bishoprics which Henry II had received (Treaty of Friedwald) from the Protestant princes of the Empire in 1552. Austria conveyed to France her rights in Upper (southern) and Lower (northern) Alsace (though her rights in the latter were not coextensive with the province, and their delimitation offered an excuse for Louis XIV's *Chambres de Réunion* in 1681), with permission to put a garrison into Philippsburg. Strassburg was expressly reserved to the Empire. In Italy France was confirmed in her possession of Pinerolo, a fortress which dominated the duchy of Savoy, whose territory, lying between France and Habsburg Italy, required supervision. Sweden, after formulating more embracing demands, was satisfied by the cession of West Pomerania (leaving East Pomerania to Brandenburg) and the secularised sees of Bremen and Verden, to be held as ducal fiefs of the Empire, with a seat in the Imperial Diet. She also received the port Wismar in Mecklenburg, the island Poel in Wismar Bay, and a money indemnity.

As an Imperial pacification the most important feature of the Treaty was the settlement of the ecclesiastical dispute. The Protestants received better terms than in the Treaty of Prague, in that an earlier date, January 1, 1624, was adopted for the conclusive allocation of ecclesiastical property between the two religions. The result was satisfactory to the Protestants, though it represented a distinct victory for the Catholics in the West and South-west of the Empire, where their religion had been on its defence. The controversies

regarding the "ecclesiastical reservation" were also solved, seeing that the situation obtaining on January 1, 1624, was to be permanent. The occupant of ecclesiastical property who deserted the religion professed on that determining date surrendered his occupancy as a matter of course. In Cathedral foundations whose governing body had been partly Catholic and partly Protestant on January 1, 1624, the same proportion was to be maintained permanently. The Calvinists received a recognition of their equality with the Lutherans in the privileges conferred by the Treaty of Passau and Peace of Augsburg. The stern rule which allowed the ruler to impose his religion on his subjects was somewhat mitigated, save in the territories of the House of Austria.

In addition to the settlement of religion the treaty sanctioned important territorial changes affecting members of the Empire. Brandenburg had legal rights to the whole of Pomerania (1637), but was obliged to give up West Pomerania to the Swedes. She received compensation in the bishopric of Halberstadt, and the reversion (which fell in 1680) of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, territories which expanded the electorate on the south-west. She obtained also the bishopric of Minden, which strengthened her territorial position in West Germany, where Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, which had been apportioned to the Elector by the Treaty of Xanten in 1614 in connection with the Jülich-Cleves dispute, were confirmed to him by the Treaty of Cleves in 1666. Maximilian of Bavaria retained the Upper Palatinate and the electoral Hat. The Lower Palatinate was restored to Charles Lewis, the son of the "Winter King" and the "Queen of Hearts," and a new (eighth) electorate was created in his favour (1649-80). Finally the treaty accorded international recognition to two new States, both of which had won their independence at the expense of the Habsburgs—the Swiss Confederation, and the Dutch United Provinces.

As between Spain and France the Treaty of Westphalia brought no conclusion. Spain was in desperate plight. Portugal recovered her independence on the accession of John IV in 1640. Catalonia broke out in revolt in the same year. In 1639 the Spanish fleet was practically destroyed by the Dutch at the battle of the Downs. The Dutch provinces

were lost irrevocably, and in 1647 Naples rose in revolt under a young fisherman named Tommaso Aniello (Masaniello). Roussillon on the Pyrenean frontier was in the hands of France. But the outbreak of the War of the Fronde in France in 1648 tempted Spain to continue the struggle. Though grievously hampered by the civil war, France under Mazarin held her own, and in 1658 gained the alliance of Oliver Cromwell. In 1659 Spain accepted the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which conceded to France the county of Roussillon on the Pyrenees, Artois in the Netherlands, and arranged the marriage between Louis XIV and Maria Teresa, daughter of Philip IV, by which forty years later Louis was able to claim the throne of Spain itself for the Bourbons. The war as a whole proved most disastrous to the House of Habsburg, which not only was deprived of its territories, but of all real power within the Empire, to whose princely members the Treaty of Westphalia accorded the freedom of sovereign States in the conduct of their external policy.

Alone among the powers of Western Europe Great Britain took no part in the Treaty of Westphalia. James I signalled his succession to Elizabeth's throne by making peace with Spain (1604), under the mistaken belief that the union of the protagonists of the two hostile religions would impose peace upon Christendom. Fooled by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish envoy to England, James entered into futile negotiations for a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess, and Raleigh was offered as a sacrifice to the king's philo-Spanish policy. When the Bohemian revolution broke out in 1618, Gondomar was again sent to England, ostensibly to resume the proposals for a Spanish match, in reality to keep James from interfering in Germany. But the fruitless visit of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid in 1623 at length opened James's eyes. Charles took a wife from France, and James turned to more warlike courses to restore the fortunes of his son-in-law, whose ill-judged intervention in Bohemia had cost him his electorate. Buckingham, who ruled James for the rest of his reign, was also anxious to bring England into the field in Germany; for he knew that nothing but a striking success on land or sea would remove the suspicion with which his policy was regarded, or loosen the purse of the Commons. Count Mansfeld was allowed to en-

list recruits in England, and led them early in 1625 into the Netherlands, where three-fourths of them perished of disease. A few weeks later, shortly before his death, James entered into the relations with Christian IV of Denmark (1625) which brought the latter into the war. But the promised English subsidies were not forthcoming, and Buckingham's expedition against Cadiz (1625) was a disastrous failure. With Spain already on his hands, Buckingham did not shrink from a bid for popular favour by joining hands with the French Protestants. But the expedition in their behalf to the island of Ré in 1627 repeated the failure at Cadiz two years before. Another expedition for the relief of Rochelle in 1628 was no more successful. Buckingham did not live to witness its failure, and Charles's quarrel with Parliament moved on to the dissolution of 1629. Peace with external enemies was essential, and was concluded with France (Treaty of Susa) in 1629 and Spain (Treaty of Madrid) in 1630. Charles continued to conduct futile negotiations for the recovery of the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. But they showed no consistency and had no success. Eventually the outbreak of civil war in Scotland and England, the only war in Europe which does not connect itself directly or indirectly with the greater struggle on the Continent, reduced England to a position of complete unimportance in the European situation. To Oliver Cromwell she owed her recovery of the influence which had been hers before the Stewarts succeeded to the throne of the abler Tudors.

Before being drawn into the concluding Franco-Spanish episode of the Thirty Years' War, the Puritan Commonwealth fought and won the first round with the Dutch for maritime and commercial supremacy. The death of Charles I's son-in-law, William II of Orange, in 1650, terminated a hazardous attempt on his part to place his rule in the United Provinces on a monarchical basis, and for more than twenty years, until the restoration of William III in 1672, the House of Orange was under a cloud. The death of Charles I in 1649 weakened the dynastic bonds uniting the two countries, who had long been rivals for the trade of the East Indies. Under James I and Charles I little effort was made to defend English interests in the East. But under Cromwell's rule a more determined attitude was adopted. In 1650 the Dutch

were forbidden to trade with the English royalist colonies in America (Virginia and others), and a large Dutch fleet which contravened the order was captured. In 1651 the English Navigation Act was passed to strengthen English shipping at the expense of Holland. It prohibited importation from outside Europe of goods which were not carried either in English vessels or in English colonial vessels whose crews were at least one-half English. Goods from European countries were excluded from English ports unless they were carried in a ship of the country whence the goods came, or in an English vessel. As Holland was the chief carrier of the world's commerce the Act hit her very hard. England's claim to search neutral vessels suspected of carrying her enemies' goods roused as much feeling in Holland as did the demand that Dutch ships should strike their flag to English vessels in the narrow seas. War broke out in 1652 and continued till 1654, when peace was made, and the Dutch acknowledged the English sovereignty of the narrow seas.

Cromwell's diplomacy hesitated for some time between alliance with France or Spain. France at first refused to acknowledge the English Republic and gave shelter to Charles I's sons (grandsons of Henry IV). But in 1655 Mazarin undertook to expel Charles II and his brother James, and two years later (1657) the two countries made alliance against Spain. In Spanish Flanders the allies won Mardyck and Dunkirk. In 1656 Blake established a blockade of the Spanish coast and cut off the Spanish Plate fleet. In 1657 he destroyed a larger fleet in the harbour of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. But an ambitious scheme, "The Western Design," failed to fulfil Cromwell's hopes. With the object of destroying the Spanish position in its very seat in the West, Cromwell dispatched an expedition under Penn and Venables, which, after an unsuccessful attack on San Domingo, achieved only the conquest of Jamaica in 1655. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees England retained Dunkirk and Mardyck, which Charles II sold to France in 1662. In spite of demands for its surrender Jamaica was retained by England, and her possession of it was acknowledged by Spain in 1670.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WARS OF LOUIS XIV

THE revival of Tudor vigour in the foreign activities of England under Cromwell did not survive the Puritan Commonwealth. The restoration of Charles II in 1660, though it was followed by a war with the Dutch Republic which added the New Netherland colony in North America to Greater Britain, heralded a generation in which the foreign interests of England were as mismanaged as they had been by James I and Charles I. Until the advent of William of Orange the strings of English foreign policy were pulled by France, and England stood neutral or friendly while Louis XIV (1643-1715) established a supremacy in Europe which menaced England's permanent interests.

Louis crowned an edifice which had been raised by his predecessors, from Louis XII (1498-1515) onwards. The territorial unity of France had been achieved already by the extinction of the fiefs which the Capetian kings conferred on their younger sons out of lands recovered from non-royal vassals. The duchy of Burgundy fell into the royal domain on the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. The extinction of the second House of Anjou on the deaths of René the Good (1480) and his nephew Charles of Mayenne (1481) transferred to René's other nephew, Louis XI, and so to France, the royal fiefs of Anjou, Maine, and Provence. Louis XII was already duke of Orleans and count of Blois when he succeeded to the throne in 1498. His successor, Francis I, in similar manner brought into the royal domain the county of Angoulême upon his accession in 1515. Francis also, by his marriage to Claude of Brittany, absorbed the last of the non-royal French fiefs, and the treason of Charles duke of Bourbon (d. 1527), whom Francis created Constable of France, forfeited his great possessions in the heart of France, namely,

the duchies of Bourbon and Auvergne, the county of la Marche, and the seigniorship of Beaujeu. The accession of his kinsman Henry IV in 1589 resulted in the absorption of the southern kingdom of Navarre and viscounty of Béarn, with other fiefs held by the House of d'Albret in the same region.

The period in which France completed her territorial unity marked also her first efforts towards external expansion. Henry II strengthened her eastern border by acquiring (1552) the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Henry IV acquired (1601) La Bresse and Bugey bordering Savoy, and broke the circle of hostile, or potentially hostile, territory which enveloped France towards Germany. Louis XIV himself, before the death of Mazarin (1661) made him his own minister, made important additions to the territories of the French crown. The Thirty Years' War wrested from the Austrian Habsburgs Alsace on the east, Roussillon on the south, and Artois (which once had been French) on the north.

With these territorial changes proceeded the transformation of the medieval constitution of France into an absolutism expressed in Louis's famous definition: *L'état c'est moi!* From the reign of Francis I the royal court displayed a magnificence which reached its fullest splendour in Louis XIV's Versailles. The nobility, no longer able to maintain sovereign independence upon their estates, flocked to court, eager to win the rewards which attended the king's favour. By virtue of the Concordat of 1516 with the Pope, Francis was master of the Church, and employed its benefices as pensions for those who gained his favour or claimed his alimony. The country was divided into *généralités* for police, judicial, and administrative purposes. Some of them (*pays d'élections*) were assessed by royal functionaries, and others (*pays d'états*) voted the money required by the crown in their own Estates. In both the interests of the crown were watched by royal *Intendants*. The king himself worked through the Royal Council, which concerned itself with political, financial, and administrative matters. In it sat the four secretaries, who under Louis XIV developed into veritable Secretaries of State. The Paris *Parlement* was a cypher, and Francis paid little regard to its traditional right of petition or "remonstrance" against acts of state submitted to it for registration by the king.

The Wars of Religion in France checked her progress towards internal consolidation. The solidarity of the realm itself was endangered, and it fell to Henry IV to reorganise and restore the royal authority. The public finances were especially in need of reform, and Henry found a strong helper in his friend the duke of Sully. The *taille* or property tax, the *gabelle* or tax on the sale of salt, the *aides* or dues levied on the sale of wine, etc., the profits of justice, and feudal incidents from the royal domains formed the normal revenue of the crown. Sully instituted more orderly and economical methods in the collection and auditing of the revenue thus raised. He put down the sale of public offices and patents of nobility (which removed their purchasers from the class of tax-payers). He abolished the system under which seats in the *Parlement* were purchaseable, and in its stead imposed a tax whose payment conferred hereditary membership of it. The administration of the tax was committed to one Paulet, after whom the tax was known as the *Paulette*. It preserved its name until the Revolution.

The assassination of Henry IV in 1610 was followed by fourteen years of weak government, until in 1624 Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, became the chief minister of Louis XIII. His foreign policy pursued the objects which Henry IV had indicated already as the permanent interests of the country. Richelieu's internal policy aimed, and successfully, to establish the French monarchy on an absolute and autocratic basis. Constitutionalism, to which the Stewarts bowed in England, found the faintest echo in France. The States General came together in 1614 for the last time before the Revolution (1789), and the *Parlement*, though it made a bid for recognition in the Wars of the Fronde, had neither the organisation, prestige, nor power to enable it to play the part of the English Parliament. Richelieu therefore had little difficulty in removing everything which opposed the royal supremacy. In spite of Buckingham's intervention, the Huguenots succumbed, and the Grace of Alais (1629) which Richelieu accorded them left them free only to exercise their religion, and by withdrawing the political safeguards conceded by the Edict of Nantes paved the way for Louis XIV's sterner policy. Richelieu met the attempt of the *Parlement* to exert political influence by forbidding it to

address "remonstrances" to the crown. His death (1642) was followed five months later (1643) by that of Louis XIII. Their places were taken by the youthful Louis XIV, a child of less than five years of age, and Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian. In the Wars of the Fronde (1648-53) Mazarin was confronted by both *Parlement* and nobility. In 1648 the *Parlement* issued demands which aimed at depriving the monarchy of its absolute character. The *Parlement*, however, was not a representative assembly, but a tribunal of legal functionaries. It had no backing in the country at large, and its campaign soon collapsed. The rebellion of the nobility was more serious. It sprang partly from their detestation of Mazarin, a foreigner; partly from a desire to weaken the monarchy. Headed by Condé, who did not shrink from allying himself with Spain, the revolutionaries made themselves masters of the capital. But aided by the military talents of Turenne, Mazarin was by 1653 again supreme at court. Condé lived to contribute to the glories of Louis's reign and to win the title "Great."

The termination of the Fronde removed the last impediment to a centralised despotism. Among all classes, even among the nobility, there was a general desire for peace and quietude, and it was to the king that men looked to provide it. Louis himself had experienced the inconveniences of political anarchy. Profoundly obsessed by a sense of the respect due to his office, he took the lessons of the Fronde to heart. On the very day after the death of Mazarin (1661) he announced his resolve to be his own first minister. He was then twenty-two years old, and until his death fifty-four years later (1715) he was the autocrat of France.

The foreign policy of Louis at first followed the idea pithily stated by Richelieu: "to restore to France the frontiers of ancient Gaul." Until his aggressions called a European coalition into the field against him Louis achieved success, by reason partly of the state in which he received his kingdom from Mazarin and Richelieu, partly of the European situation in which he took his place. For effective purposes Spain had disappeared from among the great Powers. England under the restored Stewarts could be depended on either to promote, or at least not to oppose, Louis's policy. The Empire, since the Treaty of Westphalia, was even less than before effective for

united opposition. From the appointment of Mohammed Kiuprili as Grand Vizir in 1656 Turkey began to recover from the decline which followed the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-66), and until the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) the Turkish menace to the Habsburg territories aided Louis's piratical policy. In Holland, until 1672, the House of Orange was under a cloud. It was fortunate for Louis that such was the situation in Europe; for the fulfilment of Richelieu's design demanded a policy of aggression on a large scale. To restore the limits of ancient Gaul, the Belgic Netherlands, Franche Comté, Lorraine, and Savoy had to be won. And Louis eventually took on his shoulders an even more gigantic task, the obliteration of the intervening Pyrenees and the union of the crowns of France and Spain. From whatever other quarter opposition might come, it was clear that the establishment of French influence in Spain would sooner or later call England and Holland into the field and revive the struggle of the sixteenth century.

Of the seventy-two years of Louis's reign forty-six were given up to war. The wars with Austria and Spain which ended in 1648 and 1659 were the legacy of Louis XIII. Louis XIV was responsible for the remaining four: the War of Devolution (1667-68), the War with Holland (1672-78), the War of the League of Augsburg or Grand Alliance (1688-97), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14).

In prosecuting his ambitious policy Louis was admirably served. Attendance at his court, personal service in the civil or military establishment of the palace, or service in the army or navy, were for the nobility the sole avenues to the king's favour. He excluded them entirely from political and administrative work, which he himself conducted with a zest and ability equal to that of Philip II of Spain. For his Secretaries of State, whose work he controlled through the *Conseil d'État* and its committees charged with particular interests, Louis chose men of *bourgeois* or middle-class origin. Such were Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who was at once Controller-General of Finance, Minister of Marine, and Secretary of State for the Household (*Maison du Roi*). His organisation of the finances enabled France to bear the expenses of the king's wars, his mania for building, and the splendours of the most gorgeous court in Europe. Michel le Tellier, Secretary

for War, was succeeded by his more famous son Francois-Michel, marquis of Louvois. In Sébastien seigneur de Vauban Louis possessed the greatest military engineer of his age, in Hugues de Lionne a Foreign Minister of genius, and in Turenne and Condé the great captains of war of the period.

The death of Philip IV (1665) left the throne of Spain to Charles II, a sickly infant four years old, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs in male descent. Louis XIV's wife, Maria Teresa, was the child of Philip IV's first marriage. Charles II and his sister, Margaret Teresa, were the issue of Philip's second marriage. On her marriage Maria Teresa renounced her right of succession to her father's throne. But the renunciation was conditional upon the payment of a dowry of half a million gold crowns, a condition which was not fulfilled. Louis therefore advanced his wife's claim to the Spanish Netherlands, and based it on the *ius devolutionis* (law of devolution), a local custom in Brabant which debarred a father twice married from disinheriting the children of his first in favour of the issue of his second marriage. The former were the legal heirs of their father's property while he lived, and succeeded to it when he died. Spain denied Louis's contention, and the latter took steps to enforce his case. He established friendly relations with England by the purchase (1662) of Dunkirk and Mardyck from Charles II, spoils of Cromwell's war. He made a treaty with John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, wherein he guaranteed the Dutch possessions in Europe and lessened the harbour dues on Dutch vessels entering French ports (1662). In 1665 war between England and the United Provinces broke out, and Louis was obliged under his agreement with de Witt to declare against Charles. But in 1667 Charles purchased Louis's neutrality by a secret undertaking not to oppose his invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch made peace (Treaty of Breda) with England in the same year.

The death of Philip IV in 1665, if Louis's reading of the *ius devolutionis* was correct, placed his wife in complete ownership of the Spanish Netherlands. In May 1667 Turenne invaded Flanders. He met with slight resistance, and the southern part of the Spanish Low Countries was soon in his possession. No one stirred in Spain's behalf, and the Emperor Leopold even made a secret treaty (1668) with Louis for the

eventual division of the Spanish monarchy should Charles II, brother-in-law of both sovereigns, die childless. In 1668 Condé suddenly occupied Franche Comté. A few weeks earlier England and Holland, alarmed at the menacing progress of the French, concluded an agreement which ripened into a Triple Alliance between themselves and Sweden. The three powers bound themselves to force peace upon Louis, and to restrict his frontier to its limits under the Treaty of the Pyrenees. The Alliance is memorable in England and Europe alike as the first international comment upon Louis's aggressions. Though Sweden joined the Alliance in the hope of subsidies, it is not the less significant that the three Powers were precisely those which had been wont to stand together against Spain. Indeed the longer he reigned, the more did Louis take the place in Europe which Philip II held in the previous century. Much as he resented the appearance of surrender, Louis's secret agreement with the Emperor promised him eventually all and more than he was prepared to sacrifice for present peace. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), therefore, he restored Franche Comté to Spain. In compensation he retained Lille, Douai, and nine other Belgian cities in the district which now forms the *Département du Nord*.

The four years of peace which followed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were employed by Louis in preparation for an avenging war upon Holland. It was not merely that his pride was touched by the rebuff which the youngest of the European nations had administered to him. Though his mind was not yet made up to the persecution of the Huguenots which disfigured his reign, he was *Rex Christianissimus* and the Dutch were Calvinists, like his own Protestant subjects. Regarding the divinity of kingship as an incontestable axiom, he could but be hostile to an upstart State which obtruded republicanism among the monarchies of Europe. The Dutch also stood between France and the development of her marine, and on that account the cautious Colbert regarded war with them as a duty. Louvois, the War Minister, also recognised that the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands could neither be made nor maintained unless the Dutch power was reduced. Louis therefore made elaborate preparations to crush them. The Triple Alliance was easily broken up. In the Secret Treaty

of Dover (1670) Charles II sold himself for an annual subsidy, and was promised Walcheren Island and the estuary of the Scheldt. In return he agreed to join France against the Dutch and to restore Catholicism in England. Sweden came to terms with Louis two years later and undertook to close the Baltic against the Dutch. The Emperor, already bound to Louis by the secret Partition Treaty, made a treaty of neutrality also in 1671. Satisfactory agreements were concluded between Louis and the German principalities on the Dutch frontier for the passage of French troops into Holland. Frederick William, the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg, alone stood out against Louis's blandishments. He refused to join against a Protestant state, and promised (1671) the Dutch active assistance. Spain and the Elector of Mainz were the only other friends on whom the United Provinces could count.

While Louis was preparing to annihilate the United Provinces, they themselves took no measures to avert or withstand the impending crisis. The close of the Thirty Years' War, which confirmed their independence, had been welcomed by them as an opportunity to reduce burdensome armaments, while the suspicions which William II's policy had aroused, and the youth of his son William III, put the House of Orange in the background, and disorganised the military system of which it was the pivot and for that reason had been allowed to decline. Louis in May, 1672, launched a huge army across the Rhine. Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overysseel were occupied, and the opening of the dykes alone saved Holland. Louis offered humiliating terms, and the country clamoured for the restoration of the House of Orange. William was forthwith proclaimed Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, Captain and Admiral-General of the Union, and soon received the Stadtholdership of the other provinces. John de Witt and his brother Cornelis were assassinated (1672), and like William himself, the Union was prepared to die in the last ditch rather than surrender.

William had saved the situation. Had the French advance proceeded unchecked, Louis would have met the indignation of Europe with the spoils of an unprincipled war in his possession. As it was, William gave Europe time to realise its danger. By 1673 he had concluded at the Hague a coalition

with the Emperor and Brandenburg. Spain, Denmark, and other Protestant German States also joined, and the reversal by the English Parliament (1674) of Charles II's anti-Dutch policy left Louis with no ally save Sweden.

Now that Spain had entered the war, Louis directed his attack upon her in Franche Comté and the Netherlands. He himself invaded Franche Comté and attached it to France (1674). Vauban's genius was employed against the Flemish fortresses. Alsace was twice invaded, and twice was recovered by France. Though William bound England more closely to Holland by his marriage (1677) with Mary, daughter of James of York, the Dutch insisted on opening negotiations. Louis was not unwilling to make peace. He had held his own against Europe and the prospect of substantial gain was in sight. France was exhausted, and Colbert wished for an opportunity to mend her broken finances and weaken the influence of Louvois with the king. Sweden, France's only ally, had been beaten by the Great Elector at Fehrbellin (1675), a victory which damaged Sweden's military prestige and was prophetic of Prussia's military supremacy in the eighteenth century.

Peace negotiations resulted in the Treaty of Nymegen (1678). Its terms inflicted on the Dutch no territorial losses, and they obtained the withdrawal of the high tariff which France had placed on their merchandise at the beginning of hostilities. On Spain it fell to satisfy Louis for abandoning a war which his own ambition had provoked. Franche Comté and a dozen fortresses in Spanish Flanders were surrendered to him. The latter strengthened the position won by France in that quarter in the War of Devolution, and gave her practically her present northern frontier. France surrendered to the Emperor the right to garrison Philippsburg (granted by the Treaty of Westphalia) and received in exchange Breisach and Freiburg, conveniently contiguous to her position in Alsace. In Lorraine, as the price of his restoration, Duke Charles V was required to surrender to France his capital and the control of the four strategic highways through his dominions. He refused the terms, and the duchy remained in the hands of France until the Treaty of Ryswyk (1697).

The Treaty of Nymegen carried the power of Louis to its zenith. He had neither annihilated the Dutch nor gained

the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. But he had extended France to the Rhine, and had gained a frontier in Flanders which Vauban made impregnable. Louis was under forty years of age and already was the object of his subjects' adulation. The city of Paris officially styled him *Louis le Grand*, and his ambition, deserting for the moment his designs against Spain and Holland, carried him to the prospect which had dazzled his predecessor Francis I, namely, election to the Imperial throne itself. To secure it he deemed it necessary to strengthen the position which the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymegen gave him on the Rhine. Under cover of alleged ambiguity in those treaties, Louis took an unprecedented method to enforce his interpretation of them. The towns and districts ceded by them to France had been surrendered "with their dependencies," an expression which had reference to the conditions obtaining when the treaties were made. But Louis regarded the cession of Toul, Verdun, Metz, Alsace, and Franche Comté as the restoration to France of her own property, seeing that they had once formed part of the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne, who for the purposes of Louis's argument was deemed to be a Frenchman! With the object therefore of obtaining the most liberal interpretation of the word "dependency," Louis set up a *Chambre de Réunion* at Metz to deal with Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The *Parlement* of Besançon was similarly charged for Franche Comté, and the *Parlement* of Breisach for Alsace. The evidence of charters was invoked as far back as to the days of Dagobert I in the seventh century. In the result, the flaws in Louis's claim to complete sovereignty over Alsace were brushed aside, and in 1681 he seized Strassburg, its most powerful fortress. Similarly the greater part of Luxemburg was declared to be French. Louis now dominated the Netherlands, the Rhenish electorates of Cologne, Mainz, Treves, and the Palatinate, an important position for one who might become a candidate for the Empire. Flagrant as Louis's conduct was, the military strength of France, and the Turkish menace (from which John Sobieski relieved Vienna in 1683), prevented the Emperor from opposing him. In 1684 he concluded the Truce of Ratisbon with Louis, and left in the possession of France for twenty years the places awarded by the Chambers of Reunion. Holland and Spain concurred.

Twenty years of personal rule had presented Louis to Europe as a dangerous and unprincipled menace to its political equilibrium. He now invited against himself the hostility of Protestant Europe by his treatment of the Huguenots. Richelieu and Mazarin, Cardinals of the Church though they were, had shown no disposition to deprive the Huguenots of the recognition which the Edict of Nantes gave to their religion. Since the Grace of Alais they had comported themselves loyally, and not even the disorders of the Fronde tempted them to recover the political safeguards of which Richelieu had deprived them. But the French Church had never been reconciled to the toleration of heresy in its midst, and Louis himself, naturally sympathetic to the influence of religion, and under the spell of Madame de Maintenon, whom he married secretly in 1684, was easily influenced to play the part which the Church expected of him.

The persecution of the Huguenots, which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, began from the moment when the death of Mazarin made Louis his own master. The Protestants in France at that time numbered about 1,000,000, or one-twelfth of the whole population of the country. In 1665 the General Assembly of the French clergy invited Louis to regulate the privileges accorded to the R.P.R. (*religion prétendue réformée*), as the French Calvinist Church was officially styled. The king consented, and an edict issued in 1666 for the regulation of the R.P.R. dates the beginning of the persecution. While affecting to confirm the Edict of Nantes, Louis explicitly interdicted all that it did not expressly concede. Thus, the Huguenots were forbidden to bury their dead between the hours of six a.m. and six p.m. No more than thirty persons were allowed to attend a Protestant funeral, and at a Protestant baptism or wedding not more than twelve. Churches which had been built since 1598 were pulled down, and Huguenot schools were interdicted from teaching of a denominational character. Between 1666 and 1685 nearly 200 edicts of similar import were promulgated. Material inducements, such as the offer of an extended period over which to pay their debts, were employed to seduce the Huguenots from their religion, and in 1676 a public fund (*caisse de conversions*) was instituted to buy the apostasy of the needy. After

the Peace of Nymegen the king's policy hardened, partly because the pressure of foreign affairs was released, partly because of the growing influence of Mme. de Maintenon. In 1681 Louis issued a monstrous edict which, declaring that at the age of seven children "are capable of reason and choice in so important a matter as that of their salvation," gave Protestant children of that age the right to declare themselves converted to Catholicism. The edict encouraged the abduction of Protestant children from their parents, who were still compelled to maintain them. In 1682 a pastoral (*Avertissement pastoral de l'Église gallicane*) was ordered to be read in all the Protestant churches, in which more disastrous consequences were threatened against those who refused to abjure their faith. The liberal professions were closed against them, they were debarred from the public service, their schools and colleges were shut, and by 1684, 570 out of 815 Protestant churches had been closed. In 1681 the royal Intendant in Poitou made use of the troops to coerce the Huguenots. In 1685 Louvois, the War Minister, sanctioned their employment in Béarn and elsewhere, and the *dragonnades* began. Torture and outrage forced thousands to give verbal adhesion to Catholicism. Thousands fled from persecution. Immured in Versailles, Louis was allowed to think that the R.P.R. had ceased to exist, and that the Edict of Nantes which gave it toleration was no longer necessary. In October, 1685, he signed the Edict of Revocation.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused the flight of thousands who had made temporary abjuration of their religion in the hope of brighter days to come. Probably about half a million persons transferred their industry and abilities to England, Holland, Brandenburg, and Switzerland. Many districts of France, such as Normandy, Touraine, Poitou, and Lyonnais, were either depopulated or their industry was ruined by the exodus. Nor was the proscribed religion exterminated. In the Cevennes it resisted all efforts to eradicate it, and the peasantry, nicknamed *Camisards* (since they were wont to wear shirts as a distinguishing mark during their night sorties), rose in revolt in 1702, and hampered France at a time when all her resources were needed to withstand her foreign foes.

The year 1685 was critical in the history of Louis's reign.

In his contemptuous disregard for international agreements he had compelled Europe to regard him as a public danger. His treatment of the Huguenots revived religious animosities which were beginning to slumber, while the accession of James II to the British thrones in 1685, his avowed Catholic bias and subservience to Louis, suggested that Catholicism was about to make a further attempt to destroy the Reformation. So long as he could count on England, Louis could devote himself confidently to his Continental designs. William of Orange, therefore, who held the strings of European diplomacy, formed in 1686 the League of Augsburg, in which Spain, Sweden, Holland, Savoy, the Emperor, and other members of the Empire, formed a coalition for the maintenance of the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymegen and the Truce of Ratisbon. The immediate cause of the League was Louis's action in the Palatinate. In 1685 Charles Elector Palatine, grandson of the "Winter King," the last male of his line, died without issue. His sister was the wife of Louis's brother, the duke of Orleans, and in her behalf Louis advanced a claim to the Lower Palatinate which, if allowed, gave him an overwhelming position on the Rhine; for the Palatinate was the natural extension of Alsace, which was already in Louis's hands. Three years later (1688) a vacancy in the See of Cologne afforded Louis another opportunity to strengthen his hold on Rhenish Germany. He put forward the bishop of Strassburg as his candidate, and though he failed to secure his election, forcibly installed him in the electorate.

In September, 1688, Louis suddenly launched an army into the Palatinate and laid siege to Philippsburg. His action had the most momentous consequences; for it was the direct means of converting the neutrality of England into active hostility towards Louis. The birth of James's son, the "Old Pretender," in June, 1688, promised a continuance of James's policy and was followed by an invitation to William to come to England in defence of her Protestant Church and constitution. But so long as, on the outbreak of war between France and the League, Louis's attack was likely to fall on Holland, it was useless to expect the United Provinces to spare William to accept the invitation extended to him, or to place at his disposal the troops necessary for his success. Louis's invasion of the Palatinate relieved the Dutch of their

apprehensions of immediate attack. Brandenburg sent troops for their defence, and on the day that Philippsburg fell, William sailed for England. Before the end of the year James was an exile in France, and early in 1689 William and his wife were proclaimed king and queen of England. Scotland also deposed James, and Britain ranged herself with the active enemies of France.

England's resumption of her place as the champion of Protestantism and of balance of power in Europe upset Louis's calculations and imperilled his ambitions. For their fulfilment it was imperative to restore James to the thrones which he had lost. In England there was no party prepared to strike for him. In Scotland the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie in July, 1689, and the defeat of the clans at Cromdale the following year, destroyed Jacobitism for a generation in that kingdom. In Ireland the battle of the Boyne in July, 1690, and the fall of Limerick the following year closed the door against James. Finally the battle of La Hogue, won by the Dutch and English fleets over the French in 1692, placed England out of danger of invasion and of a Stewart restoration.

The wide coalition which William had engineered against France, and the accession of England to it, compelled Louis to aim rather at the preservation of what he had won than to prosecute his designs on Spain and the Empire. Early in 1689 his troops evacuated the Palatinate, after having made a desert of it by burning its towns and villages and driving forth its inhabitants. But so vast were his resources, and so admirably were they organised, that Louis was able simultaneously to engage the Spaniards in the south, from whom he wrested Catalonia; the duke of Savoy, who entered the war in the hope of recovering Pinerolo and Casale (which Louis had seized in 1681); and the Imperialists, Dutch, and English on the Rhine and in the Low Countries. In the Low Countries the war became a series of sieges, of which the capture of Mons and Namur (which William recaptured) were the chief features. In the Mediterranean an English fleet operated with success, and for the first time the rivalry of the two countries was fought out in the New World, where Acadia was taken from the French. But the strain on France was great, while the defection of Savoy from the coalition in 1696 disposed the allies to peace, since it freed a French army for

service elsewhere. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswyk was concluded by all the belligerents.

In spite of the tenacity with which France had fought, the Peace of Ryswyk represented a surrender on her part. To England Louis accorded recognition of William's throne, and undertook not to support Jacobite attempts against it. England restored Acadia. The Dutch obtained an advantageous treaty of commerce. Spain recovered Catalonia, and in the Netherlands, Mons, Luxemburg, Ath, and Courtray. The Dutch, who were vitally concerned in the protection of the Franco-Netherlands frontier, were permitted to garrison Namur, Menin, Ypres, and other towns. To the Emperor, who delayed a settlement for some weeks after England, Spain, and Holland had come to terms, Louis surrendered all his acquisitions since the Peace of Nymegen, save Strassburg and Landau. He also withdrew from the right or German bank of the Rhine by yielding Philippsburg, Freiburg, and Breisach. Lorraine was restored to its duke, save Saarlouis, which France retained. As to his most recent provocations, Louis abandoned his candidate for the See of Cologne and withdrew his claims on the Palatinate.

Louis's moderation in the Treaty of Ryswyk was due to the imminence of a struggle in which, for the first time in planning his designs, he was obliged to count upon the hostility of England. Since Charles II of Spain became king in 1665 the succession to his throne had been an urgent question. His health was precarious and he was without children. The problem was the more serious in that his death would bring the Houses of Bourbon and Austria into bitter rivalry. Both Philip III and Philip IV gave their elder daughter in marriage to a king of France (Louis XIII and Louis XIV) and their younger daughter to the Emperor (Ferdinand III and Leopold I). Among the descendants of those four marriages Charles II's successor had to be discovered. It was certain that the rest of Europe would oppose the accession of either a Bourbon or Austrian prince to the entire and still imposing Spanish empire, and even Louis recognised that some scheme of dismemberment would have to be framed.

The royal intermarryings of the daughters of Philip III and Philip IV founded three rival claims to the Spanish succession :

(1) the Bourbon ; (2) the Bavarian or Wittelsbach ; (3) the Imperial. The *Bourbon Claim* arose from the marriage of Louis XIV and Maria Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV by his first marriage. On her marriage Maria Teresa renounced by formal acts her hereditary rights, and those of her descendants, to the Spanish crown. But the fact that her dowry remained unpaid and that her renunciation did not receive the formal sanction of the Spanish *Cortes* gave Louis ground on which to contest the ability of his wife, who died in 1683, to exclude her issue and his from the rights of which she had denuded herself.

The *Bavarian Claim* arose from the marriage of Margaret Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV's second marriage, to the Emperor Leopold I. Unlike her sister, Margaret made no renunciation of her rights at the time of her marriage, and on her father's death in 1665 (she being then unmarried) was expressly named in his will as her brother Charles II's heir. Her rights therefore descended intact to her daughter Maria Antonia, and on Maria Antonia's death in 1692 to her son Joseph Ferdinand, the electoral prince of Bavaria, who inherited his grandmother Margaret's rights unclogged by any act of renunciation on her part.

The *Imperial Claim* had less obvious legal sanction than the Bavarian. The Emperor Leopold I was the son of a Spanish Infanta (daughter of Philip III) who had made no renunciation of her rights as a Spanish princess on her marriage. His own marriage to Margaret Teresa, however, conveyed stronger claims to his daughter than he inherited from his own mother, who represented an earlier generation. He therefore exacted from his daughter Maria Antonia a renunciation of her claims, which he transferred to the Archduke Charles, his son by another marriage. In Spain itself, at whose court French and Austrian influences were seeking to capture the favour of the dying king, Charles was at one with public sentiment in his determination, that so far as he could do so, he would avert the threatened partition of the Spanish dominions. By his first will (1698) he adopted his great-nephew, the electoral prince of Bavaria, as his heir, and after that youth's sudden death, chose on his death-bed (1700) his great-nephew, Philip of Anjou.

