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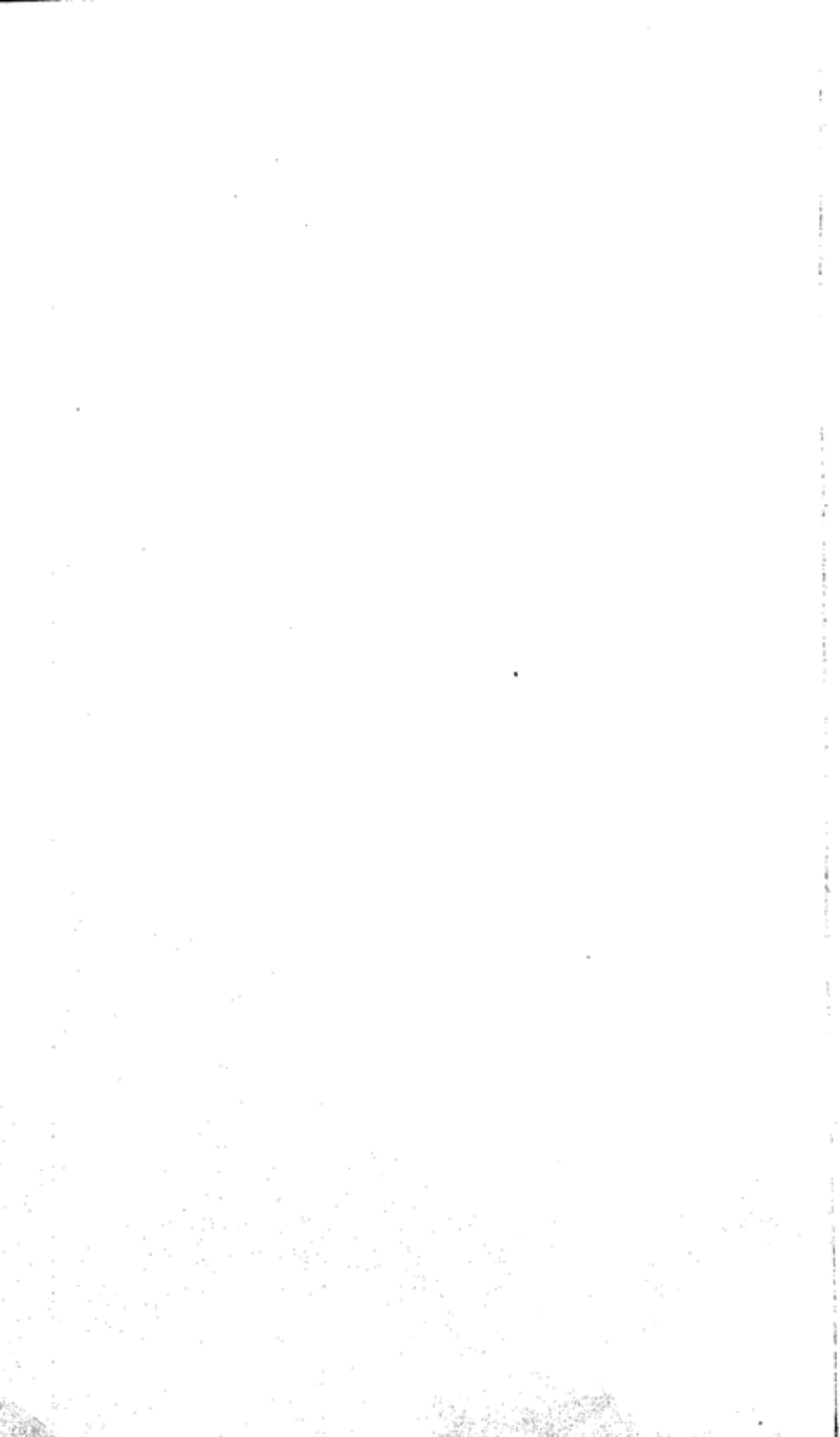
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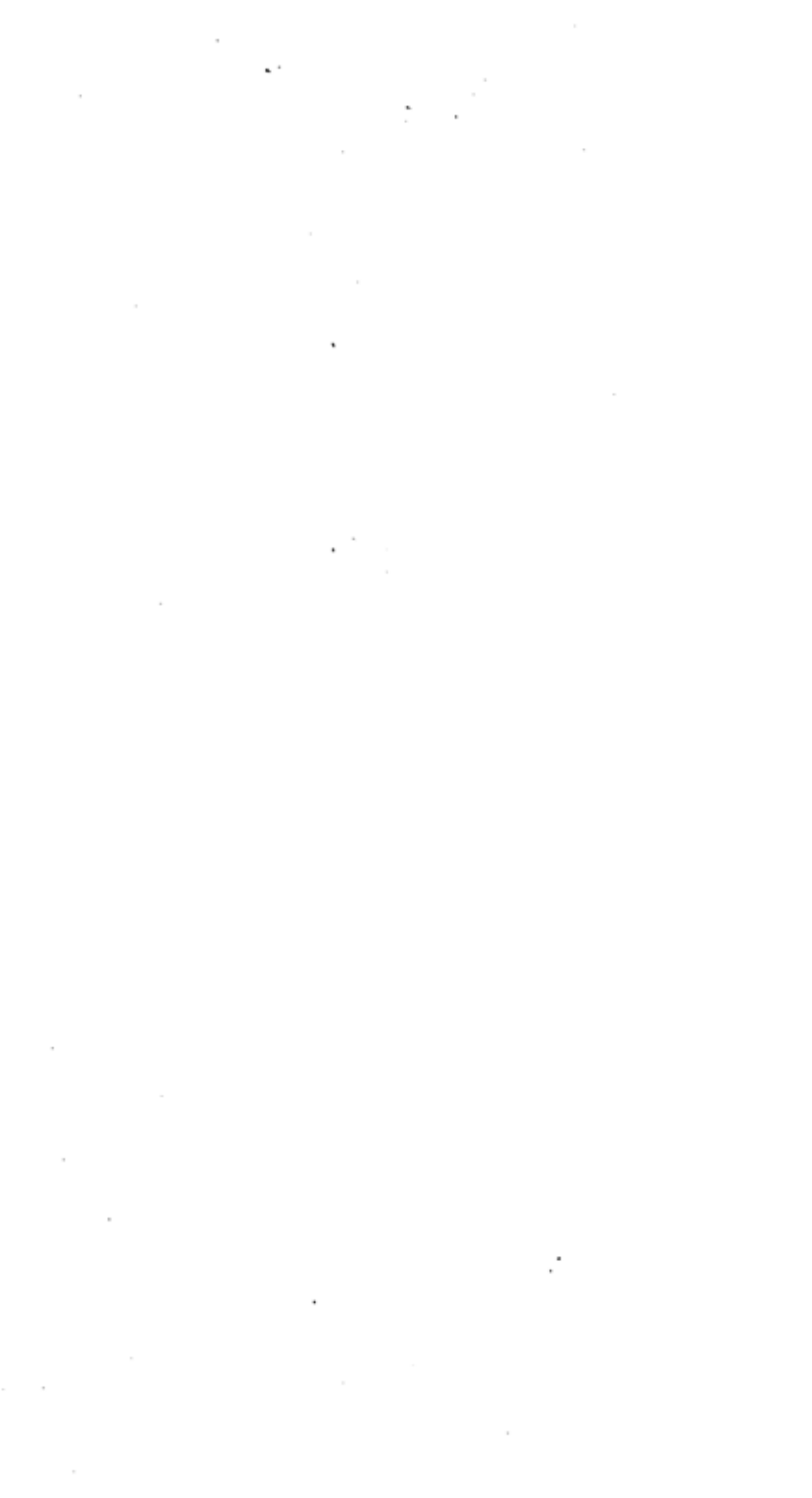
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**A HISTORY
OF
MODERN
EUROPE
1453—1789**



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OF
MODERN EUROPE
1453—1789**

37059

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Preface

It is a difficult task to condense the entire history of Europe in a small space, for it is in reality the history of several countries and sometimes the events are so entangled with each other that the ordinary reader is confused in following the inter-connection of various complications of European importance. Every effort has been made to explain the facts with lucidity and clarity and the history of every country has been fitted into the texture of the whole history of Europe from 1453 to 1789. In the second part that will follow the same treatment will be adopted in presenting the history of the years from 1789 to 1950.

In Indian Universities European History is studied as a compulsory subject and it forms an important part of the History syllabus. The teachers also take much interest in expounding the subject, the reason being that the history of Europe is a stirring record of the progress of liberty and human development. The Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution and the Rise of Nationalism and Democracy are events that have aroused world-wide interest and their history is read with great enthusiasm everywhere. In India also the interest in these epoch-making events which have contributed much to civilization is very keen and a comparative study of oriental and western History is compelled by the adoption of European ideas, methods of government and policies in countries outside Europe and America. As the subject is vast, attention has been confined mainly to Political history, but

important developments in the social and economic fields have also been touched upon. They will undoubtedly serve as an incentive to those who will pursue further studies in subject.

The publishers are to be thanked for the efforts they have made to produce the book quickly and in a presentable form.

Dated : 15th July 1974

Allahabad

Dr. Ishwarl Prasad

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Introductory

DIVISIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

It is customary to divide the history of Europe for purposes of study into three great periods, named respectively Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. This division has no exact counterpart in the history of any other Continent. On the one hand, the history of Asia is marked by so impressive a continuity, and by so slow a process of change, as to render the division meaningless. On the other hand, the early historians of Africa, America and Australia, are so imperfectly recorded as to render all attempts to classification abortive.

Even in respect of the history of Europe there are some eminent authorities who object to the division. Professor E.A. Freeman, for example, for many years the head of the great Oxford School of historians, was a persistent champion of the doctrine of the continuity of history. There are no breaks in the stream of events, he used to say; there is from the earliest times to the present day an uninterrupted sequences of cause and effect; to divide history into sections is to obscure this fundamental fact; all history is modern history in the sense that no event, however, remote in time, has taken place without leaving some trace upon the condition of the world as it is to-day. Hence as Professor of Modern History he claimed the right to

lecture on periods of history long antecedent to the Christian era, and very rarely did he manage to convey his hearers into centuries nearer to the present day than that of the Norman Conquest of England.

Mr. H. G. Wells, author of the immensely popular *Outline of History*, also objects to the threefold division, but on different grounds. He protests against the disproportionateness of the classification, and contends that it lays an excessive emphasis upon recent happenings. If, he says, you draw a time-chart to scale, and allow an inch to a century, your modern period occupies four inches, your mediaeval ten, while your ancient period stretches to something like 167 yards. That, of course, is true; but then we do not draw our time-charts to scale. For, if the modern period is comparatively short, it is crowded with events concerning which we have voluminous sources of information. And if the ancient period stretches over many thousands of years, our records of these distant epochs are so scanty that all we can say about them can be compressed into small compass. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wells himself in his remarkable *Outline*, although he repudiates the threefold division, nevertheless devotes almost equal spaces to his sketches of the three successive eras.

As against Professor Freeman it may be argued that although it is true that the robe of history is seamless and that there is nowhere any break in the continuity of cause and effect, yet in the history of Europe there are at least two periods during which change was so rapid and so complete that what needs emphasising is not the fact of continuity but rather the fact of revolutionary novelty. Such periods were the century A.D. 450-550 and the century A.D. 1450-1550. The first of them saw the transition from the Ancient to the Mediaeval; the second, the transition from the Mediaeval to the Modern. Between them lay the millenium to which we assign the name 'The Middle Age'. In some respects there is a more real continuity between the Ancient and the Modern than between the Mediaeval and either its predecessor the Ancient, or its

successor the Modern. The Middle Age was inaugurated by a great incursion into Western Europe of Teutonic barbarian and the establishment of these barbarians in enduring kingdoms was followed by a strange reversion to very primitive forms of society and to very rudimentary types of civilisation. It took a thousand years to educate the new nations—English, French, Germans and even Spaniards and Italians, among whom the older elements were stronger—up to the standard attained by the Romans in the fifth century of the Christian Era.

The first great transitional century, then whose limits may be roughly indicated by the dates A.D. 450-550, was marked primarily by the incursions of the barbarians and by the establishment of Teutonic states within the limits of the old Roman Empire. The Angles and Saxons settled in Britain; the Franks and Burgundians in Gaul; the Visigoths in Spain; the Vandals in Africa; and the Ostrogoths, soon to be followed by the Lombards, in Italy itself. Although the Roman Empire, centred at Constantinople since A.D. 330, continued to exist, and even to flourish, in Eastern Europe; over Western Europe it ceased to exercise any effective control. In that region the separate national states—the main political units of modern times—began to take their rudimentary shapes.

Another prominent feature that also characterised this first transitional period was the establishment of the dominance of the Christian religion. This religion, long proscribed by the Roman emperors, had been recognised as legal by Constantine the Great in A.D. 313, and had been proclaimed as the only legal religion by Theodosius I in A.D. 392. It had, moreover, been accepted, in one form or another, by all the barbarian peoples except one Anglo-Saxons whose conversion began in A.D. 597. The Christian bishops and the Barbarian kings (who were largely guided and controlled by the bishops) began that period of authoritative rule which lasted until the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

These two great movements, the Renaissance and the

Reformation, which we shall have to study in detail, marked the second great period of transition, which we roughly date A.D. 1450-1550. Numerous causes, as we shall see, brought to an end during this century the unity of Western Christendom; the ascendancy of the Catholic Church; the authoritarian rule of the bishops under their chief, the Pope of Rome. Simultaneously the laity of the once-barbaric kingdoms, now educated and emancipated, began to display freedom of thought, independence of judgment, and a tendency to challenge the authority both of priests and of kings. Thus in this second transitional century the Modern Era was inaugurated.

THE ANCIENT EPOCH

Although we recognise and stress the novelty and the immensity of change that marked the two great transitional centuries of European history, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Modern Era owes an incalculably vast debt to both its predecessors, the Ancient and the Mediaeval. It is, indeed, "the heir of all the ages". The kings and priests of the mediaeval millenium took over an enormous treasure of ideas and institutions from the men of the older world, and that heritage they transmitted—in some respects diminished, in others augmented—to the men of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and so to the peoples of the present day.

The limits of the epoch of ancient history are by no means easy to determine. That is to say, it is by no means easy to say when man came into existence on the earth, or when he began to leave records of any sort that can be worked up into an intelligible story. Until quite recently what is called Usher's Chronology, based on the Old Testament, used to be accepted in England. According to the calculations of this Chronology both the world and man were created in the year 4004 B.C. (*i.e.*, 4004 years before the time of Christ and the beginning of the Christian

era¹). The revelations of the science of geology, however, made during the course of the nineteenth century showed that many millions of years must have gone to the formation of the earth as we know it. As to the appearance of man upon the earth, unquestionable human remains found in regions so widely separated as Java, Heidelberg (Germany) and Piltdown (England) make it certain that human beings existed on the globe not less than 500,000 years ago.

Concerning this very remote period of human history exceedingly little is known. Since most of the remains of primitive man that still survive are implements made of stone, archaeologists call this period the palaeolithic, or "old stone", era. Somewhere round about 10,000 B.C., however, movement began. What is called the neolithic, or "new stone", era commenced. Implements were improved; arts and crafts were developed; animals were domesticated; agriculture was attempted; houses of a rough sort were constructed. In short, the march of civilisation had begun. From that time advance was rapid. The next great forward step came with the discovery of metals and their uses. First, copper was found, where and how we do not know, but probably either in Cyprus or in the peninsula of Sinai, sometimes about 4500 B.C. Copper by itself was too soft to be very serviceable, but when tin was discovered and was mixed with it, it provided an extremely useful compound called bronze. By the year 3000 B.C., bronze implements were common in the Near East. Not long after this, iron, the most valuable of all industrial metals, began to be worked by the Hittites of Asia Minor. By the year 1500 B.C. it was familiarly known round the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The use of metals marked a decisive stage in the deve-

1. For example, D. O'Gorman's *Chronological Record*, published by Alcock of Manchester in 1861, begins:—"The creation of the world took place on Sunday, October 23rd (4004 B.C.). Adam and Eve were created on Friday, October 28th." So late as 1926 Tillinghast's edition of Ploetz' *Manual of Universal History* contains the item "4004 B.C. Adam".

lopment of civilisation. On the one hand, it enabled things to be done—*e.g.*, the clearing of forests—that had been impossible in the stone ages. On the other hand, it provided weapons of war—*e.g.*, swords, spears, chariots, battering rams—that introduced a new and terrible period of aggression and conquest.

The region in which most of these discoveries and inventions took place was that situated round the Eastern Mediterranean Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia, Asia Minor—these were the countries that were the pioneers of Western civilisation. Beyond their frontiers, too, India and China were developing civilisations of their own, rich in culture, although less advanced in industry and war.

The comparatively rapid development of civilisation during the neolithic and the metal ages was, no doubt, due to the growth of language and to the invention of the art of writing. Men became able by means of speech to communicate ideas to one another, and by means of writing they were able to ensure that knowledge once gained should not be easily lost. Moreover, as agriculture and industry improved, and as the struggle for mere existence became less intense, a class of learned and leisured men was formed whose function it was to preserve and develop the new amenities.

The main centres of this nascent civilisation were the fertile river-valleys of the ancient orient. The Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Yang-tse-Kiang, all saw the evolution of peaceful and progressive societies wherein agriculture provided the means of subsistence, where arts and crafts flourished, and where liberated thought built up systems of philosophy and religion. In all these centres, however, the systems of philosophy and religion when once formulated tended to become rigid and stereotyped, guarded and defended by priests and kings. The pathway of progress, however, was left open, or was reopened, by the influx of new peoples from the outer world of barbarism, and by conflict between the rival civilised peoples. Specially

significant was the advent into the Mediterranean world of the Indo-European folk, beginning with the Medes and Persians soon after 2000 B.C.

Of all the Indo-European peoples, however, who broke into the long-closed Mediterranean world, the most important from the point of view of civilisation were the Greeks. They came originally, it is true, as mere bandits, "sackers of cities". They possessed, nevertheless, in marvellous measure the capacity of curiosity, appreciation and teachableness. They were, too, remarkably free from superstition, and were ready to face with keen and critical intelligence the problems of the world and of man. Hence with them natural science had its rise, and by their great thinkers—particularly those of the fifth century B.C.—the foundations of the mental and moral sciences (ethics, politics, metaphysics, aesthetics) were laid for all time.

The Greeks, however, although supreme in the sphere of thought, were weak in the sphere of action. In the fourth century B.C. they passed under the short-lived dominion of Alexander of Macedon; in the second century B.C. they became part of the enduring empire of Rome. Rome supplied what the Greeks lacked, namely, discipline, organisation, government, law. By the beginning of the Christian era Rome had extended her authority over all the Mediterranean world, and had also reduced Gaul to subjection and so had reached the Atlantic Ocean and the seas overlooking Britain.

THE MIDDLE AGE

With the birth of Jesus Christ a new and vitally important factor entered into the life of the ancient world. His beneficent end redeeming work; his teaching, especially as developed and expanded by the Apostle Paul; the organisation of his disciples into a universal society, did even more than the incursions of the Teutonic barbarians to

transmute the Roman Empire into the mediaeval Commonwealth of Nations.

The process of transmutation was slow. The Christian Church, first persecuted, later tolerated, did not become really dominant until the pontificate of Pope Gregory I (A.D. 590-604). This great Bishop of Rome was the true founder of that papal monarchy which was the supreme power in Western Europe during the seven centuries that constituted the heart of the Middle Age, namely, A.D. 604-1303. This was the period of the *Respublica Christiana*, that is to say, of the association of all the peoples of Western Europe in a great organisation which controlled not merely religion but also politics, economics and all social activities. Over this Commonwealth of Christian Nations the pope presided, assisted by a vast hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons; and supported by a numerous company—sometimes called the *Militia Dei*—consisting of monks and friars. In order to secure the physical power necessary to enforce the Christian order upon wicked and disobedient men, the pope crowned a succession of Christian monarchs as “Holy Roman Emperors”, beginning with Charles the Great, king of the Franks in A.D. 800. Under these two powers, the one spiritual the other temporal, Western Europe was nominally governed until an embittered quarrel between the two in the thirteenth century brought them both to the ground. The “Holy Roman Empire”, although it maintained a shadowy existence till A.D. 1806, ceased to be effective with the death of the emperor Frederick II in 1250. The “Papal Monarchy”, although it still survives as a spiritual force, fell from its position of political ascendancy with the overthrow of the pope Boniface VIII in 1303.

The distinctively Christian civilisation which established itself during this central mediaeval period was very remarkable in character, and it has left an indelible impress upon the modern world. It was based on the limitless credulity of a barbarous and illiterate commonalty. There was nothing which, taught authoritatively by a cultivated priesthood, it was not willing to accept and believe. Hence

religion—consisting of primitive Christianity, combined with large admixtures of Oriental mysticism, Greek philosophy, Roman law, and Teutonic mythology—dominated every department of communal life. The following were the main factors of this universally accepted creed : first, belief in a future life beyond the grave, endless in duration, the condition of which was determined by a man's conduct during his brief life upon earth ; secondly, a profound faith in the supernatural, that is to say, in the existence of a personal God in constant contact with man, a personal Devil, always on the alert to lure man to perdition, and vast companies of ministering spirits good and bad: thirdly, an unquestioning recognition of divine revelation conveyed by means of the inspired Scriptures, and also through the ministrations of the priesthood ; fourthly, a passive obedience to the commands of the papacy, and a punctual observance of all the prescribed ordinances of religion.

During the early centuries of Christian history the Church had been torn by heresies and rent by schisms. So, again, during the modern period dissent and disruption have been constant. But during the greater part of this central period of the Middle Age the voice of the doubter was silent, and organised opposition to the ruling hierarchy ceased to exist. The unity and unanimity of Mediaval Christendom were its outstanding features. Hence it was also marked by an impressive stability. Change took place extremely slowly ; institutions in both Church and State seemed to be established as they would remain until the impending end of the world. Social classes also were rigid : man were born into the condition in which they would continue till the termination of their days ; they were either nobles, or simple freemen, or unfree men. Only in the ranks of the clergy, which were recruited by divine call from all classes, was there the easy possibility of movement and the "career open to talents". The clergy, moreover, were the only educated people. The mass of the commonalty, whether free or unfree, were sunk in the grossest ignorance : the knowledge acquired during the ancient ages was

mostly forgotten. To counterbalance this prevailing nescience, however, has to be set the vast improvement in morals and religion that resulted from the teaching and the discipline of the Church.

The dawn of the fourteenth century saw the beginning of the end of the Middle Age. The transition to modern times was a slow process : not for two and a half centuries can it be said to have been fairly complete. If we ask what were the causes that broke up the mediaeval unity and destroyed the ascendancy of the Catholic Church, the answer may be summarised as follows :—first, the Crusades, which brought the ignorant and barbaric soldiers of the West into contact with the older and higher civilisations of Byzantium and the Orient ; secondly, the spread of commerce which again brought East and West into association, and so generated new ideas ; thirdly, the dissemination of Arabic learning which reached Western Europe through Spain and through Sicily ; fourthly, the discovery of the long lost works of the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, and the study of their devastating rationalism in the new universities of Italy, France, and England ; fifthly, the renewed reading of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, with their pre-Christian views of the world and man, and, finally, the inventions of printing from movable types, of paper-making from rags, of gunpowder (which revolutionised the art of war) and of the mariner's compass (which made the great voyages possible).

Under influences such as these, the mediaeval papacy and its creature the "Holy Roman Empire" fell from their places of power ; the modern independent national states came into existence ; strong monarchies established themselves ; a new middle class rose to prominence and to a rising political influence based on wealth. In a word, Modern Europe gradually made its appearance and took shape. The general name given to this transformation is "The Renaissance". To a more detailed examination of that great movement we must now turn.

THE RENAISSANCE

A great French historian, Michelet, has succinctly defined the Renaissance as "the discovery of the world, and the discovery of man". To this definition, in order to make it complete, we should add "the discovery of the universe, and the discovery of primitive Christianity".

By "the discovery of primitive Christianity", of course, is meant the Protestant Reformation the process of which we shall have to trace in due time.¹ By "the discovery of the universe" is connoted those revelations of astronomy made by the science of Copernicus, Galileo, and their fellows, who made evident to the wondering eyes of men the vast expanses of space and the insignificance of the earth and the whole solar system. By "the discovery of the new world" is indicated the results of those great voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which opened up the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, and made known to men of the Old World the New World of America, South Africa, Australasia, and Oceania. By "the discovery of men" is summarised a return to classical antiquity that revealed a long-buried paganism, which repudiated the mediaeval Christian view of life, and returned to the standpoint of the pre-Christian Greeks and Latins. It is particularly with this last movement that we are now concerned.

The word "Renaissance" means "rebirth". Its employment to describe the fifteenth century revival of learning implies the opinion that during the preceding period the mind of Western Europe had been lying dead or dormant in an intellectual tomb. This opinion is not wholly just, there had been considerable mental activity in the late Middle Age; but it had been activity within limits strictly defined by ecclesiastical authority and maintained by severe persecution of freethinkers on the part of the papal Inquisition. The "Renaissance" marked the successful revolt of free thought against priestly control; the rebellion of

1. See below Chapter V and VI

the laity against clerical tuition. It signalised the completion of the education of the barbarians who had overrun the Roman world a thousands years before, the renewal of intellectual and aesthetic advanced after a long period of stagnation ; the dawn of modern science the revival of art ; the beginning of a great age of invention and discovery ; the inauguration of a rich development of national literatures in the vernacular languages created during the Middle Age.

Signs of the coming of the Renaissance had appeared as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many novel heresies had challenged the authority of the Church, and had brought the Inquisition into operation. St Francis of Assissi, a saint who continually hovered on the border of heresy, in his love of birds and flowers, and of his fellow-man, indicated a return to nature wholly alien from mediaeval ways of thought. The Italian painters Giotto and Cimabue began in their frescoes and pictures to depict scenes of natural beauty to which mediaeval eyes had been blind. The writing of Dante's *Divine Comedy* in the Italian, rather than the Latin, tongue was a clear token of the transition from the mediaeval to the modern.

The fourteenth century, however, had witnessed a setback. It was a time of storm and stress ; of "plague, pestilence and famine" ; of "battle, murder, and sudden death". The papal monarchy was overthrown (A.D. 1303) ; the popes, driven from Rome, went into humiliating exile to Avignon (A.D. 1309-76) ; then the great schism broke out during which two and finally three rival popes struggled for recognition (A.D. 1378-1417). Christendom became divided into contending factions. The devastating 'Hundred Years' War between England and France broke out (A.D. 1337), and both countries were ravaged by the Black Death (A.D. 1348-49) and distracted by peasant's revolts. Italy and Germany, both of them devoid of any effective central government, sank into a condition of anarchy wherein every town and village, and to some extent every individual, had to provide self-defence against unrestricted violence.

It was precisely in Italy and in Germany, where central government broke down, and where anarchic self-help took its place, that the great modern movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation had their respective rise. Italy was the home of the Renaissance. It was filled with relics of classical antiquity, monuments of the ancient world. Its language was closely akin to Latin, and Latin itself still survived as a living tongue in the vast community of the Church. In the south of the peninsula, moreover, where the Byzantine Empire had held sway until the eleventh century, Greek continued to be spoken. And the study of Greek had been greatly stimulated from A.D. 1358 onward when the entry of the Ottoman Turks into Europe (at Gallipoli) and their establishment in the Balkan peninsula had caused a considerable migration of Greek scholars, with their valuable manuscripts, from Constantinople and other Byzantine cities to Southern Italy. Thence they spread to Rome, Florence, Milan, Venice, and many less important places, carrying with them the treasures of the finest literature and then extant in the world. Academies were founded in Florence, Rome and Naples for the study of the Greek language, and the examination of the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the other masters of the golden age of antiquity. Now the Greek view of life was wholly different from that which had prevailed during the Middle Age of Western Europe. Reason, not authority, was the guide; this world, not the next, was the centre of interest; self-realisation, not self-abnegation, was the goal of endeavour. The world was regarded as good and not evil, and the pleasures of life were looked upon as desirable prizes to be won, not as snares of the devil to be avoided. So the Italian "humanists" threw off the restraints of mediaeval asceticism and reverted frankly to the ideals of pagan antiquity. Their lead was followed by the great artists of the period, pre-eminent among whom were Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Michael Angelo (1475-1564), and Raphael (1483-1520). Even when they painted ecclesiastical pictures (as they most commonly did) their inspiration was plainly

pre-Christian and naturalistic. Similarly, both architecture and sculpture turned to classical models, leaping back beyond the Middle Age, to the great masterpieces of Greece and Rome. At the same time, science resumed her long-dormant enquiries into natural phenomena ; philosophy shook off her subjection to theology ; education, under the guidance of the famous Vittorino da Feltre of Mantua, began to aim at the development of the individual as an end in himself, and not a mere member of the Church.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY

The great re-awakening of the human spirit known as the Renaissance was accompanied and stimulated by a remarkable process of geographical discovery. In the year A.D. 1450 only one-fourth of the earth's surface was known to the men of Western Europe ; by the year A.D. 1550 all but one-twentieth had been revealed. No such expansion of knowledge, no such possibilities of exploitation, had ever occurred before ; quite obviously none have been possible since.

Although ancient geographers had attained to a fairly correct conception of the shape and size of the earth, the prevailing belief in the Middle Age was that the world was flat like a flat and that Jerusalem was its centre, and the site of the Garden of Eden as its extreme eastern limit. According to this view there was little of the earth's surface left to discover, and what little remained was supposed to be the abode of evil spirits and dangerous monsters. Other causes, also, discouraged exploitation. The shipping of ancient and mediaeval times was not suited to long oceanic voyages ; the instruments of navigation were inadequate, since they did not include the compass, the sextant, or the chronometer ; the peoples off the West were few in number, very poor, and wholly engrossed in scraping a scanty livelihood from the ground. Such commerce as they had

was mainly carried along ancient trade-routes that passed through the Eastern Mediterranean.

The period of the Renaissance was some revolutionary changes. On the one hand the old trade-routes were closed by the advances and conquests of the Tartars and the Turks ; one by one, Constantinople Trebizond, Antioch, and Alexandria passed into alien possession, and Europe found herself cut off from the sources of the spices, perfumes, fine fabrics, and other luxuries, to which she had become accustomed. On the other hand, the discovery of the writings of the ancient geographers, e.g., Eratosthenes, had made known once more the true shape and size of the earth ; shipping had been vastly improved ; the mariner's compass had been invented and brought into use ; the formation of national states under powerful kings made the equipment of exploratory expeditions possible.

Hence in the fifteenth century voyages on a large scale began to be undertaken. The Portuguese were the pioneers, and among them Prince Henry the Navigator stood easily first. This notable man, son of king John I of Portugal, and grandson of the English John of Gaunt, for forty years (A.D. 1420-60) devoted his energies and his wealth to the collecting of geographical information, the making of maps, the equipping of fleets, and the launching of expeditions. His aims were partly religious, partly commercial, partly scientific. He wished particularly to circumnavigate Africa so as to reach India and China by routes out of the control of the Turks and the Tartars. He did not live to see the fulfilment of his desires, but before his death in 1460 he did behold some astounding achievements. His seamen reached Cape Blanco (1441), the Bight of Arguin (1442), Cape Verde (1443), the mouth of the Senegal River (1445) ; the mouth of the Gambia (1455), and the Cape Verde Islands (1460). After Prince Henry's death the explorations were continued with eagerness and success. The equator was reached in 1471 ; the estuary of the Congo in 1484, and the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Then came a pause of ten years. Things were happening elsewhere that demanded

careful watching. In 1498, however, the final triumph was achieved. Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and sailed northward to Melinde. There he found an Indian pilot who guided him across the Ocean to Calicut.

The events that caused the brief pause in the Portuguese exploration of the African coast were the westward voyages which sea men of various nations were making with a view to reaching China and India by way of the Atlantic Ocean. In the process of seeking a new route to the Far East the intrepid explorers discovered the vast but unsuspected continent of America. The first of them to sight the mainland of the New World was John Cabot, an Italian seaman in the service of Henry VII of England. In 1497, having set out from Bristol, he came within view of New foundland and Nova Scotia. Turning south, he coasted the Continent for (he says) 300 leagues; but he did not venture to land. He made another voyage westward in 1498, but where he went and what he did are unrecorded.