After the signature of the Treaty of Ryswyk the health

of Charles II made the Spanish succession question acute. While the French and Austrian factions at Madrid were intriguing to procure Charles's nomination of a successor, Louis was sounding England and Holland with a view to compromise. The result of long negotiations was the first Partition Treaty (1698) between France, England, and Holland. Of the three interests in the Spanish succession, that of Bavaria was preferred by England and Holland, since Bavaria was less powerful than her competitors. To the electoral prince, therefore, the Treaty assigned Spain, the Indies, the Netherlands, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. Saving Milan, which was assigned to the Archduke Charles, France received compensation in the acquisition by the dauphin of the rest of the Spanish possessions in Italy, namely, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports, as well as the Spanish province Guipuzcoa contiguous to France. The Treaty was signed in secret at the Hague, but news of its contents soon reached Spain and roused great indignation. Charles countered it by a will in which he appointed the electoral prince his universal heir. The youth was summoned to Spain to be educated (he was seven years old), but early in 1699 died of small-pox, or, as some believed, of poison. Whatever the cause of it, his death reopened the whole question in a more critical form; for his removal left the Bourbon and Imperial claims face to face, and the exclusive succession of either would not prove palatable to the rest of Europe. While Louis's agents in Spain were working (successfully it proved) for his grandson Philip of Anjou's adoption as Charles's heir, Louis put himself again into communication with William, ostensibly to negotiate an equitable division of the Spanish monarchy between France and Austria. In 1700 a second Partition Treaty was signed between France, England, and Holland, in which the Bavarian prince's share under the first treaty was transferred to the Archduke Charles. France, as before, received compensation in Italy, where the Dauphin was to receive Milan as well as Naples and Sicily, on the understanding that Milan should be exchanged for the more desirable Lorraine.

If the new treaty seemed to give the Habsburgs too much, the loss of Italy cut them off from the Mediterranean and Spain. If France took less than she might have demanded,

the treaty left her supreme in the Mediterranean and promised her in Lorraine a great expansion of the position which she already held in Alsace and Franche Comté. But the Emperor would have none of it. He would take the Spanish monarchy for his son whole and undivided or threatened war. To circumvent the proposed division of his kingdom Charles II made a new will (October, 1700) appointing Philip of Anjou his heir. A month later Charles died. The Treaty of Partition was waste-paper. Louis accepted the will in his grandson's behalf, and in April, 1701, Philip V, the first of the Bourbon kings of Spain, entered Madrid.

So great was the disinclination of England and Holland to resume war that at first Louis's challenge to Europe seemed likely to pass unanswered. But Louis's public declaration that his grandson was not debarred from the French throne, and his sudden seizure of some Spanish barrier fortresses, revived fears of French ambition in that quarter. England was roused by Spain's grant to the French Guinea Company of the monopoly of the slave-trade with the Spanish settlements in America. William was therefore able to form the Grand Alliance between England, Holland, and the Emperor (1701). A few days later James II died at St. Germain, and Louis, as a retort to the Grand Alliance, recognised his son, the Old Pretender, as James III of England and VIII of Scotland. Louis's action deeply stirred England, and when William died (March, 1702) it was in full knowledge that she would continue along the path of opposition to France on which he had set her.

The War of the Spanish Succession was the longest of Louis's reign. It was fought in Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, and the New World. On the side of the allies it produced three men of genius who continued William's work: the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Dutch Grand Pensionary Heinsius. Louis had no longer round him the giants of his earlier years, and his most distinguished generals were marshal Villars and the duke of Vendôme. The adhesion of Savoy, Bavaria, and Portugal allowed Louis at first to take the offensive, and he planned to force peace on the Emperor by an attack upon Vienna itself. But the victory of Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim (1704) saved Vienna and for the rest of the war compelled

France to adopt a defensive attitude. Savoy and Portugal soon (1703) deserted the Franco-Spanish alliance; Savoy being distrustful of France, and Portugal being tempted by the Methuen Treaty of 1703, which gave her wines a preferential market in England over those of France. In Spain the erratic Lord Peterborough commanded a British force on behalf of Archduke Charles. But Vendôme's victory at Villa Viciosa (1710) over an Anglo-Austrian force secured Philip on the Spanish throne and confined his rival to Catalonia. In the Low Countries, Marlborough's victory at Ramillies (1706) detached from Spain all of Brabant and the greater part of Flanders. The attempt of France to recover them drew upon her further defeat and the complete loss of Flanders at Oudenarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709). Louis's attempt to use the Old Pretender in Scotland, where the Union with England (1707) roused much feeling, proved of little consequence. In 1708 James sailed to Scotland with a French expeditionary force, but did not even land. In the Mediterranean, where Philip's accession in Spain promised to give the Bourbons complete mastery, British influence was established by Sir George Rooke's seizure of Gibraltar (1704) and the capture of Minorca (1708). In the New World Acadia (Nova Scotia) was again wrested from the French.

So vast was the strain upon the resources of France that Louis as early as 1706 made overtures for peace. But the allies' demand (1709) that he should, if necessary, aid them in the expulsion of his grandson from Spain rekindled the spirit of France, and the war continued. The fall of the Whig ministry in England (1710), however, and the death of the Emperor Joseph I (1711) completely altered the European situation. The former event brought in the Tories, who were eager for peace. The latter gave Joseph's brother, the Archduke Charles, the Imperial throne and made him no longer an agreeable competitor against Philip V; for the union of Madrid and Vienna threatened Europe as much as that of Paris and Madrid. Conversations were opened between Great Britain and France, and the defeat of the Dutch at Denain (1712) disposed them also to peace. In 1713 a group of treaties, known collectively as the Peace of Utrecht, brought welcome rest to Europe. The Emperor held aloof, but in

1714 he (Peace of Rastatt) and the Empire (Peace of Baden) came into the general pacification.

As between France and Great Britain : France withdrew her hospitality from the Old Pretender, and definitively recognised the Hanoverian succession. In the New World France made concessions which heralded her colonial downfall fifty years later. Great Britain obtained Acadia, and France abandoned her claims on the Hudson Bay settlements, Newfoundland, and St. Kitts (one of the Leeward Islands, which had been in the joint occupation of the two countries since 1625). Louis also promised to dismantle Dunkirk.

As between Spain and Great Britain : Philip V's succession to the throne of Spain (subject to his renunciation of that of France) was recognised. Spain conceded the town and port of Gibraltar, and also Minorca and its harbour Port Mahon. The acquisition of Gibraltar, should Great Britain ever withdraw from it, was reserved to Spain. But its possession controls access to and egress from the Mediterranean and has proved strategically too valuable, especially since the cutting of the Suez Canal opened a new highway to India, to allow Great Britain to alienate it. Minorca, after undergoing both loss and recovery, was finally given back to Spain by the Treaty of Amiens (1802), the more readily that Great Britain acquired Malta under the same treaty (confirmed by the Peace of Paris (1814)). The *Asiento* (legal compact) on the part of Spain conceded to the English South Sea Company the right to exercise for thirty years the trading privileges which in 1701 Philip V had assigned to the French Guinea Company. The Company contracted to export to the Spanish Colonies in America about 5000 slaves annually, and permission was accorded for a single British ship of 500 tons' burden to trade annually in that quarter.

Concessions to Great Britain did not exhaust the losses to which Spain was obliged to submit in order to obtain international recognition of her first Bourbon king. The Treaty restricted the Spanish monarchy exclusively to the Spanish peninsula, the Balearic Isles (save Minorca), and the Indies. Italy, where she had been planted since the *Sicilian Vespers* (1282), Spain now lost altogether. The Emperor obtained Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Tuscan ports. The island Sicily (with the royal title)

was conceded to Victor Amadeus II of Savoy (who exchanged it with Austria for Sardinia in 1720). Spain also lost the Belgic Netherlands after possessing them for two centuries; the Treaty gave them to Austria, a transaction which was agreeable to the Dutch, since it withdrew the Belgic provinces alike from the weak hands of Spain and from French ambition working through Spain. By the Third Barrier Treaty (1715) the Dutch received also, under the guarantee of Great Britain, Namur, Tournay, and six other barrier fortresses, to be held by Dutch garrisons partly at the cost of Austria. Upper Gelderland (Obergeldern) was assigned (in lieu of the principality of Orange to which he had claims on the death of William III) to Frederick I of Prussia, but did not pass into the actual possession of Prussia for one hundred years (Treaty of Vienna, 1815).

The War of the Spanish Succession formed a sad conclusion to the glories and sacrifices of Louis XIV's long reign. He died in 1715. He left France with substantial gains in Alsace, Franche Comté, Artois, Flanders, and Roussillon. But they were the successes of his earlier years, and his ill-judged acceptance of his grandson's legacy in Spain weakened both his own and that kingdom. Louis XV completed the frontier policy of his grandfather by the acquisition of Lorraine (1766). He also purchased Corsica from Genoa (1768). But France made no headway against the economic, social, and political evils of the *ancien régime* which had crystallised under Louis XIV, and so plunged into the Revolution.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

IN the history of Northern Europe in the eighteenth century there are two capital facts: the entry of Russia into the European system, and the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia to the chief position in Germany. The first is expressed in the careers of Peter the Great (1682-1725) and Catharine II (1762-96). Peter destroyed the domination of Sweden in the Baltic and impressed European civilisation upon his country. Catharine bound Russia yet closer to European interests by the partition of the ancient kingdom of Poland. At the present day, though the bulk of her population is in Europe, Russia owns three times as much territory in Asia as in Europe. The whole of her past, save her foundation by Scandinavian agencies, drew her to Asia until Peter the Great in the seventeenth century Europeanised her civilisation and her interests alike.

There came among Russia's Slavonic population towards the end of the ninth century a band of Swedish colonists under Rurik, who founded principalities at Novgorod, Smolensk, Kief, and elsewhere. Something of the democratic characteristics of their Germanic stock the strangers from Sweden gave to the communities they founded, until the power of Moscow in the time of Ivan III, "the Great" (1462-1505), swept them away. But before that event two things of importance had happened which turned the face of young Russia away from Europe. The first was the reception of Christianity by St. Vladimir (d. 1015), Rurik's great-grandson, and the establishment of it by his son Iaroslav. The conversion of Russia was the work of the Eastern Orthodox Church, to which Russia belongs to this day. Hence at a time when Western civilisation was forming itself round Rome and the Papacy, her religion kept Russia outside Europe, and

sundered her even from her Slav neighbours and kinsmen ; for the West Slavs of Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia received Christianity from Rome.

The second determining fact in the early history of Russia was the foundation of Moscow by Iuri Dolgoruki in 1147 as a military colony among the Fins. The geographical position of Moscow gave an entirely new trend to Russian history. For at Moscow, far removed from European influence, and restricted by no political boundaries, the Great Princes of Muscovy, so they were known, entered upon an ambitious career of geographical expansion. But within one hundred years of her foundation, Moscow and the other kindred principalities succumbed to the Tartars or Mongols. After the death of Zenghiz Khan (1227) a wandering Tartar horde, known as the "Golden Horde," moved westward under his grandson, Batu Khan, invaded and devastated Poland, Moravia, Hungary, and penetrated to the Adriatic. Returning thence, the Horde entered Russia. Moscow was taken (1237), Kief was sacked, and the other principalities were either exterminated or became tributary vassals of their Tartar conqueror. A century later the advance of Timur (d. 1405) shattered the empire of the Golden Horde, which after its conquering progress had spread itself over the Russian Steppes above the Black Sea, Caspian Sea, and Sea of Aral. A number of smaller *khanates* or principalities arose on its ruins, Krim (Crimea), Kazan, Astrakhan, and Kazimov, which the Great Princes and Tsars of Muscovy in course of time attached to their rule.

Ivan III, "the Great" (1462-1505), completed the emancipation of Russia from the yoke of the Tartars, though they remained unruly neighbours. He brought under his direct power Novgorod and the other Slav communities which had bowed to the Tartar yoke, and extended his rule over great tracts in the north and north-east. His grandson, Ivan IV (1533-84), "the Terrible," who was the first to bear the title *Tsar* (Cæsar), annexed the Tartar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, thereby carrying his southern frontier to the Caspian. Eastward he pushed his borders over Siberia, and he made a premature effort to reach the Baltic through Livonia.

Ivan III, his son, and grandson had done much to make

Muscovy a united and powerful State. Tartar domination was a thing of the past. The great nobles (*boiars*), who had arisen in Russia as elsewhere, had been crushed, and like their French counterpart attended the Tsar as his courtiers. But in one ambition the last Tsars of Rurik's line failed. In 1525 Albert of Hohenzollern, High Master of the Teutonic Order in East Prussia, adopted Protestantism and converted the territory of the Order into a duchy. A similar Order, the Knights of the Sword, ruled Livonia. United since 1237 to the Teutonic Order, the Knights of the Sword obtained their independence, and under Gottfried Kettler followed the example of Albert of Hohenzollern in Prussia. Gottfried became a Lutheran, transferred the rights of his Order in Livonia to Poland, and retained for himself and his heirs the duchy of Courland (1561). Ignorant of the effect of the great discoveries, the Baltic still retained for Russia its commercial importance as one of the two existing maritime commercial highways, the Mediterranean being the other. Livonia therefore had a double importance for her. It offered access to the Baltic, from which she was entirely cut off. In the second place, the Tsars having unwisely destroyed Novgorod as a commercial centre, its place had been taken by Riga in Livonia. Ivan IV therefore invaded Livonia in 1557, and Kettler's transference of it to Poland was the result of his inability to resist or to gain active help against the Tsar. For the next twenty years almost continual war was waged between Russia and Poland, and shortly before his death Ivan was compelled to leave Livonia in the hands of his rival (1582).

☞ Ivan IV was succeeded by his son Theodore, upon whose death in 1598 the House of Rurik in the male line came to an end. During the fifteen years which intervened between Theodore's death and the establishment of the Romanoff dynasty in 1613, Ivan's attempt to extend Russia to the Baltic seemed likely to end in Russia herself becoming a province of either Poland or Sweden. The "false Dmitri," as he is known, who claimed to be the son of Ivan IV, obtained the Russian throne (1605) with the assistance of Sigismund III of Poland, who had lost the crown of Sweden and desired Russian assistance for the recovery of that kingdom. Dmitri was also the *protégé* of the Jesuits, and his adventure

connects itself with the efforts of the Catholic reaction elsewhere in Europe. Protestant Sweden had already expelled Sigismund and she could not remain uninterested in his intrigues in Russia. Charles IX of Sweden therefore allied himself with Vasili Shuiski, whose overthrow of Dmitri and accession as Vasili IV (1606) was followed by the appearance in Russia of a second "false Dmitri," known as "the Robber." Sigismund invaded Russia, Vasili and his party were overthrown (1610), and Sigismund's son Wladislaw (Ladislav) was elected Tsar by the Moscow *boiars*. Sweden now intervened with a proposal to confer the crown on a Swedish prince, and seized Novgorod. These events stimulated in Russia a strong national sentiment, and the expression of it was the election of Michael Romanoff (1613-45), the great-nephew by marriage of Ivan IV, and first of a dynasty which has ruled Russia ever since. With Poland Michael concluded a treaty (1634) which renounced Russia's claims on Livonia in return for Wladislaw's abandonment of his claims to the Russian throne, while Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden restored Novgorod in return for Ingria and Carelia (Peace of Stolbova, 1617). Thus when the House of Romanoff began its career Russia's frontier was far removed from the Baltic.

From the reign of Ivan III Europe and European ideas had been exerting a growing influence upon Russia. His wife was the niece of Constantine, the last Eastern Emperor. The Kremlin, Ivan's famous palace at Moscow, was the work of a Milanese architect. Russia was in diplomatic communication with Vienna, Rome, and other European courts. In the reign of Ivan IV the great church of Vasili at Moscow, like the Kremlin, was built by an Italian architect. During his reign the search for Cathay and the Indies, in which the Western Powers of Europe were engaging, brought Muscovy for the first time into touch with England. In 1553 the English navigator Richard Chancellor reached the White Sea and travelled thence to Moscow. The establishment of the English Company of Muscovy Merchants followed (1555). It received commercial privileges from Ivan and contributed to the development of Russia's natural resources. Antony Jenkinson, following the same quest as Chancellor, visited Moscow, travelled thence down the Volga, across the Caspian, and on to Bokhara. Jenkinson obtained for England the monopoly

of the trade of the White Sea, and permission to trade with Russia over the Baltic. His contemporary Thomas Banister carried English merchandise down the Volga to Tiflis and Samarcand. Ivan IV even thought of England as a home in the event of exile, and asked for and was refused the hand of Elizabeth's kinswoman, Lady Mary Hastings. An Englishman, Mark Ridley, was the physician of Tsar Boris, and Timothy Willis, an alchemist, was sent to Russia by Elizabeth. Foreign merchants settled at Moscow and elsewhere, and the Tsar's army offered service to Scotsmen and other Europeans. Throughout the reigns of the first three Romanoffs, Michael, Alexis, and Theodore, Western influences continued. Michael invited the mediation of England in the Peace of Stolbova. Theodore founded an Academy at Moscow for the study of Latin and Greek, and the physician of Peter the Great was Robert Erskine, a Scotsman. Peter the Great therefore worked a soil whose surface had been already turned.

Peter the Great was proclaimed Tsar in 1682 on the death of his half-brother Theodore. His accession passed over the claims of Theodore's own brother and sister, Ivan and Sophia, the first as being half-insane, and the second as a woman. But Sophia, who possessed much force of character, with the help of the palace guards (*Strieltzy*, or arquebusiers) instituted by Ivan IV, caused Peter and her own brother Ivan V to be proclaimed joint-Tsars under herself as Regent. For the next seven years, from his tenth to his seventeenth year, Peter was kept carefully in the background by Sophia. He went his own way, made friends among the foreign community, especially among the Germans and Dutch, showed an extraordinary aptitude for military science, and organised a regiment of youthful playmates—his "blackguards" the Regent called them—drilled by a German. A Dutchman taught him the rudiments of fortification, and he showed particular interest in the craft of shipbuilding. Among his friends were Patrick Gordon, a Scot, who entered the Russian military service some twenty years before Peter's accession, and a Frenchman, François Lefort, who was chiefly responsible for Peter's European tour.

In 1689, in his seventeenth year, Peter withstood a plot against himself and drove his sister Sophia into a convent. His personal reign began, though his half-brother Ivan survived

until 1696. Peter's first act is the key to his whole reign. Russia so far was cut off from the sea at every point save one, without means of communication with the civilised world of the West of which Peter had learnt from the foreign friends of his youth. The White Sea was ice-bound for nine months out of the twelve. The Caspian, screened by Cossack and Tartar nomads, was of doubtful value, and offered no avenue to Europe. The eastern shores of the Baltic were Swedish, as in the days of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter's father Alexis, who took part in the war in which the ambition of Gustavus's nephew, Charles X of Sweden, engaged the northern system, conquered a great part of Livonia. But by the Treaty of Kardis (1661) Russia withdrew from her conquests. Therefore, until Peter again challenged Sweden in the Baltic, the Black Sea offered him the only outlet. There was another reason which drew Peter there. The establishment of Russian influence in that quarter involved war with Turkey, and Turkey was not only already engaged with Austria, but was hated by Orthodox Russia as the usurper of the holy city of her faith. Peter resolved, therefore, to seize the Turkish fortress, Azof, and in 1695 his army gave it siege, the Tsar himself serving as lieutenant in his regiment of bombardiers. Undaunted by one failure, Peter procured expert workmen from Austria and Prussia, a model galley from Holland, built two warships and many galleys, and launched them in 1696. Azof fell, and the victory, the first won by Russia against the Turks, heartened Peter to inaugurate the reforms which he felt to be essential if his country was to take a place among her European neighbours.

In 1697, partly to stir up Europe against the Turk (Europe at the time having its eye fixed on Louis XIV and Spain), and partly for his own education, Peter dispatched an embassy from Moscow, which he accompanied *incognito* as "Peter Mikhailoff." He visited Prussia, Hanover, Holland, England, and worked in the shipyards of Saardam and Deptford as an ordinary workman. His desire to learn was insatiable. "I must see for myself," was his constant remark. He even studied dentistry! At Vienna he engaged the Emperor not to make peace with Turkey, and was on the point of visiting Venice when disturbing news from Moscow called him back to Russia.

On setting out on his European tour Peter left at Moscow a regency of *boiars*, and a small but disciplined force of regular troops under the Scotsman Gordon. Peter's absence encouraged a manifestation of the ignorant prejudice which his modernism had outraged. He gave his confidence to heretics, men who shaved their beards, and smoked tobacco. His European journey, outrageous in itself, was doubly so in that it was to be the prelude to an order compelling the *boiars* to send their children abroad. It was remembered that Tsar Boris (d. 1605) had done the same thing on a smaller scale, and that the youthful aristocracy of Russia, seduced by the delights of Western civilisation, had refused to return home. Peter discarded the national dress, launched on the sea monsters strange to a non-maritime people, served as a private, and followed the ordinary stages of promotion in his own army. A Frenchman and a Scotsman were at the head of it, and the Tsar walked while the Frenchman rode in the triumphal entry into Moscow after the fall of Azof. To the old *Strieltzy* Peter's persistent quest after efficiency was unwelcome; the force did not wish to be modernised. Conservative Russia viewed the Tsar as a strange being whose very parentage was irregular; a French or German father was postulated by some. The most conservative spirits in the Church believed him to be Antichrist.

Peter had been absent from Russia for more than a year, and his European tour was nearing its end, when in June, 1698, the *Strieltzy* revolted and marched on Moscow to wreak their vengeance on the German colony there. Their rising was easily put down by Gordon. A few weeks later Peter returned. He came back resolved to force European civilisation on his people, and on the very day after his arrival clipped the beards and moustaches of his chief *boiars*; for uncut beards and flowing garments were the marks of the civilisation which Peter was minded to destroy. In one of the bursts of almost incredible savagery to which he was prone, Peter exterminated the *Strieltzy*. His sister Sophia, whom he strove to connect with their revolt, ended her days under military guard. His wife Eudoxia he compelled to take the veil.

Peter's plans for the "transformation" (his own phrase) of Russia extended into every channel of the national life. Like

Japan at a later time he held externals important. Following the clipping of the *boiars'* beards, he imposed a tax on all who thenceforth wore them. He ordered his people to wear short jackets and hose, and forbade the use of Muscovite garments. Russian women of the upper class were by custom condemned to the seclusion usual in Eastern countries to-day, and were given in marriage to husbands whom they had never seen. Peter decreed that an interval of six months should elapse between betrothal and marriage, in which the future man and wife should be allowed to meet and converse, with liberty to each to break the engagement. Peter instituted his famous assemblies, to which both sexes were summoned, and for their closer intercourse compelled them to indulge in the so-far unknown exercises of the ballroom. He revolutionised Russian feudal society by instituting a new order of precedence based on public service. He grouped those who served the state in fourteen ranks, the first eight of which conferred hereditary, and some of the others personal, nobility. Serfdom, which had been instituted in 1597, in that it supplied forced labour on the fields and a recruiting ground for Peter's regiments, was too precious to be abolished. That reform was reserved for Alexander II in 1861. But Peter took measures to protect the peasants from ill-treatment. Proprietors were forbidden to break up a peasant's home by selling its members separately. Cruel proprietors, who by ill-treating their serfs prevented their lands from being as profitable to the community as they might be, were, in Peter's practical way, treated as lunatics, and the administration of their estates was handed over to their relations or to the State. In similar manner the noble who did no work for the State was in danger of being forbidden to marry, lest he should increase the population of drones.

In the machinery of government Peter also modernised Russia. At first he continued to summon the ancient *Duma*, whose constitution was feudal and aristocratic. But after 1700 it vanished, and a few years later Peter instituted a "Senate" whose powers were administrative. Its numbers were small, and during Peter's absence from Russia and preoccupation in the wars it exercised supreme powers subject to the Tsar himself. Peter also instituted (1717) "Colleges" or Departments of State, eventually nine in number, each

charged with the control of some sphere of public activity, foreign affairs, war, marine, commerce, and so forth. For the purposes of provincial administration Peter divided Russia into eight "Governments," a number which the conquest of the Baltic provinces increased. The Governor, who was assisted by a council elected by the provincial landlords, was charged especially with the collection and transmission of taxes. In the towns Peter fostered municipal institutions and industrial guilds.

A policy which in so masterful a manner overrode prejudice, ignorance, and tradition was certain to breed discontent, and the natural conservatism of the Church was likely to focus it unless that institution was also under Peter's control. The Patriarch Adrian, who died in 1700, was opposed to Peter's reforms, and the Tsar took the opportunity afforded by his death to bring the Church into dependence on himself. The religious Houses were submitted to close regulation, and in 1721 a new "Spiritual Department" or College, subsequently known as the "Holy Synod," was instituted to present to the Tsar the names of suitable candidates for vacant bishoprics, and to take the necessary measures to eliminate superstition and promote learning.

Omnivorous in his appetite for knowledge, Peter encouraged the means of education in Russia. He established the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. He founded schools, and promoted the study of medicine, natural science, and Russian history. He showed a practical interest in geographical science by dispatching the Dane Behring to investigate the supposed Straits of Anian in the Arctic latitudes between Asia and America, an enterprise which resulted in the discovery of the straits which bear Behring's name. He reformed the Calendar by making January 1st begin the year instead of September 1st (the supposed date of the creation of the world) as heretofore. He reformed the coinage, which so far had consisted only of silver *kopeks* and half-*kopeks*. He founded mints and struck gold, silver, and copper coins. He reformed the alphabet and introduced the existing "civil script." Types of the simplified alphabet for the printing press were cast in Holland and brought to Russia in 1707.

Concurrently with these comprehensive, and to the astonish-

ment of Europe, permanent reforms, Peter raised his country to supremacy in Northern Europe. A brief war with Turkey was concluded by the Peace of the Pruth (1711), in which Peter surrendered Azof. In 1722 he turned his arms against Persia, and acquired the eastern and southern shores of the Caspian by the cession to him of the provinces Daghestan, Gilan, Masenderan, and Astrabad, a region so unhealthy, however, that the Tsaritsa Anne restored it a few years later. But the great and determining efforts of Peter's reign were round the Baltic. His successes were gained at the expense of Sweden, in war with a king who shared with himself the wonder of Europe, Charles XII (1697-1718).

After the abdication of Gustavus's daughter Christina in 1654, the crown of Sweden passed to her cousin Charles X (1654-60). The refusal of John Casimir of Poland, the representative of the Polish Vasa, to recognise him served as an excuse for a general war among the Baltic states, Denmark, Poland, Brandenburg, and Russia, and the intervention of France alone saved Sweden from humiliating losses. The Treaties of Oliva (1660), Copenhagen (1660), and Kardis (1661) restored peace to the Northern world. By the first Sweden recovered West Pomerania and secured Livonia; while Brandenburg obtained full sovereignty of the duchy of Prussia from Poland. By the second, Denmark paid dearly for her attempt to wrest from Sweden the hegemony of the North. For while Sweden restored to Denmark the province of Trondhjem and the island of Bornholm, Sweden secured the Scandinavian provinces of Bohus, Halland, Scania, and Bleking, which extended her territory to the sea on the south, a frontier which she has ever since retained. By the third treaty Sweden was confirmed in her possession of Livonia. Charles XI (1660-97) of Sweden, after a brief union with England and Holland in the Triple Alliance (1668), reverted to the traditional relations with France, and engaged himself (1672) to make a diversion in France's favour in Germany, where Brandenburg was in arms to aid the Dutch. Her defeat by the Great Elector at Fehrbellin (1675) sorely damaged Sweden's military reputation, and was followed by her expulsion from West Pomerania. But in spite of her reverses, the support of Louis XIV enabled Sweden to emerge from the war with no more loss than the

cession to Brandenburg of a strip of territory on the right bank of the Oder (Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1679). For the rest of his reign Charles XI refused to be drawn after France as an auxiliary to Louis's disturbing policy. He died in 1697 and left his crown to his fifteen-year-old son Charles XII, the rival of Peter the Great.

When Charles XII succeeded his father Sweden still held the pre-eminence in the Baltic which Gustavus Adolphus had given her. She had driven Denmark from the south of the Scandinavian peninsula. Her German possessions were intact, except for Brandenburg's comparatively trivial gain in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. From Livonia northward the whole of the eastern coast of the Baltic was hers. Such was her position before Peter challenged and overthrew it.

Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg were all eager to strike at Sweden. But the immediate cause of the struggle which engaged Northern Europe while the War of the Spanish Succession was also in progress was a Livonian squire named Johan Reinhold Patkul. He was a captain in the Swedish army, but resenting Charles XI's spoliation of the Livonian nobles under the "Edicts of Reduction," had addressed the king in such violent language, that after imprisonment he fled in order to avoid death. With a view to redressing his own grievances rather than in a spirit of patriotism, Patkul addressed himself to the formation of a league against Charles XII. Brandenburg refused to be drawn in. But the Elector Augustus of Saxony, who in 1697 had been elected Augustus II king of Poland, and Frederick IV of Denmark, who was anxious to acquire the duchy of Schleswig and Holstein, the former of which Denmark had seized but disgorged in 1689, fell in with Patkul's schemes. Peter joined the triple league in 1699. Ingria and Esthonia were to be his share of the spoils.

The three conspirators counted on the youth and inexperience of Charles XII. In 1700 the Danes entered Schleswig. Augustus invaded Livonia. Peter, not anticipating serious resistance, led a raw army into Ingria against Narva, the key of the province. But Charles XII displayed extraordinary vigour and unexpected ability. Falling first upon Denmark, he compelled Frederick to withdraw from the alliance against

him (Treaty of Traventhal, 1700), and then, appearing unexpectedly in Ingria, completely routed the Russians at Narva (1700). His victory gave Charles an erroneous idea of the resources of his Russian antagonist, and leaving an inadequate force to defend the Baltic provinces, he proceeded against Augustus. It was a natural but fatal decision. In 1701 he occupied Courland. In 1702 he invaded Poland, and in 1704 procured the deposition of Augustus and the election of Stanislaus Leszczyński as his successor. But Charles's revenge was not complete. Leading his army into Saxony, he forced Augustus to conclude with him the Treaty of Altranstädt (1706), in which Augustus renounced his anti-Swedish alliances, recognised his supplanter on the Polish throne, and delivered Patkul to Charles for execution.

Peter meanwhile had made the fullest use of the opportunity which Charles's pursuit of Augustus gave him, and his troops occupied (1701-5) Carelia, Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. In 1703, on Ingrian soil so recently snatched from the enemy, Peter laid the foundation of his new capital, Petersburg, and its citadel, Cronstadt.

At Altranstädt Charles XII received the invitation of Louis XIV to engage in the War of the Spanish Succession. His participation threatened to put a wholly different aspect on the war, and Marlborough visited him on behalf of the allies. Charles received the envoys from both camps with coldness. As a firm Protestant he had no sympathy with the policy of Louis, and the map of Russia which Marlborough found open on the king's table when he visited him showed where Charles's interests now lay. He had in fact resolved to direct his next campaign against Peter, and to dictate peace at Moscow itself.

In 1708 the Russian campaign opened, and Charles marched on Moscow by way of Lithuania. On the approach of autumn he was still far distant from his objective, and had done nothing to reduce the strength of his enemy; for Peter risked no battles, and devastated the country before him. Opportunely communications reached Charles from the Cossack *Hetman* (or chief) Mazeppa, who hated Peter's innovations and had convinced himself that Charles's was the winning cause. Mazeppa's friendship promised Charles the resources of the Ukraine, which the *Hetman* controlled.

Abandoning therefore the direct advance on Moscow, Charles turned southward to the Ukraine and disappointment. For Mazepa, who had pleaded illness to excuse him from obeying the Tsar's orders to oppose the Swedes, was deprived of his chiefship, while the fearful winter of 1708-9, in which birds fell dead in their flight and firewood would not burn in the open air, cost Charles the lives of thousands of his men. It was with an army of about 20,000, half its original number, that he began the decisive campaign of 1709. With his face again set towards Moscow, Charles gave siege to Poltava in the Ukraine, designing to possess himself of the fortress while awaiting reinforcements. A month later Peter, who had made up his mind that the time had come "to have a final bout with the enemy," as he wrote, appeared with an overwhelmingly powerful army, and at the battle of Poltava the Swedes were almost annihilated. Charles himself, wounded and in great pain, escaped into Turkish territory. For five years he disappeared from the world in the shelter of Bender, near Odessa and the Black Sea. The victory gave Peter a "window" on the Baltic. "Now by God's help," he wrote, "are the foundations of Petersburg securely laid for all time."

The battle of Poltava revived the triple alliance against Sweden which Charles XII at the outset had crushed. Peter completed his conquest of Livonia, Esthonia, and the Aland isles, and proceeded securely with the building of Petersburg. Augustus of Saxony drove Stanislaus from Poland, and Denmark secured Bremen and Verden. The coalition became more formidable on the accession to it of Frederick William I of Prussia, who coveted West Pomerania, and Hanover, whose Elector (George I of Great Britain) hoped to secure Bremen and Verden. By the end of 1714 the partition of the Swedish dominions had been arranged, and on German soil Wismar and Stralsund alone remained in Sweden's possession. Into the latter Charles threw himself from Bender in 1714. The fortress, which had resisted Wallenstein, fell a year later (1715). Wismar, the last Swedish possession on German soil, fell in 1716.

The accession of George, second Elector of Hanover, to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland as George I (1714) compelled that kingdom to take a particular interest in

the affairs of North Germany and in the struggle for the Baltic. Descended from the marriage of Henry the Lion to the daughter of Henry II of England, the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg attained to a position of power and influence in North-West Germany, though its two branches, Brunswick and Lüneburg, separated in the thirteenth century. From the latter the dynasty which obtained the British throne in 1714 descended. This, the younger, branch of the family possessed the two duchies of Celle (or Lüneburg-Celle) and Hanover, and the will of George I's grandfather, George duke of Hanover (d. 1641), forbade them to be united. Duke George's sons succeeded in turn to the two duchies, Hanover being always held by the second surviving son and Celle by his elder brother. By the death of his elder brothers Hanover passed in 1679 into the possession of Ernest Augustus, George I's father. Ernest Augustus was already since 1661 bishop of the secularised see of Osnabrück. His wife Sophia, daughter of Frederick V the Elector Palatine and grand-daughter of James I, was by the English Act of Succession of 1701 heir to the throne in default of issue to William III or Anne. In 1692, in return for his undertaking to assist the Habsburg interest in the matter of the Spanish succession, Ernest Augustus received investiture as an Elector of the Empire. But his entrance to the Electoral College was opposed, and it was not until 1708 that Ernest Augustus's son George (who had succeeded his father in Hanover in 1698) secured admission to it. By his marriage to his cousin Sophia Dorothea, heiress of Celle, George became possessed of that duchy also after her father's death in 1705. As a Protestant he supported the Grand Alliance formed by his kinsman William III against France, though he regarded his eventual succession to the throne of Great Britain with considerable indifference. Upon his succession in 1714 his position as a prince of the Empire, as also the interests of his new crown, inclined him to Austria and against France, whose sympathy with the Jacobite attempt in 1715, however, was the last active sign of a Franco-Jacobite understanding until the more alarming enterprise of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, in 1745-46. The hope of annexing Bremen and Verden which George brought with him to his new kingdom was not unwelcome to British merchants, though Great

Britain had been reckoned the friend of Sweden, and the intrusion of her enemy Russia into the ranks of the Great Powers was not wholly popular.

After the fall of Stralsund in 1715 Charles XII escaped to Sweden, whence he had been absent for sixteen years. The hopeless state of Sweden's fortunes inspired his minister Görtz with the idea of making terms with Russia against Sweden's other despoilers. Among the latter was George I. The Jacobites were available to threaten his throne, and Görtz planned coincident insurrections in England and Scotland, from the latter of which James, the Old Pretender, had withdrawn in 1716 after the failure of the '15. The English Jacobites were sounded by Görtz's emissaries, and James himself was aware of what was in the wind. But the British ministry discovered the plot. The Swedish minister in London was arrested (1717), Görtz also as he passed through Holland, and the plot came to nothing. In the following year (1718) Görtz opened negotiations with Peter. But his plans were frustrated by the death of Charles while besieging the Norwegian fortress Friedrichshall (1718).

The death of Charles was followed by a revolution in Sweden which placed his sister Ulrica Eleonora on the throne. The crown became elective and was controlled by a small council of ministers and others. Görtz's Russian negotiations were abandoned and he was executed as a traitor (1719). Negotiations for peace were opened with the other despoilers of Sweden and bore fruit in definitive treaties. Hanover (Treaty of Stockholm, 1719) obtained Bremen and Verden. Prussia (Treaty of Stockholm, 1720) received the islands of Usedom and Wollin with Stettin and Upper Western Pomerania lying between the Oder and the Peene. Denmark (Treaty of Frederiksborg, 1720) received Schleswig and restored to Sweden Stralsund, Greifswald, and the island Rügen which she had occupied during the war.

The greatest gainer by Sweden's fall was Russia. By the Peace of Nystad (1721) Sweden surrendered Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, with the adjacent islands, and the Finnish provinces Viborg and Carelia. Finland west of Viborg was retroceded to Sweden. The treaty represented a glorious triumph for Peter and his policy. He had destroyed Swedish supremacy in North Europe and replaced it by that of Russia,

a power thenceforth conclusively European. Nor did Peter's death in 1725, as had been expected, bring to an end the extraordinary reaction against Muscovitism of which he was the author. In the ordinary course Peter's grandson, afterwards Peter II (1727-30), would have succeeded his grandfather. But he inherited his father's affection for the old customs, and his accession was opposed by Alexander Menshikoff, who once had been a seller of meat-pies in the streets of Moscow, and after the death of Lefort (1699) became the great Peter's chief adviser. The army supported Menshikoff, and the dead Tsar was succeeded by his widow Catharine I (1725-27). Her short reign was remarkable for the formation of a Supreme Privy Council presided over by the sovereign, to which at once the control of the army, navy, and foreign affairs, and subsequently the supervision of the other Colleges or Departments, was transferred from the Senate.

Upon her death in 1727, Catharine was succeeded by Peter the Great's grandson, Peter II (1727-30). Menshikoff, hated by the old nobility as an upstart and as a supporter of Peter I's innovations, filled the cup of their anger against him by an attempt to marry his daughter to the new Tsar. He and his family were banished to Siberia, and there he died (1730). The party of reaction was in the ascendant and had the Tsar's sympathies. He abandoned Petersburg for Moscow and even forbade the former to be mentioned in his presence. He died in 1730 on the very morning that was to have seen his marriage to the daughter of Prince Alexis Dolgoruki, a leader of the "Old Russian" party.