The second of the discoverers of the New World was the Portuguese Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In 1500 he set out from Lisbon for India; but, steering too far the west, he sighted the coast, South America, and landing set up a cross (still extant) claiming the land for Portugal. It received the name "Brazil".

The third and most famous of the pioneers was Christopher Columbus who landed on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico in 1502, and planted the Spanish flag there. Even then he did not realise that he had reached a new Continent; that it was not an outlying part of Asia; and that between the Old World and the New lay not only the Atlantic Ocean, which he had crossed, but also another Ocean to the west, the Pacific, of whose existence he had no idea. The voyage of 1502 was the fourth and last of the expeditions of Columbus. The first (1492), undertaken under the auspices of the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, had taken him to San Salvador (Watling Island) in the Bahamas; the second (1493) had opened up

to him many other West Indian islands; on the third voyage (1498) he had sighted the mainland, but he had not landed. In 1502 he ventured to go ashore in the neighbourhood of the Orinoco. He had expected to find cultivated Chinamen waiting to greet him; he was actually met by half-naked savages anxious to eat him. Nevertheless, in spite of his astonishment, he still did not realise that he had reached a new Continent thousands of miles from China and India. Hence, when the new Continent was named it was not called "Columbia" but rather "America", from Amerigo Vespucci who first perceived and proclaimed the magnitude of the discovery.

Europe in the Fifteenth Century

DECLINE OF PAPACY AND EMPIRE

The discovery of the New World, the opening up of new trade routes, and the founding of new overseas empires, revealed the fact that United Christendom – which had always been rather an ideal than a reality had obviously ceased to exist, and that in its place had sprung up a chaos of sovereign national states bitterly hostile to one another. One of the outstanding features of the fifteenth century, indeed, was the decline of the two great institutions that had symbolised the ideal unity and solidarity of Western Europe, namely the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. In the fifteenth century the Papacy sank into the condition of a mere Italian city-state, while the Empire became little more than an elective German Kingdom.

I. The Papacy. The opening of the fifteen century saw the Great Schism at its height. On the death of Gregory XI in 1378 a double election had taken place. An Italian party had chosen Urban VI who had taken up his abode in Rome; a French party had revolted, repudiated the authority of Urban VI, and elected “Clement VII” who had reverted to Avignon. The whole of Catholic Christendom had become divided up into “Urbanists” and

"Clementines" ; on the one side Italy, Germany, England ; on the other side France, Spain, Scotland. The most debilitating scandals had arisen as rival popes excommunicated one another, preached crusades against one another, and struggled to secure one another's possessions and patronage. The most strenuous efforts were made to end the schism, but at first they only made matters worse. The Council of Pisa (1409) deposed both the Urbanist Gregory XII and the Clementine "Benedict XIII", and elected a new pope who called himself Alexander V¹. Since, however, both Gregory and Benedict refused to acknowledge the authority of the Council, the result was that three popes instead of two struggled for the headship of the Church. Finally a second Council, summoned by the emperor Sigismund to Constance in 1414, settled the problem. In 1415 it got rid of all three rivals, and in 1417 re-united the Catholic world under a Roman noble who assumed the name of Martin V.

The next half century (1417-64) saw a succession of five able popes whose main concern was (1) to restore the prosperity of the city of Rome, which had been ruined by the devastating schism ; (2) to recover the Papal States, that is, the Italian cities and provinces belonging to the popes, most of which had been seized by bandit nobles during the time of trouble ; (3) to re-establish the authority of the papacy over the national churches French, German, English etc.,—which were tending towards independence ; (4) to suppress heresy which had become rife, particularly in England and Bohemia, during the period of the schism; and (5) after 1453, to organise a new Crusade for the recovery of Constantinople, which the Ottoman Turks had captured.

On the whole, the papacy failed in the religious sphere: it could not rouse Christendom to a new Crusade, it could not suppress heresy ; it could not reduce national Churches to the old obedience. In the political sphere it was more

1. Alexander V died in 1410, and was [succeeded as "Council"] pope by John XXII.

successful : it restored and beautified Rome ; it recovered authority over the Papal States ; it became dominant once more in Italian diplomacy. Indeed, during the next half-century (1464-1517) the principal concern of the four successive popes of the period was Italian politics : the papacy became thoroughly secularised and deeply demoralised. Paul II (1464-71) lavished money on the papal court, introducing an unprecedented magnificence ; to raise funds he devoted much attention to the recovery and administration of the Patrimony of Peter. Sixtus IV (1471-84) was a thorough worldling, wholly engrossed in secular affairs. His first business was to advance the fortunes of his family : five nephews were placed in positions of profit and power. In their interest and that of the Roman See he involved himself in furious disputes with Florence, Ferrara, Venice, and other Italian cities, in the course of which he did not hesitate to embark upon war, and even to resort to assassination. Upon the city of Rome he lavished the wealth of the Church. The fine Sistine Chapel in the Vatican is a lasting monument to his taste. He patronised the notable painters of the Renaissance, *e.g.*, Botticelli and Perugino. In every respect he was a complete modernist. His successor, Innocent VIII (1484-1492) was also throughout his pontificate immersed in peninsular politics. He had a long quarrel with Ferrante of Naples. With the medici of Florence he struck up a close alliance cemented by the marriage of one of his numerous illegitimate sons with a daughter of the great Lorenzo. The last pope of the century, Alexander VI, a Spaniard, was one of the ablest, and also quite the most wicked of these irreligious Renaissance pontiffs. A murderer, an adulterer, a liar, a traitor, he planned vast schemes for the advancement of his family and the reconstruction of Italy. He aimed at the centralisation of the Papal States under his son, Caesar Borgia ; at the ultimate unification of Italy as a national state, also under a Borgia dynasty ; and further at the conversion of the papacy itself into a Borgia monopoly. His sudden death in 1503—attributed at the time to

poison prepared by himself for one of his cardinal—brought to an end all his plans.

II. The Empire. Except as a name the so-called Holy Roman Empire—the temporal counterpart of the papacy—came to an end with the death of Frederick II in 1250. His death was followed by an interregnum during which the princes and cities of Germany achieved a virtual independence. The chaos was such that in 1273 a titular emperor was again elected, the first of the Hapsburg line, which from 1438 onward established a hereditary claim to the office. The so-called “emperor”, however, was a mere German King, and even in Germany he never succeeded in establishing any effective power.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Emperor Sigismund of the House of Luxemburg (1410-37) made a strenuous effort to revive the imperial authority. He it was who summoned the Council of Constance and helped to restore the unity of Western Christendom. He it was, too, whose reign saw the establishment of the House of Wettin in Saxony: the House of Hohenzollern in Brandenburg; and the House of Hapsburg in Bohemia and Hungary establishments which endured until our own day. With Sigismund, however, the House of Luxemburg came to an end, and the return of the Hapsburg saw a relapse of the emperors into impotence. Albert II (1431-9) might have done something: but he died before he could make his influence felt. His long-lived successor, Ferdinand III (1440-93) sank into complete ineptitude. He was content to live obscurely in a country house near Vienna, where he grew vegetables, fed birds, collected jewels, and dabbled in astrology. He neither exercised, nor attempted to exercise, any influence upon the course of the tremendous events that were transpiring in his time—the fall of Constantinople, the discovery of America, the Renaissance, the pre-Reformation,

THE NEW ORDER

The Papacy and the Empire had dominated the Middle Age. Both of them were cosmopolitan institutions, derived from the ancient Roman republic, and instinct with the ideas of unity and universality. They ignored distinctions of race, language and geographical situation, proclaiming a common citizenship in a holy state, and a common membership of a catholic church. If they had been able to maintain their ascendancy, and had succeeded in welding the various peoples of Western Europe into a single community, without question a long series of destructive and idiotic wars would have been avoided. But, as we have seen, they both of them collapsed as political institutions towards the close of the Middle Age, and made way for a new international order. Differences of race, language and geographical situation proved stronger than identity of religious belief and the common inheritance of the tradition of Rome.

The new order was marked by four features which distinguished it sharply from the mediaeval order which it superseded. These four were first, the formation of sovereign national states; secondly, the establishment of strong independent monarchies; thirdly, the rise of a wealthy and powerful middle class; and, fourthly, a revolution in methods of warfare. Let us briefly examine each of these four features.

I. The Formation of Sovereign National States. Into the Roman Empire during and after the fourth century of the Christian era numerous barbarian tribes made their way and established themselves—Vandals, Visigoths and Sueves in Spain; Visigoths, Franks and Burgundians in Gaul; Angles, Saxons and Jutes in Britain, and so on. The Catholic Church did its best to convert, civilise, and unify them; but with only temporary and partial success. Paganism, barbarism, and particularism remained strong, if dormant, during the Middle Age, and at the end of that period they reasserted themselves. Nevertheless as the result of the

forces at work during the Middle Age, some consolidation had taken place.

In Britain, for example, Angles, Saxons and Jutes had been welded together to form an English nation, into which also had been absorbed large numbers of Danish and Norman immigrants. At the same time, half-a-dozen small states—of which Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were the most important—had been fused into a single national kingdom. The forces which effected this consolidation and fusion were mainly the ambition of aggressive kings and the pressure of foreign wars. By the end of the fifteenth century “the commonwealth of the Realm of England” had come into conscious existence. The passion of patriotism had been roused into active life.

In a similar manner the French national state had been created by the growth of the French monarchy, and by the absorption into the kingdom of numerous feudal duchies and countries which for many centuries had enjoyed an almost complete independence. The last to be thus absorbed were the duchies of Aquitaine (1453), Burgundy (1477) and Brittany (1491).

At about the same date, too, Spain attained to national unity. The process, however, was rather different from that seen in England and France. For Spain had been conquered by the Mohammedan Moors in the eighth century of the Christian era, and not until 1492 was the last Moorish stronghold, Granada, recovered by the Christians. Moreover, the Christians themselves had been divided among a number of small states—Leon, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and so on—and not until the fifteenth century was approximate unification effected. The outstanding event was the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon and Catalonia to Isabella of Castile and Leon. It was their joint forces that accomplished the conquest of Granada in the very same year that their fleet under Columbus discovered the Islands off the coast of America.

II. The Establishment of Strong Monarchies. The unification of England, France and Spain at the close of

the fifteenth century not only brought to an end a long series of debilitating civil wars, but it also placed at the disposal of their respective rulers far larger resources in men and in money than had been available before. Moreover, just at the time when this new internal tranquillity, and this new accumulation of power, made foreign enterprise possible, the discovery of the new routes to the East and of the New World in the West, roused the desire of the unified nations to the highest pitch of intensity. Hence the dawn of modern times saw the beginnings of fierce international conflicts; on the one hand, for hegemony on the Continent of Europe, and, on the other hand, for possession of the command of the sea and the development of overseas empires. Now to wage these conflicts successfully, strong, dictatorial governments were necessary. Hence in place of the weak constitutional kings of the late Middle Age—of whom Henry VI of England was an extreme example—we find ruthless but efficient tyrants, such as Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, and Philip II of Spain. They were men of the same type as Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin at the present day.

III. The Rise of a Wealthy and Powerful Middle Class. It is doubtful whether even the unified nations and the new monarchs could have carried out their ambitions designs if they had behind them no larger resources than those available during the greater part of the Middle Age. But during the later mediaeval centuries a new social order had been springing up whose strength lay in wealth, and in the influence and culture which wealth confers. The three main mediaeval classes had been the "bellatores" (warriors) "laboratores" (peasants) and "oratores" (clergy). The new class which came into existence as the result of the extension of commerce and the growth of cities was that of the "mercatores" or merchants. Their class, drawn mainly from the ranks of emancipated and enterprising peasants, was eager to secure new markets, new sources of supplies, new outlets for energy. It was also determined to throw off the yoke of the "bellatores" who for a thousand

years had kept the peasantry in subjection, and also the authority of the "oratores" who had held their minds in bondage. Thus they were eager to support kings like Henry VIII who fiercely suppressed the feudal nobility of England and challenged the supremacy of the decadent clergy.

IV. A Revolution in Methods of Warfare. The long ascendancy of the mediaeval class of "bellatores", that is, of the mail-clad nobility with their massive castles as dwelling-places, was due to their supremacy in war. As long as spears, swords, bows and arrows, and battle-axes were the most effective weapons, known, so long the feudal baronage retained its ascendancy. But the invention of gunpowder (first used effectively in the fourteenth century), and the development of firearms, rendered useless both armour and castles, and so enabled the "third estate"—the estate of the middle-class—to assert its equality with its former masters.

Thus at the end of the fifteenth century the stage was set for the performance of the new international drama. The protagonists were the States of Western Europe—Spain and Portugal, France and England. Within them the by-play was enacted by social struggles in which the new middle class, with or without royal support, vindicated itself against nobles and clergy.

THE STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE

The time has come when we must survey a little more closely the condition of the States that constituted Europe at the opening of our period. Let us begin with those in the West, and particularly those that had recently attained to unity.

I. England. The year that saw the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), also saw an event of importance in the history of England. This was the final expulsion of the English from all their possessions in France, with the single exception of Calais. Ever since the Norman Con-

quest of England in 1066, the kings of England had possessed large provinces across the Channel; in the fourteenth century they had even claimed the crown of France. The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) was fought to decide this and other matters of dispute. It ended in the complete defeat of the English. This disaster, attributed to the incompetence of Henry VI and his ministers, was followed by a long-drawn civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses (1455-85) during which the Lancastrian Henry VI was deposed and murdered, and a new line of kings—Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, of the House of York—set up. In 1485 Richard III was overthrown and killed in the battle of Bosworth by the Lancastrian, Henry Tudor, who became King Henry VII.

Henry VII (1485-1509) established the "new monarchy" in England. With a strong hand he enforced law and restored order; he built up an army equipped with the new artillery; he laid the foundations of a royal navy; he made peace with Scotland and reasserted English authority over Ireland. In foreign affairs he frankly abandoned the idea of re-conquering the lost French provinces and aimed at establishing friendly relations with the Continental Powers. Having kept the country at peace, he died leaving behind him a well-filled treasury and a prosperous people.

II. France. The Hundred Years' War with England, although it ended victoriously, reduced France during its course to the very depths of misery. The lowest point was reached in 1428 when half of France was in English occupation, and the English Henry VI had been proclaimed king. The turn of the tide came with the appearance of Joan of Arc that year, and as we have observed, by 1453 the English dominion had been brought to an end.

Charles VII of the House of Valois (1422-61) was then King. He was a poor creature. His country was cleared of the invaders almost in spite of himself. The one important achievement of his anaemic reign was the formation of a standing army (*gens d'ordonnance*) supported by

a special permanent tax known as the *taille*. His son, Louis XI (1461-83) was a monarch of a very different character. Full of craft, and diabolically clever in diplomacy, he carried on a long and successful struggle with the great semi independent nobles, of whom the chief were the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Berry, and Bourbon. Incidentally, he considerably extended French territory by the incorporation of the immense Duchy of Burgundy in 1477, and the County of Provence in 1481. With the advent of Charles VIII (1483-1498) the modern era began. This king secured the last of the great semi-independent duchies by marrying in 1491 the Duchess Anne of Brittany, last of her line by an expedition into Italy which we shall deal with later he inaugurated a new era in international relations (1494).

III. Spain. The Italian expedition of the French king Charles VIII brought France into violent conflict with Spain. And Spain at that date was under the strong united rule of Ferdinand and Isabella. We have remarked that these two capable rulers were married in 1469. At the time of their marriage neither of them expected to reign. But unlooked for circumstances brought Isabella to the throne of Castile in 1474, and Ferdinand to that of Aragon in 1479. They reigned jointly until 1506 when Isabella died. During the next ten years Ferdinand administered both kingdoms, that of Castile in the name of his daughter Joanna. The period 1474-1516 was one of cardinal importance in the history of Spain, and indeed of the World. It was (1) the establishment of the Royal Inquisition in Spain as a means of cementing the new national unity on the basis of rigid Catholicism ; (2) the expulsion of the Jews as aliens ; (3) the reduction of the Mohammedan Moors by the capture of Granada in 1492 ; (4) the discovery of America by Columbus and its formal annexation, confirmed by a papal Bull ; (5) the conquests of Naples in 1504, and of Navarre, south of the Pyrenees in 1512. Only Portugal remained to be incorporated, and Ferdinand strove to bring it within the Spanish sphere of influence by

means of marriage alliances. He gave his eldest daughter, Isabella, in marriage to the Portuguese King Emmanuel; and when Isabella died he secured a special papal dispensation to allow her sister Mary to take her place. This marriage proved to be the basis of the annexation of Portugal by Spain three generations later (1580). Two other Spanish marriages had important results, namely, that of Joanna to Philip of Austria, and that of Catherine to Henry VIII of England. We shall have to refer to both of these unions later on.

IV. Portugal. This small kingdom, originally a dependence of Castile, had attained to a precarious autonomy in 1140. It remained weak and insignificant until the voyages of its mariners, under the inspiration of Navigator, opened up the Cape route to India. From that time Lisbon gradually superseded Venice as the great emporium of Eastern commerce. The acquisition of Brazil, moreover, in 1500 provided a new source of wealth, and a new outlet for energy, to the scanty population of the little kingdom. So King Emmanuel (1495-1521) was a person whose friendship and whose heritage were alike desirable. During his reign Portugal attained the height of its prosperity. Its seamen continued their fruitful explorations—the islands of St. Helena and Ascension (1501), Tristan da Cunha (1506), Malacca (1509), were added to the Portuguese empire. It was a Portuguese seaman, moreover, although in the service of Spain, who first circumnavigated the globe. In 1519 Fernando Magellan set out from Seville, and, having traversed the perilous straits that now bear his name, entered the uncharted wastes of the Pacific Ocean. In 1522, the scanty remnants of his crews reached Seville again and made their way, as penitents, to the cathedral there—as penitents because in some mysterious manner they had lost a day and had “kept their feasts and fasts all wrong”.

GERMANY AND ITALY

While England, France, Spain and Portugal, were thus establishing themselves as national states, Germany and Italy remained still unconscious of nationhood, split up into numerous—one might almost say innumerable—small political units, petty states, entirely impotent, yet extremely quarrelsome. At first sight it seems strange that this should have been so. For at one time during the Middle Age, namely under the Emperor Henry III in the eleventh century, Germany had appeared to be nearer to unification than any other European country. As for Italy, it was the very centre and seat of the Roman power which had consolidated the ancient world. During the Middle Age, however, Germany had become identified with the "Holy Roman Empire" and Italy with the Papal Monarchy, and the efforts of popes and emperors to establish universal dominion had not only failed but had caused these potentates to lose, through neglect, control of their own countries. Like the dog in the fable who lost the bone that he carried in his mouth by snapping at its shadow in the water, so the pope and the emperor, snatching at world-power, lost the opportunity of unifying and consolidating their respective countries.

1. **Germany.** At the end of the Middle Age, Germany, under its *faineant* emperor, Frederick III (1440-93), was utterly disintegrated. It consisted of some 360 separate and practically independent states—dukedom, margravates, counties; bishoprics, abbacies, free cities—not to mention hundreds of lawless and masterless "imperial knights" (the *Ritterschaft*), a disorderly crowd, little better than bandits, all of whom owed no more than a nominal allegiance to the lethargic and absentee emperor. Among this vast mass of tiny principalities, with their microscopic armies and their ridiculous courts, a few stood out as larger and more important than the rest. With them the determination of the future mainly lay. In the north were (1) the Duchy of Saxony, with Dresden as its capital, held since 1422 by the

House of Wettin; (2) the Margravate of Brandenburg, a frontier state facing the Slavs, over which since 1415 the Hohenzollerns had held sway, and (3) the Hanseatic League, a confederation of free cities, of which Lubeck and Hamburg were chief, allied for mutual defence amid the late mediaeval anarchy. In the south the principal powers were (4) the Duchy of Bavaria, with Munich as its centre, ruled by the House of Wittelsbach; (5) the Duchy of Austria, with Vienna as its capital, held since the thirteenth century by the acquisitive House of Hapsburg, and (6) the Country Palatine of the Rhine, with Heidelberg as its seat of government, ruled, like Bavaria, by a Wittelsbach.

There were, of course, the relics of a central government in Germany. The emperor himself was a symbol of a vanished unity. For if, as emperor, he claimed to rule on its temporal side the whole Christian world, he was also German king, claiming a peculiar sovereignty over all the petty potentates of his *Konigsreich*. Now the German kingship during the early Middle Age had been hereditary in the Merovingian House; but the revival of the Roman Empire by the coronation of Charlemagne in A.D. 800 had introduced the principle of election, with the result that the kingship had become the sport of faction and had gradually sunk into impotence. Efforts had been made from time to time to restore its power, e.g., by Charles IV (1346-78) and by his son Sigismund (1410-37), but they had failed and Frederick III had given up the attempt.

Below the king-emperor were the seven members of the "Electoral College" the constitution of which had been defined by the "Golden Bull" of 1356: it consisted of the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves; the King of Bohemia; the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine. These seven electors formed the nucleus of an imperial Diet, in which also sat the other princes together with representatives of the free cities. There was, moreover, an imperial Court (*Reichskammergericht*), nominated by the princes, whose function it was to settle disputes between the members of

the *Reich*. But under Frederick III all these central organisations became wholly inoperative. Germany as a political unit had ceased to exist.

II. *Italy*. In no better case was Italy. The Papal States stretching across the peninsula from Ravenna on the Adriatic to the vicinage of Rome on the Mediterranean, cut the country into two sections. The popes were not strong enough to unify Italy under their own authority; but they *were* strong enough to prevent any other power from doing so. Hence, Italy, like Germany, was split up into a number of small States, each centred in some dominant city. These Italian city-states in the fifteenth century were very remarkable institutions. Although politically chaotic and torn by faction, they were the homes of the Renaissance. Their leading citizens had become wealthy by means of commerce and banking; they collected libraries, patronised literary men, founded academies, encouraged artists, sculptors, architects, musicians; developed the arts and sciences in a manner never done since the fall of the Greek city-states in the ancient world two-thousand years before.

Apart from Rome, the four most important of these city-states were:—

(1) *Venice*, a republic, the supreme power in which since 1310 had resided with a Council of Ten under the nominal headship of a Doge or Duke. Venice was by nature and situation a sea-power, and her connections during the Middle Age were mainly with Constantinople and the Levant. The advance of the Turks tended to cut these mediaeval connections, and in the fifteenth century she began to build up a land empire to compensate her for her overseas losses. Thus she acquired—mainly at the expense of Milan—Verona and Vicenza (1404), Padua (1405), Dalmatia and Friuli (1409-21), Brescia and Bergamo (1426-28), Ravenna (1441), Cremona (1499), and Rimini (1503). These aggressions, as we shall see, caused the formation of a powerful coalition against her early in the sixteenth century.

(2) *Milan*. This ancient imperial city was a tyranny which in 1450 had fallen into the power of the Sforza family. In 1476 the dukedom passed nominally into the hands of an infant, Gian Galeazzo Sforza (born 1472), in whose name until 1494 an uncle, Ludovico Sforza, held sway.

(3) *Florence*, once a free city with a singularly democratic constitution, had in 1434 become subject to the enlightened dictatorship of the Medici family. Greatest of this remarkable line of wealthy bankers was Lorenzo de' Medici who held power from 1469 until his death in 1492. This splendid and highly cultivated dictator was one of the most munificent of all the patrons of the new learning and renascent art. Under him Florence took the lead in the intellectual revival of the late fifteenth century.

(4) *Naples* was a kingdom which in 1442 had passed by conquest into the possession of Alfonso V of Aragon, who already held Sicily. On his death Naples—once again severed from Aragon and Sicily—was transferred to an illegitimate son of Alfonso V named Ferrante who reigned until 1494. He was much troubled during the thirty-six years of his kingship by the pretensions of a rival, John of Provence; by the menace of the Turks who in 1480 actually occupied Otranto for a short time; and by rebellions of the nobles. When he died in January 1494 he was preparing to meet an impending attack by Charles VIII of France.

EASTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

(1) *The Ottoman Empire*. The seizure of Otranto by the Ottoman Turks in 1480 came as a severe shock to Catholic Europe. It seemed to portend a conquest of Italy (including Rome) similar to the conquest of Greece (including Constantinople) recently completed. For Mohammed II "the Conqueror" (1451-81) was still on the Byzantine throne, and still in the full tide of his triumphant

career. The tale of his triumphs was impressive. It commenced with the capture of Constantinople, which for eight centuries had stood as the impregnable bulwark of Christendom against Islam (1453). It was continued by the ravaging of Serbia (1454-6); the occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro (1462-4); the annexation of the Danubian Principalities (modern Rumania) in 1478; the acquisition of Albania and most of Greece in 1479; and finally the crossing of the Adriatic and the establishment of a base at Otranto in 1480. Neither Naples herself, nor Italy as a whole, was in any condition to offer successful resistance to the conquering Turk. The pope, the princes, the sovereign cities, all trembled at the prospect of subjugation. Fortunately for Italy and for distracted Christendom, the death of the Conqueror in 1481 was followed by the accession of a pacific Sultan, Bajazet II (1481-1512), who at once evacuated Otranto and gave Europe thirty years of freedom from alarms.

(2) **Hungary.** North-west of the rapidly spreading Turkish dominion lay the kingdom of Hungary. This realm had been established in the ninth century by an Asiatic people, the Magyars, who had forced their way up the Danube valley and across the plains of Transylvania. From A.D. 888 to 1301 they were ruled by native kings belonging to what is known as the Arpad dynasty. The extinction in the male line of this dynasty was followed by two centuries of conflict among claimants connected by marriage with the Arpads. Thus in 1437 it passed into Hapsburg hands as part of the dominions of the emperor Albert II. After this emperor's untimely death in 1439 his posthumous son, Ladislas (1440-57) was proclaimed king, with a Magyar noble, John Hunyadi, as regent. Ladislas died in 1457 while still a boy, and Hunyadi passed away in the next year. Then the Magyars elected Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, as their king, and he ruled them well until his death in 1490. Once again in that year the succession struggle recommenced: Ladislas of Bohemia (son of Casimir IV of Poland) and Maximilian of Austria

(son of the emperor Fredrick III) being the rival candidates. An inconclusive war was terminated by the Treaty of Presburg (1491) according to which Ladislav was left in possession of the crown on condition that, if his line should die out, the kingdom should revert to the Hapsburgs. This event, we shall have later to note, actually occurred in 1526.¹

(3) **Poland.** Under the above-mentioned Casimir IV (1445-92) the composite kingdom of Poland reached the height of its power. The nucleus of the kingdom had been the province of Galicia situated between the Carpathian Mountains and the river Bug. It was for some five centuries a peasant state, small and weak, of no political importance. It became, however, large and powerful in 1386 when it was united to Lithuania by the marriage of its heiress, Jadwiga, to Jagiello, the Lithuanian Grand Prince, who became King of Poland under the name of Ladislav II. Under a succession of able and aggressive monarchs of the House of Jagiello, which endured till 1572, many additions of territory were made, the most important in the fifteenth century being Samogitia in 1411, and West Prussia (including Danzig) in 1466. Casimir's eldest son Ladislav was, as we have just seen, elected King of Hungary in 1490. In 1471 he had been made King of Bohemia. Hence in Central Europe a powerful Slavonic block existed at the close of Casimir's long reign. On his death in 1492 his second son, John Albert, succeeded him in Poland.

(4) **Russia.** To the east of this large Slavonic block of Central Europe, controlled by the two sons of Casimir IV at the close of the fifteenth century, lay the still vaster Slavonic region of Russia. Unfortunately for Slavdom, Russia was on the worst possible terms with the Polish group; for on the one hand, Poland and, still more, Lithuania, had been largely built up out of territories claimed as Russian; and on the other hand, the Polish group of States belonged to the Catholic Church centred in Rome, while Russia belonged to the Orthodox Greek

1. See below p. and p.

Church centred in Constantinople. Hence friction between the two was incessant.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century, however, Russia's hostility was negligible. For early in the thirteenth century Russia had been overrun by the Asiatic Tartars, under Jenghis Khan and his successors (1224-40), and for more than two hundred years (1240-1480) Russia had been subject to the "Golden Horde" whose seat of power lay near the Caspian Sea. In the fifteenth century, however, the "Golden Horde" broke up, and the occasion was seized by Ivan the Great, Prince of Moscow (1462-1505) to begin the emancipation of his people. In his reign of forty-three years he did a marvellous work. He established a strong government, putting down revolts of both nobles and peasants; he extended his authority over neighbouring Russian princes; he recovered Russian territory from Lithuania; above all he shook off the Tartar yoke in a great conflict in 1480. It should be noted also that in 1472 he married Sophia Palaeologus niece of the last Byzantine Emperor of Constantinople. Hence he assumed the title of Tsar (Caesar), and claimed the headship of the Orthodox Greek Church. He was thus the founder of the Tsardom of Muscovy which was destined in the then distant future to play so prominent a part in European politics.

(5) *Scandinavia*. Of Norway, Sweden and Denmark little need be said at this stage of our history. Their importance also lay in the future. Suffice it now to note, first, that in A.D. 1397, by the Union of Kalmar, all three had been joined under the rule of Margaret of Denmark; secondly, that the three remained united until 1523 when Sweden revolted and broke away; and thirdly, that Norway remained a mere province of Denmark until the early part of the nineteenth century (1815).

3

Italian and German Struggles for Unity

POPE ALEXANDER VI AND BERTHOLD OF MAINZ

We have seen how, almost simultaneously, at the close of the fifteenth century, England, France and Spain attained to national unity under strong dictatorial kings. The spirit of nationality was in the air ; and the overwhelming superiority in the sphere of action of the new consolidated polities to the mediaeval medleys of virtually independent and constantly quarrelling duchies and counties, bishoprics, and abbacies, was so obvious that both in Italy and in Germany there arose statesmen who made it their business to bring their respective countries into line with the new order. Well would it have been for Italy and Germany had they succeeded, and better still would it have been for Europe as a whole ; for a divided Italy and a divided Germany became battlefields for contending national sovereigns until, late in the nineteenth century—four hundred years behind the proper time—they gained the goal of unity. In the fifteenth century particularism was too strong, and central government too weak, to permit unification to take place. In Italy the fact that the papacy was elective,

and the circumstance that most of the popes were old men whose tenure of office was short, militated against both vigour and continuity of policy. In Germany the imperial office, also elective, never recover from the blows that it received in the late Middle Age, or from the disrepute into which it fell under the incapable and indifferent Frederick III.

Of the two countries, Italy was the one in which the national consciousness was the stronger, and the movement towards unity the more conspicuous. Among the Italian statesmen into whose dreams the idea of consolidation entered the most important were Pope Alexander VI (1442-1503) and his son Caesar Borgia. Contemporary with them, also, was the great political theorist, Machiavelli, whose famous *Prince* and less-known but for abler *Discourses* are eloquent with a passionate love of country.

Alexander VI, as we have already observed,¹ although an unmitigated scoundrel, was a man of high political capacity. His interest, indeed, were primarily secular, and in pursuit of them he allowed no scruples of conscience, no restraints of religion, to stand in his way. Machiavelli, who was also frankly non-moral, expressed the greatest admiration for him: "Pope Alexander VI", he said, "never did anything else than deceive men, and never meant otherwise, and always found material to work on. Never was there a man who would protest more effectually, or aver anything with more solemn oaths and observe less than he; and yet his deceptions all succeeded, for he knew how to play his part cunningly".² Foul, however, as were Alexander's methods, his conceptions were spacious. He dreamed of an Italy united under the papacy; of a papacy, freed from the shackles of religion and made hereditary in the Borgia family; of the Papal States purged of their petty tyrants and brought once again into complete subjections to Rome; and of national wealth pouring into the papal

1. Above pp.

2. *The Prince*. Chapter XVIII.

treasury and used for the encouragement of literature and art.