The untimely death of Peter II, and with him the extinction of the male line of Peter the Great, gave the nobles opportunity to strike against the autocracy with which Peter the Great had endowed the Tsardom, and at a system which favoured the lowly-born and neglected their order. Rejecting therefore the female issue of Peter the Great and Catharine I, the nobles selected Anne of Courland, the second daughter of Ivan V, anticipating that she would pay their price for the throne. Their terms were set forth in the "Articles of Mittau," in which she was asked virtually to abandon her sovereign powers to the Supreme Privy Council. Anne, relying on the unpopularity of any attempt to convert

the Tsardom into a limited monarchy, gave the required undertaking and began her ten years' reign (1730-40). But within ten days of her entry into Moscow she cancelled the "Articles of Mittau" amid patent signs of popular approval. The system of Peter the Great was restored, and as the result of the Russo-Turkish war of her reign, Azof, Peter's first conquest, was recovered. With the accession of Peter the Great's second daughter, Elizabeth (1741-62), after the brief reign of Ivan VI (1740-41), the influence of France supplanted that of Germany at the Russian court and in Russian society, and Russia took her part against Prussia in the great war which the ambition of Frederick the Great raised against Maria Theresa and the House of Austria.

CHAPTER X

THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA

UNLIKE Great Britain, on whom nature has imposed an obvious physical frontier, Prussia represents the artificial union of scattered territories. The process of unification began in the seventeenth century, was continued by the Great Elector (1640-88), Frederick William I (1713-40), Frederick the Great (1740-86), and was completed by the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Lacking common race, common religion, common history, Prussia owed her unification and progress to her rulers, the Hohenzollerns, and to the readiness of her people to yield the service which from the seventeenth century to the present day has made her the first military power in Europe. War, indeed, has been described as "the Prussian staple industry."

In the history of the Prussian Hohenzollerns there are four determining dates. In 1415 Frederick I received the electorate of Brandenburg, and was invested in it by the Emperor Sigismund two years later. In 1618 the ninth Elector united the three territories, till then disjoined, which formed the nucleus of the modern kingdom. Eighty-three years later another Frederick I raised the electorate to the status of a kingdom (1701). Nearly a century and three-quarters later the seventh king of Prussia, William I, became Kaiser or President of the new German Empire (1871), whose foundation, resulting immediately from Prussia's victory over France in the Franco-German War of 1870-71, was prepared for by the abdication of Francis II, the last Holy Roman Emperor, in 1806.

The Hohenzollerns are of South German origin and spring from the Counts of Zollern, who held a prominent position in the duchy of Allemannia or Swabia in the tenth century. The district of Hohenzollern, their original patrimony in Swabia, lies close to Lake Constance, and until 1849 formed

two principalities (Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and Hohenzollern-Hechingen) which their holders in that year surrendered to Prussia. An ancestor of the Swabian Hohenzollerns, Count Frederick of Hohenzollern, was burgrave of Nuremberg early in the thirteenth century. From his second son descended the Swabian Hohenzollerns who after six centuries resigned the principalities of Sigmaringen and Hechingen to Prussia. The elder branch of Frederick's family succeeded him in the burgravate of Nuremberg and acquired Bayreuth and Ansbach north and south of it. With Frederick VI of Nuremberg and I of Brandenburg the activities of this elder branch were transferred to North Germany.

Frederick VI, who already united Nuremberg, Ansbach, and Bayreuth in his possession, was rewarded in 1415 for his service to the Emperor Sigismund with the margravate of Brandenburg, one of the seven electorates of the Empire, and received investiture in it two years later, the first of a long line of Hohenzollerns who have ruled in unbroken male succession from that time until now. The Franconian territories of the Hohenzollerns, namely, Bayreuth and Ansbach, ultimately passed altogether out of their possession. Frederick I devised them to his eldest son, John the Alchemist. John's brother, the Elector Albert Achilles (1470-86), conferred them on his younger sons, Frederick (Ansbach) and Sigismund (Bayreuth). Both lines were extinct in 1603, and the two margravates reverted to the Elector John George's (1571-98) younger sons, whose descendants held them for two centuries. The Bayreuth line died out in 1769, and Bayreuth reverted to the margrave Charles Alexander of Ansbach. He also was the last of his line, and ceded both to Prussia in 1791. Prussia lost them both in the course of the Napoleonic wars, and they are now part of the Bavarian kingdom.

The nucleus of the dominions which the Hohenzollerns fashioned into the kingdom of Prussia consisted of (1) the margravate of Brandenburg, (2) the duchy of Prussia, and (3) the duchy of Cleves on the Rhine. In 1618 the three localities were united for the first time by John Sigismund (1608-19), the ninth Elector.

Brandenburg, when Frederick I, the first Hohenzollern Elector, died in 1440 was an inland state, lying almost

entirely between the Elbe and Oder, separated from the Baltic by intervening Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Placed athwart the Elbe and the Oder, the two natural waterways from the Baltic into the heart of Germany, Brandenburg, though cut off from the sea, was marked out for future greatness. Her territories in 1440 comprised the original Mark (*Altmark*) on the left bank of the Elbe, Priegnitz (the *Vormark* or Advanced Mark) between the Elbe and the Oder, the Middle Mark (*Mittelmark*), and the *Uckermark* (so called after the Slavonic Ukri). In the two centuries which intervened between the accession of the first Hohenzollern Elector and 1618, when the ninth Elector united the duchies of Prussia and Cleves to Brandenburg, the New Mark (*Neumark*) was bought (1455) from the Teutonic Order, and its acquisition drove a wedge of Hohenzollern territory into East Pomerania. The absorption of Ruppin (1524) linked up Priegnitz with the Uckermark, and the acquisition of Kottbus (1445) and Storkow (1571) began the south-eastern advance towards Silesia which Frederick the Great completed. With the duke of Pomerania the Elector Joachim I (1499-1535) made an important agreement in 1529, that failing heirs to the duke, Brandenburg should inherit the whole of Pomerania, an agreement which took effect in 1637. A similar agreement (1537) founded the Hohenzollern claims on the duchies of Liegnitz, Wohlau, and Brieg in Silesia, which Frederick the Great made good. The elder Ansbach line on its extinction in 1603 passed to the electorate its claims on the Silesian duchy of Jägerndorf also.

The Baltic province of Prussia was converted to Christianity and Germanised in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Order, or German Order of Knights, who coalesced in 1237 with the Knights of the Sword. But the foundation of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland and the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1386 raised up a formidable enemy to the Order. In 1410 the Poles inflicted on it a crushing defeat at Tannenberg, and civil war added to its troubles. A number of towns and nobles combined to form the Prussian League or Alliance, renounced their allegiance to the Order in 1454, and offered it to Poland. It was in these straits that the Order in 1455 sold the Neumark to Brandenburg. But the decline of the Order was not stayed. In 1457 the High Master was driven from his fortress-capital, Marienburg, and nine years later

the long war with Poland was brought to an end by the Perpetual Peace of Thorn (1466). The Order surrendered West Prussia and Ermeland to Poland, in whose possession they remained until they were incorporated into the Hohenzollern kingdom of Prussia more than three centuries later (1772 and 1793). East Prussia was confirmed to the Order as a Polish fief with its seat at Königsberg.

Forty-five years after the humiliating Peace of Thorn the permanent association of the Hohenzollerns with Prussia began. In 1511 Margrave Albert of Ansbach was elected High Master of the Order. Having sought the advice of Luther, Albert became a Protestant, secularised the territory of the Order, and in 1525 was invested by the king of Poland in the duchy of Prussia. To the electoral Hohenzollerns at Berlin it forthwith became an object of policy to secure their eventual succession to Duke Albert's duchy. The prize was not long withheld; for Duke Albert's son and successor, Albert Frederick (1568-1618), was imbecile and without surviving male issue. The Electors Joachim Frederick (1598-1608) and John Sigismund (1608-19) both married his daughters and acted as administrators of his duchy, while the latter obtained investiture from Poland as his father-in-law's eventual successor. On Duke Albert Frederick's death in 1618 the duchy of Prussia was united permanently to the electorate, at first as a fief of Poland, and from 1660 (by the Peace of Oliva with Poland) in full sovereignty.

The Rhenish territories of the Hohenzollerns had their beginning in the claim which Elector John Sigismund advanced in his wife's behalf (to whom also he owed Prussia) to the duchy of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg. Her brother, Duke John William, died childless in 1609. Of the claimants to the scattered territories of the duchy the most important were John Sigismund, whose wife was the niece, and Wolfgang William of Neuburg, whose mother was the sister of the late duke. Their joint occupation of the disputed territories was terminated by the Treaty of Xanten in 1614, which assigned to the Hohenzollerns Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, possession of which was confirmed to them by the Treaty of Cleves (1666). The secularised bishopric of Minden, contiguous to Ravensberg, was acquired by the Treaty of

Westphalia (1648), and Spanish Gelderland, bordering Cleves, was promised by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Such was the origin of the modern Prussian Provinces of the Rhine and Westphalia.

The gathering of the electorate, the Prussian duchy, and the Rhenish territories under John Sigismund's rule in 1618 preceded by two years the birth of his grandson, Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-88), who was born in 1620. He gained the title for the skill with which he guided his fortunes through the final and critical stages of the Thirty Years' War, but chiefly because he gave organic form and unity to the scattered states which his grandfather had united, Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves. Each had its own administration, and, save that they obeyed the same ruler, had no interests in common. Frederick William's ancestor, Joachim II (1535-71), during whose rule the Reformation was accomplished in Brandenburg, enlarged the electoral Mark by the secularisation and absorption of the Sees of Brandenburg, Lebus, and Havelberg. The Treaty of Westphalia added further spoil of the Church in the secularised See of Halberstadt and the reversion of that of Magdeburg (realised in 1680), which extended the Altmark on the south, and in the See of Minden, which strengthened the Rhenish territories. These acquisitions afforded compensation for the failure of Brandenburg to establish her claims on Pomerania under the agreement of 1529, which became operative in 1637 on the death of Bogislav XIV, the last native duke of Pomerania. But it was in Pomerania that Sweden demanded "satisfaction" for her participation in the Thirty Years' War, and the Great Elector retained of it only East Pomerania, resigning to Sweden almost the whole of the duchy west of the Oder (*Vorpommern* or West Pomerania). Prussia did not completely recover the abandoned region until the Peace of Stockholm (1720) and the Peace of Vienna (1815).

Though Brandenburg emerged from the Thirty Years' War with gains out of proportion to the part which she played in the struggle, she lost what she chiefly coveted, West Pomerania and Stettin, the natural port of Berlin. The Treaty of Westphalia awarded them to Sweden, and for the rest of his reign the foreign policy of the Great Elector was largely guided by his anxiety to recover them. The

war between Sweden and Poland caused by the refusal of the latter to acknowledge the accession of Charles X in 1654 gave Frederick William his first opportunity. After driving King John Casimir from Poland, Charles concluded with the unwilling Frederick William the Treaty of Königsberg (1656), in which the latter repudiated the sovereignty of Poland over the duchy of Prussia, accepted it as the vassal of Sweden, and agreed to serve his new suzerain in the war against Poland. When Denmark and Russia also entered the field against him, Charles, in order to bind Frederick William to his interests, ceded (Treaty of Labiau, 1656) to him the duchy of Prussia in full sovereignty. But no sooner had Charles turned his back on Prussia and Poland to engage Denmark, than Frederick William changed sides, and received from Poland (Treaty of Wehlau, 1657) the terms which Charles had given him at Labiau. But his hope to expel Sweden from Pomerania was frustrated. By the Peace of Oliva (1660) Sweden recovered West Pomerania, and Brandenburg obtained from Poland formal recognition of her independent sovereignty over the duchy of Prussia. Frederick William took immediate steps to make his sovereignty real. The Prussian Diet submitted to a restriction of its activities, an administrative system was organised, a settled revenue was established, and the ringleader of the malcontents was summarily arrested and beheaded.

In the War of Devolution which Louis XIV's ambition raised against the Spanish Netherlands Frederick William remained neutral, having on the eve of it settled the Jülich-Cleves question by the Treaty of Cleves (1666), which, while conceding Jülich and Berg to the rival claimant, arranged that on the extinction of the male line of Neuburg its share should pass to the Hohenzollerns. A strong Calvinist, and the uncle by marriage of William III of Orange, the Elector entered the war which Louis XIV forced on the Dutch, defeated Louis's allies, the Swedes, at Fehrbellin (1675), and expelled them from West Pomerania. But once more Frederick William suffered disappointment. Louis XIV stood by Sweden, and Brandenburg was obliged to restore West Pomerania, saving a strip of territory about Greifenhagen on the right bank of the Oder (Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1679). Frederick William did not live to take part in

the War of the Grand Alliance against France. He made a treaty with the United Provinces and joined the League of Augsburg. But in 1688 he died. His acquisition (1686) of the Schwiebus Circle in Silesia in return for his renunciation of the Hohenzollern claims upon Silesia (Jägern-dorf, Liegnitz, Wohlau, Brieg) was his last territorial deal.

The distinctive result of the foreign policy of the Great Elector was the regard for the interests of Brandenburg which he compelled from other countries, while his persistent opposition to Sweden and France gained him the recognition of his countrymen as the champion of Germany against foreign interests, a characteristic of the Hohenzollern House which eventually obtained for it Imperial status. To play such a part his scattered territories needed administrative unity and an army representative of and acting in the interests of them all. In each division of his dominions Frederick William reorganised the administrative machinery and set his hand to break down the corruption which prevailed. Like his contemporary Louis XIV, his executive was under his immediate eye. He attached to the electoral court a civil service whose efficiency has contributed much to the success of Hohenzollern policy from then till now. He separated the military from the civil administration, imposed an excise mainly for the support of the former, and organised a military establishment which enabled him to put into the field from 20,000 to 30,000 men. Such a burden was tolerable only for a prosperous country. Brandenburg was not only relatively a poor one, but had been grievously wasted by the Thirty Years' War, in which she lost from one-half to two-thirds of her population.

Frederick William, whose youth was spent in Holland, applied himself with extraordinary resolution to attract immigrants from Holland and elsewhere. He revived and stimulated agriculture by digging canals and encouraging the practical experience of the Dutch in dairy-farms and potato-fields. He promoted the industrial prosperity of Brandenburg-Prussia and established the Brandenburg African Company, which erected a fort named Grossfriedrichsburg on the Guinea coast, though it and the Company briefly survived their founder. One of his last acts was to welcome the Hugue-nots whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) drove

out of France. He offered land to those among them who were able to farm it, capital to those who were trained to pursue mercantile careers, and honourable employment to those who were of noble birth. It has been computed that so many as 20,000 French exiles eventually availed themselves of the invitation. They re-peopled Berlin, furnished five regiments to the army, established new industries, and revived old ones. Such in brief is the record of the Great Elector's many-sided activity. It justifies his great-grandson's eulogy of him: "With small means he achieved great results."

The Great Elector more than trebled the area of the possessions of the Hohenzollerns. His son and successor Frederick I (1688-1713), who converted the electorate into a monarchy, made few and unimportant additions to its territory. His chief territorial acquisitions were gained in connection with the Orange-Nassau succession. Frederick was the heir-at-law of his cousin King William III, who died childless in 1702. William, however, named a more distant cousin as his heir, and Frederick's renunciation, which was confirmed in the Treaty of Utrecht, gained him in exchange the promise of Spanish Gelderland, and also (of the Orange territories) the countships of Mōrs and Lingen (contingent to Cleves). By purchase he acquired the countship of Tecklenburg. From his mother (of the House of Orange) he inherited the principality of Neuchâtel (now a member of the Swiss Confederation). On the other hand, he gave back to the Emperor the Schwiebus Circle which his father acquired in Silesia, though the other Silesian claims of his House, which the Great Elector compounded for Schwiebus, were left open.

The retrocession of the Schwiebus Circle connects itself with the chief ambition and achievement of Frederick's rule. Pomp and ceremonialism were grateful to him. On her death-bed his wife found comfort in the thought that the arrangements for her funeral would afford him consolation for her demise! At their coronation she drew upon herself his shocked reprimand for marring the ritual by her habit of snuff-taking. But there were other reasons which commended to Frederick the assumption of a royal title. The Treaty of Westphalia had given a strong fillip to the development of

national aspirations in the several parts of the Empire, and Frederick himself witnessed some remarkable promotions to royal rank among his contemporaries. A count of Nassau found a throne across the English Channel in 1689. Hanover became an electorate in 1692, and its Electoral Prince George was heir to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1697 Augustus Elector of Saxony became king of Poland, and but for his death in 1699 the electoral prince of Bavaria might have become king of Spain. Unlike all save one of these, Frederick was, in respect of his duchy of Prussia, already sovereign in status, and the foreign policy of his reign was guided by his ambition to gain the royal title.

Frederick's first essay in foreign politics followed the traditions and policy of his father. His dispatch of troops to the United Netherlands, under the Huguenot refugee Marshal Schomberg, directly aided the English Revolution by making it possible for William to leave Holland. In the War of the Grand Alliance Prussian troops bore their part, and were engaged in the important recapture of Namur in 1695, though the concluding Peace of Ryswyk brought Frederick no reward. But the Emperor Leopold, in view of his intention to advance the Habsburg claims on the Spanish dominions, was induced unwillingly to agree to the "Crown Treaty" with Frederick (1700). Therein Leopold accorded royal status to Frederick. On his part Frederick undertook to furnish a force of 8000 men in the expected war, to vote for Austrian candidates at future Imperial elections, and generally to support Austrian interests in the Diet. In 1701 at Königsberg Frederick crowned himself and placed a diadem on the head of his wife. His independent status in Prussia naturally influenced him to attach the name of the duchy to his new dignity. At the same time, seeing that West Prussia belonged to Poland, the title "King of Prussia" was avoided, and Frederick called himself "King *in* Prussia." The acquisition of Polish Prussia in 1772 enabled the more comprehensive title to be adopted.

In the Northern war which Patkul engineered against Charles XII of Sweden Frederick took no active part. He had in fact already received the price of the support which he afforded the Emperor in the simultaneous War of the Spanish Succession. But the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), whose com-

pletion he did not live to see, disappointed his hopes of securing for Prussia the territories of the House of Orange. In addition to the compensations for his renunciation already mentioned, the treaty accorded to Prussia France and Spain's recognition of her royal status.

In the internal administration of his kingdom, if Frederick was prone to extravagance in his desire to uphold his new dignity, he by no means failed to contribute to the foundations which his father had laid and on which his grandson built. He maintained an army nearly twice as large as his father's. He was not regardless of the claims of science and letters. Academies of Arts and Science were established at Berlin, the University of Halle was founded (1694), and the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz gave distinction to the reign. To prevent encroachment upon Prussian sovereignty, appeals to courts outside Brandenburg-Prussia were forbidden, and a Supreme Court of Appeal was set up (1702) at Berlin. Frederick's wife, Sophia Charlotte, was the sister of George I, and their son, Frederick William I, married George I's daughter. A strain of Stewart blood therefore passed to Frederick the Great, whose character, however, gave no indication of his Stewart ancestry.

The second king in Prussia, Frederick William I (1713-40), stands in the greatest contrast both to his father and his more famous son. Unlike his father he had no taste for public ceremonial, cut down the expenses of the Prussian court, and preferred to entertain his particular friends with pipes and beer in his "Tobacco College," as his evening assemblies were styled. Unlike his son Frederick the Great he had not the ability to meddle actively in international politics. Yet in the development of the Prussian state he performed an indispensable service. He accumulated what was relatively a great treasure, completed the Great Elector's work by giving his country an administrative system which lasted until the Prussian monarchy was dismembered in 1807 (Peace of Tilsit), and put into the hands of his son, whom he hated and ill-used, an army which in discipline and efficiency was the finest in existence, and in size was surpassed only by those of France, Austria, and Russia.

In the striking "testament" which Frederick William drew up for his son's guidance he concisely estimated the character

of his own work: "I have regulated the country and the army." As to the first, taking the Great Elector as his model, he encouraged immigration, especially into the duchy of Prussia, and secured valuable colonists from among the Protestants of Salzburg whom their archbishop forced into exile. He instituted a careful management of the crown lands, enlarged the operation of the urban excise (which the Great Elector had instituted) to Prussia and elsewhere, extended the monopoly of the sale of salt, and materially increased the public revenue of the kingdom. He instituted at Berlin a central administrative Bureau called the *General-directorium*, or General Directory, divided into four Departments: Exchequer, Foreign Affairs, War, Justice. In connection with the first, subsidiary Chambers were set up in the provinces, and Councillors were appointed who brought the General Directory into the closest touch with provincial and municipal finance. From the municipalities was withdrawn almost entirely the right of self-government: the local councillor of taxes was their master; for the public revenue depended largely upon the urban excise, and the value of the latter depended upon the prosperity of the urban communities. Similar supervision existed in the counties. In the same way Councillors of war were appointed locally to superintend all matters relating to the army and its needs.

It was in his army that the king found his greatest pride and pleasure. Like Peter the Great he had his own regiment of playfellows when he was a boy. When he came to the throne he put the maintenance of a powerful army before every other public duty, and in his "testament" invoked the fate of Pharaoh upon his son should he ever dare to reduce the military establishment. "We do not conquer with the pen but by the sword," was a remark of his. Though he hardly used it and obtained the single territorial acquisition of his reign without firing a shot, his army was a standing army, and not, as his predecessors' had been, a war establishment mobilised only when foreign subsidies were forthcoming for its maintenance. Careful finance enabled him to maintain it at a strength of over 80,000 men, half of whom were his own subjects, an enormous burden for a State whose population was only about 2,000,000. Instead of relying, like his predecessors, upon voluntary enlistment, Frederick William

employed both impressment and what was virtually conscription. His sergeants gathered recruits from other parts of Germany and neighbouring countries, and did not shrink from kidnapping men of particularly fine physique for the king's own company of giant Guards, his only luxury! The University of Halle once remonstrated regarding one of its divinity students who had been seized in that manner. Among his subjects he inculcated the so-far unfamiliar doctrine, that their military service was at the disposal of the State. To each regiment was assigned its own recruiting area, within which each eligible lad ten years old was entered on the list of local recruits, took the military oath, and received a bunch of red feathers to wear in his cap. While it was necessary for the most part to exempt the middle-class for the pursuit of mercantile and other occupations necessary for the public welfare, the peasants and nobles were made to regard the army as their proper sphere. The latter were obliged to send their sons to military colleges, and the nation at large was taught to look for its aristocracy in the army. The conditions are maintained to-day. The discipline of the army was very severe and caused a large number of desertions, but it produced an efficiency unequalled in any other army in the period. The result was due above others to Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, the inventor of the iron ramrod, the introduction of which so greatly increased the rapidity of musket-fire.

In the general affairs of Europe Frederick William played a part by no means commensurate with the resources which he controlled. In the year of his accession the Treaty of Utrecht gave peace to Central Europe. But the Northern war, in which Charles XII of Sweden and Peter the Great were the protagonists, continued, and the Peace of Stockholm (1720) gave Prussia the islands of Usedom and Wollin and Upper West Pomerania between the Oder and the Peene, including Stettin, which Frederick William occupied early in his reign on payment of a sum of money to Peter the Great and his allies. Frederick William thus obtained without effort what his grandfather the Great Elector had striven to secure. In another direction he was less successful in realising the Great Elector's hopes. The latter had conceded (Treaty of Cleves, 1666) to the House of Neuburg the territories of Jülich and

Berg as its portion of the disputed Jülich-Cleves inheritance, and had obtained a promise of the succession of the Hohenzollerns to them in case of the extinction of the Neuburg House in the male line. In view of that contingency (which happened on the death of Charles Philip Elector Palatine in 1742) Frederick William was anxious that the compact of 1666 should be guaranteed. The Elector Palatine, on the other hand, desired to avoid his father's agreement in order that his successor in the electorate might not be weakened by their cession.

The War of the Polish Election, which broke out upon the death of Augustus II of Poland-Saxony in 1733, brought to a head the growing estrangement with Austria due to the Emperor's failure to secure for Frederick William the succession on which his heart was set. By the Treaty of Wüsterhausen (1726) the Emperor had promised to influence the Elector Palatine to recognise the claims of Prussia on Jülich and Berg. In return, Frederick William guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction and agreed to defend the Emperor's German territories if they were attacked. Two years later (1728) the Wüsterhausen compact was repeated and defined, Frederick William agreeing to furnish 10,000 men for the Emperor's support. But the death of Augustus II of Poland created a position which the Emperor and Frederick William viewed from different standpoints. The native candidate for the crown of Poland was Stanislaus Leszczyński, whom Charles XII had called to the Polish throne in 1704. As the father-in-law of Louis XV, France discerned in his election her first chance since the Peace of Utrecht to recover the influence in Europe which that treaty had taken from her. But neither Austria nor Prussia had any desire to see French influence established in Poland, while the candidature of Augustus, the son of the late king, whom the Emperor supported, was not grateful to Frederick William. It was to Prussia's interest that Poland should be as weak as possible, since some day it would be necessary to challenge Poland's possession of West Prussia. Prussia therefore had no desire to see Poland and Saxony united. Frederick William, however, furnished to the Emperor the troops which he had promised, and with his son took part in the campaign of 1734 with Prince Eugene. In the next year Charles VI made

peace (Peace of Vienna, 1735) with France on terms to which Frederick William objected. Augustus of Saxony was acknowledged king of Poland, the Empire was weakened by the cession to France of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and the treaty was negotiated behind Prussia's back. Four years later Charles VI came to an agreement (1739) with France which secured to the Sulzbach heir of the Neuburg House provisional occupation of the duchies of Jülich and Berg. Frederick William therefore had abundant reason to resent the conduct of Charles VI, and his son Frederick the Great amply avenged him.

Frederick William died in May, 1740. The Emperor Charles VI, who had so wofully disappointed him, died in the following October. Before the end of the same momentous year Frederick the Great invaded Silesia, and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) began.

The death of Charles VI, the last male descendant of Charles V, brought the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg to an end in the male line, just as the death of Charles II of Spain forty years earlier terminated the Spanish branch of that House. Like the Prussian territories, those of the House of Habsburg were scattered, and were united only in their allegiance to a common ruler. They consisted of: (1) the archduchy of Austria, (2) the kingdom of Bohemia with its dependencies Silesia and Moravia, (3) the kingdom of Hungary with its dependencies, Croatia and Transylvania, (4) the Belgic Netherlands, and (5) the Italian provinces. In Italy the situation had altered since the Treaty of Rastatt (1714) after the War of the Spanish Succession. By that treaty Charles VI received the duchy of Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Tuscan ports. But the Treaty of Vienna (1735) made important changes. Austria, who in 1720 exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, abandoned both Naples and Sicily to Charles, the son of Philip V of Spain and Elizabeth Farnese. She found compensation in the duchy of Parma and Piacenza which Charles vacated, and in the grand-duchy of Tuscany, which the Treaty promised to Charles VI's son-in-law, Francis of Lorraine, on the death (1737) of Giovanni Gastone, the last of the Medici dukes. The settlement was on the whole favourable to Austria, and a bitter disappointment to Elizabeth Farnese, the wife of Philip V of Spain.

In spite of some diminution of prestige since the days of Charles V, the Habsburg dominions under Charles VI were large and imposing. But like his brother and predecessor Joseph I, Charles was without male issue. To meet such a contingency their father Leopold I had made (1703) a disposition in favour of female in default of male succession, the daughters of his elder son Joseph (who were married to the Electors Augustus III of Poland-Saxony and Charles Albert of Bavaria) being preferred to those of his younger son Charles VI (of whom the elder, Maria Theresa, was the wife of Francis duke of Lorraine, who succeeded to the grand-duchy of Tuscany in 1737). Charles VI, however, disregarding his father's wishes, devised (1713) a secret family law, ultimately published as the "Pragmatic Sanction," in which he gave his own daughters priority over those of his brother, and declared his dominions to be whole and indivisible. From thenceforward it was his chief care to gain as wide a recognition as possible of the Pragmatic Sanction in order to secure Maria Theresa's succession in Germany, Italy, and Belgium. The Imperial dignity she could not hold.

In the effort to establish the Pragmatic Sanction Charles naturally first approached his own family, then the Estates of his dominions, and finally the European powers who might be tempted to make his difficulty their opportunity. His two nieces gave the required pledge. Augustus III of Saxony-Poland did so to procure Charles's assistance in securing the throne of Poland (1733). But Charles Albert of Bavaria, a Habsburg by descent, advanced a personal claim in respect of the will of Ferdinand I, which he alleged to have settled the Habsburg succession in the Bavarian House in default of "heirs male" to the senior line. Though the will when produced was found to make provision only for the failure of "legitimate" heirs, Charles Albert did not withdraw his claim. The Estates of his several dominions gave Charles VI their assent, and thereupon his disposition was publicly promulgated as the "Pragmatic Sanction" (1724). Charles proceeded to invite international recognition of it. Spain (in return for Charles's formal recognition of her Bourbon dynasty), France, Russia, Prussia (hoping for Jülich and Berg), the United Netherlands, the Diet of the Empire, and Sardinia, among others, accepted it. But the acquiescence

of Europe was gained at some sacrifice. The cession of Lorraine in the War of the Polish Election bought France's guarded guarantee. Spain, who had been the first to accept the Pragmatic, was bribed by the cession of Naples and Sicily. Russia's recognition was gained only by Austria's participation in the war against Turkey, and her loss of Wallachia and Servia must be added to the cost which the international ratification of the Pragmatic entailed.

But Charles neglected the best means to insure his daughter's peaceful accession. Unlike his contemporary Frederick William, he did nothing to give cohesion to his dominions. Their administrative system was medieval and inefficient. The finances were in disorder and in no condition to bear the strain of a prolonged contest. The army was reduced to about half its normal size, and its ill-fortunes in the War of the Polish Election and against Turkey had broken its spirit. Yet it was reasonably certain, in spite of the international guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, that a powerful army alone could secure respect for its provisions. For the number of those interested to destroy it was large. Saxony-Poland coveted Moravia. Bavaria, in addition to a claim on the whole Habsburg heritage, was anxious to acquire Bohemia. Spain hoped to secure further spoils at Austria's expense in Italy. France, as in the days of Louis XIV, looked longingly towards the Belgic Netherlands. Frederick's sudden invasion of Silesia therefore was not likely to lack imitators. Only Great Britain, the United Provinces, and Russia stood to their guarantees in active support of Maria Theresa.

The pretext for Frederick's sudden invasion of Silesia was the Hohenzollern claim on Brieg, Liegnitz, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf in that province, which had been kept open when the Schwiebus Circle was surrendered to the Emperor. Frederick's action was so unexpected, so faithless to his father's pledges and to his own professions to Maria Theresa, that Silesia was occupied without resistance, and at Mollwitz (1741) Frederick first displayed the wonderful qualities of the Prussian infantry. Seeing Prussia already in the field, Charles Albert of Bavaria (with whom France and Spain made agreements), Saxony, and Sardinia (who soon went over to Maria Theresa) also assumed the offensive against Austria.

The War of the Austrian Succession, as it is called, lasted

for eight years, and was concluded by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). It was fought in three different areas and involved many interests and issues. In Germany Maria Theresa was fighting to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction and to resist the spoliation of her territories by Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony. To an astonishing extent she succeeded; for Frederick alone gained appreciably by the war, though Charles Albert of Bavaria (Charles VII) was elected Emperor by the anti-Habsburg coalition in 1742. He held the honour briefly, and on his death in 1745 it passed to Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I (1745-65). Early in the war Austria found it necessary to leave Frederick in possession of Lower Silesia (Convention of Klein-Schnellendorff, 1741) in order to free her army to act against Charles Albert. Frederick required its definitive cession, and after his second victory at Chotusitz (1742) accepted the Treaty of Berlin (1742), which yielded to him Upper and Lower Silesia, including Glatz. But the Treaty of Worms (1743) between Great Britain, Austria, and Sardinia convinced Frederick that his possession of Silesia was threatened, and in 1744 the Second Silesian War began. Saxony meanwhile had become the ally of Austria, and after winning victories at Hohenfriedberg (1745) and Sohr (1745) Frederick imposed on Maria Theresa the Peace of Dresden (1745), which confirmed to him Upper and Lower Silesia with Glatz. Three years later, by the concluding Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Frederick was left in possession of what his audacity had won.

The second area of the war was in Italy, where Maria Theresa and the king of Savoy-Sardinia were on their defence against Spain and France. The concluding Peace of 1748 yielded to Philip, the younger son of Elizabeth Farnese, the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, which Austria surrendered after only fifteen years' possession. Savoy advanced her eastern frontier to the Ticino.

The third area of the war was wider than the others. The chief protagonists in it were France and Great Britain, and their quarrel (which is treated in the following chapter) was fought out on the Ocean, in India, and the New World. The two countries also faced each other in Europe, where George II and a Pragmatic Army won the battle of Dettingen (1743) and the duke of Cumberland lost that of Fontenoy

(1745). In Scotland the Jacobites again rose, and the Young Pretender's defeat at Culloden (1746) proved to be the end of his cause. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle bound France to evacuate the Austrian Netherlands; though the Dutch, to Maria Theresa's annoyance, retained the right conveyed by the Peace of Utrecht to garrison the barrier fortresses.

To none of the chief belligerents was the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle more than a truce. Maria Theresa refused to regard the loss of Silesia as irrevocable, and suspected Frederick of further designs upon her dominions. Great Britain, awake to the vital character of the world-duel which she was waging with France in the New World and India, regarded the Peace as a postponement of the final trial of strength. Frederick was aware that his acquisition of Silesia would be challenged by Austria at the first opportunity. And he was already calculating other spoils; for, drawn up in the interval between the Peace of 1748 and the renewal of war in 1756, his "testament" indicated the need to acquire the electorate of Saxony, West Prussia, and West or Swedish Pomerania. In France the Peace of 1748 was received with indignation. Her alliance had given Silesia to Frederick, and spoils in Italy to the kindred Bourbon dynasty in Spain. But France herself had gained nothing, and the market-women of Paris found a new formula of insult in the phrase "Ugly as peace."

When the truce ended in 1756 and the Seven Years' War (1756-63) broke out, the belligerents were no longer grouped as they had been in 1748. A reversal of alliances or "Diplomatic Revolution" had taken place which transferred France to the side of her traditional foe Austria, and Great Britain to that of Prussia. The cause of this shifting of European relationships was the appearance of Prussia among the Great Powers, a position which her success in the War of the Austrian Succession had gained her. Ever since the rivalry of Francis I and Charles V in the sixteenth century the interests of France dictated opposition to the dominant power in Germany. The recent war suggested that Prussia had supplanted Austria in that position, and the contemptuous references of Frederick to Louis XV and his favourite M^{me} de Pompadour further stimulated Louis to join the Habsburg camp. Great Britain, anxious to fight France on the most favourable terms in India and America, turned naturally to the

Power which could most easily check France on the continent. As to Austria, Maria Theresa, who is said to have been unable to restrain her tears when she saw a Silesian, reconciled herself to alliance with her old enemy France, whose friendship would relieve her of anxiety regarding the Netherlands, and whose military resources would aid her more directly to recover Silesia than Great Britain's naval strength.

The circumstances which led to a regrouping of alliances began in America, where the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left the boundary of French and British territory ill-defined. After that treaty the French proceeded to link up Canada and Louisiana by a series of forts. Alarmed at France's activity, a detachment of Virginians under George Washington was sent to build a fort on the Ohio in 1754, but suffered defeat at Great Meadows soon after. In India France and Great Britain, though nominally at peace, were acting as the auxiliaries of native princes. It was clear that the colonial quarrel would soon extend to Europe, and with a view to securing the safety of Hanover, George II made an agreement (1755) with Russia to subsidise her troops against Prussia in case of war. To further assure the protection of the electorate, Great Britain desired Austria to strengthen her military garrison in the Netherlands. Austria refused, and Great Britain turned to Prussia, the only alternative. Frederick's treaty with France was about to expire (May, 1756). It had proved satisfactory to neither side. Frederick had not been a reliable ally and had withdrawn his troops after the first and second Silesian wars. Frederick, on his part, reflected that if the Franco-Prussian alliance continued he would be aiding France's anti-German designs in Hanover, and would expose himself to the combined hostility of Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. He therefore resolved to discard his alliance with France, and early in 1756 signed the Convention of Westminster, or Whitehall, with Great Britain. The two contracting parties mutually guaranteed their territories and engaged to take up arms against any power which should invade Germany.

The Anglo-Prussian agreement placed Austria in danger of isolation. Ever since the peace negotiations in 1748, the Austrian Chancellor Kaunitz had advocated an alliance with France rather than Great Britain. In 1750 he went as am-

bassador to Paris to foster the idea, but with little success. The Convention of Westminster, however, rendered its adoption inevitable, and in the very month in which the Franco-Prussian alliance expired (May, 1756) France and Austria ratified the Treaty of Versailles. France undertook to respect the Austrian Netherlands, and both Powers promised assistance if the other were attacked. By a secret clause they agreed that if either was attacked by a Power allied to England, in other words Prussia, the other would intervene. To the fundamental interests of France the Treaty was fatal. It deprived her of all chance of recouping herself in the Netherlands for the losses she might incur in her colonial struggle with Great Britain. As the ally of Austria in Europe she bound herself to fight for her old rival's protection or aggrandisement without hope of return. By dividing her resources she sacrificed both of the objects before her; for in the war that followed she lost her colonial empire in India and America, and failed to recover Silesia for her ally. A year later, after Frederick's sudden invasion of Saxony, France and Austria in a second Treaty of Versailles (1757) pledged themselves not to lay down their arms until Silesia and Glatz were resorted to Austria, and Magdeburg and Halberstadt to Sweden. Russia also, resenting Great Britain's desertion, joined Austria to bring about Prussia's humiliation. The "Family Compact" (1761) between France and Spain bound the latter to enter the war. Sweden also at the instigation of France joined the number of Frederick's foes.