Caesar Borgia (1476-1507), one of the five children born to Alexander by his mistress Vanozza, was the man to whom the Pope looked for the accomplishment of his schemes. Realising that the time to accomplish these great designs was short—for Alexander was over sixty, when, by lavish bribery, he secured the papacy—Caesar Borgia acted with prodigious energy, extreme ferocity, and consummate craft. Machiavelli was with him, as a representative of Florence, during six months in 1502, when he was at the height of his triumphant career. He was filled with admiration of Caesar's quickness, his courage, his secrecy, his terrific vigour, his iron resolution, his remorseless severity, his amazing success. He saw him in a lightning campaign capture town after town—Fermo, Urbino, Camerino, Perugia—some by force, some by sheer terror, some by guile; he watched him get rid of doubtful confederates by assassination; he beheld him built up a native army and so free himself from the need of depending on French auxiliaries. Here was the man, he thought, to give Italy the unity she lacked, and to build up a military power sufficient to save her from foreign domination. Chapter VII of *The Prince* is almost wholly devoted to a eulogy of this terrible tyrant, who more completely than any other man of his time combined the savagery of the lion with the treachery of the fox. The good fortune of Caesar Borgia, however, did not last long. The same sudden illness, or the same poison, as carried off Alexander VI on August 18th 1503, brought Caesar also to death's door. He did not die, but, when he recovered, the prospects of himself and of his family were irretrievably ruined. His enemy, Julius II, was on the papal throne. He was driven into exile and he perished in Spain four years later at the age of thirty-one.

Machiavelli, deeply disappointed by the collapse of the Borgia plans, transferred his hopes to the Medici, one of whom (Giuliano) became tyrant of Florence in 1512,

and another (Giovanni) pope, as Leo X, in 1513. To the Medici, indeed, he dedicated *The Prince*, which was intended for their exclusive perusal. Its last chapter is a passionate appeal to the great Florentine House to liberate Italy from the Barbarians—French, Swiss, Spaniards, Germans—and give it unity and peace. "Let your illustrious House take upon itself this charge with all the courage and all the hopes with which a just cause is undertaken". The appeal of Machiavelli fell upon deaf ears. The task of liberating and uniting Italy was one beyond the possibility of achievement at that date.

In Germany the task was even more hopeless; for disintegration had gone farther, and particularism was even more deep-seated. Nevertheless, during the closing years of the do-nothing Frederick III, and the opening years of the try-everything Maximilian I, the Imperial Diet made a strenuous attempt to establish an effective central government. The inspirer and leader of the attempt was the Elector, Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, *ex officio* chancellor of the Empire. He had behind him all the electors and a larger number of the minor princes. He found, however, insuperable obstacles to the success of his effort in the passive resistance of Frederick, the active hostility of Maximilian, and the unfriendliness of the magnates led by the Duke of Bavaria. He made his first proposals in 1485 when in a Diet held at Frankfort he advocated the proclamation of the public peace, the prohibition of private war, the establishment of an effective police system, the institution of a supreme court of justice, and the levying of a regular national revenue. The emperor Frederic succeeded in shelving the proposals: but ten years later Maximilian was forced to accept them. In 1495 he was committed to a conflict with Charles VIII and he needed the support of the empire. Hence at the Diet of Worms he granted Berthold's demands. He and the magnates, however, were able during the following years to make the concessions inoperative. Hence in 1500 the Diet of Augsburg, called to finance Max's war with Louis XII,

appointed a Council of Regency which virtually superseded the emperor as ruler of the *Reich*. This also was rendered ineffective, and it faded away in a few years. Nevertheless, the constitutional conflicts of Maximilian's reign were not wholly without result. The supreme court of justice (*Reichskammergericht*) continued to exist and in time to function usefully. The public peace, moreover, was to some extent maintained by the division of the empire into Circles (*Kreisen*), ten in number, each with its police organisation and system of courts. But when all was said and done, Germany remained hopelessly disintegrated, and the chief obstacle to its integration was the persistent selfishness of the House of Hapsburg.

THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION OF CHARLES VIII

One of the many causes of the Emperor Maximilian's failure to establish a strong central government in Germany was the distraction of his erratic energies to affairs in Italy. In 1494, being a widower, he married Bianca Maria Sforza, niece of the Milanese regent, Ludovico Sforza, who was at that time plotting to supersede his youthful nephew, Gian Galeazzo, in the dukedom of Milan. Ludovico secured the loveless marriage, together with the imperial recognition of his usurpation, at the cost of a huge dowry (very welcome to the impecunious emperor) and a formal acknowledgment of the imperial overlordship of Milan. From that time onward, up to the time of his death, the ill-advised emperor was embroiled in Italian politics.

The trouble began at once ; for in 1494 Gian Galeazzo was twenty-two years old and, though weak and incompetent, in no mood to be thrust aside and "liquidated". Moreover, he had recently been married to Isabella, a Neapolitan princess, and she was still less disposed passively to accept supersession and extinction. At her appeal the King of Naples took up the cause of the dispossessed Gian

Galeazzo, and he secured also the valuable support of the Medici of Florence who dreaded Ludovico's ambition.

The usurping Ludovico thus found himself, at the moment of his apparent triumph, faced by formidable foes. He realised at once that although the alliance with the emperor gave him an air of respectability, Maximilian was in no condition to render him any active support. Hence, in a fateful moment he sent an ambassador to Charles VIII of France, reminding him that he had inherited the Angevin claim to the throne of Naples, and promising to assist him if he would come to Italy to assert it.

The Milanese ambassador could not have arrived at a moment more favourable to Ludovico's mission. For at that very time there were present at the French King's court two Neapolitan rebels—the princes of Salerno and Salerino—who were pouring, into Charles' ears stories of the tyranny of King Ferrante and his son Alphonso; were urging him to come and claim his inheritance; and were assuring him of general popular welcome and support. He learned, moreover, that the populace of Florence were eager to overthrow the Medici and restore the republican constitution, further that, also in Florence, the great reformer Savonarola was actually calling upon the French to come to Italy to purge papacy of the foul plague of Borgia misrule. It happened, too, that just at the moment Charles VIII had nothing much to do; so against the advice of his more cautious ministers, he decided to take the plunge. His marriage to the Duchess Anne of Brittany in 1491 had completed the unification of France; treaties with Henry VII of England (1492), the Emperor Maximilian (1493), and Ferdinand of Aragon (1493)—made at considerable sacrifice of both money and territory—gave him a feeling of security from a attack in the rear. So in August 1494 off he started at the head of some 30,000 men, and supported by a naval force.

His expedition to Naples was a triumphant procession, resembling a pageant rather than a campaign. It revealed, as in a flash, the hopeless disunion, and abject weakness of

Italy. Having entered Italy by the Mont Genevre Pass, Charles proceeded by way of Asti, Pavia, and Piacenza to Florence which he reached on November 17th. There he was welcomed with wild enthusiasm by the populace; Piero de Medici, the tyrant, was overthrown; the Republic was restored, with Machiavelli as a prominent supporter and soon Secretary of State. From Florence Charles advanced to Rome which he entered without opposition at the end of December. Alexander VI was full of trepidation. He knew that the French king was aware of his iniquities; he knew that Savonarola was denouncing him in no measured terms; he knew, too, that a strong party in Rome itself, headed by the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II), was demanding the calling of a General Council for his condemnation and deposition. He managed, however, to survive. By extreme complacency, by unctuous flattery, by the granting of free passage to the French troops by the provision of stores, by the surrender of Spoleto, Ostia, and other strong places, and by the payment of a large sum of money, he bought off Charles' hostility. Charles went on his way at the end of January 1495, taking Caesar Borgia with him as a hostage. In February he invaded the kingdom of Naples, which he claimed as his own by right. In this kingdom the approach of the French had caused great perturbation and revolutionary change. Ferrante I had died early in 1494 of mere fright; his son and successor Alphonso abdicated as soon as the French entered his territory; Alphonso's son, Ferrante II fled across the sea to Sicily, and before the end of February Charles entered the city of Naples as its king. Rarely had a triumph so easy or so complete been achieved.

For a month Charles and his host revelled in congratulations and glory. They ate, they drank, they amused themselves with jousts and festivals; they divided the spoils. Then came a rude awakening. Caesar Borgia had escaped from the French camp. Alexander VI, full of fury, had been active in intrigue; Ferdinand of Aragon

had responded the appeal of his relative, the dispossessed Ferrante II ; the Doge of Venice had, under papal inspiration, proposed the formation of a league to expel the French from the peninsula ; even Ludovico of Milan had felt compelled to join this alliance against his too successful invitee ; the emperor Maximilian, too, was constrained to lend the support of his name to the enterprise. Thus in April 1495 was formed the League of Venice. Charles realised his peril. There he was in the extreme south of Italy, with all his land communications cut. The only course open to him was to get back home as soon as possible. Sending as much of his equipment as he could by sea, and leaving 12,000 men to hold the Neapolitan kingdom if possible, he set on his return journey. How different from the festal procession south ! He passed through Rome, but Pope Alexander took good care not to be there to receive him. His friends in Florence begged him not to delay his march by visiting them ; so he hastened north by way of Pisa. In spite of the speed of his retreat, he was not quick enough to avoid a battle. At Fornovo he found his way blocked by a composite army of the League numbering some 40,000 men (July 6th). Charles at that time had no more than 10,000 under his command. In the circumstances he ought to have been overwhelmed ; but he was not. The French were desperate, and the Italians fought badly. Charles broke his way through, and got back, with a remnant of his forces, to his own place. Soon all his Italian conquests melted away. Ferdinand of Aragon, with Venetian help, undertook the recovery of Naples. One by one the French garrisons were compelled to surrender. Before the end of 1495 Ferrante II was back in his kingdom.

Charles VIII proclaimed his intention of reasserting his Neapolitan claims ; but before he had done anything, his life was accidentally cut short. He died in April 1498 at the age of twenty-eight.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF NAPLES AND MILAN

Charles VIII, degenerate and profligate, left no children to succeed him. Hence the French crown passed in 1498 to Louis, Duke of Orleans, a distant cousin, great-grandson of King Charles V¹. At the time of his unexpected accession Louis, XII was thirty-six years old. He was a man of culture and charm, genial and companionable, a sincere lover of his country and his people. He was, moreover, a much more cautious politician than Charles. Nevertheless, unfortunately for both France and Italy, he shared his predecessor's ambition for conquest, and he had even larger claims. For it happened that his grandfather, Louis of Orleans, had married Valentina Visconti, daughter of the then reigning Duke of Milan, and consequently he claimed that, as heir of the Visconti, he had a better right to the Duchy of Milan than the usurper Ludovico Sforza. He also claimed, of course, that as heir of Charles VIII he should have the kingdom of Naples.

The disastrous sequel to Charles VIII's triumphal progress of 1494, however, warned him that, before attempting to enforce his Italian demands, he must carefully prepare the way. With considerable skill, during the years 1498-9, he won over to his side Venice, Florence, and the Papacy. To Venice he promised the cession of Cremona and other coveted territories on the mainland, to Florence he promised the recovery of Pisa ; to Alexander VI he promised aid in securing an Italian kingdom for Caesar Borgia. He also succeeded in hiring a considerable company of Swiss mercenaries, looked upon as the best soldiers of the day. Hence, when in the summer of 1499 he launched his expedition across the Alps, he felt sure of success.

He did not repeat Charles's mistake of leading the expedition in person, but placed it under the command of competent generals. He himself, indeed, was engaged in

1. Tattle I.

solving some difficult problems of domestic politics. The chief of these related to the Duchy of Brittany. This virtually-independent province, it will be remembered, had been brought under the control of Charles VIII by his marriage to the Duchess Anne, who was now, at the age of twenty-one, left a widow. Louis XII was determined to keep Brittany within the French kingdom; Anne was eager to remain Queen of France. The only obstacle to the fulfilment of their respective desires was the fact that Louis was already married, and that he had no ground whatsoever for a divorce. The complacent and conscienceless Alexander VI, however, was equal to the occasion. In return for favours to Caesar Borgia the Dukedom of Valentinois and a royal bride—he declared Louis's marriage null and void, and so opened the way to his union with Charles's widow, which was effected in January 1499.

Meantime the Italian expedition was in process of organisation. In July of the same year it set out from Lyons for the Lombard plains, Ludovico Sforza did not await its arrival. Hemmed in by enemies and without allies, he realised that resistance was hopeless. He fled northward into Switzerland, and early in September the French army took possession of Milan. Then Louis himself crossed the Alps, entered the city in triumph, made arrangements for its government, and handed over to his allies their stipulated shares of the spoils. Meanwhile Ludovico in Switzerland had been busy. He had got together an army of mercenaries and early in 1500 he swooped down on Milan and retook it. His recovery, however, was but brief. The French, reinforced, rallied and in April of the same year re-conquered it; taking Ludovico himself prisoner. That was the end of him and his schemes. He was sent to a French prison where, after ten years of solitary confinement, he died.

Having thus secured Milan, Louis XII turned his attention to Naples, where Ferrante II had been succeeded by his uncle Frederick. Once again diplomacy preceded action. Realising that Ferdinand of Aragon (whose empire included

Sicily) would not be likely to tolerate a repetition of Charles VIII's conquest, he proposed to him a partition of the Neapolitan kingdom between the two of them. The crafty Ferdinand professed to agree, provided that Louis would do such fighting as might be necessary. Hence, in November 1500 the secret Partition Treaty of Granada was concluded between the two royal bandits. Little fighting was needed. The French invasion took place in the spring of 1501. The French army passing through Rome in June was blessed by Alexander VI and joined by Caesar Borgia. Of all the Neapolitan cities, Capua alone made any serious resistance. King Frederick capitulated and was sent into comfortable retirement in France. The Kingdom of Naples was divided according to plan.

Unfortunately for Louis, the Treaty of Granada—thanks probably to Ferdinand's superior knowledge—was ambiguously worded. Quarrels between French and Spaniards at once broke out concerning its interpretation. The quarrels led, as Ferdinand wished, to war. The French put up a good fight in 1502; but by 1503 their resources were at an end. They were badly beaten at Seminara and Cerignola in April, and on the Carigliano in December. Early in 1504 the last French garrisons surrendered, and Naples was wholly in Spanish hands.

Milan, however, was still in possession of Louis XII. It was not destined to remain so for long. In 1511 Pope Julius II (the old enemy of the Borgias) joined Ferdinand of Aragon and the Venetians in a so-called "Holy League" for the complete expulsion of the French from the peninsula. Concealing their main purpose under various pretexts, such as a crusade, they persuaded the emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII of England to join them. The result was the complete overthrow of France. By 1513 (1) the French were defeated at Novara and expelled from Milan, where Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico, was restored; (2) Pope Julius II recovered the Romagna and secured Parma and Piacenza in addition; (3) Venice regained Bergamo and Brescia; (4) The Medici were re-established in Florence,

and on the death of Julius II were able to secure the Papacy in the persons of Giovanni de Medici (Leo X 1513-21) and Giulio de Medici (Clement VII 1523-34); (5) Ferdinand of Aragon conquered and kept the Spanish portion of Navarre (6) Henry VIII defeated the French at Guinnegate, and their allies the Scots at Flodden, but gained nothing from his victories but glory.

One more episode remains to be mentioned in order to complete the story of the Franco-Spanish struggle for Italy. On the first day of 1515 Louis XII died and was succeeded by the warlike and ambitious Francis I (1515-47). The young king at once renewed the French claim on the Duchy of Milan and himself led an army for its capture. In September he fought and won the decisive battle of Marignano, captured the capital, and forced Maximilian Sforza to abdicate. Early in 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, and his grandson Charles who took over the government of the two Spanish kingdoms and their numerous dependencies, was compelled by the pressure of his new duties to accept for a time the accomplished fact. He made peace with Francis by the Treaty of Noyon. For six years Francis kept possession of Milan undisturbed, then (1521) began the long series of wars between himself and Charles with which we shall later have to deal. Suffice it here to say that in 1525 Francis was defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia. Next year Milan was reduced by Spanish troops. Francesco Sforza was installed as nominal duke; but on his death in 1535 the duchy was claimed and kept by Charles as an appendage to his Spanish monarchy. Thus were the French wholly cleared out of Italy. But the Spaniards were established in both North and South.

THE EMPIRE UNDER MAXIMILIAN I

The emperor Maximilian, both as the successor of the Caesars and as the husband of Bianca Maria Sforza, was deeply concerned in the fate of Milan. He strongly held

the view that, since it was a fief of the empire, if it were taken out of the hands of the Sforzas, it should revert to him as overlord. In particular, he resented the intrusion of the French into the duchy. Hence in 1511 he joined the "Holy League" to expel them. He was, however, so poverty-stricken and so ill-supported in Germany that he was unable to play any part in the victory of the League. Without men and without money, he served as a volunteer in the English army and took part in the battle of Guinegate—the so-called "Battle of Spurs"—fought by the English in Northern France in 1513. Two years later he was in no better case. Of course he joined the league which opposed Francis I; but he could do nothing effective to stop the victorious march which placed Milan once more, though only for a few years, in French hands.

The complete failure of this titular Lord of Christendom to exercise any appreciable influence upon the course of events in Italy was only one example of his general futility. In spite of considerable intellectual powers, of wide interests, of restless activity, and of great designs he failed in almost everything that he undertook. His failure was due partly to his chronic poverty and military weakness, but mainly to his frivolity, his lack of perseverance, his foolish dissipation of energy.

Born in 1459, he was thirty-four years of age when he succeeded his father, the lethargic and incompetent Frederick III, as head of the House of Hapsburg and Emperor-elect. During his father's life-time he showed an enterprise and initiative that promised well for the future. It was evident even then, however, that his interests were personal and dynastic rather than national or imperial. In 1477, when he was but eighteen years old, the first great chance of aggrandisement presented itself to him. The vast Duchy of Burgundy, built up laboriously by four successive dukes of the Valois, descendants of the French King John, collapsed and split up on the defeat and death of Charles the Bold at the hands of the Swiss. Charles's territories at that time consisted mainly of (1) the French Duchy of

Burgundy (capital, Dijon); (2) the German County of Burgundy, sometimes called Franche Comte, (capital Besancon); and (3) the bulk of the Netherlands, modern Holland and Belgium, which the dukes had gradually acquired by marriages and seizures. The ambition of Charles had been, first, to join up these scattered possessions by conquering the intervening regions, and, secondly, to convert his dukedom into a kingdom wholly independent of both France and Germany. His excessive ambition brought him into conflict with both his French suzerain, Louis XI, and his neighbours, the Swiss. Hence his spectacular overthrow. He died leaving no son to succeed him. His vast inheritance passed to his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, at that time twenty years of age. The claimants to her hand were many, but Maximilian secured the prize. He was not allowed, however, to get possession of all the Burgundian territories. For Louis XI of France, ever on the alert to extend his dominions, at once occupied the larger portion of them. For five years the struggle between the French king and the Austrian prince continued. At last, by the Treaty of Arras (1482) a partition was arranged: Louis was to keep the Duchy of Burgundy, and Maximilian to have the County and the Netherlands. It was also stipulated that, with a view to the ultimate reunion of the territories, Louis's son and heir, afterwards Charles VIII, (born 1470) should marry Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, then a child of three. Margaret was at once sent to France to be brought up as the prospective bride of the Dauphin. Earlier that same year (1482) her mother, Mary of Burgundy had died, as the result of a fall from her horse. Besides her baby-daughter, Margaret she left a son, Philip, aged four, in whose name Maximilian continued to govern the Netherlands and Franche Comte for the next twelve years. The people of the Netherlands were restless and rebellious under the Hapsburg rule, and their discontent was secretly aggravated by agents of Louis XI and Charles VIII.

Friction between Charles VIII and Maximilian became still more acute in 1488 when Francis II. the last Duke of Brittany, died. Maximilian, now a widower for six years, was on the lookout for an heiress, and he promptly made a bid for the hand of the Duchess Anne. He was accepted, and was actually married to her by proxy in 1490. The threat to France was formidable ; for an invasion of that country simultaneously from Brittany and from the Netherlands would have been hard to counter. The ministers of Charles VIII acted promptly : they sent a strong force into the duchy and compelled the duchess to surrender. Ignoring the proxy-marriage to Maximilian, they married her to Charles VIII, and so completed the unification of France (1491). Charles, of course, had for nine years been betrothed to Maximilian's daughter Margaret, now a girl of twelve. She was sent back home, without an apology.

It is scarcely possible to imagine insults more aggravated than those thus inflicted upon Maximilian by Charles VIII. Furious though he was, however, he was in no position to avenge them. He was busy at the other end of Europe. He had been unable even to see Anne of Brittany, his bride by proxy ; he was still less able to avenge her seizure by his enemy, and the ignominious repudiation of his daughter Margaret. He was busy in the Tyrol which had fallen into his possession by the abdication of Count Sigismund (1490). He was also engrossed in unsuccessful efforts to secure the Hungarian throne which had become vacant through the death of Matthias Corvinus (also 1490). The Tyrol passed permanently into Hapsburg possession, and became the most loyal of all their miscellaneous territories : Innsbruck grew to be the favourite residence of Maximilian ; even now it is filled with memorials of him. He failed, however, to gain the Hungarian throne, in seeking which he lost his Breton bride.

Needless to say, he was at daggers drawn for most of the remainder of his life with Charles VIII and with his successor Louis XII, whose claims on Milan, as we have

seen, clashed with his own. There was, however, one short period (1508-11) during which Max and Louis were actually in alliance. It was an alliance equally discreditable to both of them.

WARS IN GERMANY AND ITALY

The dispute for the Duchy of Milan between Ludovico Sforza (backed by Maximilian) and Louis XII (backed by Alexander VI) embittered Franco-Hapsburg relations for some six years (1498-1504). Maximilian was particularly anxious to have a friendly subject or ally at the great Lombard capital, because, now that the possession of the Tyrol gave him command of the Brenner Pass into Italy, he could, through Milan, have exercised a dominant control over the politics of the peninsula. Just at the time, however, when the French were expelling Ludovico and conquering his duchy, Maximilian was engaged in a fierce and unsuccessful struggle with the Swiss—a struggle which entirely engrossed his attention, and wholly exhausted his resources.

The Swiss Confederation had come into existence at the end of the thirteenth century as a union opposed to the Hapsburgs. Switzerland lay within the confines of the Empire: it formed a part of the old Duchy of Swabia which in 1097 had been broken up. In the thirteenth century the Hapsburgs, whose chief castle was situated in the Aargau, were bent on reviving the Swbian duchy and securing control of it. Their intention became formidable when Rudolf of Hapsburg was elected emperor in 1273, and when he used his imperial position to increase the power and property of his House in 1291 the three "Forest Cantons" of Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden—for the previous two centuries virtually independent—combined to

resist Hapsburg encroachments. They were later joined by Lucerne (1332), Zurich (1351), Glarus and Zug (1352). Berne (1353). The Hapsburgs made strenuous efforts to crush the growing confederation. The mountaineers, however, proved to be too strong for them. The battles of Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) were decisive for a couple of centuries. The virtual independence of Switzerland was confirmed. Nevertheless it remained nominally a member of the Empire.

At the end of the fifteenth century the Confederation was forcibly reminded both that the Hapsburgs still existed, hostile as ever to Switzerland, and that Switzerland was still part of the Empire. On the one hand, Maximilian, as ruler of the Tyrol, began to encroach on Swiss territory: on the other hand, the Imperial Diet—to whose meeting in 1495 the Swiss were summoned—endeavoured to impose upon them the new imperial taxation, and also to submit them to the jurisdiction of the new *Reichskammergericht*. The mountaineers refused either to pay the taxes, or to submit to the authority of the Imperial Chamber. A Swabian League (formed in 1488) tried to coerce them, but was beaten in battles at Bruderholz and Dornach. Then Maximilian took up the task; but he, too, with his inadequate resources, was defeated at Frastenz and Calven Gorge. Peace was restored by a Treaty (September 1499) which virtually acknowledged Swiss independence, although its formal recognition was delayed until 1648. As a sequel to this triumph the Confederation was joined by Basle in 1501, and by Appenzell in 1513.

These unsuccessful and exhausting operations against the Swiss so completely reduced Maximilian to poverty and impotence that he was unable to play any effective part in the struggles that resulted from Louis XII's occupation of Milan in 1499-1500. He could not persuade the Diet or the German magnates either to vote him money or provide him with men. Nevertheless, although helpless, he continued to rage, and to regard Louis XII as his enemy in chief. In 1508, however, his fury was temporarily diverted against

the Republic of Venice. In that year he determined to make an expedition in force into Italy. He had, as usual, many purposes in mind : he wished (1) to check the growing power of Louis XII ; (2) to receive the imperial crown from the pope in Rome ; (3) to assert his right as emperor over a number of imperial Chiefs. His way from the Tyrol lay over the Brenner Pass and through Venetian territory. He, therefore, proposed to the Venetians that they should join him in an attack on Louis XII in Milan, and should share with him in a partition of the duchy. To his anger and disgust they not only rejected his proposal but actually refused to allow him a passage through their territory unless he came without an army. He resolved to punish them for their insolence, and accordingly in February 1508 he invaded the lands of the Republic. As usual, he had under his command entirely, inadequate forces. Within six months he was driven back in ridiculous and humiliating rout, which the Venetians made all the more galling by an outburst of ribald abuse.

He thought of nothing but revenge, and he found it by no means difficult to secure allies against Venice ; for the Republic had long been aggressive, and had secured much territory claimed by neighbouring states. Even his old enemy Louis XII was willing to join him in the unprincipled adventure ; for, as Duke of Milan, he had claims on Cremona, Ghira d'Adda, Bergamo, and Brescia. Pope Julius II, too, gave the projected attack his blessing, and prepared to send troops ; for Venice was giving him trouble respecting ecclesiastical appointments, and moreover held Ravenna, Rimini, and Faenza, once papal property. Similarly, Ferdinand of Aragon joined the conspiracy, for Venice had secured Otranto, Brindisi, and other Neapolitan ports as the price of her assistance to the Spaniards in 1495. Several minor Italian powers also gave their adherence to the anti-Venetian plot. Thus was formed the League of Cambray at the end of 1508. It was negotiated and organised by Maximilian's daughter Marga-

ret, once the fiancée of Charles VIII of France, now the Governess of the Netherlands on behalf of her nephew, Maximilian's grandson, Charles. The professed purpose of the League was a crusade against the Turk, but it was soon made clear that its one and only object was the spoliation of Venice. This object was soon achieved, the only serious fighting being done by the French from the Duchy of Milan. The battle of Agnadello (May 1509) sufficed to shatter the Venetian army. Unable to muster another force, the beaten republicans made submission to the pope early in 1510.

Maximilian's revenge had thus been secured for him by others. He himself had been delayed by efforts to get men from his daughter Margaret in the Netherlands, and money from his friend Henry VII of England. When he arrived in Italy the Venetian power was already broken. Louis XII, with amazing generosity, handed over to him as the unearned prize of war, Padua, Verona, and Vicenza. Even these free gifts, however, he was unable to retain. He could spare only 800 men to garrison the great city of Padua. So the Venetians reoccupied it, and not all his efforts sufficed to drive them out. He abandoned the siege and retreated into the Tyrol, an object of universal contempt.

We have seen how next year (1511), ignoring the generosity of Louis XII, he joined the Holy League formed by the Pope to expel the French from Italy. All that he could do to further the object of the League was to serve as a volunteer in Northern France under Henry VIII of England (1513). He, of course, gained nothing by the operations of the Holy League, which broke up in mutual recriminations immediately after its unholy activities in 1513. The warlike pope, Julius II, died the same year, and his illness and death led Maximilian to attempt the maddest of all his wild and futile schemes. He assumed the title *Pontifex Maximus* and became a candidate for the papacy! By pawning the imperial jewels he raised enough money to bribe the

cardinal electors. They took the money but chose as successor to Julius the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence, Giovanni de Medici, who took the title of Leo X.



The Rivalry of Spain and France

THE HAPSBURG MARRIAGES

The wild and futile schemes of the Emperor Maximilian left Germany even weaker and more divided than it had been under his feckless father. And when in 1519 he died, a further cause of still more fatal division had arisen in the challenge of Luther to the Roman Church. Maximilian, however, did not live long enough to realise the gravity of that challenge : it fell to the lot of his successor, his grandson, Charles V, to face the immense problems raised by the Reformation.

Maximilian had little interest in Germany. It was a constant source of annoyance to him. It provided him with little money and few men. It persistently opposed his plans and hampered his activities. Its magnates flouted his authority ; its petty princes incessantly disturbed the public peace by their lawless brawls ; its cities treated him and his enterprises with contempt. He preferred to live away from Germany, either among his faithful Tyrolese at Innsbruck, or amid the wealthy burghers of his first wife's Burgundian inheritance.

The interests of Maximilian, indeed, were centred in the House of Hapsburg, and he fostered those interests mainly by matrimony. In his day, as in the later Middle Age, kingdoms and principalities were regarded as the private property of the ruling families, to be transferred by gift, by will, or by way of marriage portions, as the interests of their rulers dictated. The Hapsburgs from the very beginning of their upward career in the thirteenth century had shown themselves adepts in the arts of accumulation. A famous motto of their House, in fact, had run—in Latin of course: "Let others wage wars; do thou, happy Austria, marry." The founder of the greatness of the House, the Emperor Rudolf (1273-92) had managed to secure for members of his family the four great duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The third emperor of the line, Albert II (1438-9), before he came to the throne, had acquired by his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Sigismund, the two important non-Germanic kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. These, as we have seen, passed on his death, together with the Duchy of Austria, to his son Ladislas Posthumus, in whose name they were governed until he too died (1457). Thus Albert's successor as emperor, Frederick III, so long as Ladislas lived, possessed only limited resources of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. In the crisis of 1457 he managed to secure Austria, but Bohemia and Hungary chose other monarchs and so passed temporarily out of Hapsburg control. It was the constant concern of both Frederick III and his son Maximilian to recover them by some means or other, and, as we have observed, by the Treaty of Pressburg (1491) arrangements were made which actually did bring them back into Hapsburg possession in 1526.

Meantime, Maximilian achieved three other marriages, two of which were among the most important recorded in modern European history. The first of these three was his own marriage to Marry of Burgundy in 1477. This

brought into Hapsburg possession the County of Burgundy (Franche Comte) and also the greater part of the Netherlands, the value of which was immense because of their growing wealth in industry and commerce. This fateful subjection of the Netherlands to Hapsburg domination continued, in the case of the Dutch portion for a century, in the case of the Belgian portion for three centuries, that is until the period of the French Revolution. The second of the three marriages was that of Maximilian's only son, Philip, to Joanna, second daughter of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. This marriage, effected in 1496, was not regarded at the time as of great significance. It merely confirmed the alliance of Maximilian and Ferdinand against the aggressive Charles VIII of France. The deaths, however, of Joanna's brother, Prince of Asturias, in 1497; of her elder sister, Isabella of Portugal, in 1498; and of Isabella's only child Miguel in 1500, made Joana the heiress of all the vast dominions, in the Old World and the New, of both Castile and Aragon. The third dynastic marriage negotiated by Maximilian was that of his daughter Margaret (the discarded fiancée of Charles VIII) to John, Prince of Asturias, at that time heir apparent to the Spanish kingdoms. This marriage was celebrated at Burgos in April 1497. The bridegroom, however, survived for only six months. This marriage, therefore, which at the time of its celebration had seemed so important, proved to be insignificant. The widowed Margaret (eighteen years old) returned to her father's wandering court. In pursuit of his Italian policy Maximilian later found her a second husband in Philibert of Savoy. She grew to be a woman of masculine ability and power.

As regent of the Netherlands for her nephew Charles (son of Philip and Joanna) she played a great part in the history of the early sixteenth century. For Philip died in 1506, and Joanna, although she lived until 1555, became hopelessly deranged soon after her husband's death. So that even in Castile, of which she became titular queen on the death of Isabella in 1504, she had to be superseded,

existence (A.D. 800-1806) were so keenly contested as that which took place on the death of Maximilian in 1519. In theory, of course, the "Holy Roman Empire", as conferred upon Charlemagne by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day A.D. 800, was the temporal counterpart to the "Holy Catholic Church". The emperor was the secular lord of Christendom, and his office, like that of the pope, was open by election to all Christian men of free birth. During the later Middle Age, however, as sovereign national states developed, on the one hand, the jurisdiction of the emperor became limited in practice to Germany and scattered fragments of Italy; and, on the other hand, actual election to the office became limited to German princes, and to those among them who could support it by means of the men and the money of their ancestral dominions. Thus it was held by the Duke of Bavaria, 1314-47; by successive Dukes of Luxemburg, 1347-1438. Since 1438 it had been in the possession of three successive Hapsburg Dukes of Austria.