Aware that Maria Theresa intended to attack him so soon as her arrangements were complete, Frederick struck first and suddenly. In the summer of 1756 he invaded Saxony and forced the Saxon army to capitulate at Pirna. The Seven Years' War which followed was fought in three chief areas. Great Britain and France brought their colonial quarrel to its conclusion. In Western Germany Hanover was the object of French attack. Defeated at Hastenbeck (1757) the duke of Cumberland, who was in command in Hanover, accepted the Convention of Klosterzeven (1757), which compelled him to disband his army and exposed Hanover and Prussia to French attack. Disregarding the Convention, however, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took Cumberland's place, freed Hanover from French occupation, and drove the

French across the Rhine (1758). His victory at Minden in 1759 placed Hanover in safety until the end of the war. Against these successes must be set the loss of Minorca to the French in 1756.

The third, and from the point of view of continental interests the most important, area of the war was in central and eastern Germany, where Frederick single-handed, but fortified by large British subsidies, faced the Austrians, Swedes, and Russians. After his invasion of Saxony in 1756 Frederick passed into Bohemia, which he proposed to offer Augustus in exchange for Saxony. Beaten by the Austrians at Kolin (1757) Frederick evacuated Bohemia, and before the year closed, routed the "Combined Army" of French and Germans at Rossbach in Saxony and the Austrians at Leuthen in Silesia. In 1758 the battle of Zorndorf saved Brandenburg from Russian attack. In 1759 the combined Russians and Austrians defeated Frederick at Kunersdorf, another Prussian army capitulated at Maxen, and Frederick seemed to be at the end of his resources. None the less in 1760 he was able to put 100,000 men into the field, with whom he won the battles of Liegnitz against the Austrians in Silesia and Torgau in Saxony, the last in the war. The awful losses of men and treasure were telling on Prussia, and after the fall of Pitt (1761) English subsidies ceased. The accession (1762) of Tsar Peter III, a devoted admirer of Frederick, who withdrew Russia from the anti-Prussian coalition, alone saved Frederick. In 1763 Austria and Saxony made peace with Prussia on the principle of *status quo ante bellum* (Peace of Hubertusburg), Prussia retaining Silesia and Glatz. France and Great Britain had already made terms in the Peace of Paris. The concessions which France and Spain made to Great Britain in India, North America, and the West Indies are detailed in the next chapter. In Europe, Minorca was restored by France to Great Britain.

The Seven Years' War had far-reaching results. To Great Britain it gave a colonial supremacy which not even the loss of her American colonies twenty years later interrupted. It established irrevocably the pre-eminence of Prussia within the Empire, and paved the way for the unity which Germany acquired under Prussia's leadership a century later. By France the Peace of Paris was denounced as "the dis-

graceful peace." She had lost her colonies, her marine, and her influence in Europe. She was bankrupt, and ill-government had rendered Louis XV and the monarchy unpopular. His successor Louis XVI reaped the harvest of his grandfather's misrule and disaster in the Revolution.

In the generation that followed the Peace of Hubertusburg the area of the Prussian kingdom was still further increased, and its population was nearly doubled, by territorial acquisitions won by negotiation rather than by force. This expansion, carried out by Frederick the Great in the later years of his reign and by his nephew Frederick William II (1786-97), was the result of three unscrupulous partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795.

The Polish "republic" had been formed by the union of the old kingdom of Poland and the grand-duchy of Lithuania towards the close of the fourteenth century (1386). It possessed no natural frontiers other than its Baltic shore, and its population was a medley of peoples—Poles in the centre, Germans in the west, Lithuanians and Russians in the east, whose differing religions added to the causes which prevented national cohesion. The Germans were Protestants, the Poles and Lithuanians were Roman Catholics, and the Russians belonged to the Orthodox or Eastern Church. None the less Poland played a great part in medieval history. But her greatness declined with the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty on the death of Sigismund II in 1572. The Polish nobles took the opportunity to make the monarchy elective, and at each succeeding election exacted conditions which deprived it of real power. In the seventeenth century Poland lost many of her provinces to Sweden, Brandenburg, and Russia, and under her two Saxon kings (1697-1764) was in a state of anarchy. It seemed hardly possible that she could avoid dismemberment, and both Charles X of Sweden and the Great Elector contemplated it. On the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski in 1764 the end came rapidly. His election was due to the influence of Catharine II of Russia, who demanded that his Orthodox and Protestant subjects should be admitted by the Roman Catholic majority to the political rights which were denied them. Russia took measures to enforce her request, and the southern Poles formed the Confederation of Bar to protect their religion and indepen-

dence. A Russian force was sent to deal with the confederates, whom it pursued into Turkish territory. Thereupon Turkey, instigated by France, who was anxious to prevent the impending dissolution of Poland, declared war against Russia (1768). The ensuing victories of the Russians caused great alarm in Austria, and there was grave danger that she would be driven to war in order to remove the Russians from her southern frontier.

The threatened war of Turkey and Austria against Russia was not in the interest of Frederick. He feared either that he might be drawn into it as the ally of Russia (with whom he had made a defensive alliance for eight years in 1764), or that Austria and Russia might compose their differences and divide Poland between them. He therefore suggested to Maria Theresa's son Joseph II (1765-90) a triple division of Poland. With many qualms Maria Theresa agreed, and in 1772 the First Partition Treaty was signed by the three Powers. Prussia took West (or Polish) Prussia and Ermeland, but without the commercial centres Danzig and Thorn, and changed the title of her sovereignty from "King in Prussia" to "King of Prussia." Austria took Galicia, and Russia received Polish Livonia and part of Lithuania. Summoned to ratify the partition, the Polish Diet submitted to a display of force, and Stanislaus, entirely dependent on Russia, continued as nominal sovereign of what remained of the kingdom. In 1791 the nobles, to avert the doom which otherwise awaited their country, promulgated a constitution and converted Poland into a hereditary monarchy. Catharine II at once invaded Poland, and by agreement with Prussia the Second Partition followed. It allotted Great or South Prussia, Posen, Thorn, and Danzig to Prussia. Russia acquired the Polish Ukraine and a great strip of Lithuania contiguous to her acquisition in 1772. A Polish rising under Kosciusko gave a pretext for the last scene in the dismal drama. In 1795 all that remained of Poland submitted to the Third Partition between Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Prussia took as her share New East Prussia with the capital Warsaw, a region which in 1815 was formed into a kingdom under Russian protection, and in 1832 was absorbed by Russia.

Her acquisitions at the expense of Poland mark the extreme

expansion of Prussia in Eastern Europe. Her progress to that point was rapid and extraordinary. But the French Revolution had already broken out, and in the new and critical era which that event opened it was the misfortune of Prussia that able rulers failed her. Before she entered on her culminating period of greatness she experienced the disaster of Jena (1806) and the dismemberment of her monarchy by the Treaty of Tilsit (1807).

CHAPTER XI

GREATER BRITAIN

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the European wars of the last quarter of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century a colonial contest between the maritime powers took place, which developed into a duel between France and Great Britain. It terminated in the Seven Years' War, in which the statesmanship of Lord Chatham and the military genius of Wolfe and Clive destroyed Greater France and placed Greater Britain in absolute colonial supremacy.

In an earlier chapter England's part in the era of maritime discovery has been followed. The discoveries of Spain and Portugal revealed to Europe the riches of America and the Far East. Both were the exclusive monopoly of the countries which discovered them, and the sixteenth century closed without any other European country having established factories in India or colonies in America, though England and France had made the attempt in the latter. But in the seventeenth century Spain and Portugal were no longer able to maintain their monopoly. England, France, and Holland gained a portion of it for themselves, and a struggle ensued among them for supremacy in the New World and India out of which Great Britain emerged victorious in 1763.

In the growth of England the accession of the Stewarts in 1603 forms a notable landmark. Two processes followed from it, one of which produced the internal union of the three kingdoms, of England with Scotland in 1707, and of Great Britain with Ireland in 1800. The other developed Greater Britain, whose foundations Clive and Wolfe established permanently in 1763. Both in America and India the external expansion of England began in the seventeenth century. France made her appearance as England's rival in America and India in the same period.

In the seventeenth century England founded twelve colonies on the North American coast. A thirteenth, Georgia, was established in 1732. They formed the nucleus of the present United States and were lost to the mother country in the American War of Independence towards the close of the eighteenth century. When that event occurred they occupied the Atlantic littoral, and even that restricted area they shared originally with others; France in Acadia, an ill-defined region corresponding to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Gaspé; Spain in Florida; the Dutch in New Netherland (1626) on the Hudson; and the Swedes on the Delaware (1638).

The thirteen colonies are divisible into three groups, distinct in their characteristics and the causes of their settlement. The *Southern Group* included five colonies: Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the main their foundation was due to economic causes, though the earlier conception of colonies as centres of missionary effort and ore-bearing areas was not wanting. The Puritan tyranny in England and the royalist exiles it sent forth gave the southern group social and political characteristics which placed it in contrast with the northern. But the desire to find an outlet for the growing population of England, to increase her trade, and to develop her naval strength, were the dominant motives in the foundation of the group. To promote them a Company was formed in 1606 with two branches, one quartered at London, the other supported chiefly in the West of England and known unofficially as the Plymouth Company. The two were licensed to establish settlements between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, that is, between Florida and Acadia.

The settlement of *Virginia*, the first of the English colonies, was the work of the London Company, which sent out a band of emigrants to Jamestown in 1607, and named the settlement in honour of James I. The most capable of the emigrants was Captain John Smith, who gained the friendship of the Indian chief Powhatan, the father of the famous Pocahontas who visited England and was presented at court. The colony slowly surmounted the difficulties caused by the unsatisfactory character of the first settlers and their relations with the Indians. The cultivation of tobacco began, men of

standing associated themselves with the colony, and in 1619 the governor summoned a representative Assembly, the eldest daughter of the Mother of Parliaments. Four years later (1623) the colony was taken out of the hands of the London Company, and thenceforth its government assumed a form which became a pattern for the future. It consisted of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, and a two-chambered legislature, one nominated, the other elected. The colony's chief industry was the culture of the tobacco plant, and the plantations were cultivated by imported slave labour. For, after the death of Powhatan, his successor pursued the settlers with fierce hatred, and a long war led either to the extermination or dispersion of the Indians.

Maryland, the second colony of the southern group in order of foundation, had an origin very different from that of Virginia. In 1632 the first Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, received from Charles I a grant of the territory immediately north of Virginia. He had already attempted to settle in Newfoundland and Virginia, and died in the very year of the royal grant to him. The grant, which conveyed territorial rights and the power to legislate and to tax, was continued to his son. The Church of England was recognised, but other sects were tolerated, and a constitution of the usual type was conferred. The colony took form in 1634 on the settlement of the first colonists. It was named Maryland in honour of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I.

The third and fourth colonies of the southern group, *North* and *South Carolina*, differed both from Virginia and Maryland in the causes of their foundation. The territory they occupied lay between Virginia and Spanish Florida, and included the region in which Raleigh had planted his abandoned colony. In 1629 it was granted to Sir Robert Heath, who named it Carolina in honour of the king. Colonists found their way to it from New England, Virginia, and elsewhere. It was already largely occupied when in 1663 Charles II granted it to a small body of proprietors, who divided it into two provinces.

Georgia, the fifth and last colony of the southern group, was founded by General James Oglethorpe mainly to provide an asylum for insolvent debtors after their discharge from prison. Having secured from the Crown a grant of land south

of the Savannah river, Oglethorpe brought out to it in 1732 the first batch of colonists. The territory they occupied was alleged by Spain to be hers, and the establishment of the colony was among the causes of the Anglo-Spanish "Jenkins's Ear War" in 1739. After its conclusion Georgia was converted into a Crown colony (1752) with the customary constitution.

The *Middle Group* consisted of four colonies: New York, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It differed from the other groups in the fact that it was captured from European countries. Both the Dutch and Swedes had founded settlements in the region. But in 1655 the Swedish colony was seized by New Netherland, and nine years later (1664) both were captured by England, whose conquest was confirmed by the Treaty of Breda (1667). Charles II granted the region to his brother, James duke of York. New Amsterdam became *New York*, and the district between the Hudson and the Delaware, which was granted by James to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, became known as *New Jersey*, in memory of Berkeley's defence of Jersey against the Long Parliament. It was largely peopled by fugitives from New Haven seeking to avoid incorporation with Connecticut. As to New York, its population had always been of a cosmopolitan character and remained so. The acquisition of the whole region was of great importance; for it enabled the English colonists in the south to join hands with the Puritan group in the north; it secured the friendship of the Indian confederation of Five Nations, or Iroquois, who proved such bitter enemies to the French in Canada; and obtained in the Hudson waterway a route which led right into the heart of French Canada. Included in the territory conquered from the Dutch was a tract which the Swedes had occupied on the south of the Delaware. It formed part of the original grant to Maryland, but the concession had not been taken up. In 1682 it was conveyed by Charles II to William Penn, in discharge of his claim against the Crown for £16,000, and became the colony of *Pennsylvania*. To the east of it, upon the coast, Penn organised a separate settlement which, in 1703, became the colony of *Delaware*. In both Pennsylvania and Delaware Penn's co-religionists the Quakers were predominant.

The *Northern Group*, or New England, consisted of four

colonies: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire. It stands apart from the rest; for it was formed by men who emigrated to establish particular political and religious principles. Unlike the southern group, in which there was a large admixture of negroes, and the middle group, whose population was cosmopolitan, the northern colonies were almost exclusively English, and were drawn chiefly from the eastern counties where Puritanism was most strongly entrenched. Its geographical position involved the group especially in conflict with Canada, while its political traditions caused it to take the lead in the War of Independence.

Massachusetts and New England alike date from 1620, when a band of Puritans, the "Pilgrim Fathers," landed in Massachusetts Bay and founded Plymouth, under a mutual and solemn agreement "to combine themselves into a civil body politic." It had been their intention to settle in the south within the jurisdiction of the London Company, which had recently planted Virginia. But their ship, the *Mayflower*, was driven from its course and landed them within the province of the Plymouth Company, which had achieved nothing since its foundation fourteen years before and was now in process of reconstruction. The exiles therefore were able to establish at Plymouth a community free from external control, and in 1627 discharged their obligations to the English merchants who had financed the undertaking. Other settlements were made in the same region. In 1628 six influential English Puritans obtained from the New England Company (the reconstructed Plymouth Company) the territory adjacent to Massachusetts Bay, and in the next year (1629) received a royal charter of incorporation as the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." The associates were not required to hold their meetings in London, a fact which contributed to the easy transference of the Company's head-quarters and administration to the colony itself, and facilitated the rapid transformation of a trading company into a self-governing colony. Nor did the charter make any reservation regarding the Crown's supervision of the laws passed by the Assembly which the colonists were empowered to elect. Charles in fact was not eager to place difficulties in the way of a venture which promised to take the Puritans out of the country.

Before the end of 1630 the Company landed a large number of emigrants in Massachusetts Bay and founded Boston, thenceforth the capital. Within four years the colony numbered sixteen townships, and by 1640 its population had increased to 20,000. From Plymouth (which was ultimately incorporated into Massachusetts) and elsewhere adventurers passed into the districts north and south of the colony in the Bay. In *Connecticut* three such settlements formed themselves into a separate colony in 1633, and held the frontier against the Dutch colony until its fall thirty years later. *Rhode Island*, or Providence, as it first was called, was colonised by religious exiles from Massachusetts, who secured (1647) territorial rights from the Long Parliament and formed themselves into a separate colony. The last and most northerly of the New England colonies, *New Hampshire*, was formed by the fusion of scattered settlements of traders and religious exiles. Among them was a body of associates who obtained land at the mouth of the river Piscataqua, to the southern portion of which one of the proprietors appears to have given the name New Hampshire. Maine, the wider district to the north, was eventually annexed by Massachusetts.

Besides her settlements on the American mainland, which she lost in the American War of Independence, England made other acquisitions in the same period. Her claims on Newfoundland, based on the Cabots' discovery, were maintained, though every effort to colonise the island, notably those of Humphry Gilbert and Lord Baltimore, failed. In Acadia, where the French preceded the English in the attempt to colonise, James I made a grant of Nova Scotia, co-extensive with the French province, to Sir William Alexander of Menstrie (1621), which led to no permanent result. By the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1632) Acadia was left in the hands of France, and remained in her possession for more than eighty years longer. In 1670 the Hudson Bay Company received a huge concession in Prince Rupert's Land, which the French challenged. In the West Indies the Lesser Antilles first attracted England's attention. Barbados was declared English in 1605 and was occupied twenty years later (1624). St. Kitts was actually the first of the group to be occupied (1623), and two years later (1625) was divided between the English and French. By the year 1650 the English islands among the

Lesser Antilles (the Leeward and Windward Islands) were Anguilla, Barbuda, Antigua, Barbados, St. Kitts or St. Christopher (with France), Nevis, and Montserrat. To the north of the Greater Antilles the English held the Bermudas and Bahamas. Until the colonial war with France broke out towards the close of the seventeenth century, the only notable additions to England's possessions among the islands were Jamaica (1655) and the Virgin Isles (1672).

Within the period in which the English colonies were fringing the North American coast, France built up in Canada a colony whose expansion threatened to absorb the vast territories beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and to confine the English to the coast. French interest in Canada, awakened by the voyages of Jacques Cartier, revived with Samuel Champlain, who in 1604 sailed to Acadia with the Huguenot de Monts. The latter held a commission as Lieutenant of the King "in the country of La Cadie" (Acadia) and between the 40th and 46th degrees of northern latitude. Two years later James I assigned the same region to the Plymouth Company. Hence arose disputes which the cession of Acadia to Great Britain terminated. In 1605 Champlain made a small settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis) in Acadia, and sailing up the St. Lawrence, established (1608) a *habitation* or fortified store on the rocky promontory which the Indians called Quebec, signifying the "narrowing" of the great river at that point. Champlain possessed the characteristics which differentiated New France from the English colonies, namely, the desire at once to convert and to trade with the Indians. Both ambitions encouraged the rapid territorial expansion of Canada, and made its history so different from that of the English colonies, which thought chiefly of developing the territory originally occupied by them. Champlain pushed across the St. Lawrence and explored the lake which bears his name, an enterprise which brought him into conflict with the Iroquois or Five Nations, and founded the hostility which thereafter they showed towards the French. Champlain also established Montreal as an advanced station for the fur-trade with the Indians.

Thus, contemporary with the struggles of the early English settlers in Virginia, the French were on the St. Lawrence and in the interior. In 1627 Richelieu, in the interests of French commerce and for the encouragement of the mercantile

marine, was induced by Champlain to found the "Company of New France." It received possession of the soil from Florida to the Arctic Circle, saving the supremacy of the Crown, and a trade monopoly from which only the cod and whale fisheries were excepted. In return the Company bound itself to send out to Canada at least 4000 French Catholics, and, with an eye to missionary work among the Indians, to provide three ecclesiastics for each *habitation*. The Company's foundation coincided with Buckingham's intervention on behalf of the Huguenots, and the English colonists seized the opportunity to protest against France's infringement of English charters in America. Both Port Royal and Quebec were taken, but were restored by the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632. Canada thereafter progressed slowly. Very few colonists came out. In 1640, when the New England colonists numbered 20,000, New France could muster only 200 settlers and perhaps twice that number of soldiers. Twenty years later the whole French population of the colony was under 3000. At length, weakened and disheartened by the persistent enmity of the Iroquois, the Company surrendered its charter (1663).

A more hopeful chapter in the history of New France opened with the foundation (1664) of the Company of the West, which received the monopoly of trade with New France, the West Indies, the South American coast, and the African coast from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. Under Colbert's enlightened supervision the career of the Company opened hopefully, though the capture of the Dutch colonies on the Hudson in the year of its foundation deprived France of the chance of securing a second gate of entry into Canada, the other, the St. Lawrence, being ice-bound for half the year. The Iroquois, after two vigorous campaigns, made peace (1666) and kept it for nearly twenty years. Systematic exploration of the vast continent began. La Salle, the greatest of the French explorers, followed the Mississippi to its outflow in the Gulf of Mexico in 1682, and named the country Louisiana in honour of Louis XIV. In the years that followed, the construction of a series of French forts between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico threatened to confine the English to the coast, a danger from which the eighteenth century struggle with France saved them,

In the West Indies the French Company of St. Christopher was reconstituted in 1635 as the Company of the Isles of America, with jurisdiction over the Gulf of Mexico. In addition to St. Kitts, jointly held with the English, the French took possession of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Désirade, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Marie-Galante. The small island Tortuga, north of Hispaniola, became the headquarters of the French buccaneers. When Richelieu died in 1642 the French Antilles, in marked contrast to French Canada, could boast a large and prosperous population of some 7000. By the middle of the eighteenth century they had developed a trade which exceeded that of the English islands in value, and in 1763 the wisdom of demanding Guadeloupe in return for the retrocession of Canada was seriously considered by Great Britain.

Such was the situation of the French and English in the New World when the War of the Grand Alliance in Europe (1689) involved them in North America in a struggle which lasted for three-quarters of a century and destroyed France's colonial power on the mainland. At the outset there was little to indicate such a collapse as probable. The French pushed their advance unchecked into the interior and towards the Gulf of Mexico. The English colonies, which received only intermittent assistance from the mother country, showed little ability to recognise the significance of the French advance or to combine in a common effort to resist it.

In the War of the Grand Alliance, or Frontenac's War (so-called after the French governor of Canada), an expedition from Massachusetts under Sir William Phipps, the first Governor of the colony appointed by the Crown, was dispatched against Acadia, captured Port Royal (1690), but failed to surprise Quebec. On the other side, Frontenac raided Newfoundland, and also broke the power of the Iroquois, who after a long period of rest had again taken the war-path. The Peace of Ryswyk (1697) restored the *status quo ante bellum*.

Five years of peace intervened between the conclusion of Frontenac's War and the opening of its successor, Queen Anne's War, which was contemporary with the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe. Forts had been erected by the French on Lake Ontario (Fort Frontenac, and Fort Niagara), and the building of Fort Detroit on Lake Erie

carried Canada a step nearer to her junction with Louisiana. Of the war itself the only notable events were the final capture of Port Royal (1710), which was renamed Annapolis in honour of the queen, and an unsuccessful attempt to capture Quebec.

The Peace of Utrecht, however, exacted from France concessions out of proportion to her actual losses in America, where Louis sacrificed the real interests of France in order to establish his grandson in Spain. France abandoned her claims on the Hudson Bay territories and Newfoundland, ceded Acadia, evacuated St. Kitts, and recognised as British subjects the Iroquois, who at the beginning of the war had made an assignment of their lands to William III.

The Peace of Utrecht bristled with points which threatened a renewal of war between the two nations. The boundaries between the Hudson Bay Company's territory and Canada were left undetermined, and the French sought to restrict the cession of Acadia to Nova Scotia. Newfoundland was abandoned to Great Britain, but fishing rights thereon were reserved to the French, the source of much friction in the future. The islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence also remained in the possession of France. The most important of them, Cape Breton and Île de St. Jean (Prince Edward Isle), so far had not attracted settlers. But after 1713 Acadian exiles were drawn to them. Louisbourg was built and fortified on Cape Breton, and to mark its enhanced importance the island was renamed Île Royale. Louisbourg obviously menaced the British Acadian shore, and in another direction the Peace of Utrecht threatened trouble. By the *Asiento* Great Britain received for a period of thirty years (1713-43) a monopoly of the slave trade between Africa and Spain's American possessions. The concession was vested in the English South Sea Company, which also received permission to send annually a ship of 500 tons' burden with a miscellaneous cargo to Spanish America, a concession whose interpretation led to the outbreak of war between the two countries shortly before the term of the *Asiento* expired.

After the Peace of Utrecht the British colonies steadily progressed. Their population trebled and stood at one and a half millions in 1755. Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and other educational foundations took their places by the side of the older Harvard. Canada showed no such advance, and blindly

refused admission to hundreds of Huguenot exiles, who betook themselves instead to the Carolinas, a region hallowed by the memories of earlier French exiles for religion's sake. None the less the wide scheme of French expansion in the West went forward. New Orleans was founded at the mouth of the Mississippi (1718), and the construction of forts along the great river's course strengthened France's hold on the interior. The erection of Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario was Great Britain's only effort to counter the steady advance of her rival.

In 1739, when the *Asiento* still had four years to run, the differences arising out of it led Spain and Great Britain into a war which broadened into a renewed contest with France. The *Asiento* had caused a great deal of contraband trade with the Spanish American ports, in which the South Sea Company and colonial smugglers engaged profitably. To put it down, Spain sent out *guarda-costas*, while unofficial privateers also preyed on British shipping. Outcry was raised in England, and the case of Robert Jenkins, who lost an ear in an encounter with a Spanish *guarda-costa*, roused such feeling that Robert Walpole reluctantly declared war upon Spain in 1739. Admiral Vernon captured Porto Bello and Chagres, hard by the scene of Drake's exploit on the Isthmus of Darien (1739). An attack upon Cartagena on the Spanish Main failed, but Commodore Anson, who was sent into the Pacific, sailed his ship, the *Centurion*, round the world (1740-44) and took much Spanish treasure. The outbreak of the Austrian Succession War in 1740 drew in France and Spain as auxiliaries of Bavaria, and in 1744 Louis XV formally declared war upon Great Britain. Its single important episode in America was the capture of Louisbourg (1745) by the New Englanders, to whose bitter disappointment the island was restored to France by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). The treaty also renewed the *Asiento* for four years, that period of the original concession having remained unexpired at the opening of war in 1739.

It was the good fortune of Great Britain that she fought the final contest with colonial France under the inspiration of William Pitt, Lord Chatham. Since the accession of George I British foreign policy had been dominated by the vulnerability of Hanover to attack, and the colonial struggle had been

viewed in the general scheme of defence which the interests of the electorate demanded. Pitt, however, was the first to see that the abiding interests of Britain were in the New World and India, and to act on that conviction. In the Seven Years' War which destroyed Greater France he poured subsidies into Europe and British troops into America and India. The neglect of France to follow his example made Great Britain's victory the more assured.

Hardly had the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle been concluded when the conflicting interests of France and Great Britain came into collision on the Ohio. The region was claimed by the British provinces under their original charter, and by France in virtue of La Salle's discoveries. The possession of it was vital to her scheme of linking Canada and Louisiana, and in 1749 an expedition was sent from Canada to expel British traders who had found their way thither, George II having invested a British Ohio Company with rights in that region. Dinwiddie, the deputy-governor of Virginia, was one of the few men among the colonists who discerned how vital the issue was. To protect British interests he dispatched George Washington, at that time a young man of twenty-two, to build a fort on the Ohio. Washington defeated a small French force sent for the same purpose, was beaten at Great Meadows in 1754, and at the forks of the Ohio the French built Fort Duquesne on the site of modern Pittsburg. In Acadia, where the British Government had built Halifax (1749) to balance the restoration of Louisbourg, the expulsion of the French *habitants* in 1755 completed the immediate causes of friction between the two countries. The pathetic story told by Longfellow in *Evangeline* does not fully represent the facts; for the deportation of the Acadians was rendered necessary by their persistent refusal, for which their priests were responsible, to give allegiance to the British Crown after the cession of Acadia in 1713.

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that these events led Great Britain to take her place alongside Prussia against Austria and France in the Seven Years' War. Before it broke out in 1756 France and Great Britain were already at war in the New World. Representations had been made by Dinwiddie and others to the British Government.

Money was voted by Parliament, and troops were dispatched under General Braddock. Scantily supported by the colonies themselves, Braddock advanced against Fort Duquesne, but was defeated and killed by a mixed force of French and Indians (1755). The disaster heralded others. In 1756 Montcalm, the French commander, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and pressing down Lake Champlain built a French fort at Ticonderoga, threatening to isolate the New England colonies from those in the south. In 1757 he advanced a step nearer to that result by the capture of Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. But in 1758, after Pitt had come to power, the tide turned. The French advance towards the Hudson was hurled back, Fort Duquesne was captured, and the fall of Fort Frontenac placed Montreal in peril. Louisbourg fell to Wolfe and Amherst, and the year's tale of victories was dimmed only by the death of Lord Howe in the repulse at Ticonderoga. Next year (1759) the British attack was pushed home along the routes which the previous campaign had laid open. Wolfe captured Quebec, and, like his fine antagonist Montcalm, died in the encounter on the Heights of Abraham which forced the city's surrender. Amherst, advancing by Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, received the unconditional surrender of Montreal in 1760, and French rule in Canada was at an end.

In the Peace of Paris (1763) France unreservedly acknowledged Acadia with all its dependencies to be British. She ceded Canada, Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, save St. Pierre and Miquelon which were left to her (and are still in her possession) for her fishermen, whose fishing rights off the Newfoundland coast were confirmed. France abandoned also her claims upon the territory east of the Mississippi. All that remained of Louisiana after that deduction France ceded with New Orleans to Spain, in compensation for Florida, which Spain abandoned to Great Britain, who retained it for twenty years (1763-83). In the West Indies, Great Britain obtained Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, while France received St. Lucia. For the administration of the territories acquired by the treaty Great Britain created (1763) four separate governments: Grenada for the West Indies; Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida for North

America. All the interior west of the Mississippi not included in the three governments was constituted Crown land for the use of the Indians, a reservation which checked the opening up of the country by individual enterprise.

Momentous in the history of America, the Peace of Paris (1763) was equally so in India. Both France and England were drawn thither early in the seventeenth century, and until the second generation of the eighteenth neither showed any disposition to transform their original commercial status into political rule and influence. But from the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 the Moghul empire, in spite of an imposing exterior, was already in decay. Its feudatories lightly regarded their obligations to it, determined foes pressed in upon it, and the comparatively brief struggle between France and Great Britain in India which ended in 1763 in fact determined which of them was to become the heir of the Moghuls.

The Moghul or Mongol empire in India was founded by Mahmud Babar, a descendant of Tamerlane, the chief of a small principality (Ferghana) beyond the Oxus. He conducted five expeditions into India, and at his death (1530) held the country to the frontiers of Bengal. Driven from India after Babar's death, the Moghuls returned, and Babar's grandson Akbar, a man of wide and enlightened toleration, reconciled the Hindu population to his rule by respecting their religion, and pushed his rule southward roughly to the Godavery river and the frontier of the Deccan. With his grandson Shah Jehan (1627-57) the Moghul empire reached its most magnificent period. Akbar's great-grandson Aurungzeb (1657-1707) extended his rule over the Deccan, and expanded the empire beyond his ability to administer it. The operations of the Moghuls in the Deccan brought them into touch with the Hindu Marathas, a people who had never been completely subdued by the earlier Mohammedan invaders of India. One of their leaders, Sivaji (d. 1680), fiercely resisted the encroachments of the Moghuls, and after Aurungzeb's death Poona became the capital of a Maratha confederation which stood for the Hindu race and religion in opposition to Mohammedanism and Moghul rule. In the eighteenth century it even threatened to bar the eventual succession of Great Britain to the Great Moghul's rule in India. The latter endured in

name for a century and a half longer (to 1858). Foes pressed on it from the north and the Marathas from the south. The Nizam or Viceroy of the southern province of the empire became independent and founded in the Deccan the present state of Haidarabad. Oudh and Bengal were on the same road, and the Afghan Rohillas settled themselves in Rohilkhand. Nadir Shah of Persia (d. 1747) wrested from the empire its territories west of the Indus. Ahmad Shah of Afghanistan followed in his wake, and at Panipat (1761) routed the Marathas, though on his withdrawal the latter became the masters of Delhi and of the emperor himself. Forty years later (1803) the Marathas were driven from Delhi by the British, and the emperor, whose jurisdiction did not then extend beyond the walls of his palace, retained his title under British protection until 1858, when the fiction of his rule came to an end.

It is important to remember that when the English and French approached India, the Moghul power was increasing and continued to be imposing for one hundred years longer. At its zenith it seemed incomparably wealthy and irresistible. Hence the motives which drew colonists from France and England to America were absent. There was no thought of an asylum for political and religious liberty, none of colonisation as a mission against the heathen. India was simply an enormously wealthy country to trade with which would be profitable. Neither French nor English contemplated the assumption of political responsibilities in it, a fact which is of the first importance in following their history in India. Of equal importance is the reflection, that the political disorder of India in the eighteenth century made it inevitable that France and Britain should abandon their non-intervention in Indian politics in order to protect their commercial interests. In fact, the war which eliminated French power in India laid on Great Britain a responsibility which she could not shirk, though she faced it with reluctance. Further, the idea that British dominion in India subjected the country to an experience unwelcome because it was strange must be dismissed. The history of India from the eleventh century is nothing but the history of foreign domination. At no time has a native power emerged strong enough to resist successive foreign invaders, and British rule differs from its predecessors only

in the justice on which its foundations are laid, and in the fact that it is the first whose maintenance has depended on the command of the sea.

The foundation of the English East India Company (1600) took place during the reign of Akbar, the virtual founder of the Moghul empire. The Company was a private association of London merchants and received the exclusive right to trade with the East Indies for a period of fifteen years, a limitation which was removed nine years later. In 1601 the first expedition was dispatched to India under James Lancaster, with John Davis of Arctic fame as chief pilot. It reached Sumatra and Java, and returned to England with valuable cargoes. In 1604 a second expedition was dispatched to the Spice Islands under Sir Henry Middleton, when for the first time the English vessels encountered the Dutch. The Dutch East India Company had been founded in 1602 and had no intention of admitting another European nation to a share of the Spice Islands. In 1619 a treaty between them declared the commerce of the East open to both nations, but the massacre of the English merchants at Amboyna (1623) virtually put an end to the competition of England with the Dutch in the islands.

Under these circumstances the English Company was led to the mainland of India, where the Portuguese still retained their portion of the west coast north and south of Goa. They offered vigorous but ineffectual opposition to the Englishman, William Hawkins, who visited Akbar's son Jehangir at Agra in 1608 to request permission to open a factory. Not until 1613 was the imperial decree received granting a site at Surat and three other places in the Gulf of Cambay. In the following year the defeat of the Portuguese in the Swally Roads (1614) established the prestige of the new-comers. Their progress thereafter was steady. On the west coast factories were opened at Bombay and Calicut. On the Coromandel or Carnatic coast the Company in 1639 acquired Madras at a yearly rental, and in the next year built Fort St. George to protect the factory. In Bengal the Company established (1651) a settlement at the mouth of the Hooghly, whose trade was discharged from the payment of dues in gratitude for the services of one of the Company's doctors to the Emperor's sick daughter. Other factories in Bengal were

settled at Patna and Cassimbazar. Not until 1690 was a permanent English factory established at Calcutta. Bombay was made over to the Company in 1668 by Charles II, to whom it had come as part of the dowry of his wife Catharine of Braganza.

The attention of France turned towards India at the time when both England and Holland were organising East Indian Companies. But more than half the seventeenth century ran its course before she established a factory in India. Voyages by private traders led Henry IV in 1604 to grant a charter for fifteen years to a French East India Company, but the country was too weakened by the Wars of Religion to make effective use of it. Richelieu in 1642 reconstituted the Company. It failed to make any establishment in India, but made settlements on Madagascar and the Île de Bourbon (Réunion). Twenty years later the Company was again reconstituted (1664) under the supervision of Colbert and with the financial support of the king and court. The early efforts of the new Company were expended on Madagascar and the Île de Bourbon, and it was not until 1668 that the first Indian factory was established at Surat. Next year (1669) another was added on the east coast at Masulipatam. In 1671 a powerful French fleet arrived in India, whose coming synchronised with the outbreak of war between France and Holland. Hence St. Thomé on the Carnatic coast, which the French fleet seized, was wrested from them by the Dutch. The loss was soon repaired; for in the same year (1674) the French Company established at Pondicherry in the Carnatic a settlement which became the capital of French India. In the course of the War of the Grand Alliance it was captured by the Dutch, but was restored by the Treaty of Ryswyk (1697). In Bengal the French obtained Chandernagore and received (1676) permission to fortify it.

With their establishments placed in proximity in Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, the two Companies pursued their commercial interests without hostility. The War of the Spanish Succession was not taken advantage of by either Company to harass its rival. The Dutch concluded a treaty of neutrality, and Great Britain sent no armaments to the East. Both Companies also maintained a policy of strict non-intervention in native affairs. At the same time the continuance of a

policy of abstention was difficult, if not impossible. The Moghul empire was already in ruins. Rulers of secondary rank, the Nawab (Nabob) of the Carnatic, the Nizam of the Deccan, the Nawab Subahdar of Bengal, and the Marathas, were, along with the French and English Companies, factors in a situation whose development it was impossible to gauge. The possibilities which the disorder of the Moghul empire offered were discerned by many, but the wisdom to take advantage of it displayed itself first in the French. The new policy was inaugurated by Dumas, the French governor of Pondicherry (1735-41).

Dynastic troubles in Tanjore in the south of the Carnatic enabled Dumas in return for assistance to obtain (1739) Kariikal on the Coromandel coast. In the following year (1740) a Maratha invasion of the Carnatic dethroned the Nawab Dost Ali. His family and that of his son-in-law Chanda Sahib found shelter in Pondicherry, and Dumas did not hesitate to refuse the Maratha demand for their surrender. Through the instrumentality of the dead Nawab, Dumas already had received from the Great Moghul permission to establish a mint, and now, in addition to the gift of a sword of honour from the Nizam, he received the title Nawab. Dumas's successor, Joseph Dupleix, from his experience at Chandernagore, had already gauged the opportunities which the Indian situation presented for an ambitious policy, and realised that the first step towards the aggrandisement of France in India was the crippling of the English factories. To prepare Pondicherry for the task was his first care upon his promotion from Chandernagore in 1741, and his preparations were not complete when war between France and Great Britain was declared (1744).

The War of the Austrian Succession in India, though it resulted in the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, left the French at Pondicherry much superior in prestige to their rivals in Madras. At the outset the arrival of a British fleet off Pondicherry (1745) threatened Dupleix's plans, since the blundering of France deprived him of a fleet which Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius (Île de France) and Bourbon, had prepared. Dupleix could only act on the defensive, and obtained from the Nawab an order forbidding the British to fight their quarrels on his territory. But the arrival of Labour-

donnais in 1746 was followed by the capture of Madras, and the Nawab Anwar-ud-din, who demanded and was refused its surrender to himself, sent a force for its recovery which suffered defeat at the hands of a small French force at St. Thomé. The fortunes of France elsewhere cheated Dupleix of his conquest, and Madras was restored to the British Company by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). But the capture of the place and the defeat of the Nawab's army at St. Thomé bore fruit immediately.

There were two states which Dupleix especially regarded as possible areas of French political influence. The Deccan, which once had been the seat of the southern Viceroy or Nizam of the Great Moghul, was now virtually an independent state with its capital at Haidarabad, and counted among its vassals the Nawab of the Carnatic, whose seat was at Arcot. In 1748 the Nizam died. He had disinherited his eldest son, Nasir Jang, as a rebel, selecting as his successor Mozaffar Jang, the son of one of his daughters. In 1748 also, Chanda Sahib, who had been the prisoner of the Marathas since their raid on the Carnatic, regained his liberty. The two princes first entered into an agreement for mutual support, and then approached Dupleix with offers of territorial concessions in return for French assistance. Dupleix recognised that he was invited to take a course which might involve him with the Company in France. But he had reason to know that if he refused, the British at Madras were ready to provide the assistance which he withheld. He therefore accepted the proposals of the two princes, furnished a force of 400 French and a larger body of native troops (*sipahis*, sepoys) under French officers, and took the field against Anwar-ud-din in Chanda Sahib's behalf.

At the battle of Ambur (1749) Anwar-ud-din was defeated and killed, and his heir Mohammad Ali threw himself into Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib was declared Nawab by Mozaffar Jang, and ruled the Carnatic under Dupleix's control until his death. Mozaffar Jang, after falling into the hands of his rival, Nasir Jang, recovered his liberty on the death of the latter (1750), and was enthroned at Pondicherry as Nizam. In reward Masulipatam was made over to the French, and Dupleix received the appellation "Ever Brave and Victorious," with vague powers of vice-royalty over southern India. In the following year the Nizam was conducted to Haidarabad, and

a body of French troops under the marquis de Bussy was stationed there for his protection and to maintain French influence.

Meanwhile the English, realising the import of Dupleix's success, made great efforts for the relief of Mohammad Ali in Trichinopoly. Robert Clive, who had for eight years been in the Company's service, proposed and was allowed to carry through his scheme to raise the siege of Trichinopoly by seizing and holding Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Clive's capture and defence of the place (1751) was the turning point in Dupleix's fortunes. Next year, after defeating the French commander Law at Coveripak, Clive compelled him to surrender before Trichinopoly. The death of Chanda Sahib at the same time removed France's puppet Nawab in the Carnatic (1752). For two years longer the war continued. Dupleix won no victories, and his treasury was empty. The authorities of the Company in France, whom he had neglected to inform candidly regarding his projects, neither understood nor sympathised with his ambitions. In London similar apathy prevailed. Conferences between the two Companies were held, and on its own initiative the French Company sent out Godeheu, one of its directors, to terminate Dupleix's intervention in native affairs and to come to a settlement with the English. Godeheu arrived in 1754, and made a provisional treaty with Madras (which was never ratified owing to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War) for mutual abstention from native disputes and renunciation of native titles and offices. In the same year Dupleix returned to France, neglect, poverty, and death (1763).

The Seven Years' War which followed Dupleix's departure put an end to French dominion in India, and laid the foundations of British rule in Bengal, which so far had not been disturbed by the rivalry of the two Companies. In 1758 Count de Lally, the son of an Irish refugee, assumed the command in the Carnatic, and at first achieved considerable success. He captured the lesser British settlements, and in preparation for an attack upon Madras unwisely recalled de Bussy from Haidarabad. With his departure French influence at the court of the Nizam came to an end. From the Northern Circars, which they owed to their friendly relations with the Nizam, the French were also driven (1759), and nine years

later Clive obtained the cession of that region to the Company (1768). In 1760 the victory of Eyre Coote over Lally at Wandiwash drove him to the shelter of Pondicherry, which was invested and in 1761 capitulated. Lally returned to France, was made the scapegoat of France's reverses, and most unjustly was beheaded. Pondicherry and other possessions were restored to France by the Peace of Paris (1763). But her political power was destroyed altogether by the restriction which the Treaty imposed upon the size of the armed force which she was allowed to maintain in the Carnatic, and by the exclusion of her subjects in any other capacity than that of merchants from Bengal and the Northern Circars. In 1769 the privileges of the French Company were suspended, and its Indian settlements passed under the control of the French crown.

Meanwhile momentous events had been taking place in Bengal. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century Bengal and Bihar were ruled by a Nawab or Subahdar independent of the Great Moghul at Delhi in all but name. The chief European settlements, the English at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsura, lay within thirty miles of each other, and until the accession (1756) of Siraj-ud-daula, the fifth of the Bengal Nawabs, were at peace with themselves and the native power. Never having experienced the probability of war, they were neither fortified nor defended by any considerable force. The garrison of Calcutta was less than 300 men, and the French could muster only half that number at Chandernagore.

Siraj-ud-daula, the new ruler of Bengal, was a young man under twenty years of age, of vicious habits, a hater of the Europeans, and especially of the English as being more powerful than the French and Dutch. Shortly after his accession he demanded the surrender of his cousin, who had fled to Calcutta for safety. His request was not complied with. A further aggravation was offered in the fact that the English, in view of the imminence of war with France, had begun to fortify Calcutta. Siraj-ud-daula commanded them to desist and sent his army against the town. The women and children escaped by the river on the third day of the siege. The garrison held out for two days longer and then surrendered. That hot summer night 146 prisoners were

confined in the punishment-cell of the fort, the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. In the morning only 23 of them came out alive. In spite of the impending war with France, the Madras council determined at once to recover Calcutta, and Clive, who had just returned from England, was placed in command of an expedition for that purpose. Calcutta was recaptured (1757), the right to fortify it was conceded, and the English also received permission to establish a mint.

The arrangement was not adequate to the punishment which Siraj-ud-daula deserved. But Clive was anxious to come to terms with him in order to be free to deal with the French, against whom war had been declared. Three months after the recapture of Calcutta, Clive and Admiral Watson, who commanded the British fleet, attacked Chandernagore and forced its surrender. The fear of French interference being removed, Clive became a party to a plot to depose Siraj-ud-daula and to raise up in his room Mir Jafar, a man of high position at his court. Mir Jafar paid heavily for what proved to be an uneasy throne. £1,500,000 were guaranteed to the Company and the European inhabitants as compensation for Siraj-ud-daula's seizure of Calcutta. The members of the Calcutta council also received gratuities, and Clive himself was promised nearly a quarter of a million sterling. In all, Mir Jafar pledged, to the extent of over two millions and a quarter, a treasury which was found ultimately to contain only one and a half millions sterling. By a discreditable trick Omichand, a native through whom the intrigue with Mir Jafar was carried on, was cheated by Clive of his share in this lavish distribution of bribes.

At Plassey (1757) Clive, with a force of about 1000 English and 2000 native troops, encountered Siraj-ud-daula and an army fifty thousand strong. The battle was momentous, but not distinguished. Mir Jafar's contingent took no part in it, the rest of the army fled in panic, Siraj-ud-daula was captured and put to death, and Mir Jafar was forthwith installed as Nawab. Soon after, for his defence of Mir Jafar against a coalition between the future emperor Alam II and the Nawab of Oudh, Clive was rewarded by the grant of the property south of Calcutta leased by the Company. The annual quit-rent, valued at £30,000, was transferred to him as a *jagir* or fief. In respect of it he became the landlord of

the Company, a position which the Directors some years later refused to recognise. In 1759 a futile attempt of the Dutch at Chinsura to cripple the growing power of the English led to the seizure of their fleet and the defeat of their army. When Clive left India in 1760 both the French and Dutch were reduced to insignificant positions in Bengal, and it was at the instance of Clive himself that the Peace of 1763 permitted the former to remain in Bengal as merchants only.

The Peace of 1763, while it left to Great Britain the only important European interest on the mainland of India, placed the Company in an anomalous position. It had intervened in a dynastic revolution in Bengal and its army was the chief support of its nominee on the throne. Its officials had laid upon him insupportable burdens. Yet while they rendered the task of governing difficult, the Company's servants held aloof from the responsibilities which their own actions invited. Great fortunes were won easily, and their acquisition became the first and only consideration. The importance of the generation of Indian history which followed Plassey lies in the endeavour to raise the standard of public conduct, and to clarify the anomalous position of the Company in relation to the native ruler. On his third and last visit to India Clive effected a temporary solution of the latter problem. He obtained from the emperor Alam the *diwani* of the province of Bengal (1765). The Company thereby was charged to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, to discharge the expenses of the government, to pay a fixed sum annually to the Nawab, and to remit the annual tribute to the emperor. The "dual system" thus created was due to Clive's natural disinclination to give the Company the full sovereignty of the province. Nor did he contemplate any beneficial results from an immediate extension of territory and of the responsibilities which the arrangement entailed. With the neighbouring state of Oudh he made a treaty which virtually constituted it a buffer state between Bengal and the Marathas, a position which it retained until it was annexed in 1856.

With the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor in Bengal in 1772 a new chapter opened in the history of India. While Great Britain's first colonial empire was slipping away in the New World, public interest was increasingly directed to

her position in India. That a trading company should be charged with great political responsibilities was recognised as an anomaly and a danger, and successive efforts were made, in the Regulating Act (1773), Fox's India Bill (1783), and Pitt's India Act (1784), to bring the political activities of the Company under Parliamentary rule. At the outset of his governorship Warren Hastings was instructed to destroy the "dual system" of Clive. The disinclination which Clive had shown to employ English officials and collectors of revenue was discarded. The native deputy-Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar were removed. English collectors were appointed, and the treasury was transferred from the native capital, Murshidabad, to Calcutta. The collectors also exercised certain powers of civil jurisdiction, though the criminal administration remained in native hands, and for the supervision of both Hastings organised Courts of Appeal at Calcutta.

The Regulating Act (1773) went but a little way towards the ultimate solution of the relations between the Company and the native ruler. It converted the Governor in Bengal into the Governor-General of the three Indian Presidencies, and appointed a Council of four to advise him. Political and military matters were to be submitted to the Secretary of State before the dispatch of instructions to India. A supreme Court of Judicature was set up at Calcutta for the protection of the natives, though the Act failed to define its powers. The Act in fact is chiefly important as an indication of an awakened conscience in the mother country, and as an admission of her responsibility to the distant millions whom the Company virtually ruled. To that also, rather than to any especial harshness in his government, was due the impeachment which closed Hastings's Indian career.

The Regulating Act was superseded in 1784 by Pitt's India Act, which marked a further step towards the ultimate acceptance by Great Britain of the sovereignty of India. It withdrew from the Company the control of civil, military, and revenue matters, leaving to it solely the regulation of its affairs as a trading corporation. The powers thus withdrawn were conveyed to a new public department, a Board of Control, which consisted of representatives of the Government and four Privy Councillors, whose instructions were trans-

mitted to the Governor-General and Council in India through a Secret Committee of three Directors in London. Such remained the administration of India until the Indian Mutiny terminated the anomaly of a century. In 1858 the government of India was attached to the British Crown.

In 1786 Lord Cornwallis came out to India as the first Viceroy under Pitt's Act. On him and his successor it fell to meet the revival of French activity in India which followed the outbreak of the French Revolution. France had already in the War of American Independence wreaked vengeance on her conqueror in Canada. In India she was not so successful; for British expansion there dates from and was the consequence of France's intervention. Until then the Company's territorial position remained as Clive and Warren Hastings had fashioned it, and in 1792 embraced the following districts: (1) Bengal and Bihar, of which the administration had been taken over by Clive in 1765; (2) the Northern Circars along the east coast, ceded to the Company in 1768; (3) the districts round Madras and Fort St. David in the Carnatic which the Company had originally occupied; (4) Lord Cornwallis's annexations from Mysore in 1792, namely, Malabar on the west coast, and Baramahal and Dindigul in the Carnatic; (5) the island of Bombay. As dependent allies the Company reckoned the Nawab of Oudh, the Nawab of the Carnatic, and the Rajahs of Travancore, Tanjore, and Cochin.

CHAPTER XII

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

IN 1763 Great Britain stood alone in North America, save in Spain's newly acquired colony of Louisiana, or West Florida. But her supremacy was short-lived ; for in 1775 she was involved in a war whose issue deprived her of her original colonies on the Atlantic coast and left her in possession only of the territory which she had won from the French in 1763. The causes of so sudden and complete a fall are found partly in the elimination of France from North America in 1763, and largely in the relations of Great Britain with her own colonies.

As Burke pointed out, the love of freedom and a determination to maintain it were characteristics which the English colonies acquired with their foundation. The New England colonies especially were established as a protest against Stewart tyranny, and fought George III under the watchwords of Pym and Hampden. In marked contradistinction also to Canada, which throughout its history as a French colony was held in leading strings, the English colonies were practically autonomous, and managed their internal affairs in their own representative Assemblies. Outside commercial circles there was little interest in or knowledge of them, and there was a considerable spice of truth in the witty remark of a contemporary, that Great Britain lost America because, unlike his predecessors, a British statesman read colonial dispatches. A minister of George II is even said to have been ignorant that the words Cape Breton betokened an island. Thus neglected, and with seventeenth-century traditions still vivid among them, the colonies fell naturally into an attitude of indifference or opposition. They were invariably reluctant to admit the authority of Parliament over their local affairs, and its attempt to induce them to settle a fixed and regular

salary upon their governors was resisted on the grounds which caused the seventeenth-century English Parliaments to withhold a life-income from the Crown, namely, to force the dependence of the executive upon the legislature. Equally resented as infringing their liberty were attempts at different times to regulate their currency, and to veto the use of paper specie. The powers conveyed by Parliament to British revenue officials and to the Courts of Admiralty in America, and its occasional interference with colonial Assemblies and charters, were also the source of ill-feeling.

Though the pernicious effect of them is capable of exaggeration, the commercial restrictions which, in accordance with the economic theories of the seventeenth century, Great Britain imposed upon her colonies were irksome, and tolerable only because they were systematically evaded. Their industrial development had no encouragement; for it was not in the interests of the mother country to allow them to compete with herself as producers. Their exports were for the most part raw materials, timber, salt, fish, tar, and corn from the northern group; furs, iron ore, cattle, and corn from the middle group; and chiefly tobacco and rice from the south. On these exports, however, the mother country established a prior lien for her own use, and the most important of them might only be shipped to a British port; while, under the Navigation Act of 1660, imports (except salt) could be carried to colonial harbours only in British vessels.

The expulsion of the French from Canada in 1763 created a new situation between Great Britain and her daughter colonies. They had fought side by side in the late war, but not to the increase of their mutual liking or respect. Colonial feeling had also been a good deal stirred by the indifference to colonial interests displayed by the mother country in her balancing of Guadeloupe against Canada on the conclusion of the war. But of chief importance, the expulsion of the French from the St. Lawrence and the interior relieved the colonies of a great and increasing menace to their prosperity. As was foreseen at the time, it lessened their dependence on their natural protector. Hence, though at the outset the colonists showed no disposition to formulate or press a policy of separation, it was easier for them after 1763 to present a bold front against the mother country, and to resist her

request that they should contribute to Imperial burdens. They did so on the ground (which was sufficiently absurd in view of the state of the representative system in Great Britain) that they were not represented in the British Parliament, though they owed allegiance to the British Crown.

As to Great Britain, the issue of the Seven Years' War set her a problem which she was wholly without experience to solve. It left her the mistress of one empire in the New World and the potential ruler of another in India. For their acquisition she had expended much blood and treasure, and had accumulated a debt which approached the then appalling total of £140,000,000. That Greater should share with Great Britain the maintenance of a common possession seemed obvious. But the idea bristled with difficulties and dangers, and presented a problem which to this day, with the added experience of a century and a half, has not been solved. It is only within recent years that a renewed attempt has been made to make the daughter-dominions of the Empire co-sharers in the burden of its maintenance. The attempt has come from the dominions themselves, however, and their proffered assistance is entirely voluntary, whereas in 1765 Great Britain proposed to enforce what maturer experience has taught her to accept as a gift. Further, by imposing taxes for revenue upon her American colonies she laid herself open to the retort, that they were already indirect contributors to the Imperial exchequer in respect of the commercial restrictions imposed on them, and that the revenue obtainable from such impositions as the Stamp Act was insignificant by the side of the advantages which the mother country derived from her monopoly of their trade. British policy after 1763 was doubly irritating to the colonists; it was inadequate to the object which inspired it, and it represented an invasion of Parliamentary authority into a province so far exempt.

On neither side, therefore, the war concluded in 1763 made for harmony. In America the idea of separation had not yet fired the imagination of the colonists. But loyalty to the mother country was generally apathetic, and in aristocratic Virginia as in more democratic New England there was an active minority which, now that France was removed, did not shrink from the idea of separation if that was the necessary consequence of refusal to submit to interference from the

home Government. The danger of such a cleavage was materially aggravated by the wilful ignorance of the Americans, their interests, and their ambitions, which prevailed in the old country. In such an atmosphere of suspicion and ignorance George Grenville, the virtual leader of the Tory and ministerial party, gave notice in 1764 of a measure for the imposition of a duty-paid stamp on legal documents in the colonies, expressing at the same time his willingness to accept an alternative scheme if the colonial Assemblies could suggest one.

Grenville's proposal was entirely without precedent. From the close of the seventeenth century the general supervision of the colonies was in the hands of the Board of Trade and Plantations. That body was responsible for the restrictive measures which had been passed for the restraint or regulation of colonial trade, and for the institution of Admiralty Courts to try without a jury offenders against the trade laws. The competence of the mother country to impose external taxation in the form of commercial regulations was not questioned, and was acquiesced in by the colonists the more readily seeing that they were very widely evaded. But the power of Parliament to impose direct or internal taxes, though asserted by English lawyers, had never been exercised, and when suggested to him was rejected by Walpole with his customary caution. Grenville, therefore, by his motion threatened to bring the mother country and her colonies into wholly new relations.

Introduced in the following year (1765) the Stamp Act enumerated forty-three purposes for which the duty was payable, and the price of the stamped paper varied from twopence to £10. At the same time the Government resolved to enforce the existing trade laws, which were very generally evaded; indeed, only one-tenth of the tea consumed in America was cleared legally through British ports. Grenville therefore gave instructions to the colonial governors to repress illicit trading, and placed the resources of the navy at their disposal for the purpose and for the collection of the revenue. Another Act (1764) forbade the importation of sugar or molasses into the colonies from the French and Spanish West Indies. Grenville's measures had in view the provision of a revenue for the maintenance of a standing

military force in America—the Stamp Act itself was introduced on the plea of providing for the “protection” of the colonies. No alternative scheme was offered from America, and the Act passed with very little opposition in Parliament. It came into force in November, 1765.

Apart from the over-riding of the taxing powers of the colonial Assemblies by the British Parliament, the Stamp Act was unwelcome in that, unlike the customs, there was no chance of evading it. It was, however, on their threatened “liberty” that the colonists took their stand. They contended that their allegiance to the British Crown did not convey to the British Parliament any rights over them; and that their own Assemblies were alone competent to tax them, seeing that in them alone the taxpaying colonists were represented. Under the name of “Sons of Liberty” patriotic Associations were formed. A congress of delegates at New York, at which only four of the thirteen colonies were not represented, denounced the Stamp Act and claimed the right of self-taxation. The resolution and a general statement of colonial grievances were dispatched to the king and the British Parliament.

The depth of colonial feeling surprised the mother country and filled the commercial community with apprehensions. Their representations were supported on other grounds by Edmund Burke, at that time the private secretary of Lord Rockingham, and also by Lord Chatham, who had taken no part in the debates on the Stamp Act. Four months after it came into force, therefore, Rockingham, who had succeeded Grenville, carried the repeal of the obnoxious measure (1766). At the same time, the obstinacy of George III, the general feeling of the country, and the challenge of the colonists seemed to demand at least an assertion of the legality of the abandoned measure. So, with extraordinary ignorance of the situation on the other side of the Atlantic, the Government passed an Act declaratory of the general right of Parliament to tax the Americans.

The Declaratory Act and the colonial Congress of 1765 proclaimed conflicting principles which threatened disturbance. Nevertheless the home Government revived Grenville's proposal to raise a revenue from the Americans, while avoiding the method which had raised such an outcry. Upon the fall

of Rockingham's ministry less than six months after the repeal of the Stamp Act, Chatham succeeded him as first minister. But the state of his health kept him out of touch with the Cabinet and left Charles Townshend, who had been a member of Grenville's ministry, a free hand in Parliament. Townshend used his opportunity to carry a measure (1767) imposing duties on tea, glass, paper, lead, and painters' colours entering colonial ports. The total yield of the new duties was estimated at no more than £40,000, and was to be applied to the provision of a civil list for the maintenance of colonial Governors and Judges, a proposal towards which the colonists had long since shown their resentment.

The new duties further exasperated colonial feeling, and Massachusetts especially emphasised its indignation, as it had done over the Stamp Act. Its Assembly adopted a strenuous protest against the proposed duties, and communicated it to the other colonies for their endorsement. Upon its refusal to withdraw the circular, the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor. Its members, however, refused to separate, and as an informal Convention exerted great influence upon the course of the agitation. At Boston the Custom House officials were resisted, an attempt to quarter soldiers in the town was successfully opposed, and on the thin pretext of anticipated French intervention the populace provided themselves with fire-arms. In 1770 a *fracas* occurred between the soldiery and the townsmen (disproportionately described as the "Boston Massacre"), in which three of the latter were killed. It was exploited as an example of British tyranny and became the object of annual commemoration.

Meanwhile the retirement of Chatham and the death of Townshend (1767) made George III practically his own Prime Minister. For the blunders that followed he must be held chiefly responsible, though the policy was nominally that of Townshend's successor at the Exchequer, Lord North. Alarmed at the clamour in America, British commercial interests again intervened, and in 1769 Townshend's obnoxious duties were repealed, save that on tea, which, like the Declaratory Act a few years before, was retained in order to assert the right of Parliament to impose duties which it had deemed it politic to withdraw. In fact, the right to impose them was the only thing of value in regard to them ;

for during the preceding thirty years the total yield from the fiscal regulations imposed by the mother country in America had been less than £2000 annually, and each £1 of revenue cost actually £4 to collect. So patent was it that her fiscal regulations did not yield the mother country a revenue, that the colonists were able to brush aside the argument that they formed a precedent for the direct taxation recently imposed.

But the withdrawal of all the new duties save that on tea failed to pacify colonial opposition. The Massachusetts Assembly even denied the right of the British legislature to lay duties on colonial trade, and a revenue-cutter, the *Gaspee*, which was watching the Rhode Island coast, was boarded by smugglers and burnt. That the colonists were not animated simply by objection to the amount of the duties is clear from a memorable event at Boston in 1773. In the previous year Lord North, who had become Prime Minister, passed a measure to permit the East India Company to export tea direct to the colonies. Instead, as heretofore, of paying a shilling *per* pound duty at a British port before reaching the colonial market, tea was now purchasable by the colonial consumer direct from the plantations, subject only to the three-penny *per* pound duty which Townshend had imposed. But, as Burke warned Parliament, no commodity will bear a three-penny or even a penny duty when the general feelings of men are irritated. Even tea cheaper by ninepence a pound was too dear for men who had already staked their opposition, rightly or wrongly, on the illegality of any duty laid by Parliament. In 1773, therefore, upon the arrival of East Indiamen at Philadelphia, New York, and Charlestown, the sale of their cargoes was not permitted, and at Boston the chests of tea were thrown overboard by a band of persons disguised as Indians.

Irritating as had been the conduct of the home Government, Boston clearly laid itself open to punishment. In 1774 Parliament passed measures against the offending colony, which closed the port of Boston, transferred its trade to Salem, and conveyed to the Crown the appointment of judicial and other officials. General Gage was at the same time sent to Boston as Governor and commander-in-chief. The treatment of Massachusetts evoked general apprehension

and sympathy. Washington declared his readiness to raise a force for the relief of Boston. Virginia and Maryland resolved to cut off the supply of tobacco to the British market. At Philadelphia delegates assembled from every colony save Georgia, and the First Continental Congress began its sessions (1774). Though such men as John Adams declared that the idea of independence was "as unpopular as the Stamp Act," the Congress by its resolutions virtually closed the door against British authority, on the ground of rights derived from so-called "natural" law, from colonial charters, and from the British constitution itself. At the same time an address to the king and people of the mother country was drafted, in which the idea that independence was aimed at was scouted as a "calumny." It professed loyalty to the Crown, provided that things were restored to their position before the Stamp Act. Canada was invited to make common cause with the colonists, a danger which Great Britain countered by the Quebec Act of 1774, which confirmed to the Canadians their institutions and religion.

"We have thrown a pebble at a mastiff and are surprised it is not frightened," wrote Horace Walpole in 1774. An incident local to Boston had gathered the whole Atlantic seaboard from New Hampshire to the Carolinas in a solid phalanx of suspicion and enmity. Lord North realised the magnitude of the crisis but met defiance with defiance. He proposed to cut off all the colonies, save Georgia and North Carolina, which were too poor to merit punishment, and New York, whose geographical position made her strategically too valuable to offend, from the American fisheries and commercial intercourse with the mother country, and to strengthen the military establishment in America. In the colonies the militia were training, mob violence was not infrequent, and the first shots were fired (1775) at Lexington in Massachusetts, where the colonists inflicted considerable loss upon a British force which had been sent to seize a store of arms and ammunition at Concord.

Meanwhile, Lord North made (1775) a belated effort to propitiate colonial feeling by a measure providing that colonies which made a grant for Imperial purposes should be exempt from Imperial taxation. The concession was re-

jected by the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia (1775), and Benjamin Franklin, the colonial agent in London, left England. The Congress also took steps to raise an army, and in order to enlist the support of the southerners appointed Washington to the command-in-chief. For the skirmish at Lexington was followed a few weeks later by a more determined engagement at Bunker Hill (1775), a height commanding Boston, whence Sir William Howe, who had reinforced and superseded Gage, was only able with difficulty and heavy loss to drive the colonials who beleaguered the town. After Washington's arrival, however, Howe's position in Boston became precarious, and in March he withdrew his forces from Boston and New York to Halifax. Four months later, on July 4, 1776, whose anniversary Americans over all the world piously observe, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia issued the famous Declaration of Independence, drafted by Samuel Jefferson, affirming that the thirteen colonies "are and ought to be free and independent states," that their allegiance to the British Crown was dissolved, and their political connection with Great Britain at an end for ever.

The Declaration of Independence, based in part upon an assertion of the rights of man which was soon to have a more terrible proclamation in the French Revolution, broke the solidarity of the English race, and also for the moment cleft the populations on both sides of the Atlantic in twain. Among the colonists there was a large section which viewed severance from the mother country with dismay and fought to prevent it. In the mother country also opinion was divided. There was much sympathy with the colonists in commercial and Nonconformist circles, among the Irish, who shortly made an effort to follow America's example, and among the Whigs, who regarded the colonists as allies in opposition to George III and Tory rule. That Great Britain would fail to coerce the colonies was recognised from the outset. The enormous surface which they presented, the extent of the coast-line which had to be contained, weak generalship, an entire lack of enthusiasm on her own side, and above all, the formation of the European coalition against her and the consequent loss of her command of the sea after 1778, were the causes of Great Britain's failure. Nor were the Americans without their difficulties. There was a singular

absence of general enthusiasm, a want of cohesion among the various colonies, persistent friction between them and the Congress, and between the Congress and the army, which might have more than counterbalanced the difficulties which beset their opponent had it not been for the commanding personality, tact, patience, and ability of Washington.

Beginning in 1775 with the engagements at Lexington and Bunker Hill, the American war continued until the British disaster at Yorktown in the autumn of 1781. The contest, prolonged into 1782 by reason of the entrance of France into it in 1778 and of Spain in the following year, was concluded by the general Peace of Versailles in 1783. The intervention of France, Spain, Holland, and other European powers changed the character of the war. For it developed into an attempt by Great Britain's defeated rivals to avenge themselves on her through her own rebellious colonies. The area of the struggle also was enlarged. The maritime supremacy of Great Britain was challenged on the ocean, in the West Indies, and in the Mediterranean. In India French intrigue was busy among the native princes.

At the opening of the American campaign of 1776 interest was concentrated on Boston and New England. Here was established the military force sent out from England in 1775, commanded by Sir William Howe, who had superseded Gage. An attempt of the Americans to disturb the Canadians in 1775 had failed, the latter being satisfied with the consideration shown them in the Quebec Act, and having no desire to commit their fortunes to the colonials. Among the British colonies the royal Governors had generally made their escape after the battle of Lexington, and in the south little effort was made to restore British authority until towards the close of the war. In 1776 therefore Boston was the key of the military position, and it was lost to Great Britain before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by Congress on July 4. After Bunker Hill the British garrison was confined to Boston, while around the town lay the New England militia, the nucleus of the Continental army which Washington was appointed to command. After Bunker Hill Washington joined his forces, and in March, 1776, four months before the Declaration of Independence, compelled Howe and the British troops to evacuate Boston and withdraw to

Halifax in Nova Scotia. The troops in New York withdrew at the same time, and for some weeks colonial territory was free from British military occupation.

Upon the abandonment of Boston, interest turned to the locality which controlled the whole military situation, namely, New York and the Hudson. Possession of it enabled its owner to operate equally against New England in the north and Virginia in the south. It controlled a route into Canada also, a fact of importance to both sides, while in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania loyalist feeling was especially strong. The control of the locality was therefore as necessary for Washington as for Howe. After Howe's evacuation of Boston Washington made his head-quarters at New York. But preparations were already on foot to restore British prestige. To the indignation of the colonials, German troops were sent over to act against them, and four months after his evacuation of Boston, four days after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, Howe appeared before New York, compelled Washington to draw off his army from Long Island a month later, and entered the city. Until the end of the war it remained the British head-quarters. Washington withdrew across the Delaware upon Philadelphia, the seat of the Congress, and the remainder of the year's campaign, which included successful attacks upon Trenton, where Howe had established the Hessian troops, and Princeton, left Washington successful in the effort to maintain the spirit of his army and keep open his communications with New England.

Howe devoted the campaign of 1777 to the task of clearing Washington from the Delaware and of securing the town of Philadelphia. Defeated at Brandywine, Washington was unable to withstand Howe's advance. Philadelphia was occupied by him, and after a further repulse at Germantown, Washington withdrew to winter quarters at Valley Forge. Howe's success was more than counterbalanced by a disaster elsewhere which entailed the most serious consequences. Some weeks before the battle of Brandywine, General Burgoyne, with a force largely composed of German mercenaries, set out from Canada and descended Lake Champlain to effect a junction with Howe on the Hudson. The movement threatened to isolate the New England colonies and to

cut colonial resistance in twain. But by the most disastrous error Howe was not informed of Burgoyne's plans in time to co-operate with him, and Burgoyne, confronted by a growing colonial army under General Gates, surrendered his whole force at Saratoga in October, 1777.

The disaster had two important results. It stirred public feeling in England. The sympathy of France with the Americans was known, and the nation looked to Chatham to extricate it from threatened humiliation. He was offered a post in the Cabinet, but refused to take it because he was not allowed to form an entirely new ministry. He viewed with equal horror the king's policy of coercion, and the apparently imminent cleavage of an empire which he had done so much to build up, and the last public act of his life was an unfinished speech in the Lords against the dismemberment of the British monarchy. In May, 1778, he died, and a reasonable policy of pacification died with him. A few weeks before his death Lord North's last effort towards conciliation was rejected by the colonial Congress. He offered to repeal the tea duty, to abandon the claim of Parliament to impose internal taxation, and to place the fiscal revenue entirely at the disposal of the colony in which it was raised. Parliament also appointed commissioners to treat with Congress, with power to suspend Acts of Parliament passed since 1763 and to grant pardons. But the Americans demanded, as a preliminary to any diplomatic conversations, a categorical admission of the independence of the United States. The war therefore continued, and under conditions which promised almost certain success to the colonial cause.

Burgoyne's disaster emboldened France to range herself as the ally of the colonies. At the very outset of the war the Congress had appointed a committee to correspond with "the friends of America in other countries," and Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris, where he was successful in stimulating enthusiasm for the American cause. Volunteers came forward in considerable numbers, among them the young marquis of Lafayette. Even Marie Antoinette, ignorant of the tragic bearing of the American revolt on her own fortunes, spoke of the colonists as "our dear republicans." Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga converted passive enthusiasm into active alliance. In 1778 the two countries mutually guaranteed

their possessions in the New World, and France pledged herself not to lay down arms until the independence of her ally was recognised by Great Britain. In the next year (1779) her influence brought Spain into the American alliance, though she did not share France's enthusiasm for the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and was chiefly influenced by the hope of recovering Gibraltar.

The entrance of France into the war completely altered the conditions under which Great Britain so far had waged it. As yet she had held unchallenged command of the sea, and by virtue of it was mistress of three important bases, New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia. But the threatened arrival of a French fleet on the coast compelled concentration of the British position. Hence in 1778 the first act of General Clinton, who superseded Howe, was to abandon Philadelphia and return to New York. Once more Washington transferred his army to the Hudson, and remained there until his final swoop upon Cornwallis at Yorktown three years later. The New England colonies were already lost to the mother country, and any attempt to reduce them was rendered the more difficult by the arrival of a French force at Newport (1780). But in the south the way was still open to recover lost ground; for at the outset it was in the West Indies and not on the American coast that the French maritime activity showed itself, with results very damaging to Great Britain. While the colonists were mastering the Ohio territory, and their most distinguished sailor Paul Jones was displaying their flag on the coast of Great Britain itself, Clinton directed operations for the recovery of the south. Georgia was reduced, and upon the fall of Charlestown (1780) Clinton took in hand the conquest of the Carolinas. Lord Cornwallis, Clinton's lieutenant, defeated his opponent, General Gates, and entered North Carolina. In the next year (1781) he pushed into Virginia. Disappointed at the apathy of the loyalists, while hard fighting had reduced his force to some 3000 men, Cornwallis established himself at Yorktown on the coast to await reinforcement from Clinton. Washington's opportunity at length had come. Effecting a junction with the French force lately arrived at Newport, Washington made forced marches against Cornwallis. The opportune presence of a French fleet closed Chesapeake Bay against a

relieving force, and on the very day that Clinton set sail from New York to carry succour to him, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown (October, 1781).

As between Great Britain and the Americans Yorktown ended the war. Outside New York, Charlestown, and Savannah, the whole country was under the control of the colonists, and Charlestown and Savannah were forthwith evacuated. But in the wider maritime conflict Yorktown was an incentive to Britain's enemies to continue, rather than an occasion to withdraw. In 1780 Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland formed an Armed Neutrality to protect neutral shipping against the right of search which Great Britain claimed and exercised during the colonial war. Not until 1856, in the Declaration of Paris, did Great Britain accede to the principle that "Free ships make free goods," excepting contraband of war. Holland suffered greatly in the war and temporarily lost the valuable island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies. France also lost the island of St. Lucia. But Great Britain's losses in that region were much greater, and included every one of her possessions in the Antilles except Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua. The defeat of the French fleet by Rodney off Dominica in 1782 disappointed France's hopes of obtaining Jamaica and restored the maritime predominance of Great Britain in those waters. In India also the French took the opportunity to attempt the destruction of British power. While the Marathas threatened Bombay, Haidar Ali of Mysore strove to make himself the chief power in the south, and de Suffren, the ablest French sailor of the period, was active in the Indian Seas. The defeat of Haidar Ali at Porto Novo (1781) by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, and the firmness of Warren Hastings, enabled Great Britain to survive France's attempt to avenge her losses of twenty years before. Spain, who had gained Minorca, realised her inability to recapture Gibraltar. The relief of that fortress in 1782, and the defeat of the French fleet in the West Indies in the same year, disposed the allies to peace, and terms were ratified by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783.

To the Americans Great Britain conceded the independence which their leading statesmen had declared to be far from their thoughts a few years before, but which their struggle with the mother country and her inability to coerce them

had made inevitable. The treaty recognised the thirteen colonies to be "free, sovereign, and independent states," and renounced on the part of Great Britain "all claim to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof." The Mississippi was constituted their western boundary, Great Britain retaining navigable rights on the great river. In other words, the Americans received from the mistress of Canada possession of the region which had been the chief bone of contention between themselves and French Canada earlier in the century. The new territory was rapidly developed, and upon it by the middle of the nineteenth century nine new states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Michigan, and Wisconsin) were added to the Union. The Americans also were admitted to the Newfoundland and other fisheries. Six years later a federal constitution came into force, and Washington became the first president of the United States of America (1789). The claim of Great Britain for compensation on behalf of the American loyalists was abandoned. The irreconcilables among the latter—60,000 in number, it is said—preferred to emigrate into Canada, Nova Scotia, and other British territory, and the mother country herself provided about £4,000,000 in their behalf.

So far as territorial gains are concerned, the war improved France's position in the New World. In addition to St. Lucia, which was restored to her, she received Tobago, and her possession of St. Pierre and Miquelon Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was confirmed. In Africa she received Goree and Senegal. In India she regained possession of Pondicherry and other places of which the war had deprived her. Spain, disappointed of Gibraltar, was permitted to retain Minorca, and regained the peninsula of Florida, or East Florida, which she had ceded to Great Britain in 1763. She continued to maintain her rights to West Florida, being that part of the old French colony of Louisiana which lay to the west of the Mississippi, but in 1819 sold both Floridas to the United States.

For nearly one hundred years, until the revived imperialism which Lord Beaconsfield fostered, the issue of the American War of Independence bred a feeling of pessimism in Great Britain and elsewhere regarding the relation of colonies to-

wards the countries from whence they had sprung. The action of the Americans was regarded as the normal rule of colonial development, and men were impressed by the image of colonies as fruit which falls away naturally from the parent tree directly it is mature. But these reflections have long since been abandoned. It is admitted now that in the regulation of their commerce, and in the political measures by which Great Britain sought to bind them to her interests, the mother country was the cause of her own misfortune. And she was wise enough to understand and apply the lesson. For the war doomed the mercantile system which Great Britain had adopted in common with her neighbours, and helped to establish broader and saner ideas as to the proper administrative relations between Europe and her colonies. Nor did that lesson exhaust the effect of the war. Though she retained her great possessions in the East Indies, Holland's losses in the war completed her decline. On Spain also the war reacted; for the lessons of the American revolt were applied by her own colonies at a later time.