In 1519, therefore, the obvious candidate for election to the imperial office was the young Charles—born 1500; titular ruler of the Netherlands since the death of his father in 1506; king of Aragon and (as colleague of his imbecile mother) of Castile since 1516. The fact, however, that he was responsible for so many territories, besides the hereditary Hapsburg dominions in Germany and Italy, militated against the success of his candidature. He was a Netherlander, born at Ghent; his native language was Flemish; he had lived all his life in Flanders, and his chief advisers were Flemings. He knew no German, and Germany itself was a foreign country to him. He was but a youth of nineteen, and he had given no indication at that date of any sort of ability. There were, indeed, some who thought that his mother's feeble-mindedness had been transmitted to him. Nevertheless, the magnitude of his possessions in Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, and the New World was such that the German electors and the other magnates of the Reich feared that they might be overwhelmed if they were to add to the power that was already his the prestige

and authority of the imperial office. Some of them, moreover, felt it essential to emphasise the fact that the imperial office was elective and not hereditary in the Hapsburg House. Hence they urged Frederick, Duke of Saxony, to accept nomination as a candidate, and there is no doubt that, if he had consented, he would have been elected. But he declined, in spite of the fact that the pope, Leo X, was urgent in secretly pressing his acceptance. For it was the fixed policy of the papacy that the ruler of Germany and the ruler of Naples should *not* be one and the same person. The grandees of Spain, too, for other reasons, were strenuously opposed to Charles's candidature. They contended that the government of the two Spanish kingdoms with their numerous dependencies, together with that of the Netherlands, was already more than one man could efficiently perform, without adding the additional burden of the Hapsburg dominions and the Empire. They, therefore, urged—and they were supported by the able Margaret, Charles's aunt—that the Hapsburg dominions and the Empire should be conferred upon Charles's younger brother Ferdinand. Charles himself, however, with a strength of will and a steady determination that became his most marked characteristic, refused to listen to the arguments of electors, grandees, pope, or relatives. He resolved to stand, and he used every possible means, including lavish bribery, to secure the necessary majority in the Electoral College of seven.

This was no easy matter ; for he had a powerful rival in Francis I, the young French king who had succeeded Louis XII in 1515. Francis took his candidature very seriously, and so did the rest of Europe. He had entered the political stage in a spectacular manner. His brilliant victory at Marignano had shattered the legend of Swiss invincibility, and his capture of Milan had turned the tide of French disaster whose persistent ebb had marked the successive Italian ventures of Louis XII. Leo X was mortally afraid of him : his presence in Milan menaced both the Papal States and Florence. Thus, while he secretly advo-

cated the election of the Duke of Saxony, he was compelled openly to profess support for Francis. The Rhenish electors—the archbishops of Mainz, Triers, and Cologne, together with the Count Palatine—were all situated so near to the French frontier that they felt it incumbent to keep Francis friendly. The Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg, whose dislike of the Hapsburgs was hereditary, was persuaded to promise his support to Francis, and so the ambitious French king seemed safe in calculating that he would receive five of the seven electoral votes, and so would gain the coveted office. In order, however, to “make assurance double sure”, he sent agents round to the electoral courts, and distributed large sums of money and lavish promises.

To his intense annoyance and disgust, he did not secure the prize. When the election took place Charles received all the seven votes. The issue was determined by (1) German public opinion which emphatically declared itself against a French emperor, and threatened civil war if Francis were chosen ; (2) the magnitude of Charles’s bribes and promises ; (3) the articles of a “Capitulation” which Charles issued prior to the election, wherein he signed away most of the sovereign rights that the emperor still possessed in Germany. Further, when in 1521 Charles paid his first visit to Germany in order to meet the Diet at Worms, and to receive the imperial crown at Aachen, he agreed to surrender all the Hapsburg dominions in Germany to his younger brother Ferdinand. It was, indeed, imperative to have a strong ruler in Austria at that moment, for the Turks, under the militant Selim I (1512-20) and Solyman I (1520-66), were again on the warpath, and were gravely threatening the Danubian States. Ferdinand’s interest in these regions was much increased by his marriage the same year (1521) to Anna, daughter of Ladislas, king of Bohemia and Hungary. This “Hapsburg Marriage” was almost as important as those of 1477 and 1496 ; for, as we shall see later, in 1526 it actually brought both Bohemia and Hungary once more into Hapsburg possession, there to

remain until the great upheaval of the world-war at the beginning of the twentieth century (1918).

FRANCO-SPANISH WARS 1521-1544

Francis I was furious at his complete and ignominious defeat in the imperial election of 1519 : he had squandered his money and his energies in vain ; he had become a figure of ridicule. He was resolved to avenge himself by means of war. He and Charles, indeed, had so many causes of conflict that both of them were eager for the fray. The age was militant and lawless ; men were accustomed to bloodshed and rapine ; they thought little either of inflicting or of suffering pain. Any one of the matters at issue between these two fiery and ambitious young monarchs would have been enough to lead to armed contest ; together they rendered any other mode of settlement, at that date, inconceivable. Francis, on his side, re-asserted the claims of his predecessors Charles VIII and Louis XII to Naples ; refused to recognise Ferdinand's conquest of Navarre ; maintained that Flanders and Artois, the very heart of Charles's Burgundian territories, were French fiefs which should have escheated to the French crown in 1477. Charles, for his part, contended that the whole of the Burgundian territories, including the French duchy of Burgundy, should have descended to him ; he further declined to admit Francis's right to the duchy of Milan which the French had occupied in 1515. But behind these various, comparatively small, territorial disputes, lay the real big problems at issue, namely, dominance in Italy, and the hegemony of Europe.

In 1519, however, neither Francis nor Charles was quite ready for war. Charles, in particular, was held up by a serious rebellion in Castile due to resentment at his pre-

ference for Flemings, to dislike of his candidature for the imperial crown, and to anger at his violation of the ancient "liberties" of the kingdom. The rebellion was suppressed with vigour, but it taught Charles a lesson of caution. Another cause of delay was the imperative necessity that he should pay a visit to Germany in order to be crowned at Aachen, and to meet the Diet of the Empire at Worms, where problems of first-rate importance had to be solved. But the thing which above all others postponed the outbreak of the great struggle was the uncertainty of both Charles and Francis as to the attitude of Henry VIII of England.

Henry VIII (born 1491) was an older man than either of the two rival monarchs. He was, indeed, "uncle" to both of them: his wife, Catherine of Aragon was Charles's aunt (sister of his mother Queen Joanna); his sister Mary, the second wife of Louis XII, was step-mother to Francis's queen (Claudia, daughter of Louis XII). He was on outwardly good terms with both Charles and Francis, even though he had been one of their rivals for the imperial crown in 1519. His situation enabled him, together with his brilliant minister Thomas Wolsey, to hold the "balance of power" between the two continental kings. For from the beginning of his reign (1509) he had been steadily building up a royal navy, armed with heavy artillery, which by 1519 gave him an easy command of the Channel. He was in a position, on the one hand, wholly to cut the communications between Spain and the Netherlands, or, on the other hand, to paralyse Francis by an attack upon Normandy and Brittany. Hence in 1520, the immense pride of the English nation, Henry and Wolsey were courted and flattered by both the rival potentates. First, Charles on his way from Spain to the Netherlands and Germany paid a visit to England, offering to Henry as a reward for friendship, the restoration of the French provinces once held by the mediaeval English kings, and to Wolsey his support at the next papal election. Secondly, Francis, not to be outdone, entertained Henry and his great minister, with lavish

splendour at the "Camp of the Cloth of Gold" between Calais and Ardes. He was not able, however, to promise either of them anything equal to the prizes offered by Charles. So, thirdly, from France they proceeded to meet Charles once more at Gravelines in the Netherlands, and there they accepted Charles's terms (July 1520).

The year 1521 saw the beginning of the great struggle. and between that date and 1544, no fewer than four separate wars were waged. The details of these conflicts do not demand our attention ; they are infinitely dreary and insignificant. For purposes of general European history it is sufficient to note their main features, which were as follows.

1st War 1521-1526. In this war the emperor had the support not only of Henry VIII of England, but also of the pope (who needed Charles's aid against the Reformation in Germany), Florence and Venice. For four years the conflict, carried on mainly in Northern Italy and Southern France, was inclusive. Then, on February 23rd 1525, came the decisive event. On that day Francis I, in command of the French army, was overwhelming defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia. He was carried off in captivity to Spain, and there, after a vain attempt to escape, he was compelled in order, to regain his liberty, to sign the dictated Treaty of Madrid (January 14th 1526). Under this humiliating instrument he had to promise (1) to surrender the Duchy of Burgundy ; (2) to renounce his claims to both Naples and Milan ; (3) to abandon his suzerainty over Flanders and Artois ; (4) to pay a considerable sum of money.

2nd War 1526-1529. No sooner had Francis regained his liberty and returned to France than he repudiated the Treaty of Madrid, on the ground that he had signed it under compulsion. Thus in the summer of 1526 war broke out again. This time circumstances looked much more favourable for Francis. For the overwhelming victory of Charles in 1525 had caused general alarm throughout Europe. Hence the pope—now Clement VII (Giulio de Medici)—Florence and Venice, all went over to the French

side. Henry VIII and Wolsey, moreover, seeing the "balance of power" in Europe upset, broke with Charles, sought from the papacy a declaration of the nullity of the marriage of Henry to Catherine of Aragon, and entered into an open alliance with Francis in April 1527. The most sensational event of this second war, undoubtedly, was the capture and sack of Rome by the troops of Charles (May 1527). The spectacle of the two heads of Christendom fighting one another with diabolical fury was one that paralysed the opposition to the Reformation in Germany. In Italy, however, Charles established a complete ascendancy. The French, attacking Naples were beaten at Aversa (August 1528): in Lombardy they were shattered at Landriano (June 1529). Once more Francis was compelled to make, by the Treaty of Cambray (August 1529), a peace in which he abandoned all his claims in Italy. Charles, however, no longer persisted in his demand for the Duchy of Burgundy.

3rd War 1535-1538. Six years of nominal peace followed the signing of the Treaty of Cambray. Charles was occupied in fighting (unsuccessfully) the Reformation movement in Germany. Francis busied himself in restoring his shattered forces and in seeking new allies for another bout with his great enemy. Quite unscrupulous, he did not hesitate to intrigue with the Protestants in Germany, and even to co-operate with the Turks who were invading Hungary from the East. In 1535, at the death of Francesco Sforza, he renewed his claim on Milan and invaded Italy. Three years of confused fighting—in Savoy, Piedmont, Provence, Artois—ended in stalemate. A ten years' truce was concluded at Nice in June 1538.

4th War 1542-44. In 1542 Francis broke the truce by again demanding Milan. On the death of Francisco Sforza, Charles had taken the Duchy into his own hands as an escheated imperial fief. In 1540, by an act of arbitrary power, he transferred it from the Empire to Spain and granted it to his son Philip. This unconstitutional transference was regarded as an outrage not only by Francis but

also by many German magnates. Francis, therefore, began the war with allies in Germany, as well as Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland – not to mention the Turks. Henry VIII, however, alarmed at the progress of Protestantism, reverted to his old alliance with Charles. The allies of Francis did him little good. He was in the end entirely unsuccessful. The Treaty of Crespi (September 1544) concluded the War : in the main it restored the *status quo ante*. Three years later (March 1547) Francis I died.

THE FRENCH KINGDOM UNDER FRANCIS I

Francis I, in spite of his initial successes, in the long run wholly failed in his foreign enterprise : he never acquired Naples, and he was driven out of Milan. In trying to gain the one, and to retain the other, he squandered vast treasures of money and sacrificed hosts of men. In domestic matters, however, he was far more successful, and the thirty-two years of his reign left a permanent impress upon the French constitution and the French nation.

His prime success, both abroad and at home came in the first two years of his reign. Fresh from the triumph of Marignano he concluded a "perpetual peace" with the Swiss, and a "concordat" with the papacy, both of which endured to the time of the French Revolution. (1) The Swiss, who had lost in the great battle of 1515 some 12,000 of the 32,000 mercenaries in the service of the Duke of Milan, were impressed by the brilliance of the French king, while Francis, on his side, recognised the fine fighting qualities of the hardy mountaineers. Hence, to their mutual satisfaction, the Treaty of Fribourg was concluded in November 1516, and from that date for nearly three hundred years the Forest-Cantons became a fruitful recruiting ground for French armies. (2) Even more important was the concordat with the papacy, concluded in a personal interview between Francis and Pope Leo X at Bologna the same year. By this instrument a document of 1438 known

as the "Pragmatic Sanction" was rescinded in 1438, when both the Roman papacy and the French monarchy were weak, the Gallican Church had asserted and secured a large measure of independence. The "Pragmatic Sanction", which both pope and king had been compelled unwillingly to accept, had proclaimed (1) the superiority of General Councils to the Papacy ; (2) the right of chapters to elect bishops and abbots freely ; (3) the cessation of appeals from French ecclesiastical courts to Rome ; (4) the stoppage of most of the payments made by the French to the Papacy. By the Concordat of 1516 the pope got back his money, and the king took over from the chapters the right to nominate bishops and abbots. The pope received an immense addition to his wealth ; the king acquired an enormous increase of power. The patronage of some 600 important benefices passed into the royal hands ; French bishops and abbots became agents of the government. The king henceforth used great ecclesiastical offices as rewards for political services. The ordinary parish priests, no matter how faithful to their duties, ceased to have hope of preferment. Hence a serious schism between the higher clergy and the lower developed in the Gallican Church, and a profound secularity corrupted the higher section. The promulgation of the Concordat of 1516 caused a great outcry throughout France. For several years the *Parlement* of Paris refused to register the royal decree that announced it. But the king was able in the end to enforce his will upon the resisting lawyers and the protesting clergy.

While this ecclesiastical revolution was being effected by means of a corrupt conspiracy between king and pope, Francis was involved in a critical conflict with the greatest of his nobles. Here, once again, the issue was one of power. The chief opponents of royalty in the late Middle Age had been the feudal baronage. In the fifteenth century fortune had favoured the kings : Louis XI had seen the end of the Burgundian dukes ; Charles VIII and Louis XII had absorbed Brittany by marriage. Now the Duke of Bourbon aspired to build up an independent principality in central

and south-eastern France. In his own right and by marriage he had accumulated the territories of three dukedoms and six countries ; he possessed immense properties in the heart of France, and he aspired to add to them Dauphine, Province, and the rank of king. His display of wealth was so great and his attitude to Francis so offensive that, at the Camp of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, Henry VIII confidentially advised Francis to decapitate him ! Francis took the advice to heart, but in attempting to carry it out in a modified form he showed an excess of conscience, or a lack of competence, that led to disaster. He exasperated Bourbon, who was Constable of France, by refusing him high military command ; and on the death of his wife he made legal claim to her inheritance ; he withheld from him money that he owed. The Emperor Charles, hearing of these dissensions, tempted Bourbon into treason by the offer of support and the promise of his sister in marriage. A secret treaty was entered into for a joint attack on Francis, and for the partition of France. The king received news of the projected attack in 1523, but he acted with strange and culpable indecision—for which Richelieu in his *Memoirs* severely blames him. He allowed Bourbon to escape, join the emperor, and lead the imperial armies against the French and their allies in Italy in 1527. Bourbon was in command of the troops that stormed and sacked Rome that year. Fortune, however, came to the aid of the French king ; for Bourbon was killed before the walls of Rome, and so Francis was saved from the worst consequences of his weakness. The whole episode, nevertheless, revealed in Francis a singular incapacity for efficient government : he should either have converted Bourbon into a loyal friend, or have destroyed him as an implacable enemy.

The inefficiency displayed by Francis in the Bourbon episode increasingly characterised his administration as the years went on. In, particular, after his capture at Pavia, incarceration in Spain, and the humiliation of the Treaty of Madrid, he never recovered the *elan* of his early days, but sank into a mere pleasure-seeker, indifferent to the

good of his country, devoid of conscience, policy, or will power.

The redeeming feature of his self-indulgent and extravagant rule was his patronage of artists, scholars, and literary men. Under him the Renaissance reached France. Painters, such as Leonardo da Vinci, were welcomed and entertained. Writers, such as Rabelais, were encouraged to write and to publish. Books and manuscripts were collected in the great library at the royal palace of Fontainebleau. The College de France was founded. Magnificent chateaux were erected both by the king and by his leading ministers. Many of them still remain, *e.g.*, at Chambord, Blois, and Fontainebleau, to show how far the influence of Italy had carried French architects from the severe standards of the castles of the Middle Age.