But the greatest and immediate effect of the war was upon France, and through France upon Europe. The French writers Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau set men thinking and talking on the rights of man, the sovereignty of the people, and the inequalities of class privilege, while the issue of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* in America on the eve of the revolt did much to stimulate the colonists to resistance. Confronted by privilege and corruption, with her society still based upon an antique feudalism, and amid patent signs of administrative incompetence and national bankruptcy, France seized the watchwords of her American ally, and used them to demolish a system incomparably worse.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

FOLLOWING the American Revolution, the more awful upheaval in France was the outcome of a literary movement acting upon material wrongs. In the eighteenth century an intellectual stirring moved Europe, and especially France, which is comparable to, as it was also the corollary of, the Renaissance. Its general features were those of its predecessor: hostility to established ideas, political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic. It was negative or destructive rather than constructive in its conclusions, and owed much to the philosophy of the English thinkers of the previous century. For in England the impetus of the Renaissance carried conclusions more advanced than those reached elsewhere, and the Puritan rebellion established conditions of liberty and toleration which made her the envy of her neighbours and her constitution the object of their admiring study. In his writings John Locke (1632-1704) expounded the principles on which her polity was based, and from them the French philosophers of the eighteenth century drew their inspiration. He was in fact the founder of analytical philosophy.

In the eighteenth century French speculative literature was pre-eminent. Though her philosophers did not actually cause the Revolution, they hastened its outbreak and eased its course by their ruthless analysis of the social and political situation. Pre-eminent among those whose writings gave confidence to the assailants of the old order were Charles de Secondat de La Brède de Montesquieu (1689-1755), François-Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire (1694-1788), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), as well as the French Encyclopedists and Economists.

Montesquieu published anonymously his first satirical reflections on society, the *Persian Letters* (*Lettres persanes*),

in 1721, and achieved a reputation which gained him admission to the French Academy a few years later. Travels in England, Germany, and Italy prepared him for the publication in 1748 of his chief work, *The Spirit of the Laws* (*Esprit des lois*). So profound was the influence which it exerted that it has been described as "more than a book; an historical landmark." In it Montesquieu attempted a systematic analysis of the different forms of government and the principles on which they rest. His investigation convinced him that the stability of the State and the liberty and well-being of its subjects demand that the three moving forces within it, the legislature, executive, and judiciary, shall be distinct and independent, as in the English constitution, which had his admiration. The condition was wanting in the French constitution as Richelieu and the Bourbon kings had fashioned it, and Montesquieu supposed that the evils of the old order could be remedied only by placing the executive and administrative functions of the monarchy under the control and supervision of the people in a legislative Assembly. His conclusions were adopted in the French Constitution of 1791.

Voltaire had already published (1734) in his *Letters on the English* (*Lettres philosophiques sur l'Angleterre*) his praise of the constitution which Montesquieu held up as a model to his countrymen. The work was the fruit of three years' exile (1726-29) in England, and was the first indictment of the *ancien régime* in France by the French Philosophers. Captivated by the freedom of action and speech which he found in England, Montesquieu defined the function of government to be the carrying out of the will of the community declared in legislation for which it was collectively responsible through its representatives. But his witty and mordant pen was not restricted to constitutional abuses. Of the Church and its pretensions he was the bitterest opponent, and his enmity led him to adopt atheistical opinions, which the Revolution encouraged later. To intolerant ignorance in all its manifestations he was a stern enemy, and if he wrote in the spirit of a brilliant journalist, his influence was the greater through the genius which enabled him to put into concrete form the thoughts of the ordinary man, and to impale with ridicule or scorn the abuses of which the latter was conscious, but which he could not diagnose unaided.

Rousseau, chief of the "Sentimentalists," exercised an influence which differed from and was wider than that of either Montesquieu or Voltaire. Unlike them, he belonged by birth to the people—his father was a watchmaker at Geneva. While they aimed at reforming society, Rousseau was a revolutionary. Profoundly convinced that the social and political order around him was hopelessly at fault, and that the inequalities of birth, opportunity, wealth, and influence were the consequence of wrong ideas and systems, Rousseau applied himself to the solution in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (*Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité*) (1753) and in his masterpiece, the *Social Contract* (*Contrat social*) (1762). He pictured and popularised, as Hobbes and Locke before him, an early chapter in the history of human society, a sort of golden age, to which society needed again to conform. Rousseau's later judgment rejected this unhistorical speculation, but it exercised great influence upon the ignorant and miserable victims of the order which Rousseau assailed. In his later and most famous work he concluded, like Hobbes and Locke, that the sanction of sovereignty was derived from an original compact or contract in which the community had voluntarily and in its own interests conveyed powers to the sovereign. In other words, sovereignty was a trust conferred by the people; if it did not rest on the consent of the people, it was void, and if it did not continue true to its trust and duty, it was liable to be withdrawn. Rousseau's contention was a direct challenge to the existing order in France; for it negatived the alleged divine right on which it was founded. Further, in protest against the hopeless misery of the vast majority of Frenchmen, Rousseau taught that the well-being of the governed is the end and justification of government; that the will of the greatest number ought to prevail, and the government itself to rest on the widest democratic basis. Rousseau was passionately read, and planted deep the principle on which the Revolution took its stand—the sovereignty of the people.

The famous *Encyclopædia* began to appear in 1751, and was completed more than twenty years later. It was described by its promoters as a "dictionary of the sciences, arts, and trades," and a "conspectus of human thought." Its contributors were invited, as it were, to re-edit human know-

ledge, and the supervision of the work was entrusted to Diderot, a philosopher, and d'Alembert, a mathematician. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon the great naturalist, Turgot, Necker, and other leaders of the intellectual movement which was stirring France were contributors to it. It examined with fearless analysis the political, religious, social, and economic situation. Of equal influence was the scientific spirit and method which it inculcated. It demonstrated the need to investigate and the value of facts, and focussed a critical and instructed lens upon the evils that were prevalent. The contributors to the *Encyclopedia* included writers whose views revolutionised established ideas regarding wealth and industry. Among them was Quesnay, Madame de Pompadour's physician, whose *Physiocratie* or *The Government of Nature* caused his followers to be known as "Physiocrats." Like Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776, they investigated the conditions of industry, the relations of capital and labour, the sources of national wealth, the conditions most favourable to its development, and rejected the restrictive or protective system which had survived the Middle Ages. It was a contemporary of Quesnay who is said to have been the first to express in the formula *laissez faire et laissez aller* the principle of non-interference which guided the new era of free trade.

Though the writers of the eighteenth century exercised a great influence on its development, the fundamental causes of the French Revolution were political, economic, and social abuses. French society in the eighteenth century comprehended three separate orders or classes, the Clergy, the *Noblesse* or Nobility, and the Third Estate or commonalty. Since the end of the seventeenth century the population of France had doubled, owing to natural increase and to the expansion of French territory. On the eve of the Revolution it stood at about 25,000,000. Of that number, about half a million, 2 *per cent* of the whole, were "privileged"—that is, enjoyed rights which set them apart from the other 98 *per cent* of the population at whose expense their privileges existed. The privileged people were the nobility, the clergy, and a small section of the middle or professional class holding public posts which conferred the status of nobility. They were exempt from taxation, or contributed disproportionately to it.

The army, diplomatic service, and the court were exclusively open to them.

The Clergy, the first of the three orders in right of their spiritual functions, were of two kinds: *regulars*, or members of the religious orders (of both sexes), and *seculars*, or parochial clergy. Their total number was under 200,000. The Church controlled enormous wealth; for it possessed one-fifth or more of the soil, and its annual revenue was about half of that of the State at the accession of Louis XVI. The greater part of it was the perquisite of the upper hierarchy of the Church, whose members were drawn from the nobility. The incomes of the 134 archbishops and bishops of the French Church varied considerably. Some were able to maintain enormous establishments; for instance, the bishop of Strassburg had a revenue of about £25,000 a year, and kept nearly two hundred horses in his stables. The lower clergy, on the other hand, were poorly paid, and were chiefly drawn from the Third Estate, whose privations they shared. Like it, they contributed out of proportion to their means to the Church's "gifts" to the State, and their wretched lot caused them to view the Revolution with a friendly eye. About two-fifths of the total revenue of the Church was drawn from the peasant cultivators of the soil in the form of tithes, which were the more grudgingly paid in that they often went to distant cathedrals and abbeys instead of to the ill-paid parish priest. The French Church did little to discharge the obligations which its wealth and position imposed upon it. Save among its parochial clergy secularism was rampant. Its upper hierarchy were courtiers and owed their appointment to the Crown, in whose hand (Concordat of 1516) the patronage of the Church lay. The religious orders were no longer a spiritual or intellectual force, and their membership was declining.

The Second Estate, the *Noblesse*, differed in material points from the English nobility. In England the Crown, the fountain of honour, alone can raise an individual from the status of commoner to that of noble, whereas France possessed an *official* nobility which was also hereditary. In France, again, the *noblesse* included the smaller landowners or country gentry, who in England are commoners. Though some of the French nobles were very rich, the majority of them were poor, with little revenue beyond what their feudal or seignorial

rights brought them. As a class they were unpopular because they stood apart from the nation. The *haute noblesse* were with the king at Versailles, and visited their property only when they needed to retrench or were in disgrace at court. The poorer nobles spent their lives in their country *châteaux*, but poverty prevented them from endearing themselves to their peasants. They could not mend their fortunes by a wealthy marriage; for they might not mate with the bourgeois. Though the fury of the Revolution fell upon their order, it was not due to an exceptional average of wrong-doing. Their pride of caste was provocative. Their proprietary rights were irritating and checked agricultural development. As a class they occupied no distinctive niche in the public economy. The bureaucratic government of the crown deprived them of political influence, and caste forbade them to pursue useful careers in trade and other spheres of public activity. Their ranks were also divided and their downfall was the easier.

The French nobility was of two classes. The "nobility of the sword" (*noblesse d'épée*) included the *grande noblesse*, or court nobility, in attendance upon the king at Versailles, and the *petite noblesse*, or provincial nobility. Both were of ancient lineage, and looked down upon the "nobility of the robe" (*noblesse de robe*), whose status was derived from particular offices held in the service of the State. About 4000 judicial and administrative posts in the Parliaments, Sovereign Courts, and Public Departments conferred nobility upon their holders, were openly sold, and subject to the payment of a tax were hereditary in the family of the purchaser. Drawn chiefly from the well-to-do bourgeois families, the nobility of the robe were looked down upon by those of the sword, and in their turn viewed the Third Estate with disdain.

The Third Estate drew its membership from town and country. But numerically its urban members were so insignificant that the Third Estate and the rural or peasant population of France may be held synonymous. It included within its ranks twenty out of every twenty-five persons in France, or twenty of the twenty-five millions of the French population. On that ground alone there was justice and moderation in a *brochure* of 1789: "What is the Third Estate? Everything! What has it been so far? Nothing! What does it want? To become something!" The bourgeois

section of the Third Estate represented the professional and commercial class. The lawyers, who played a leading part in the Revolution, and well-to-do men of business belonged to it. In fact, the Third Estate held much of the soil of France, possessed nearly all the capital, and looked with wrath and contempt on a government which so wofully mismanaged the national finances. It may be likened to the English middle class, and as was the case in the Puritan rebellion, the leaders of the French Revolution, with a few exceptions (Mirabeau and Lafayette), came from it.

The rural population of France not only formed the bulk of the Third Estate, but represented about four-fifths of the whole population of the country, or in figures, about 20,000,000 out of 25,000,000. Though some of them were still in a condition of serfdom, and some were agricultural labourers working for a wage, by far the greater number of the peasants were proprietors of the soil. It has been computed that while the Crown, the Church, and the nobility each held about one-fifth of the land, the Third Estate (practically the peasants) were actual or part owners of two-fifths of it. Seeing that both the *taille* and the tithe were drawn from the land it is clear how concerned the peasants were in the unfair incidence of taxation. Outside the comparatively small number of those who were still in a state of serfdom, the peasant population of France contained (1) wage-earning labourers, (2) freeholders owning small farms, and (3) *métayers*, that is, peasant farmers working their land on capital advanced in part by their *seigneurs*, to whom a portion of the produce was due. Of the three classes, the first and the second were not numerous; for wage-earning labourers were not needed on small farms, and large farms were only found in Normandy, Picardy, Artois, Flanders, and the old duchy of France. Nor were peasant proprietors farming their own freehold numerous. Out of the whole number of peasant proprietors possibly seven out of eight were *métayers*.

The *métayers* and small proprietors were the first to rise against the *seigneurs*. For the latter, taking advantage of the peasants' desire to acquire land, did not sell the outright possession or freehold of it to them, but conditioned their tenure with the perpetual payment of a rent charge, and the rendering of services which had been customary under the

manorial system. These services pressed irritatingly upon the peasants, and were of many kinds. The *corvée* gave the *seigneur* the peasants' labour without pay at certain seasons. *Champart*, or field-rent, the *seigneur's* tithe, had to be paid before the crop could be carried. The *banalités* were dues which the *seigneur* exacted for the use of his mill, his wine-press, and his oven, to which the peasant was compelled to take his corn to be ground, his grapes to be pressed, and his bread to be baked. The *péages* were tolls which the *seigneur* exacted for the use of his roads and rivers. The *droit de chasse* reserved to him exclusively the hunting and destruction of game, no matter what damage it might do to the peasants' crops. The *droit de colombier* permitted his pigeons to feed in the peasants' cornfields. When the king's demands had also been satisfied by the payment of direct taxes, it has been computed that out of 100 *francs* of revenue the peasant farmer retained for his own use little more than 18 *francs*. Out of that meagre residue he still had to pay the salt and other indirect taxes. Such a system, besides the misery it caused, gave little encouragement to agricultural development, and it is probable that the average yield of the land in France compared with that of England was in the proportion of 3 to 8, or less than one-half. At the same time the peasantry had no reserves behind them, and exceptional seasons weighed hardly upon them. Owing to the bad harvest of 1788, and the severity of the succeeding winter, misery was very prevalent.

To social and economic evils France added bad government and suicidal finance. Her government was an absolute monarchy. One man was her master, and the administration was so over-centralised that stagnation and inaction were inevitable. There was no representative body save the States General, which met only at the king's bidding, and had not been convoked since 1614. Deprived of protection against arbitrary government, Frenchmen were also without the protection of common law. *Lettres de cachet*, or warrants under the privy seal, sufficed to send those who incurred the Crown's displeasure to prison without cause shown. There was no *Habeas Corpus* Act, as in England, to compel the crown to bring the accused to trial.

The administrative capital of France was the great palace of Versailles which Louis XIV built ten miles out of Paris.

Here the king held the most magnificent and luxurious court in Europe, where were congregated nearly 20,000 persons, courtiers, members of the royal households, civil and military. In the royal mews were nearly 1900 horses and over 200 carriages. Every year some £4,000,000 were drawn from the public revenue for the support of this imposing but wasteful magnificence. The administration was conducted by the Royal Council, in which the king was assisted by the Chancellor or Keeper of the Seals, the Controller-General of Finances, the four Secretaries of State (Royal Household, Foreign Affairs, War, Navy), and a number of other Councillors without portfolio. Committees of the Council were charged with the particular supervision of foreign affairs, provincial business, finance and commerce, and war. The Council had far more work than it could perform; for the simplest detail of local administration required its consideration, and it also exercised appellate jurisdiction over the courts of law.

While the multiplicity of business made it impossible for the Royal Council to adequately superintend the interests of the nation, the provincial administration was chaotic. The French kingdom had attained to political unity by the absorption of the great fiefs into the royal domain, and by the annexation of neighbouring territory. Originally the French fiefs or provinces possessed Estates of their own; but on the eve of the Revolution only two of them survived to exercise any real power—those of Brittany and Languedoc. The early practice of the French monarchy as the independent French fiefs fell to it was to divide them into *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, each administered by a *bailli* or *sénéchal*, a royal official. This method of provincial administration became obsolete, and was eventually superseded by the institution of *gouvernements* or Governments, which corresponded to the original fiefs or provinces of the kingdom. They numbered forty at the time of the Revolution, and provided sinecure offices as governors for members of the *haute noblesse*. For administrative purposes they had been superseded by a new unit of local government which Richelieu created, the *généralité*, of which there were thirty-six, named usually after the principal town within them, and administered by Intendants who were the executive agents of the bureaucracy at Versailles. But apart from the fact that the Inten-

dants were the servants of the same authority, there was no uniformity in the provincial Governments. Weights and measures, usages, fiscal regulations, even the laws themselves varied, while bureaucratic government sapped local initiative and progress.

The French judicial system before the Revolution was chaotic. There are said to have been not less than 360 legal systems in force in different parts of the kingdom. The Royal Courts were of three degrees—(1) *Parlements*, (2) *présidiaux*, and (3) courts of *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*. The *Parlements*, of which that of Paris was the most important, were thirteen in number, namely, those of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Pau, Metz, Douai, Nancy, and Besançon. They were more than law courts since they claimed the privilege to register, and therefore by implication to reject, royal edicts. As courts of law they were sovereign courts from which there was no appeal, though the Royal Council did not scruple to revise or quash their decisions. The *présidiaux*, or presidial courts, 102 in number, had been instituted in 1551 by Henry II, partly as courts of appeal from lesser jurisdictions. They exercised civil and criminal powers. Below them were the courts of *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, which had been originally instituted to maintain the royal authority over the king's great feudatories. At the period of the Revolution they still acted as courts of appeal over non-royal or feudal courts, of which an enormous number existed. In all the Royal Courts the magistrates were *propriétaires* of their offices, either as the heirs of their fathers in the same office or as purchasers of them from the Crown. The legal code was ferocious, though not more so than elsewhere, in its treatment of comparatively venial offences, especially those against property. In its administration it was partial; for the nobles were exempt from certain punishments to which commoners were liable.

That the financial system of France before the Revolution involved the country in hopeless insolvency was almost the least of its evils. The public debt increased between Louis XVI's accession and the Revolution—only fifteen years—by 3,260,000,000 *francs*, or more than £130,000,000. Payment of the interest upon it absorbed half of the annual revenue, and when that was paid there remained a quite in-

adequate sum to meet the expense of the public service. The extravagance of the monarchy since Francis I, and a hopelessly unsound system of finance, brought the country within sight of national ruin ; for with her national credit exhausted the maintenance of France's position as a great Power was impossible.

The direct taxes were the *taille*, or property tax, *capitation* or poll tax, and *vingtième*. The *taille*, in some districts a tax on land, but generally on personal property, was fixed annually as to its amount by the Royal Council, except in the *pays d'états*, whose local assemblies voted the sum demanded by the Council. Elsewhere, in the *pays d'élections*, so-called from fiscal officials known as *élus* (though they had long ceased to be elected), the amount of the *taille* to be raised in each *généralité* was divided among the several districts or *élections* in it. The sum allotted to each *élection* was apportioned by the *élus* among the parishes in it, and finally among the inhabitants of each parish. The privileged classes were exempt from it, and the proportion of the *taille* allotted to each individual was determined by his presumed wealth. Hence the tax encouraged a low standard of living, and discouraged industry ; for prosperity invited increased taxation. The *capitation*, or poll-tax on the head of each household, was instituted by Louis XIV in 1695 as a war-tax, but was retained as a source of regular revenue until 1791. For its assessment the whole community was grouped in classes on the basis of social status, the amount of tax varying in each. The *vingtième* was first imposed at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1710), and was increased in amount until it represented about one-sixth of the payer's income. Both the *capitation* and the *vingtième* fell chiefly upon the Third Estate ; for the clergy and nobility evaded or lessened the imposts as affecting themselves, while the clergy claimed that the free gift, *don gratuit*, voted by them every five years, released them from both *capitation* and *vingtième*.

Indirect taxation assumed many shapes. The *aides* were an excise upon wines and other commodities. The *traites*, transit dues or customs, were levied by noble, clerical, and municipal owners upon goods passing over their territory. The most oppressive tax was the *gabelle*, or salt-tax. The sale of salt was a government monopoly, and from eight upwards,

every individual was compelled to purchase a large and specified amount of it (*sel du devoir*). Failure to do so was an indictable offence. Persons who had not money to buy bread were actually punished for not buying salt. The *aide* on wine was equally arbitrary. Every family, irrespective of its size, was officially limited to the consumption of a fixed quantity of wine. An excess of that quantity, known as *le trop bu*, could only be indulged in by paying a special tax, on the ground that the extra wine could be required only for clandestine sale. The iniquity of the *aides* and *gabelle* was increased by the fact that they were sold to and levied by *fermiers* who bought the privilege. It was a further aggravation that the incidence of taxation was not uniform, and that one parish might be exempt from burdens which pressed heavily on its neighbours.

The conclusion of the Seven Years' War left in France bitter feelings against Great Britain, who had deprived her of Canada and inflicted upon her a humiliating peace in India. To be avenged was the absorbing hope of the duc de Choiseul, who became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1758, and remained in power for more than ten years. The army and navy were reorganised and strengthened. In marked contrast to the policy which Great Britain pursued towards her colonies, Choiseul fostered the trade of the French West Indies. To balance Great Britain's possessions in the Mediterranean he purchased Corsica from Genoa (1768), and acquired the duchy of Lorraine (1766) in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna of 1735. With Spain and the Bourbon princes in Naples and Parma he concluded the "Family Compact" (1761), which bore fruit eighteen years later, when Spain came into line with France as the ally of the Americans. Choiseul's domestic administration is memorable chiefly for the suppression of the Jesuits and their expulsion from France. The enormous political influence exerted by the Order made it the object of fear and suspicion. The Philosophers directed their criticism upon it. The merchants were jealous of its open engagement in trade. Even the papacy under Benedict XIV rebuked (1741) its secular interests. A suit against it before the Paris *Parlement* gave opportunity to examine its constitution, and its General's declaration, that the Order would remain as it was or not at all, forced

the Government's hand. In 1764 it was forbidden to exist any longer in France. A similar fate befell it in Portugal and other Catholic countries, and in 1773 the Order was abolished by the Pope. It was restored in 1814. Within a few years of the suppression of the Jesuits the Paris *Parlement* also succumbed to the royal displeasure. In the absence of any representative body it had criticised the Crown's policy, and in 1771 both it and the twelve provincial *Parlements* were suppressed.

In 1774 Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather on the throne. He was only twenty, untrained to the responsibilities which he inherited, a keen sportsman, a weak character, without confidence in his own judgment, and at the most critical period of his reign dependent for counsel on his wife, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa, unpopular among her subjects as one of the nation whose alliance had cost France so dear, pleasure-loving and frivolous, and wantonly extravagant. The unpopularity of Louis XV and relief at his death gave his successor at first the loyalty of the nation. On the advice of the comte de Maurepas, who courted popularity, he restored the *Parlements*, a step which, though it pleased those who regarded the *Parlements* as the champions of liberty, was unwise. For they represented the privileged orders and opposed the urgent reforms by which Turgot and Necker sought to fend off the great upheaval.

Louis's reign opened with a serious but short-lived effort to cope with the evils which were sapping the life of France. But after the dismissal of Turgot in 1776, France's injudicious participation in the American war and the reckless finance of Calonne produced a crisis which made the Revolution inevitable. Turgot, whom Louis first of all appointed Minister of Marine and then Controller-General of Finances, was a native of Normandy, under fifty years old, and lately Intendant of the Limousin. He was a disciple of Quesnay, the founder of the Physiocrats, had made a deep study of economic subjects, and was a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia*. With the Physiocrats he believed that the fewer the restrictions on production and distribution the greater the prosperity of the community. With them also he held that the land was the ultimate source of wealth, and therefore advocated a general land-tax in place of indirect taxation. Faced with a large

deficit in the annual balance-sheet, and determined neither to impose new taxes nor to raise money by ruinous borrowing, Turgot drew upon himself the unpopularity of the Court by ruthlessly cutting down the expenses of the king's civil and military households. Economies were effected in other branches of the public service, and though he held office for only two years, Turgot wiped off a budget deficit of 22,000,000 *livres* and enormously strengthened the public credit. Nor did he fail to put into practice the theories of his economic school. Under the established system the sale of corn was closely restricted, with the object of keeping the corn in the country and of ensuring food for the people. But the regulations actually discouraged the growing of corn, made the country dependent on imported grain, and caused great hardship in bad seasons. In 1774 Turgot abolished restrictions upon the sale and circulation of corn within France. He also removed restrictions on the sale of wine. Though he did not do away with the wasteful system, Turgot reformed some of the abuses which attended the practice of farming-out the taxes, and refused the heavy bribe from the Farmers-General which his predecessors had regarded as their perquisite. His activity extended into every department of public life, and in the last year of his administration (1776) he introduced two measures which were only carried by compulsion in the Paris *Parlement*. The first suppressed the privileges of the trade guilds and rescued industry from the shackling conditions which those survivals of medievalism imposed. Henceforward every man was free to labour in his own way at his trade, and a great restraint upon individual initiative and individual progress was removed. Turgot also mitigated the hardships of the *corvée* by compelling all proprietors, whether privileged or not, to pay for the upkeep of the roads, instead of maintaining them by forced labour.

Turgot's reforms roused much opposition against him among the courtiers and the privileged classes. The clergy disliked him for the unorthodoxy of his opinions (he had given up a projected career in the Church on conscientious grounds), and for his desire to mitigate the laws which pressed so hardly on the Protestants. Marie Antoinette also threw her influence into the scale against the minister. "Myself and M. Turgot," said the king on one occasion, "are the only friends

the people have." Malesherbes, Secretary of the Royal Household, shared Turgot's unpopularity at Court. In sympathy with the Philosophers he had advocated the impartial incidence of taxation, and endeavoured to abolish *lettres de cachet* and to secure better treatment for the Protestants. His resignation was followed by the dismissal of Turgot himself. A forged letter which represented him as reflecting upon the king and queen influenced Louis to sanction the dismissal of the greatest Controller-General of Finances since Colbert. Had he been supported by Louis, France might have been spared the horrors of the Revolution.

Turgot's fall was followed by the revival of the *corvée* and the withdrawal of his edicts freeing the corn trade and industrial labour. After an interval his place at the Treasury was taken by Necker, a Protestant and a banker, and like Rousseau, a native of Geneva. He was a man of great wealth, and was known already to the French Government by his financial transactions with the Treasury. As a foreigner and a Protestant he was debarred from the actual title of Controller-General, and was appointed instead Director-General of Finances. Necker saw as clearly as Turgot the need of economy, scrutinised and reduced the expenditure of the court, limited the number of pensioners who battered upon the Court, and made an effort to check the ruinous waste involved in the farming of the public revenues by reducing the number of Farmers-General. He took the *aides* under the direct collection of the Treasury and introduced beneficial reforms in the collection of the *taille*. He abolished the last traces of serfdom upon the royal domains and, following the lead of Turgot, endeavoured to rescue France from her over-centralised bureaucracy by creating four provincial assemblies, representative of the three orders, charged with local powers of administration. Those of Upper Guyenne and Berry alone survived until the Revolution.

France's ill-judged enthusiasm for the American cause and her active alliance with the colonists threw the country again into the financial chaos from which Turgot and Necker had begun to draw her. The war is said to have cost France nearly £50,000,000. Huge sums were borrowed at high interest. Loans were obtained with increasing difficulty, and in 1781, with the permission of Louis, Necker published a statement of

the public revenue and expenditure in his famous *Compte rendu au roi*, in which he succeeded in conveying the false conclusion that the public revenue was in excess of expenditure. The statement restored confidence in financial circles; for there was no means of checking the calculations of the Treasury, and the publication of the *Compte rendu* was entirely contrary to precedent. Trade too was expanding, for the American war gave French commerce access to markets hitherto closed against it. But Necker did not benefit by these improving conditions. He completed the estrangement of the courtiers by publishing in his *Compte rendu* a list of *frelons* or drones, as a contemporary called them, in receipt of undeserved pensions. His demand that though a Protestant he should be admitted to full cabinet rank caused his fall. In 1781 he resigned, and with him ended the endeavour to introduce economy and business methods into the financial system of the doomed monarchy.

After an interval of two years, during which the financial situation went from bad to worse, the Treasury was entrusted to Calonne (1783), whose finance proved to be of the most reckless character. Following the maxim that "he who would borrow must appear to be rich," he showered gold upon the court. In a single year and at a cost of 24,000,000 *livres* Marie Antoinette bought Saint-Cloud and the king Rambouillet, while the king's brothers had their heavy debts paid. Huge sums were borrowed at ruinous interest. But in 1786 the Treasury was empty save for an insignificant sum. The Government's credit was broken, new loans could not be floated, and Calonne was obliged to suspend payment of the interest due on old ones. The financial system of the old *régime* in fact had collapsed irrevocably. With Turgot's plans to guide him Calonne suggested a general land-tax from which neither the privileged classes nor the Crown lands should be exempt. He also proposed the abolition of the *corvée* and the substitution of a poll-tax on those who had so far provided forced labour, the revival of Turgot's enlightened provisions freeing the sale and circulation of corn, and the diminution of the burdensome *gabelle* on salt.

That the privileged classes would support proposals which affected them adversely was unlikely, and the *Parlement's* opposition was certain. However, Calonne, adopting the

plan of Henry IV, convoked an assembly of Notables to Versailles in 1787. The Notables, in number 142, consisted of princes of the blood, clergy, nobles, members of the royal Councils, judges of the sovereign Courts, and others. Almost exclusively they were drawn from the ranks of those concerned to maintain privilege. The assembly, in which Necker had a seat, asked for a full statement of the causes of the financial crisis and an explanation of Calonne's demands. It soon became clear that Calonne did not possess the confidence of the Notables, and that their suspicion of him was shared by the country. Louis therefore dismissed him. Proceedings were threatened against him in the *Parlement*, and he fled to England. Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, who succeeded Calonne, drew from the Notables permission to negotiate a loan. But they refused to countenance the new land-tax, objecting that they had no power to lay a tax upon the country. Lafayette, a member of the assembly, even raised a demand for the States General. So the Notables were dissolved. They had done nothing to ease the financial situation. But they had forced the administration for the first time to expose publicly the abuses of the old *régime*. Hence their abortive session contributed directly to the Revolution.

Though the Notables had not sanctioned them, the reforms of Calonne still represented the policy of the Government, and needed the consent of the *Parlement*. The proposed freedom of trade in corn, the creation of provincial assemblies in the *pays d'élections*, and the transformation of the *corvée* into a poll-tax were registered by that body without opposition. But the proposed land-tax and a stamp-tax were in another category, and were only passed compulsorily in a special session or *lit de justice* (so called from the peculiar chair of state used by the king at such ceremonies). The *Parlement* protested, affirming that the States General alone could lay fresh taxes on the people, and was forthwith exiled to Troyes. Rioting broke out in Paris, and the queen was lampooned as "Madame Deficit." Exile at Troyes proved irksome to the *Parlement*, and Brienne was at his wits' end for means to replenish the Treasury. A compromise was therefore arrived at. Brienne undertook to withdraw the obnoxious stamp-tax and land-tax, and the *Parlement* agreed to

increase the *vingtième*. Money was needed immediately, and Brienne resorted to Calonne's expedient of loans. But the fund-holders were now thoroughly enlightened as to the insecurity of the Government's credit, and were ripe for any movement which promised better conditions. The *Parlement*, therefore, anxious to keep in line with popular sentiment, resumed its opposition. Once more Louis held a *lit de justice* to force registration of an edict authorising a large loan by annual instalments until 1792, when the States General so insistently demanded were promised. The duke of Orleans, Philippe "Égalité," challenged the legality of the king's conduct. "It is legal," was the answer, "because I will it." The provincial *Parlements* assumed a similar attitude, and Brienne proposed to restrict all the thirteen *Parlements* to judicial functions and to take in hand a much-needed reform of their procedure. Their political function he proposed to transfer to a new *Cour plénière* composed of nominated dignitaries. The edicts instituting the change were stoutly resisted in the provincial *Parlements*, the cry for an immediate assembling of the States General became more insistent, and at length, in 1788, when the Treasury contained only a few thousand pounds, the Government yielded with a promise to summon the States General for May, 1789. Necker was recalled and admitted to the Council. The proceedings against the *Parlements* were abandoned, and the hopes which filled the nation were expressed by a rise of 30 *per cent* in the funds.

Not since 1614 had the States General met. On that remote occasion the three Estates voted separately, thereby depriving the Third Estate of any influence. The *Parlement* had no desire to see the Third Estate endowed with greater powers than it possessed in 1614, and therefore, when registering the edict summoning the States General, attached the condition that the precedent of 1614 should be followed. But by the nation at large the States General was regarded as the harbinger of reform. To allow the privileged orders to rule its constitution and procedure as in 1614 would doom it to inaction on matters which were most vital. Hence public interest was directed to two questions: Was the representation of the Third Estate to be in proportion to its numerical preponderance over the other two? Were the three Estates to de-

liberate and vote *par ordre* or *par tête*; that is, Was each individual to vote? or the Estate to which he belonged? Leaving the latter question unanswered, Necker early in 1789 issued an ordinance which fixed the total membership of the States General at not less than 1000, and gave to the Third Estate a numerical representation equal to the other two together.

On the first Monday in May, 1789, the States General assembled at Versailles and was formally opened by Louis on the following day. The precincts of the palace were selected for its session owing to the desire of the court to avoid the expense and inconvenience of a journey to a provincial town; for the danger of meeting in Paris was already patent. The king also was unwilling to suffer any interruption of his hunting. Hence "the palace of Louis XIV became the birthplace of modern democracy, as it afterwards became that of the German Empire" (Professor F. C. Montague). The States General numbered about twelve hundred persons, of whom more than half represented the Third Estate. As far as was possible the precedent of 1614 had been followed in the mode of electing the delegates. Paris and a few other cities were treated as separate constituencies. But elsewhere the towns were part of the feudal *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* which formed the electoral divisions. In each Estate the franchise was generous. The hierarchy, the parish priests, curates, and religious Houses formed the electors of the First Estate. Every noble twenty-five years of age was permitted to vote for the representatives of his Order. In the Third Estate every Frenchman twenty-five years old, except such as were paupers or members of the poorest class of labourers, had a vote. The nobles and beneficed clergy in each constituency elected their representatives by direct vote. But the unbeneficed clergy and Third Estate elected delegates or secondary electors, who formally elected the deputies at a divisional assembly of the three Estates held usually in the largest church of the chief town in each electoral area. In these assemblies each Estate elected its allotted number of divisional representatives to the States General, and at the same time drew up a *cahier* or statement of desired reforms for them to present to that body. For the States General, like the English Parliament at an earlier period, was not a legislating but a petitioning

body. The ministers of the crown had no seat in it. The *cahiers* of the constituencies indicated many and fundamental projects of reform, though the king expected of the States General nothing more than extrication from his financial troubles on the cheapest terms he could obtain.

The States General met in the *Salle des Menus Plaisirs*, a large hall in the neighbourhood of the palace, used ordinarily for the entertainments of the court. It had been fitted up for the Notables in 1787, and was dismantled in 1790. After a colourless speech from the king and a long financial statement from Necker the three Estates drew apart. As being the most numerous the Third Estate retained the large *Salle des Menus Plaisirs*, while the other Estates withdrew elsewhere. The fact was important, for the *Salle* was large and could accommodate spectators, who watched with interest the proceedings of the Third Estate. From the outset the latter shrewdly posed as the representative of the nation and not merely of its own class. The king and Necker had timidly left open the question whether the voting should be *par ordre* or *par tête*. But the Third Estate at once proposed that the preliminary verification of the deputies' commissions should be conducted in joint sessions of the three Orders. By a majority of exactly four to one (188 to 47) the nobles refused the proposal. The clergy, many of whose members were in close sympathy with the Third Estate, defeated the proposal by a narrow majority. Negotiations proved unavailing, and at length the Third Estate proceeded alone to verify the commissions of its members. Having completed the task, the Third Estate on June 17 declared itself "The National Assembly," as representing the majority of the nation.

The declaration was the first act in the Revolution. It was followed by a resolution to frame a constitution, and to sanction existing taxation only until the new constitution was set up. The clergy by a bare majority resolved to join the Third Estate, and Louis deemed it necessary to intervene. On June 20 the members of the Third Estate found the *Salle des Menus Plaisirs* in the occupation of workmen who were repairing it for a royal session. Believing their dissolution to be threatened, the deputies repaired to a neighbouring tennis-court and there bound themselves by oath not to

separate until the reformed constitution had been established. Again the king made a futile effort to frustrate the National Assembly. Its members on the following day (June 21) found the tennis-court engaged by the king's brother, the count of Artois. They obtained a new meeting-place in the church of St. Louis, where the majority of the clergy and some of the nobles joined them on the 22nd. The next day (June 23) Louis held a royal session of the three Estates in the *Salle des Menus Plaisirs*. He annulled the resolution of June 17 constituting "The National Assembly," ordered the Estates to resume their tri-cameral constitution, and invited their co-operation in certain minor reforms. Upon his withdrawal the nobles and most of the clergy left the Hall, but the Third Estate refused to do so. Deprecating the employment of force, Louis gave way, and the Third Estate remained in possession of the Hall. The king's unprincipled cousin, Philip "Égalité," duke of Orleans, joined them, and was followed, at Louis' own bidding, by the rest of the nobility and the clergy. The old *régime* died at the moment the crown placed a National Assembly by its side. The latter at once appointed a committee to draft a constitution, and having completed the verification of the credentials of its members, declared itself a Constituent Assembly (July 9).

The reactionary influences which surrounded Louis now succeeded in inducing the king to dismiss Necker. To confront the certain opposition which that step would invite, a large force of troops, chiefly foreign regiments in French pay, were drawn round Paris and Versailles under the command of marshal de Broglie, a veteran of the Seven Years' War. The Assembly vainly demanded the withdrawal of the troops, and on July 11 Necker and four other ministers were dismissed. The news caused consternation in Paris, where the Palais Royal, the residence of the duke of Orleans, was the headquarters of disaffection. Anticipating disturbance in the capital, whose weak municipal council consisted of nominees of the crown, the electors (about three hundred in number) of the Paris representatives of the Third Estate in the Assembly constituted themselves the civic government, and took measures for the formation of a volunteer National Guard to overawe the lawless elements in the community, whom famine had driven to rioting in the past winter, and

whose demonstrations had assumed a political tone on the meeting of the States General. Necker's dismissal, the insidious representations of the unscrupulous Orleans, and the concentration of the army upon Paris, carried the mob entirely out of hand. On July 14 the Bastille was stormed and captured. As the prison in which State prisoners were interned it symbolised the old *régime* itself. Its fall thrilled France and was followed by a general rising of the peasants against the *seigneurs*. The king's brother, the count of Artois, and other prominent participators in the plot against Necker fled the country, the first of the *émigrés*. Louis bowed to the storm. The regiments were withdrawn, Necker was recalled, and on July 17 the king visited Paris, confirmed the new municipality, and received at the hands of Lafayette, the commander of the National Guard, the tricolour of white (the royal colour) and red and blue (the colours of the city of Paris), the badge of the Revolution.

Throughout the provinces the example of Paris was copied and popular municipal councils and National or civic Guards were formed. The law courts ceased to sit, the Royal Council found itself shorn of administrative authority, and the impossibility of getting in the revenue made it difficult to maintain the army, the one institution which stood between the *ancien régime* and destruction. In the provinces the peasantry were already wreaking their vengeance on the *seigneurs*, and France plunged into the horrors of another *Jacquerie*. At a memorable meeting on August 4 the Assembly in a fervour of enthusiasm abolished feudal tenures and privileges and vexatious seignorial rights and jurisdictions. With the feudal system fell also the exclusive guilds and other corporations regulating industry in the towns. With reason the famous session was afterwards called "the St. Bartholomew of property." The more difficult task of replacing what had been destroyed remained to be undertaken.

The Assembly concluded the session of August 4 by hailing the king as the "Restorer of French Liberty." But week followed week and Louis gave no indication of his countenance of the revolution which had been accomplished. On October 1 Paris was inflamed by stories of a banquet which the officers of the royal *gardes du corps* at Versailles had given to the Flanders regiment lately summoned to reinforce them. It

was alleged that in the queen's presence the officers had thrown the tricolour on the ground and stamped it under foot. The story no doubt was an exaggeration, and for its dissemination the duke of Orleans was probably responsible. But its consequences were momentous. On October 5 a mob of armed men and women dragging cannon with them marched from Paris to Versailles. Lafayette and the National Guard followed to protect the king and queen from violence. But their precautions proved insufficient. Early next morning the palace was broken into, and the queen was only saved from death by the devotion of the guards who defended her door while she fled to the king's apartment. Lafayette arrived in time to prevent further violence, and at his suggestion Louis showed himself from a window to the people and assented to their demand that he should accompany them back to Paris. Thither the king and queen and royal family set out, escorted by the mob and the National Guard. "No fear of starvation now," shouted the crowd, "for we bring back with us the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy." Thus on October 6 the court abandoned Versailles for ever, and took residence at the Tuileries, the palace built two hundred years earlier for Catharine de' Medici. On October 19 the Assembly also transferred itself to Paris and took up its quarters in the Riding-School (*Salle du Manège*) of the Tuileries. Both king and Assembly had placed themselves in the power of the people, who thenceforward directed the Revolution in the path themselves ordained.

The Assembly had already voted a Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 27, 1789), following the American precedent, and at Paris it continued to draft the new constitution. In preparation for it the old provincial administrative areas were abolished and France was divided into eighty-three Departments. On July 14, 1790, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, it was resolved to consummate the national federation or union, which so far had been the work of royal ambition or conquest, and to establish it on the sanction of a national act. A huge amphitheatre was constructed in the *Champ de Mars*, in which the Paris National Guards, deputations from the provincial National Guards, and from the army and navy, assembled round an Altar of Liberty erected for the occasion and took an oath of fidelity to the Nation, the

Law, and the King. But national unity was placed in grave jeopardy by the Assembly's treatment of the Church. Tithes already had been suppressed, robbing the Church of nearly half her revenues. Her landed property also had been declared the possession of the nation, and its sale had been ordered to defray public debts. The religious houses had been suppressed and the formation of new ones was forbidden. And now the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was passed by the Assembly. It abolished the old historical dioceses, and attached a single bishop to each of the new Departments. Fanatically devoted to the principle of election, a natural reaction from the long reign of privilege, the Constitution made the ecclesiastical, like the secular, officials of the Department elective. The bishop was to be elected by the electors of the Department and the village priest by the assembly of the local District. Neither bishop nor priest might absent himself from his charge for more than a few days without leave, and their stipends were fixed on a comparatively modest scale. The cathedral chapters were suppressed, and each bishop was required to act with a council of clergy, whose approval was necessary to validate his acts of jurisdiction. Also, by forbidding the recognition of any metropolitan whose see lay outside the kingdom, the Civil Constitution withdrew the French Church from papal jurisdiction. An oath of acquiescence in the Constitution was required from all clergy and deprivation was the penalty of refusal. Louis reluctantly sanctioned the Constitution (August 27, 1790). But he refused to recognise the conforming clergy, and since in Paris he was able to employ no others, he determined to attend mass on Easter Day (April, 1791) at Saint-Cloud. His journey thither was prevented by a mob which thronged the court of the Tuileries, and Louis resolved to find liberty in flight. On June 20, 1791, the king and queen and their children in disguise set out for the frontier. At Varennes they were arrested and were brought back to Paris.

The attempted flight of the king created a new position. Louis left behind him a proclamation in which he retracted his assent to the recent measures of the Assembly. The inevitable inference from his flight was that he hoped to obtain from Austria or elsewhere the military force necessary to coerce that body. Up to that point there had been no sugges-

tion of abandoning the monarchical principle in the reformed constitution on whose drafting the Assembly was engaged. Even extremists like Robespierre, Marat, and Danton were still monarchists. But the king's flight gave birth to the Republican party, and Danton's Club, the *Cordeliers*—so called from the Franciscan Convent in which they met—clamoured for justice against Louis, *le coupable*, as they termed him. But the Assembly was not prepared to adopt extreme measures, and contented itself with the suspension of the king's prerogatives until the new constitution was completed. Meanwhile Louis and his family remained under guard in the Tuileries. Three months later the Assembly concluded its labours, and on September 14, 1791, Louis accepted the new constitution and swore to maintain it. A week later the Assembly dissolved. It had unwisely resolved that its members should not sit in the Legislative Assembly which was to take its place.

The Constitution of 1791, after rehearsing the Declaration of the Rights of Man, re-enacted the Assembly's measures relating to the abolition of privilege, the new Departmental divisions, municipal organisation, the religious Orders, and other matters. It created a Legislative Assembly of 745 members elected by a body of voters chosen for that duty by the "active citizens" (tax-payers 25 years of age) in each Department. The Legislative was independent of the king in that it was empowered to sit for two years without any danger of prorogation or dissolution at his hands. The king could suspend, but could not veto, its legislation, and financial measures were excepted even from his suspensory powers. The king was constituted the supreme executive official, and so important did it seem to keep the executive and legislature apart, that members of the Assembly were expressly barred from accepting office in the ministry. In the executive, the army, navy, and diplomatic service the king retained his patronage. But the independence and irresponsibility of the crown had gone. An independent legislature confronted it. The National Guard, and to a great extent the army, were independent of it. The judiciary and local authorities were now elected bodies, and the power to declare war was withdrawn from the sovereign. With many defects, the result of inexperience, the Constitution of 1791

at least established the principles for which the reformers of 1789 had clamoured, though it proved a step towards a conclusion which had been far from their minds.

The Constitution of 1791 gave France a limited monarchy. But it endured only until September 21, 1792, less than one year, when the Republic took its place. Causes both internal and external contributed to make the king's position impossible under the new constitution. The application of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy plunged France into disorders in which the king's sympathies, and also his powers, were exercised in favour of the nonconforming clergy. Outside France the attitude of foreign powers and of the French *émigrés*, which culminated in 1792 in actual invasion of French territory, placed the king in a dangerous position, since it enabled his enemies to represent him as being in league with the invaders of the Fatherland. Hence the king's suspension in August, 1792, the abolition of the monarchy a few weeks later, and the murder of both king and queen in the following year.

The Legislative Assembly met in the *Salle du Manège* on October 1, 1791. It numbered 745 members, of whom about half were lawyers or journalists. Members of the late Assembly had been expressly excluded from its successor, and the most prominent men, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre had no seat in it. Carefully superintended by the Jacobin Club, the most influential organisation in Paris, and in close touch with about 2000 affiliated branches in the provinces, the elections to the Legislative Assembly had yielded a far larger representation of the extremists than public opinion entitled them to. Even so they formed a minority, though the most efficiently organised party, in the Assembly. The Right consisted of Constitutional Royalists, men who were satisfied with the Constitution of 1791. They are known also as "Feuillants," after their Club, which held its meetings in the disused Convent of the Feuillants (an offshoot of the Order of St. Bernard). The Left, classed generally as "Jacobins" from the Dominican Convent in the Rue St. Honoré where the Club met, was opposed to the Constitution of 1791 and anxious to overthrow it. United at the outset the Left eventually broke into two divisions, Jacobins and "Girondins," the latter so-called from the fact that their

chief orators came from Bordeaux, the capital of the Gironde. The Centre, or Independents, at first outnumbered both the Right and Left, Feuillants and Jacobins. But alarmed at the growing power of the Jacobins, terrorised by the intrusions of the mob, and by the Jacobins' insistence that each member should publicly and individually declare his vote (*appel nominal*) in the Assembly, the Independents dwindled in numbers and influence.

By the express terms of the Constitution of 1791 the Legislative Assembly was incompetent to alter it. Its first activities were directed upon the critical position of the country. The clerical Civil Constitution was exceedingly distasteful to the clergy and the devout Catholic laity, and resistance to it was general. The French *émigrés* had greatly increased in number since the king's brother, the count of Artois, led the way after the fall of the Bastille. The greater part of the officers of the army and navy had joined them, and awaited the opportunity to recross the frontier for the king's deliverance. In August, 1791, the Emperor Leopold II and Frederick William II of Prussia promulgated the Declaration of Pilnitz announcing their intention to intervene provided the other sovereigns of Europe co-operated with them, a threat not less significant because it was not immediately carried into practice. The Legislative Assembly, in three decrees passed before the end of 1791, sought to meet these dangers. By the first, Louis's brother, the count of Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII), who made his flight from France at the time of Louis's abortive effort, was bidden to return within two months on pain of losing his rights as eventual regent to his nephew the Dauphin. By a second decree the *émigrés* were ordered to return before the end of the year under penalty of death and confiscation of their property. A third decree dealt with the non-juring clergy (*prêtres non assermentés*), who were bidden to take the oath of acquiescence in the Civil Constitution within eight days or lose their benefices. Louis, who had little cause to be satisfied with their conduct, ordered his brothers to return to France, an injunction which they declined to obey. But he refused, as his enemies had shrewdly calculated, to confirm the Assembly's decrees against the non-juring priests and the *émigrés*. He vetoed both measures and laid his action open to sinister interpretation.

With the opening of 1792 the relations of France and Austria overshadowed all other topics. The death of Leopold II early in the year, and the accession of his inexperienced son Francis II, favoured the adoption of a war policy by Austria. In France also several interests desired war. The Jacobins opposed it, in fear lest a successful campaign might strengthen the king's position. But the Girondins, from whose party Louis had drawn his ministry, favoured war as a means to continue their influence. Lafayette, who had resigned his command of the National Guard and now led one of the French armies in the field, was also anxious for war as a means to strengthen the monarchy and to check the power of the Jacobins. The diplomatic relations between the two countries became increasingly tense, and a peremptory ultimatum from Vienna bidding France put her house in order was followed on April 20, 1792 by a formal declaration of war against Austria.

The object for which the king's friends advocated war was completely defeated by the disasters which attended its opening. The Jacobins were able to represent to the nation that the king was in league with its enemies, and that treachery on his part could alone account for the reverses which attended the campaign against Austrian Belgium. In a suspicious mood the Assembly decreed the abolition of the king's guards, the establishment of 20,000 volunteers under the walls of Paris, and the deportation of all priests who had not taken the oath. True to his principles, Louis vetoed the expatriation of the priests and the establishment of the military camp, a proposal which had been made with a view to coerce moderate opinion in the city. His Girondin ministry besought Louis to withdraw his veto. Louis refused, the ministry fell, and from that moment Girondins and Jacobins alike were united in their determination to destroy the Constitution.

To that end the insurrectionary leaders organised a popular demonstration for June 20, 1792. An armed mob visited the Assembly, demanded the restoration of the ministry, and gave expression to their distrust of the king. The demonstrators then proceeded to the Tuileries and broke into the apartments of the king and queen, who for hours were subjected to danger and insult without any attempt by those

in authority to protect them. The bravery of the king's bearing, and the insult to which he had been subjected, gained him general sympathy throughout the country. Prussia was moved to join Austria, and an allied force crossed the frontier and advanced upon Paris. But its commander did ill-service to Louis by issuing a proclamation threatening all who opposed him with the fate of rebels, and holding Paris responsible for the king's welfare under pain of destruction. The insurrectionary party worked openly for the king's downfall. A "Directory of Insurrection" was formed, and under the pretext of commemorating the Federation volunteers were invited to Paris to aid the conspirators to destroy the king. Among them was a contingent from Marseilles, who traversed France singing the song composed by Rouget de Lisle for the Army of the Rhine, which as the *Marseillaise* became the war-song of the Revolution. On August 10 the long-planned attack on the Tuileries took place. The king's Swiss Guard, which had evaded the order for its disbanding, was the only reliable force available for the defence of the palace. It was overpowered by numbers: the king and queen and their children sought the Assembly's protection in the *Salle du Manège*, while the mob pillaged the deserted palace.

The revolution of August 10 had been deliberately planned by a small but resolute body, of which Danton, an official of the Paris Commune or municipality, was the leader. In the small hours of the 10th this body assembled at the Hôtel de Ville and declared the Commune dissolved and itself its successor—the *Commune du 10 août*. It was the lawless authority of mob rule and terrorism and for the moment ruled the situation. At its bidding the royal family was removed from the Luxembourg Palace, which the Assembly had assigned to it, and was transferred to the Tower or Keep of the Temple, the ancient castle of the Templars until their suppression in 1312. The subservient Assembly, in which only about one-third of its members dared to record their votes, confirmed the Commune's usurpation of municipal power and enlarged it to nearly 300 members, with whom Robespierre, who had carefully held aloof from the proceedings of August 10, now associated himself. The Assembly also appointed a provisional ministry, in

which Danton held the portfolio of justice, suspended the king from the exercise of his functions under the Constitution of 1791, and summoned a National Convention to determine the fate of the monarchy. Also at the bidding of its master the Assembly set up a tribunal, elected by the constituents of the insurrectionary Commune, to try summarily "the enemies of the people."

Until the National Convention assembled a month later Danton was the master of Paris, and indeed of France. He used his power to destroy the Moderates and royalists, whom he regarded as enemies of his country. Supported by the ferocious Marat, on the pretext of searching for arms Danton organised a systematic house to house visitation in Paris, and filled the prisons with men and women of the Moderate or anti-Jacobin party. The advance of the allies was another incentive to the policy of terrorism which Danton, Marat, and Robespierre favoured with a view to influence the elections for the National Convention. On September 2 the allies made themselves masters of Verdun, and though the news of its fall did not reach Paris until forty-eight hours later, Danton determined to use its investment to goad the mob to the requisite pitch of fury and excitement. On September 2 the *tocsin* sounded from the Hôtel de Ville. A black flag bearing the legend "The Fatherland is in danger" was hung out. Impassioned appeals were made to the mob, while a band of assassins in the pay of the Commune visited the prisons and murdered in cold blood all the prisoners found there, to the number of 1400, of whom not a few were women and boys. Marat urged a similar massacre to be conducted throughout the several Departments, but happily with comparatively little result.

On September 20 the Legislative Assembly, which had been powerless to control the brutality of the Commune, sat for the last time; the elections to the National Convention being complete. On the same day the allies' advance was stayed at Valmy and Paris was safe. On September 21 the National Convention held its first meeting in the *Salle du Manège*. Summoned to give France a new constitution, at its first session it abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the Republic. Three months later Louis XVI was sent to the block (January, 1793), and Marie Antoinette followed him to the *guillotine* in the autumn (October, 1793).

CHAPTER XIV

EUROPE AND THE REVOLUTION

FRANCE'S declaration of war on Austria in April, 1792, was the beginning of a conflict which lasted for twenty-three years, embroiled the whole of Europe, and shook it to its foundations. In the early stages of the Revolution there was no indication that the spirit and policy of Louis XIV were again to disturb Europe. Nor were France's neighbours concerned to intervene between her and, as it seemed, her own act of suicide. But thus early two parties in France desired war. The royalists anticipated from it either the restoration of the king by his Austrian friends, or, in the event of their defeat, an enhancement of the monarchy's prestige sufficient to bring about the same result. The Girondins, who were in power, favoured war as the readiest means by which to maintain their ascendancy.

As early as August 4, 1789, Europe was taught that the Revolution was a menace to France's neighbours. For the Assembly's abolition of feudal rights on that date affected the Rhenish Electors, the bishops of Strassburg, Speyer, Basle, and others who possessed feudal rights in Alsace and elsewhere which had been guaranteed when the territories were ceded to France. As early as February, 1790, a protest from them reached the Assembly. Obtaining only vague promises of indemnity the *princes possessionés* referred their claim to the Diet of the Empire and demanded redress. The Papacy also had a grievance. The county of Venaissin had belonged to it since 1229 and the city of Avignon since 1348. But taking advantage of the disorders which resulted from the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Republic annexed the territory and constituted it France's eighty-fourth Department (September, 1791).

Before the year 1792 closed the Revolution bred in France a spirit of aggression which called Europe into the

field against her. One of the earliest acts of the Convention was to declare (Nov. 19, 1792) France's readiness to extend her help to countries which desired to follow her example. A month later (Dec. 15, 1792) the Convention announced that in every country occupied by its armies, the constitution would be overthrown, the sovereignty of the people be proclaimed, and nobility, serfdom, and all feudal rights and monopolies be abolished. The confiscation to the use of the French Republic of all property belonging to the sovereign, his adherents, and any civil and religious corporation in countries so occupied was also threatened, and the Republic's enmity was declared against all who persisted in retaining a monarchy and privileged classes. Nor was the Republic's aggressiveness confined to the cause of liberty and equality. Its statesmen realised that nothing would so firmly establish the Republic as success in war. Hence, while overthrowing the constitution of the *ancien régime*, the Republic borrowed its foreign policy, and the expansion of France to her "natural" frontiers, in other words the recovery of the boundaries of ancient Gaul, was the object of republican foreign policy as it had been of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

The grievances of the *princes possessionés* on the Rhine, the hospitality accorded to the *émigrés* by the Electors of Treves and Mainz, and the fears of an understanding between Louis XVI and the Emperor, caused increasing tension between France and Austria. In answer to the Assembly's protests Leopold announced (November 1791) that he had requested the Elector of Treves to disperse the *émigrés*; but that should the Elector be attacked, Austrian troops would support him. The Girondin ministry, regarding the reply as unsatisfactory, placed three armies on the frontier, one of them under Lafayette's command, and threatened war unless a satisfactory answer was received from Vienna by March 4, 1792. Three days before the ultimatum expired Leopold died, and his cautious policy with him. His successor, Francis II, the last sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire, was deeply hostile to the anti-monarchical movements in France and concerned in the treatment of his aunt, Marie Antoinette. Leopold had already concluded a treaty with Prussia (Feb., 1792) guaranteeing mutual assistance in case

of attack, and Francis dispatched an answer to France which demanded the re-establishment of the *princes possessionés* in their rights, the restoration of Avignon and the Venaissin to the Pope, and the suppression in France of conditions which constituted a menace to the rest of Europe. Five days after the receipt of this message Louis himself in the Assembly read a declaration of war on the King of Hungary and Bohemia, designating Francis by those titles in order to signify that the quarrel was with the head of the House of Habsburg and not with the Empire (April 20, 1792).

Though the Revolution seriously affected the organisation, equipment, and discipline of the French army, the war which faced it made at the outset no extraordinary demand on its powers. Gustavus III of Sweden, an uncompromising foe of the Revolution, was murdered a few weeks after Leopold's death, and relationship with the Bourbons moved neither Sardinia, Spain, nor Naples to take the field. The Girondin ministry was therefore able to concentrate its attack upon the Austrian Netherlands. But the unsuspected demoralisation of the French armies compelled the abandonment of the invasion, and the Paris mob was thus early encouraged to entertain invidious stories of an "Austrian Committee" at the Tuileries, and to prepare itself for the attack which it delivered on August 10, 1792. Meanwhile an Austro-Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick crossed the Rhine into Lorraine. On September 2 Verdun fell. It had been hoped that the Argonne, a line of thickly wooded hills giving access to Champagne from the east, would stay the invasion. But on September 13 Brunswick penetrated its defiles. Paris, where Danton and the Commune were directing the September Massacres, was only a week's march distant, and Louis's deliverance from the Temple seemingly imminent. Unable to impede the Prussian advance, the French army was brilliantly guided by Dumouriez to throw itself across the line of Brunswick's retreat and cut his communications. At Valmy, with his back to Paris, Brunswick on September 20 fought an indecisive battle which was converted into a French victory by his resolution to retreat. The German poet Goethe, who was present, predicted that the day would mark the beginning of a new epoch. And indeed on the morrow the French monarchy ceased to exist and the

Year I of the French Republic began. A few weeks later Brunswick's army recrossed the frontier.

It was in the exhilaration caused by the retreat of the allies that the Convention issued its invitation to other countries to follow France's example, and declared its intention to establish the sovereignty of the people in all countries occupied by its armies. The invasion of Belgium, whose relations with Austria had provoked revolt in the reign of Joseph II and promised encouraging soil for revolutionary propaganda, was resumed. On November 6, 1792, Dumouriez's victory at Jemappes forced the Austrians out of the country, and a body of commissioners headed by Danton hastened from Paris to establish a Belgian Republic on the French pattern. On the same day as the battle of Jemappes, the Convention, in defiance of treaty obligations, opened the Scheldt and proclaimed Antwerp a free port, a measure which called Great Britain into the arena as a belligerent. With rapid success France recovered her "natural" frontier on the Rhine by her occupation of Speyer, Worms and Mainz, and early in 1793 declared them "reunited" to her. In Italy the Republic's armies met with similar success. The county of Savoy and duchy of Nice were wrested from the king of Sardinia and were formed into the Departments of Mont Blanc and the Maritime Alps.

The Convention's declaration of its intention to accord "fraternité et secours" to all people "qui voudront recouvrer leur liberté," the opening of the Scheldt in violation of treaties, the acquisition of Antwerp, whose position opposite the mouth of the Thames made the port, in Napoleon's words, "a pistol pointed at the heart of England," and the probability of French aggressions in Holland, whom Great Britain was under treaty obligations to defend, were matters in which the British government was vitally concerned. William Pitt warned France (December, 1792) that he could not recognise the opening of the Scheldt, nor suffer her to make herself the sovereign of the Low Countries, directly or indirectly. He cautioned her that if she desired to retain the friendship of Great Britain "she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." Three weeks later, when the news of

Louis's execution reached London, the French envoy was at once requested to leave the country.

On February 1, 1793, France declared war on England and Holland, and a few weeks later on Spain. The Papal States, Portugal, and Naples joined the coalition against France, outside which the only neutral countries were Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Venice, and Turkey. For two years France withstood the united strength of the First Coalition, but the campaign of 1793 was marked by general disaster. After defeating Dumouriez at Neerwinden (March) the Austrians regained Belgium. The Prussians captured Mainz (July), reoccupied the left bank of the Rhine, and might once more have set themselves on the march to Paris but for disagreements with Austria in regard to the Polish question. On the south the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees, and a Piedmontese army invaded Savoy. On the northern frontier an Anglo-Hanoverian force gave siege to Dunkirk, until defeat at Hondschoote (September) caused its withdrawal.

As in 1792, the crisis reacted upon the political situation in Paris. In June the "Mountain," as the Jacobin party was termed (from the lofty seats which it occupied in the Convention, which now met in the Tuileries), acting with the Paris Commune, at length compassed the fall of the Girondins. Throughout the country there was widespread revolt against this further manifestation of mob violence. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday (July 13, 1793) was inspired by it. A few weeks later Toulon was actually delivered to an Anglo-Spanish fleet by insurgents against the Convention, and was not recovered until the end of the year. The Mountain meanwhile preserved its ascendancy by inaugurating the "reign of terror." Marie Antoinette was sent to the block (October, 1793), and also the infamous Philip Égalité, who as a member of the Convention had voted the execution of his cousin the king at the beginning of the year. The massacres continued until Robespierre's tyranny ended with his downfall and execution (10 Thermidor (July 28), 1794).

In the war France held her own, and in 1794 the tide of victory again set towards her. Lord Howe won the battle of the First of June over the Brest fleet. But on land the French armies advanced on every hand. A victory at Fleurus (June, 1794) placed France once more in occupation

of Belgium. By the beginning of 1795 the United Provinces submitted. William V fled to England, and the Stadtholdership was abolished. On the Rhine the French recovered their position, and Savoy was delivered from its invaders. The Spaniards were driven across the Pyrenees and their own country was invaded by a French force. Her successes inclined France to peace with a view to consolidating what she had won. In the ranks of the Coalition also there was a general disinclination to continue the war. Austria and Russia came to an agreement regarding the partition of Poland in January, 1795, and Prussia was anxious to be free to promote her own interests in the impending dissolution of her neighbour. The grand-duke of Tuscany, the Emperor's brother, alarmed at the activity of the French Army of Italy, in which Bonaparte was serving as commander of the artillery, was the first to desert the Coalition and made peace in February, 1795. In the following April Prussia signed the Treaty of Basle, which gave France a free hand on the left bank of the Rhine. Holland, proclaimed as the Batavian Republic in 1798, made peace in the following month, and became the ally of France against Great Britain. The death of the unhappy boy Louis XVII in the Temple (June, 1795) removed an impediment in the way of peace and was followed a few weeks later (July, 1795) by a treaty, also signed at Basle, between Spain and France, in which the former surrendered her portion of San Domingo in the Antilles, while France recalled her army from Spanish soil. Before the end of the year Saxony and other German belligerents, Portugal, the Pope, Parma, and Naples made peace. The foes of the Republic narrowed down to Great Britain and Austria.

The victories of the Republic were accompanied by the formulation of a new Constitution; that of the Year Three (1795), which established the Directory. The experience of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies and of the Convention had shown that a serious weakness in the republican constitution was the powerlessness of the executive, due to the attempt to control it by a public assembly subjected frequently to mob pressure. Experience also had shown the advantages of a two-chambered legislature, an institution which had not been adopted in 1791 in order to avoid a too slavish copying of the English system. The constitution of

the Year Three (1795) created a Directory of five persons elected by the Legislature, to whom jointly the powers of the executive were confided. The Convention gave place to two Chambers, the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of *Anciens*, the latter a sort of revising Senate. The new condition endured until the *coup d'état* of 19 Brumaire (November 10), 1799, which established the Consulate.

For the campaign of 1796 the Directory prepared elaborate schemes against Great Britain on sea and Austria on land. But the only serious attack upon Great Britain was the expedition which Hoche conducted to Ireland in December. Bad weather and mismanagement defeated the plans of the Directory and the expedition did not even land. Similar demonstrations on the Welsh coast proved equally unavailing. Even the mutinies which disorganised the British fleets at Spithead and the Nore early in 1797 yielded no advantage to France, and Admiral Duncan in that year inflicted a crushing defeat at Camperdown upon France's ally, the Dutch fleet, while Nelson showed his genius in the victory of St. Vincent.

Against Austria the plans of the Directory in 1796 contemplated a triple and converging attack. The Army of the Rhine was to advance on Vienna from Strassburg, the Army of the Sambre-et-Meuse from the Rhenish provinces, while the Army of Italy under Bonaparte was to cross the Alps and join hands with the other two. Neither of the armies in Germany achieved success, and the eyes of France were riveted on Bonaparte and a brilliant campaign which began a new era in the history of Italy and laid the foundations of the young general's fortunes. The campaign lasted from April, 1796, to April, 1797, and ranged from the Gulf of Genoa, over the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, across the Austrian Alps to Leoben, within eighty miles of Vienna, where Bonaparte forced his enemy to agree to preliminaries of peace. Operating first in Piedmont, Bonaparte compelled Victor Amadeus III to accept the armistice of Cherasco, which established the neutrality of the kingdom of Sardinia. Following the Austrians into Lombardy, Bonaparte won the battle of Lodi and entered Milan. The finest pictures from its galleries were sent to France, as well as great sums of money which Bonaparte exacted from the dukes of Modena

and Parma, and the Pope, welcome contributions which reconciled the Directors to the young general's masterful determination to conduct the war in his own way, and also gained him the enthusiastic admiration of France. Mantua, which commanded the valley of the Adige, the route to Germany, fell after a long siege in February, 1797. The way was open to Vienna, and Bonaparte had advanced as far as Leoben when, on April 18, 1797, he signed preliminaries of peace with Austria. His position was precarious and he was ignorant of the Directory's military preparations to support his appearance in Germany.

The gist of the Leoben Preliminaries was an understanding that Venice should be sacrificed to Austria in compensation for the latter's surrender to the demands of France elsewhere. Events played into Bonaparte's hands. From the beginning of the Italian campaign the neutrality of Venice had been violated by the French, who had also laid exactions upon the territory of the Republic. Taking advantage of Bonaparte's absence in the Austrian Alps a demonstration against the French took place on Easter Day, 1797, at Verona, in which a number of soldiers and civilians were killed. Similar outbreaks took place elsewhere and furnished Bonaparte with a pretext to carry out his secret designs against Venice. Threatening that he would be "a second Attila" to the city, Bonaparte compelled the Venetians to abandon their oligarchical constitution and to form a Republic. A French force was admitted into the city and an offensive alliance between the two States was concluded. The Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797) sealed the fate of Venice and brought the War of the First Coalition to an end. Austria abandoned Belgium and Lombardy (converted by Bonaparte into the Cisalpine Republic, into which the Cispadane Republic—Modena, Bologna, Reggio and Ferrara—had already been merged), and recognised the Ligurian Republic which Bonaparte had formed in Genoa. France retained Venice's Ionian Isles for herself, gave up to Austria Venice and Venetian territory as far as the Adige, with Istria and Dalmatia, and secured Austria's countenance of her acquisition of the left bank of the Rhine, which the Congress at Rastatt confirmed to her in the following March. Early in 1798, amid scenes of anger and despair, Venice was handed over to her new masters by the French

after they had rifled its arsenals and robbed its galleries of their chief glories.

The conclusion of the Treaty of Campo Formio left Great Britain alone confronting the Directory, and on his return from Italy Bonaparte was nominated (February, 1798) to command the Army of England which was designed to repeat Hoche's effort on a larger scale and with more effect. Bonaparte, however, was alive to the great difficulties of the project and to its doubtful chances of success. He had no intention of risking his reputation and had already planned an expedition to Egypt, which would place himself in a picturesque setting and damage Great Britain's position in the Eastern Mediterranean and India. Not unwilling to remove the young and masterful general as far from Paris as possible the Directory sanctioned Bonaparte's scheme, and in May, 1798, disregarding the movements of Nelson and the British fleet, the expedition sailed. Malta was seized, the Grand Master having been bribed in advance, and the fleet anchored safely at Aboukir Bay. Subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan, the masters of Egypt were the Mamelukes, whose power dated from the thirteenth century. Bonaparte posed as the friend of the Egyptian populace against their masters and as the vindicator of the authority of the Sultan, and after winning the Battle of the Pyramids entered Cairo. But almost at the same moment Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay (the Battle of the Nile) and cut off from Bonaparte the power to retreat. Influenced by Great Britain, Turkey declared war upon France (September, 1798), and Bonaparte forestalled attack by advancing into Syria. He captured Jaffa; but Acre, strengthened by the support of Sir Sidney Smith and a British squadron, held out against him. Returning to Egypt he defeated a Turkish force, and a month later (August, 1799) with a few officers embarked for France. For two years longer the French army maintained its hold on Egypt. But in 1801 Sir Ralph Abercromby's victory outside Alexandria caused the surrender of the French garrisons there and at Cairo, and the army was conveyed back to France. The exploit had been singularly unsuccessful.

Bonaparte's hasty departure from Egypt was caused by the critical situation which had developed in France during his absence in the East. Not content with its gains at Campo

Formio and Rastatt, the Directory had embarked upon a policy of renewed aggression which rapidly caused a Second Coalition against France. With republicanism firmly seated in northern Italy it was natural that sympathetic aspirations should be stirred in Rome among those who were malcontent with the Pope's temporal rule. Encouraged by the French ambassador at Rome, Bonaparte's brother Joseph, the Roman democrats organised demonstrations at the French Embassy, which caused the intervention of the papal troops and the death of General Duphot, whom Bonaparte had associated with his brother. Joseph Bonaparte refused to accept the apology of the Papal government, a French army was put in motion upon Rome, and menaced the city while the democrats within restored the Roman Republic (February, 1798). The aged Pope Pius VI was expelled from Rome and died a year later in the south of France. Equally high-handed was the Directory's treatment of the Cisalpine Republic, which found the liberty guaranteed by the Treaty of Campo Formio practically annulled, its policy strictly controlled, and its resources utilised for the French Republic (March, 1798). At about the same time French intervention, which had for some time been contemplated, took place in Switzerland. The Confederacy was dissolved and the Helvetic Republic was set up in its place, with a constitution modelled on that of the Directory (1798). Three cantons, Bienne, Geneva, and Mühlhausen were annexed to France.

The result of these aggressions was the formation of the Second Coalition, which Great Britain organised against France on the grounds on which one hundred years before she had fashioned the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. The Coalition was joined by Ferdinand IV of Naples, whose wife was the sister of Marie Antoinette. Paul of Russia, who detested the revolutionary *régime* in France and resented Bonaparte's seizure of Malta, of whose Knightly Order he had recently accepted the title of Protector, threw himself with zest into the Coalition and undertook to send an army into Italy. Turkey also, provoked by Bonaparte's occupation of Egypt, joined the league, to which Austria and other German States gave their support. Encouraged by the news of Nelson's victory of the Nile Ferdinand of Naples rushed precipitately into war. His army entered Rome (November,

1798) and forced the French to retire. A fortnight later they reoccupied Rome, and in January, 1799, overran the Neapolitan kingdom. Ferdinand and his wife fled to Sicily on board Nelson's fleet, and Naples was converted into the Parthenopean Republic. The two remaining independent Italian States, Piedmont and Tuscany, were also occupied by France. Piedmont was conquered without even a pretext being offered. Charles Emmanuel IV abdicated (December, 1798), and took refuge in Sardinia. Tuscany was wantonly attacked, the grand-duke Ferdinand III was deposed, and in March, 1799, the French occupied Florence.

Disaster followed swiftly upon these acts of aggression. A Russian army under Suvóroff appeared in North Italy in April, 1799, and inflicted heavy defeats at the Adda, Trebia, and Novi upon the French, whose influence in the peninsula was for the moment obliterated. The Cisalpine, Roman, and Parthenopean Republics collapsed, and Ferdinand of Naples marked his restoration by reprisals of great cruelty against his subjects. An English fleet destroyed the Dutch fleet in the Texel (August, 1799) and an Anglo-Russian force under the duke of York threatened Amsterdam, but in the following October accepted the Convention of Alkmaar and evacuated the country. In Germany a French army directed against Vienna was defeated at Stockach (March, 1799), though France's hold upon Switzerland was maintained by Masséna's victory at Zurich (September, 1799) over a Russian force.

Outside Italy, France had recovered from her reverses when in October, 1799, Bonaparte returned from Egypt. But the Directory was unpopular, and Bonaparte readily lent himself and his prestige to overthrow it. On the 10th November, 1799 (19th Brumaire), the two Legislative Councils were overawed by military force, and a small body of deputies voted a commission to draw up a constitution. The new constitution had already been drafted by the Director Sieyès. But Bonaparte fashioned it to his own liking. He compelled the creation of a First Consul, with virtually sovereign powers, and took the office himself. To conceal the actual character of his position he approved the appointment of a Second and Third Consul, whose powers were purely advisory. From the Consulate to the Empire was a simple transition.

A single campaign in 1800 sufficed to demonstrate the ability and success of France's new government, whose task was the easier by the withdrawal of Russia and of Austria's ablest general, the Archduke Charles. One army was organised to operate against the Austrians in the Rhine Valley. A second was to hold North Italy pending the First Consul's arrival with a third army. The scheme was planned to procure for Bonaparte the glory of dealing the conclusive blow in the struggle. In May, 1800, he crossed the St. Gothard Pass into Italy and a month later crushed the Austrian army at Marengo near Alessandria, where he concluded an armistice which compelled the Austrians to evacuate Northern Italy to the Mincio. The army in Germany won the battle of Hochstett a few days later, Munich fell to the French, and Austria agreed to a suspension of hostilities, and upon its conclusion experienced another defeat at Hohenlinden (December, 1800). In February, 1801, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed.

The Treaty of Lunéville, like its predecessor of Campo Formio, recognised the left bank of the Rhine as France's frontier, and ratified her hold upon Belgium and Holland. In Italy France recovered the position to which her victory at Marengo entitled her. Naples, owing to the offices of Tsar Paul, was left undisturbed upon her undertaking not to admit British vessels to her ports. The Pope was restored to his possessions, except Bologna and Ferrara which had been attached to the Cisalpine Republic. In North Italy the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics were reconstructed. Tuscany, taken from its Austrian grand-duke, was constituted the kingdom of Etruria, and was conferred on Prince Louis of Parma in exchange for Spain's cession of Louisiana. Piedmont was annexed to France.

Once more Great Britain found herself alone in the field and the object of an Armed Neutrality. The latter was organised by the Tsar, whose hatred of revolutionary France had yielded to a glowing admiration of Bonaparte. He also resented Great Britain's refusal to surrender Malta (which she had taken in 1800) to the Knights Hospitaller, of whose Order he had become Grand Master. He therefore induced Sweden and Denmark to revive the Armed Neutrality of the North (December, 1800), which Prussia also joined, for the purpose

of resisting any interference on Great Britain's part with their commerce. The British government treated the Armed Neutrality as a hostile league, and a fleet was forthwith sent to the Baltic. In April, 1801, Nelson won the battle of Copenhagen and forced Denmark to withdraw from the Coalition. A few days earlier Paul was assassinated, and the Armed Neutrality broke up. The position in Egypt was cleared by the surrender of the French garrisons in the summer. Though neither France nor Great Britain anticipated more than a breathing space in their implacable enmity, a pause was recognised as necessary on both sides, and in March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was signed. Great Britain undertook the restoration of her colonial conquests, save Ceylon and Trinidad, which she had captured from Holland and Spain. Malta and Egypt were to be restored to the Knights Hospitallers and Turkey respectively.

The conclusion of peace with Great Britain took Bonaparte a step further towards a throne. In August, 1802, he was appointed First Consul for life, with power to nominate his successor. The partisans of the House of Bourbon saw with dismay, that while France was drifting back to a monarchy, Bonaparte barred a restoration of the line of Capet. After the Peace of Amiens a dangerous plot for a Bourbon restoration was hatched, of which the chief movers were Georges Cadoudal, one of the Breton rebels against the tyranny of the Terrorist Commune in 1794, and Pichegru, an officer who had served the Republic. The count of Artois was privy to the plot, the existence of which became known to the First Consul. In February, 1804, the conspirators were arrested. Cadoudal was put to death, and Pichegru died in prison. Moreau, who was privy to their plans, was exiled to the United States. Determined to retaliate on the Bourbon princes, and unable to get into his hands the late king's brothers, the counts of Provence and Artois, Bonaparte ordered the arrest of the duke of Enghien, though he was not a party to Cadoudal's plot and was living in the grand-duchy of Baden. There, in defiance of international law, he was arrested. He was taken to Vincennes, condemned by court martial as an *émigré* who had borne arms against France, and was summarily shot (March, 1804). Cadoudal's plot hastened the transformation of the Consulate into a hereditary mon-

archy. An invitation to Bonaparte to assume the royal title was conveyed by the Senate and was supported by a popular *plébiscite*, in which less than 3000 voted against a proposal which more than 3,000,000 by their votes approved. So discredited were the early watchwords of the Revolution, and so indelibly had Bonaparte impressed his abilities upon his countrymen. On December 2, 1804, at Paris, in the presence of Pope Pius VII, he crowned himself Emperor of the French.

Four months (August 18, 1804) before the coronation of the first Emperor of the French, the last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II, proclaimed himself Francis I "Hereditary Emperor of Austria," and two years later, the older title which he and his predecessors had borne for more than a thousand years lapsed for ever. The immediate event which caused the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire was the expansion of France to the left bank of the Rhine. The Treaty of Lunéville (1801) undertook that the dispossessed princes should receive compensation elsewhere, and the Imperial Diet assembled at Ratisbon in that year to dispose of the matter. But the settlement which received its sanction in 1803 was imposed by France and Russia, whose interests were so far identical that both were averse from strengthening Austria and Prussia.

The reconstitution of Germany sanctioned by the Diet of Ratisbon destroyed the predominance of Austria and of the Roman Catholic religion in the Empire. All the clerical States which the Reformation had spared were secularised, while the Rhenish electoral archbishoprics of Cologne and Treves disappeared, their territories being in the hands of France. A single ecclesiastical Elector, the archbishop of Mainz, remained by the side of the lay Electors, who since the union of the Bavarian and Palatinate dignities in 1777 were five in number (Bohemia, Brandenburg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover). To these the Diet added four new Electors, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Würtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Elector of Salzburg (the last being the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand of Tuscany). Hence in the College of Electors of the Imperial Diet a Roman Catholic majority was converted into a Protestant majority and Austrian influence was correspondingly de-

pressed. A similar result was secured in the College of Princes, in which especially Austrian influence had been able to control the Diet. But in 1803, owing to the secularisation of the Catholic bishoprics, the number of members of the College was greatly curtailed, and though about one quarter of the votes represented spiritual fiefs, the latter were now secularised property. The third College of the Diet, that of the Free Imperial Cities, disappeared, since only six of its fifty-one members (Augsburg, Bremen, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Nuremberg) retained their privileges.

While the reorganisation of the Diet weakened the influence of Austria, the distribution of the secularised States benefited her less than her neighbours, and the dispossessed Rhenish princes practically not at all. Prussia was the chief gainer by her acquisition of the bishoprics of Hildesheim, Paderborn, Erfurt, part of Münster, and other ecclesiastical territories, which she received in exchange for her Rhenish provinces. Hanover received the bishopric of Osnabrück, and the general result of these allocations of property was a vast simplification of the Empire as the Treaty of Westphalia had ordered it. One hundred and twelve States were suppressed.

After his victory at Austerlitz Napoleon completed the reconstruction of Germany and brought the Holy Roman Empire to an end by compelling the formal abdication of Francis II. At Napoleon's instigation the newly created kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and thirteen other German princes formed the Confederation of the Rhine (July, 1806), accepted the French Emperor as their Protector, bound themselves to furnish contingents to his armies, and declared themselves for ever separated from the Germanic body. After the Treaty of Tilsit (July, 1807) the Confederation was greatly enlarged, and included, in the region between the Rhine and the Elbe, the four kingdoms of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Westphalia (formed in 1807 for Jerome Bonaparte), and Saxony (created a kingdom by Napoleon in 1806), and numerous other principalities, with a population of 20,000,000 and a Diet at Frankfort.

The establishment of the Confederation involved the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire. A month after its formation Napoleon summoned Francis II to lay down the

title of Holy Roman Emperor. Francis yielded and thenceforward held only the Austrian title which he had assumed two years before. On August 6, 1806, his abdication was made, and on that day the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist, an institution which connected the nineteenth century with the European system of Otto the Great, Charlemagne, and the Roman Cæsars.

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I. THE BOURBON AND ORLEANIST KINGS OF FRANCE

II. | T

HENRY IV, m. Maria de' Medici.

1589-1610 |

LOUIS XIII, 1610-43.

LOUIS XIV, 1643-1715.

Louis, the Dauphin, d. 1711.

Louis, Duke of Burgundy, d. 1712.

Philip V of Spain
(see Table IV for the
Spanish Bourbons).

LOUIS XV, 1715-74.

Louis, Dauphin, d. 1765.

LOUIS XVI, 1774-92.
ex. 1793.

LOUIS XVIII, 1814-24.

CHARLES X, 1824-30, d. 1836.

LOUIS XVII,
d. 1795 *s.p.*

Marie Thérèse, m. Louis, Duke of An-
(Madame Royale). goulême, d. 1844, *s.p.*
Berry, ass. 1820.

Henry, Count of Cham-
bord, d. 1883 *s.p.*

Philippe, Duke of
Orleans, b. 1869.

Ferdinand, Duke of
Montpensier, b. 1884.

Amélie, m. Carlos I of
Portugal (ass. 1908).

Manoel II, King of Portugal,
dethroned 1910.

Philippe, Duke of Orleans, d. 1701.

Philippe, the Regent, d. 1723.

Louis, d. 1752.

Louis Philippe, d. 1785.

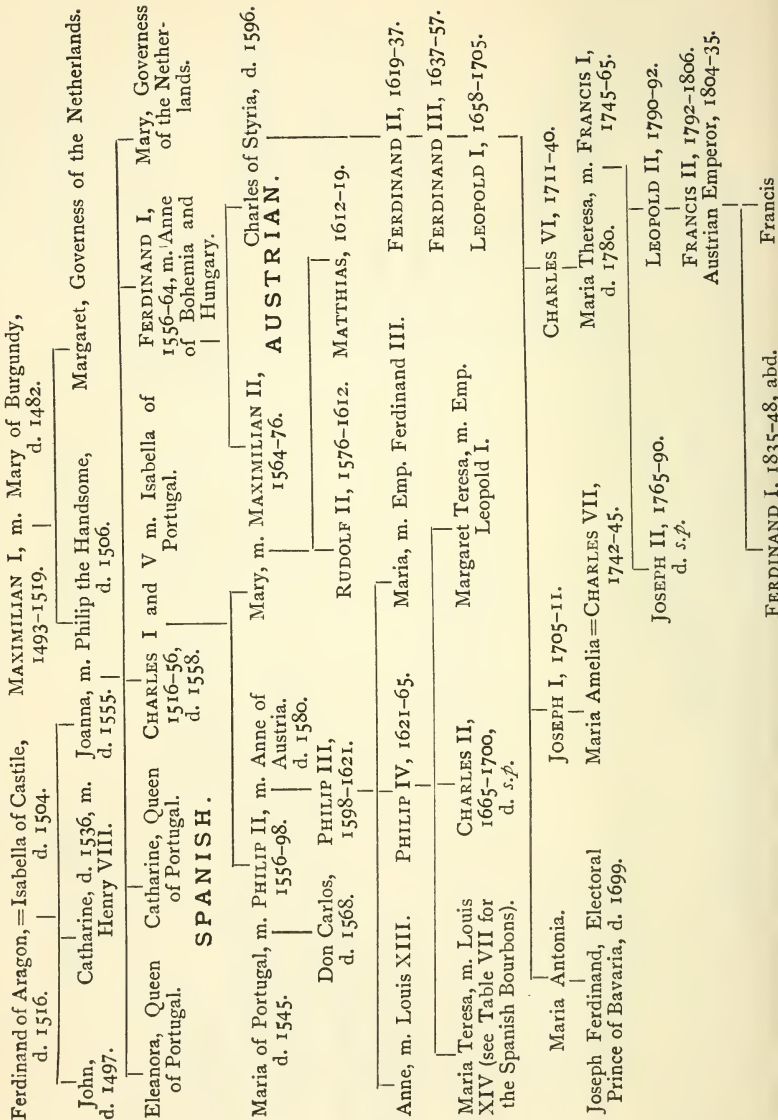
Louis Philippe (Égalité), ex. 1793.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, 1830-48, d. 1850.

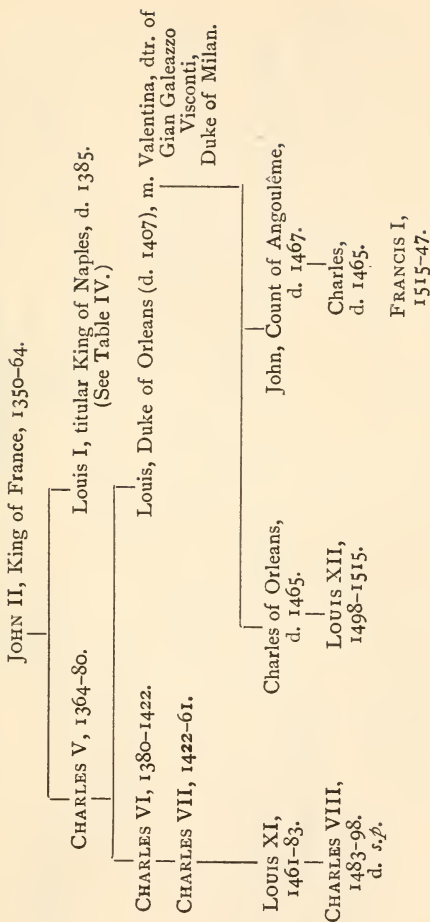
Ferdinand, Duke of Orleans, d. 1842.

Louis Philippe, Count
of Paris, d. 1894.

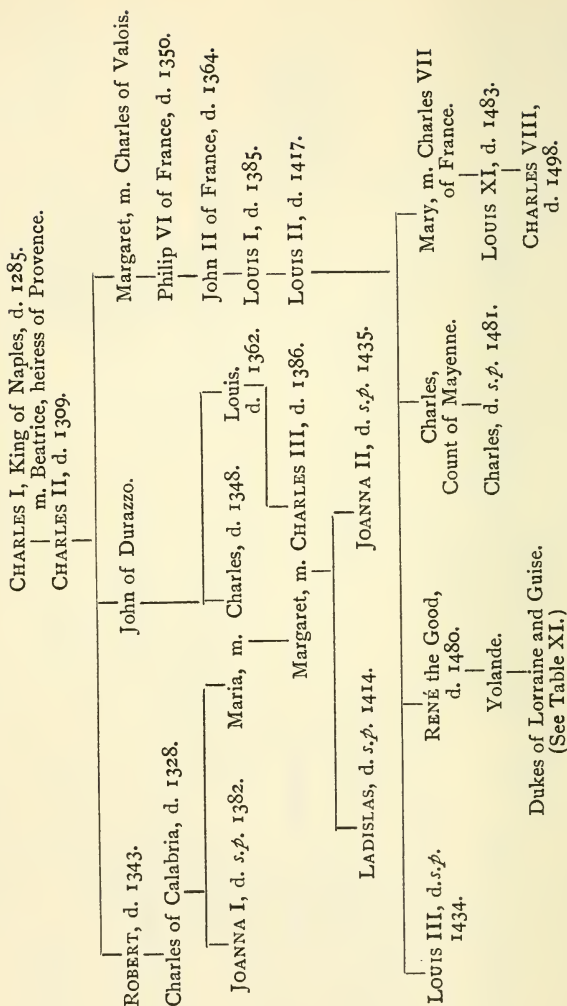
II. THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN HABSBURGS



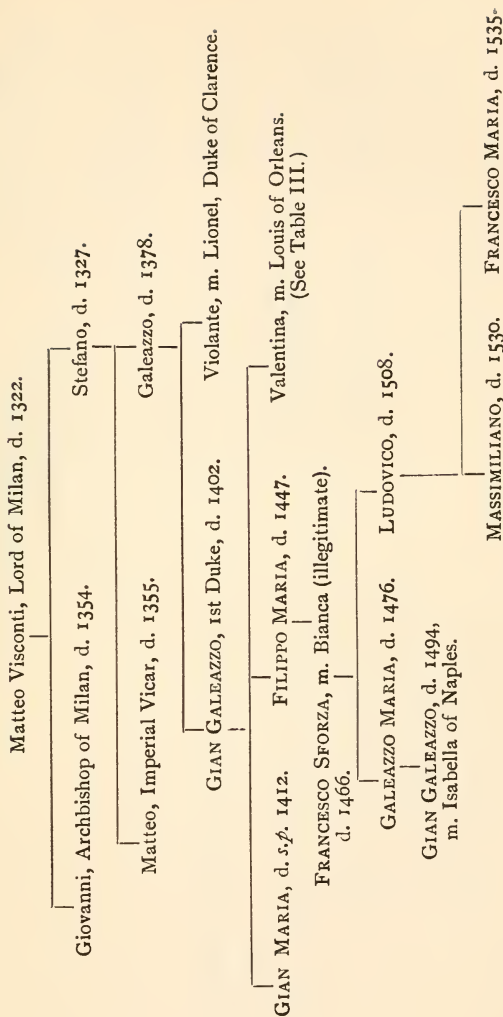
III. THE FRENCH CLAIMS ON MILAN



IV. THE ANGEVIN DYNASTIES IN NAPLES

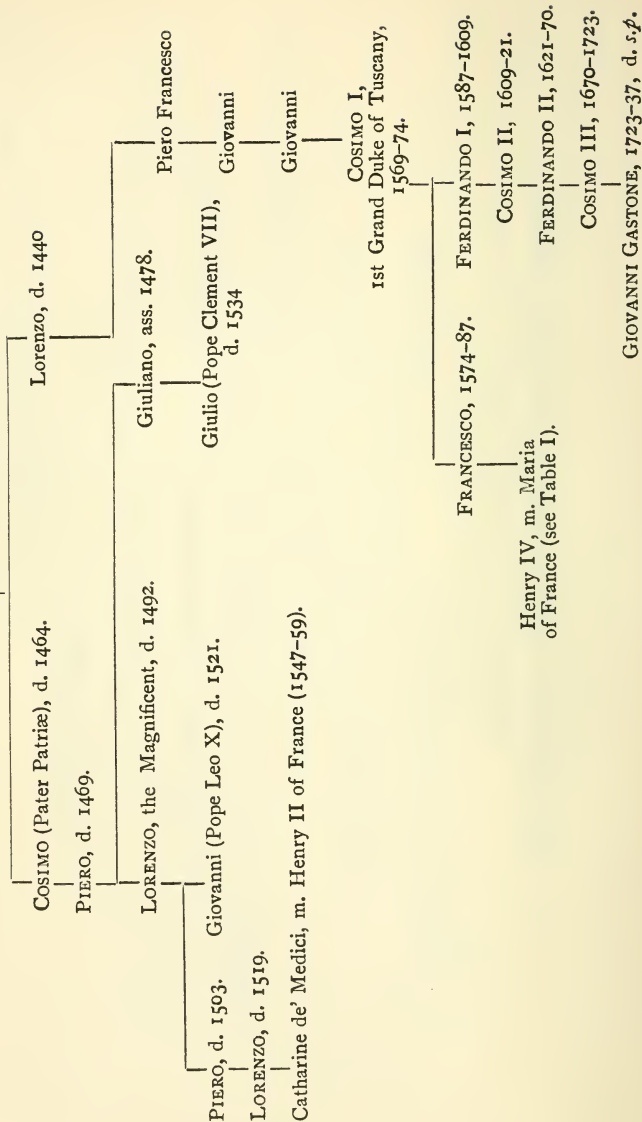


V. THE VISCONTI AND SFORZA DUKES OF MILAN

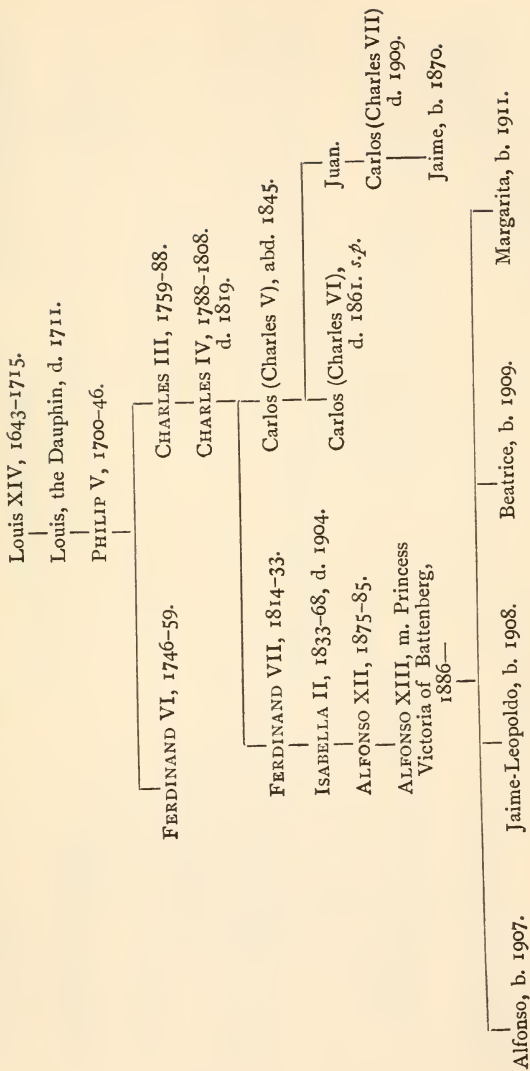


VI. THE MEDICI

Giovanni de' Medici, d. 1429.



VII. THE SPANISH BOURBONS



VIII. THE KINGS OF DENMARK

CHRISTIAN I, 1448-81.

JOHN, 1481-1513.

Margaret, m. James III of Scotland.

FREDERICK I, 1523-33.

CHRISTIAN II, 1513-23, deposed, m. Isabella, sister of Charles V. d. 1559.

CHRISTIAN III, 1534-59.

Dorothea, m. Albert Duke of Prussia.

FREDERICK II, 1559-88.

Anne, m. James VI of Scotland.

CHRISTIAN IV, 1588-1648.

FREDERICK III, 1648-70.

CHRISTIAN V, 1670-99.

George, m. Anne of England.

Ulrica Eleonora, m. Charles XI of Sweden.

FREDERICK IV, 1699-1730.

CHRISTIAN VI, 1730-46.

FREDERICK V, 1746-66.

CHRISTIAN VII, 1766-1808.

Frederick, d. 1805.

Louisa.

FREDERICK VI, 1808-39.
s.p.m.

CHRISTIAN VIII, 1839-48.

Charlotte.

Louisa.

FREDERICK VII, 1848-63 d. *s.p.*

Louisa m. CHRISTIAN IX,

1863-1906.

FREDERICK VIII, 1906— Alexandra, m. Edward VII of Gt. Britain.

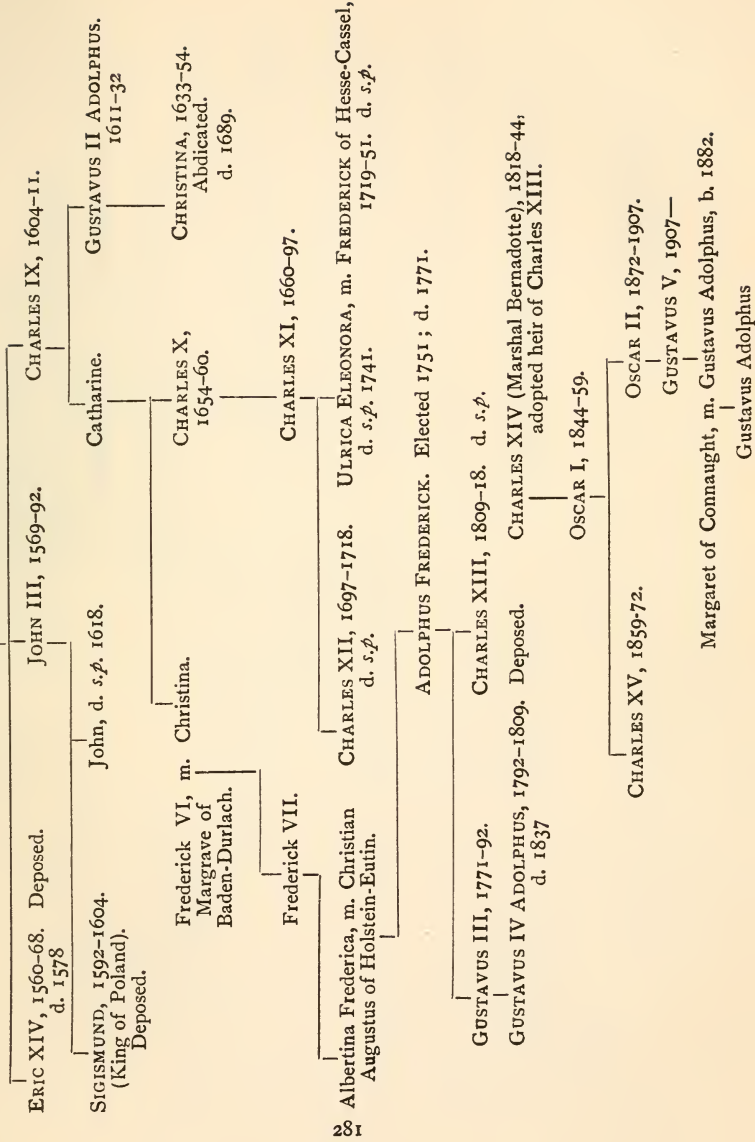
George, King of Greece.

Dagmar m. Alexander III of Russia.

Christian, b. 1870. Charles, m. Maud. (Haakon VII)

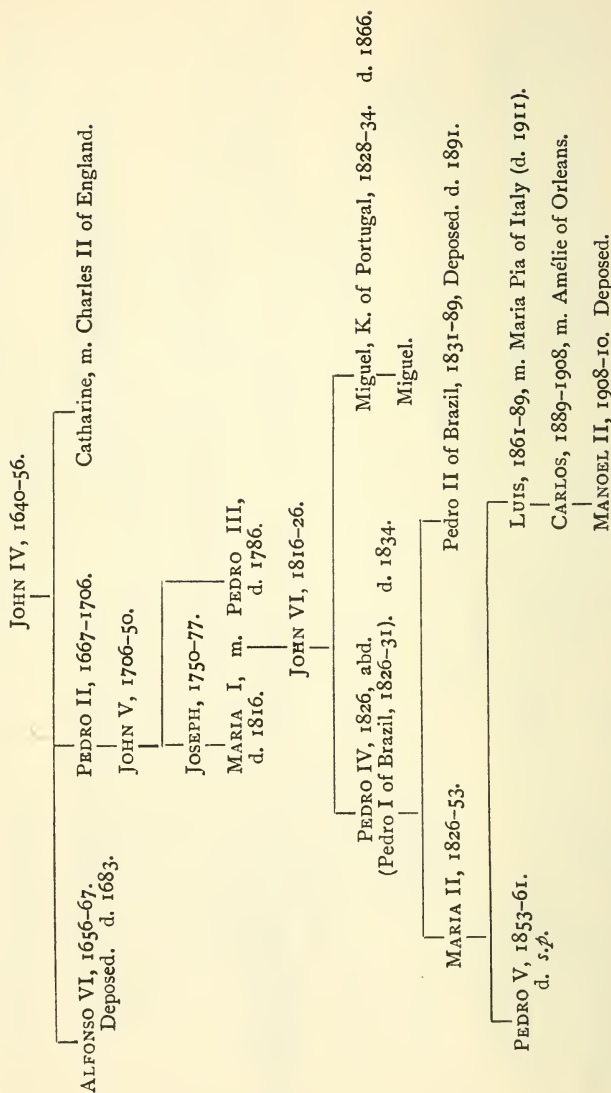
IX. THE KINGS OF SWEDEN

GUSTAVUS I, Vasa, 1523-60.

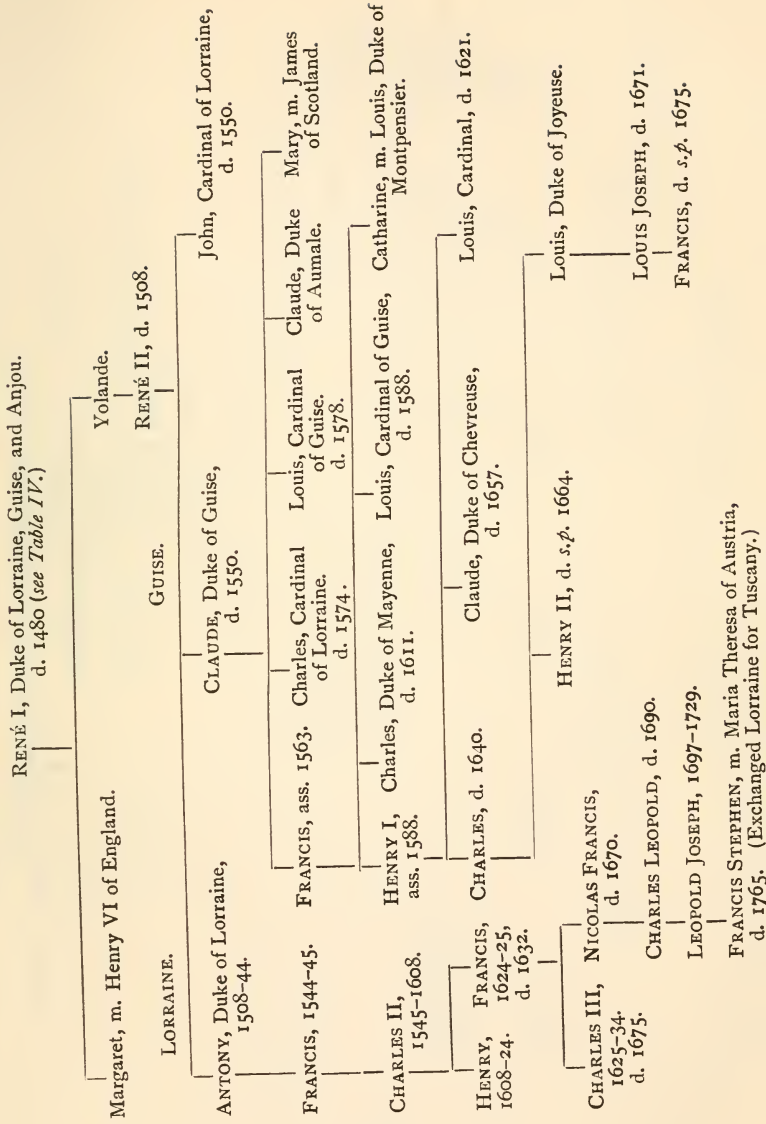


Margaret of Connaught, m. Gustavus Adolphus, b. 1882.
Gustavus Adolphus

X. THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA IN PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL

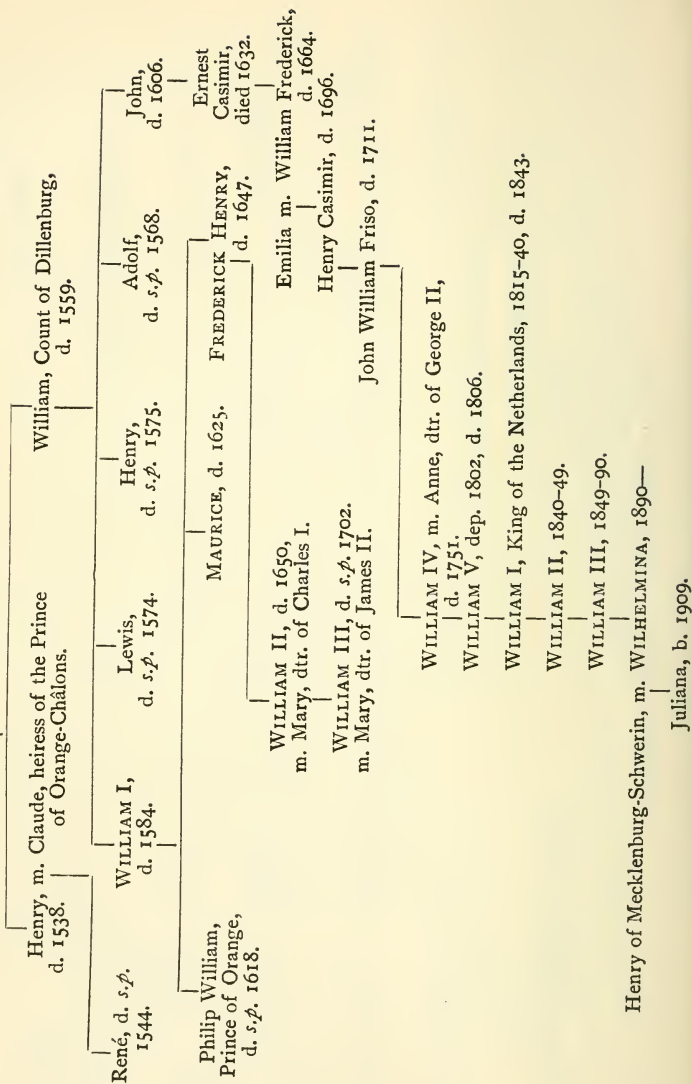


XI. THE DUKES OF LORRAINE AND GUISE

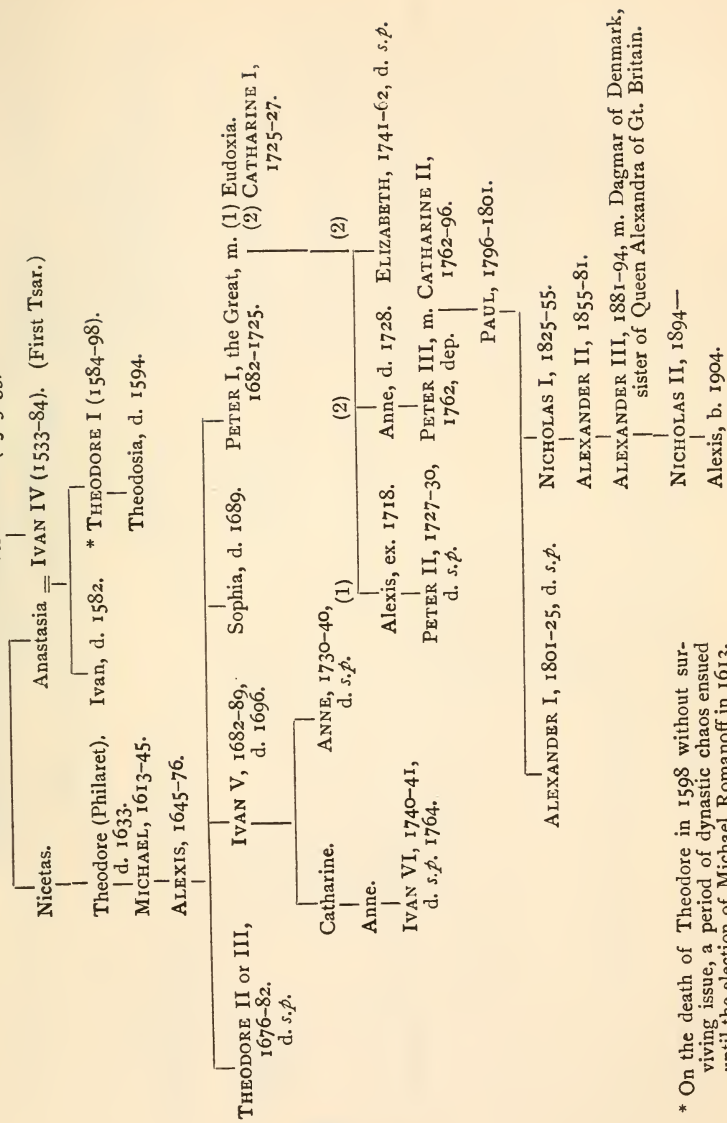


XII. THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU

John, Count of Nassau-Dillenburg, d. 1516.



House of Romanoff.



* On the death of Theodore in 1598 without surviving issue, a period of dynastic chaos ensued until the election of Michael Romanoff in 1613.

XIV. THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

Henry the Lion, m. Matilda of England.
d. 1195.

William, d. 1213.

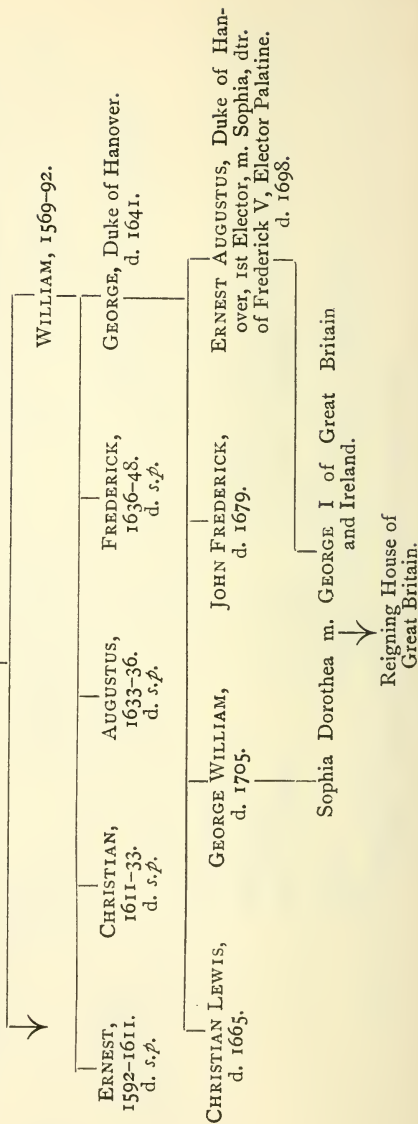
OTTO the Child, 1st Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, 1235-52.

(Eight generations.)

ERNEST, 1532-46.

BRUNSWICK-WOLFENBÜTTEL.

LÜNEBURG-CELLE-HANOVER.



XV. THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN

FREDERICK I, d. 1440, 1st Elector of Brandenburg (invested 1417).

FREDERICK II, 1440-70. d. *s.p.*

ALBERT ACHILLES, 1470-86.

JOHN CICERO, 1486-99.

JOACHIM I, 1499-1535.

JOACHIM II, 1535-71.

JOHN GEORGE, 1571-98.

JOACHIM FREDERICK, 1598-1608.

JOHN SIGISMUND, 1608-19.

GEORGE WILLIAM, 1619-40.

Mary Eleanora, m. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, the "Great Elector," 1640-88.

FREDERICK I, 1st King of Prussia (1701), 1688-1713.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I, 1713-40.

FREDERICK II, the Great, 1740-86. d. *s.p.*

Augustus William, d. 1758.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II, 1786-97.

FREDERICK WILLIAM III, 1797-1840.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, 1840-61. d. *s.p.*

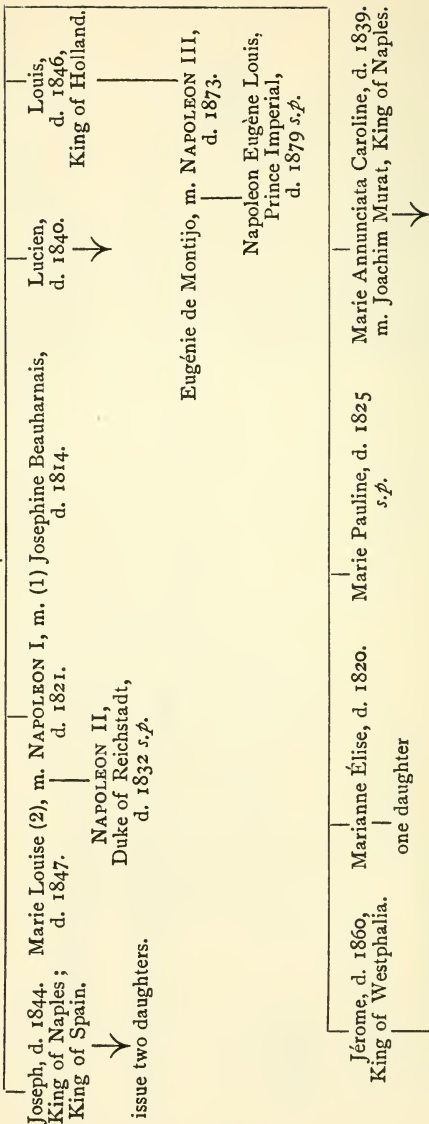
WILLIAM I, 1861-88, 1st German Kaiser (1871).

Victoria, Princess Royal of m. FREDERICK III, 1888.
Great Britain and Ireland.

WILLIAM II, 1888—

XVI. THE HOUSE OF BONAPARTE

Carlo Maria Bonaparte, m. Letitia Ramolino,
d. 1785. | d. 1836.



Victor Napoleon, b. 1862, m. Letitia, m. Duke of Aosta,
Clémentine of Belgium. | b. 1866. d. 1890.

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