At the beginning of his reign Francis manifested an easy tolerance in the matter of religion, and Lutheranism began to make some headway in the country. The need, however, of papal support in his Italian enterprises, and other similar causes, turned Francis into a persecutor, and the closing years of his reign were rendered horrible by ghastly massacres of Vandois and other dissenters from Catholicism.

THE DOMINIONS OF CHARLES V

In spite of the failures and follies of Francis I, the Kingdom of France during his reign increased in unity and in power. Its boundaries were maintained intact notwithstanding all the assaults made upon them from the Netherlands, from Germany, from Italy, from Spain, and from England. The royal authority was enhanced; the Church made subject to the Crown; the nobility reduced to submission. The army was vastly strengthened by the organisation of a national infantry on territorial lines. A new spirit of patriotism was generated which manifested itself in a fine flowering of national literature.

Very different was the picture presented by the heterogeneous dominions of Charles I of Castile and Aragon, who was also Charles II of the Netherlands, and Charles V of the Empire. The kingdom of Castile included the separate administrations of Granada, Navarre, North Africa and the American colonies. In the kingdom of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia had each its own independent Courts or Parliament, and to Aragon were attached the semi-autonomous Naples, Sicily and Sardinia. The Netherlands consisted, when Charles had made several additions to them; of seventeen provinces (ten Belgian and seven Dutch). Each had its own government; and the Burgundian States General, which Charles employed to give some sort of unity, had very little authority. Franche Comte, too, was quite distinct in its administration from every other portion of Charles's extraordinary medley of states. The inheritance of the Hapsburg Dominions in January 1519, on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, together with the election to the imperial office six months later, added of course a new mass of burdens to those that Charles already bore; but, as we have seen, he was constrained in 1521 to surrender the government of Austria and its dependencies to his brother Ferdinand.

The dominions of Charles came into his hands piecemeal. His father's death in 1506 put him in possession of the Netherlands and Franche Comte. As he was only six years old at that time, his aunt Margaret of Savoy was made regent. She ruled efficiently, faithfully, and well until in 1515 Charles was declared to be of age. In 1516 the death of his grandfather Ferdinand gave him the kingship of Aragon and the regency of Castile, of which his mother the mad Joanna was still nominally queen. Joanna lived until 1555 in hopeless imbecility; but in 1518 Charles was recognised as joint sovereign. Finally in 1519 came the inheritance of Maximilian. Milan was wrested from Francis after Pavia (1525). In America vast new regions were brought under Spanish control, in particular, Mexico

by Hernando Cortes (1519-20) and Peru by Francisco Pizarro (1533-34).

Charles's government was seen at its best in the Netherlands. He had been born and brought up there. The language of his thoughts and of his familiar speech was Flemish : when first he went to Spain in 1517 he knew but a smattering of Spanish ; when he first visited Germany in 1520 he was almost wholly ignorant of German. All his early advisers were Flemings, and their advice tended to the advantage of the Netherlands rather than to that of the other parts of their sovereign's diverse, dominions. The Treaty of Noyon, for example, concluded with Francis I in 1516, was dictated by the ardent desire of the Flemings to keep the Low Countries free from fear of a French invasion. The Netherlands always desired peace with France, and if Charles between 1521 and 1544 was often at war with the French king it was sorely against his will : he was driven to it by the imperative necessity of keeping open his communications between Spain and Germany by way of Genoa and Milan. He could not leave Liguria and Lombardy in French hands. The Netherlands, of course, formed one of the circles of the Empire. Two of the most fateful acts of Charles's reign were, first, their virtual separation from the Empire by a convention of 1548, and, secondly, their transference to Charles's son and heir, Philip, in 1555, with a view to their incorporation in the Spanish monarchy. Philip was at that time, as husband of Mary Tudor, King of England, and Charles obviously hoped that the permanent union of England and the Low Countries, together with Franche Comte, under Spanish rule would for ever encircle France and keep her in subjection. His hopes were not realised.

His rule in Spain began most inauspiciously. He did not reach the peninsula at all until nearly two years after the death of Ferdinand, the country in the meantime being administered in his name by the faithful and able, although severe and autocratic, Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. When, towards the end of 1517, he arrived, a

youth in his eighteenth year, he came accompanied by a host of Flemings whom he proceeded to place in positions of power and emolument in Spain. Ximenes, for example, was ignominiously dismissed, his office as chief minister being taken by Adrian, bishop of Utrecht (later Pope Adrian VI). When Ximenes died, his see, the richest in Western Christendom, was given to a Flemish boy twelve years old. The Spaniards, led by the nobles of Toledo, strongly protested against the favours shown to Flemings and against the growing export of money from Spain to the Netherlands. Their protests increased when Charles became a candidate for the Empire (1519), and still more when, having been elected, he proposed to go to Germany (1520). In 1520 protests, which led to no redress, gave place to armed rebellion—the so-called Revolt of the Comuneros—with which were mingled peasant insurrections in Valencia and Majorca. The situation for a time was critical. Charles would make no concessions, and would promise no redress. Fortunately for him, the nobles took alarm at the excesses of the townsmen and the villagers. They called their followers to arms and crushed the Comuneros at Villalar in April 1521. Charles was away from Spain at the time; but all the same he learned his lesson. When he returned (1522) he behaved much more prudently, cultivated the spaniards, and in time made himself even popular. The people of the peninsula rejoiced in his victories over France; became proud of their association with the Empire; and, above all, began to revel in the unprecedented wealth that commenced to flow into Spain from the commerce of the Netherlands, and from the apparently inexhaustible gold and silver mines of the New World.

From 1522 to 1543 Charles spent most of his time in Spain, and in enterprises undertaken on behalf of Spain. In 1535, for instance, he personally led an expedition to Tunis, the headquarters of a powerful band of Barbary pirates. He took the place, destroyed the pirate's nest, and released several thousands of Christian captives doomed to serve in the pirate galleys. In 1541 he made a

similar attempt to seize Algiers, but on this occasion a storm wrecked his fleet and he had to withdraw.

In 1543 he was called away from Spain to Germany and never again did he return to the peninsula until twelve years later he came back to abdicate and to hand over the government to Philip II. The main business that took him and kept him away was the upheaval in Germany caused by the Reformation, to the story of which we must now turn.

The Reformation in Germany

CAUSES LEADING TO THE REFORMATION

If it had not been for the Reformation in Germany, Charles would have crushed Francis ; if it had not been for Francis, Charles would have crushed the Reformation. Instinctively, therefore, the French king and the German reformers came together in hatred of their common enemy, and the strange spectacles were presented to the world of a Catholic monarch, who severely repressed Protestantism at home, actively supporting it abroad ; and, on the other hand, of ardent German nationalists, eager to throw off one foreign yoke, actively furthering the imposition of another.

The intimate relation between the French wars and the German Reformation will be evident if the phases of the two struggles are studied side by side. When the struggle between Charles and Francis was acute (*e.g.*, 1526-29), then the Reformers in Germany had things all their own way : Charles needed their aid in war so urgently that he dared not alienate them by persecution. On the other hand, when (*e.g.* after 1544) the Treaty of Crespi had stabilised peace, then the full fury of repression was let loose. This irrational and incalculable alternation of laxity and severity,

however, was fatal to the cause of Catholicism. Before Charles died, Protestantism had so firmly planted itself in so many German States that it was impossible to uproot it.

Another potentate who unwittingly aided the Protestant cause in Germany was the great Turkish Sultan, Soliman the Magnificent (1529-66). Sometimes alone, sometimes in unholy alliance with Francis I, he harassed the Empire on its eastern side. This warlike sovereign started his victorious career in 1521 by capturing Belgrade. In 1526 he invaded Hungary and in the decisive battle of Mohacz made himself permanent master of Budapest and of the larger part of the country. During the next three years the Hapsburg dominions were in deadly peril: in 1529 Vienna itself was besieged. With the French rampant in Italy, and the Turks in Austria, Charles and his brother Ferdinand were totally unable to do anything to check the progress of the religious revolution in process in North Germany. The three years 1526-29 were, indeed, the most critical in Charles's long reign.

By that time the Reformation movement had been in progress for a full decade, and it had displayed a strength far greater than that of any of the heretical or schismatic movements of the Middle Age, all of which the authorities of the Church, with the aid of the State, had been able to stem. The German Reformation had been initiated in 1517 when Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, had promulgated 95 theses at Wittenberg in Saxony in opposition to the papal policy of raising money by the sale of "indulgences", that is, documents professing to secure "remission of the punishment which is still due to sin after sacramental absolution". Luther's theses were intended to give rise to a theological discussion of a difficult problem by academic experts. They, however, most unexpectedly excited popular attention, and speedily set Germany on fire. For in Germany antagonism to the papacy had long been gathering force, and Luther's challenge brought this antagonism to a head.

The deep, underlying causes of the Reformation in

Germany may be classified under four main heads, namely, national, economic, intellectual and moral :—

I. National. In one aspect the Reformation was a revolt of the Teuton against Latin domination : it was a declaration of independence against the papal suzerainty, an effort to nationalise the Church in Germany. The later Middle Age had seen Western Christendom torn by fierce conflicts between the Empire, which had become identified with the German kingship, and the Papacy, which had become almost an Italian monopoly. The fierce attacks launched by successive popes on such emperors as Henry IV, Frederick I, Frederick II, and Lewis IV, had roused intense resentment throughout Germany and had made many Germans regard the Latin papacy as essentially an enemy of the Teutonic peoples.

II. Economic. A special cause of grievance was the wealth which the Church had accumulated at the expense of the nation. On the one side, by means of grants from pious kings and nobles, of gifts from great landowners, of bequests made by dying sinners for the good of their souls, the Church—that is to say the bishops, the abbots, the parish priests—had become possessed of vast landed estates, comprising in all at least one-third of the whole extent of Germany. On the other side, by means of dues and exactions of many kinds, the papal court at Rome, drew a great and steady flow of money from Germany. For a long time the German people had been asking what they got in return for this exhausting drain of wealth. They were increasingly disposed to stop the flow and keep the money themselves.

III. Intellectual. The official creed of the Catholic Church had been in its main essentials fixed by a series of great General Councils during the period A.D. 325-681, and from that time until the eleventh century the voice of dissent had been almost silent. The teaching of the Church had been accepted with passive obedience by a submissive and uncritical laity. In the eleventh century and onward, however, criticism revived, and it was much needed ; for in

the passive interval gross superstition had been rife, and there had been a grave degradation of dogma. The Crusades had stimulated thought, for they had brought the immature warriors of the west into contact with alien peoples immeasurably more civilised than themselves. Moreover, from Saracen Sicily, Byzantine South Italy, and above all from Moorish Spain, had come influences that had roused the dormant intellect of Catholic Christendom. Horrible heresies had displayed themselves, which the rulers of Church and State had suppressed with merciless severity. Then came the Renaissance with its recovery of the lost works of the great thinkers of Greece and Rome—in particular the works of Plato and Aristotle—and the whole vast structure of the Catholic theology began to be subjected to sceptical examination. Much of it was unfitted to stand the strain.

IV. Moral. The cause of the papacy at that time was also much weakened by the moral corruption that infected the Church. The papal court itself was filled with evil men. Pope Alexander VI had been a monster of wickedness; Leo X, the pope at the time of Luther's revolt, was a mere worldling who hardly professed to be interested in religion. Throughout Western Christendom—although with noble exceptions—the standards of morality and of piety had sunk very low. The turning point in Luther's own career was a visit that he paid to Rome in 1511; he was scandalised and horrified by the iniquity that he beheld in that seat of ecclesiastical authority.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT

The way for Martin Luther had been prepared by a long succession of would-be reformers who had tried, but tried in vain, to regenerate the Church from within. Saints, such as Thomas a Kempis (1379-1471), had striven to revive the spiritual life of the Christian world, and to rekindle the flames of personal religion. A series of Councils

—in particular those of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-1417), and Basle (1431-1449)—had endeavoured “to reform the Church in its Members”; but the strength of the vested interests had been too great to be overcome. Finally, a number of scholars, inspired by the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, had applied the canons of the new classical learning to the study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, and had given rise to a movement the motive of which was “Back to the Bible”: it aimed at the abolition of mediaeval accretions to the Gospel, and the re-proclamation of primitive Christianity. Eminent among such pioneers of the new sacred learning were Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) the great Hebraist, and Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), the master of Greek and the supreme literary man of his day. The work of these scholars had a profound influence upon the educated laity of Western Europe, and of Germany in particular; but something more than scholarship was needed to move the mass of superstition and corruption which lay heavy on the Church at the opening of the sixteenth century. Martin Luther provided the moral and spiritual force necessary for the work of the Reformation.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was born at Eisleben in Saxony where his father was a miner in humble circumstances. His parents, pious and thrifty people, anxious that their son should rise in the social scale, saved money, gave him a good education, and in 1501 sent him to the University of Erfurt to study law. Here he worked hard and successfully, taking his degree of Master of Arts when he was but twenty-one years old. Ere this, however, terrified by thoughts of death and hell, he had turned his mind from law to religion. In 1505, without his parents' knowledge, and to their intense disappointment, he forsook the university and entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. Here he diligently sought salvation and emancipation from the fear of hell, and he believed that ultimately found what he sought not by means of fasts and penances, but through the free grace of God accepted by faith. The

doctrine of "justification by faith", rather than by works, became the key note of the evangel which henceforth he proclaimed. He was ordained a priest in 1507, and his preaching, inspired by an intense zeal, soon began to attract wide attention. In 1508 he was appointed a teacher in the Elector or Saxony's new university at Wittenberg, and his eloquence as a lecturer on theology, and as a preacher in the university church, soon made Wittenberg famous throughout Germany, and indeed throughout Europe. Men flocked from far and near to hear him. The university flourished ; the Elector was delighted.

Luther was still an obedient and unquestioning member of the Catholic Church, a submissive servant of the pope. Hence with enthusiasm he welcomed the opportunity of visiting the City of the Apostles and Martyrs, when in 1511 he was appointed to go on a mission to Rome. He went full of pious enthusiasm ; he came back in 1512 utterly disillusioned and horrified. He has left us in his works a lurid description of the abominations that flourished within the precincts of the papal court. Still he had no thought of breaking away from the Catholic communion, urgent though he perceived the need for reform to be. On his return he resumed his teaching at Wittenberg ; took his degree as a doctor of divinity, and devoted his leisure to the study of the Bible and the writings of St. Augustine.

Then, in 1517, came the advent to Germany of John Tetzel, laden with Indulgences from Rome. They were advertised for sale in order to raise money for the extravagant expenses of the papal court, and in particular for the great new cathedral-church of St. Peter which Leo X was building ; and people were buying them not only in order to escape the ecclesiastical penalties of their sins (from which alone they professed to provide exemption), but also in the false belief that they avoided also the divine penalties and even the guilt of sin. The whole theory behind Indulgences was obnoxious to Luther's prime dogma of salvation by grace alone through faith, and in the 95 theses which he propounded in his Wittenberg mani-

festi (November 1517) he challenged the theological world to a disputation upon the points at issue. He was still a loyal son of the Church: he appealed to the supreme ecclesiastical authority to remedy a crying abuse.

The sound of Luther's challenge rang through Germany, and found a resonant echo in every quarter of the land. The sale of the Indulgences fell off, and the Indulgence-mongers were insulted and even assailed by the mob. The ecclesiastical authorities took alarm, and commissioned an able controversialist, John Mayr of Eck—known generally as Dr Eck—to defend Indulgences against their denouncer. Eck and Luther held their disputation at Leipzig in June 1519. Dr. Eck was too successful. By clever arguments he drove Luther to appeal from the authority of the pope to that of general councils, and from the authority of general councils to that of the early fathers, and from the authority of the early fathers to the final authority of the Bible as interpreted by the individual intelligence and conscience. In other words, he was driven most unwillingly into heresy. Having accomplished this feat of logic, the triumphant Eck applied to Rome for a Bull of Excommunicate which was duly supplied in June 1520. Luther accepted the challenge by publicly burning the Bull (together with copies of the decretals which proclaimed the papal supremacy) in the market place at Wittenberg in December 1520.

The time that had elapsed between the Leipzig disputation and the Wittenberg bonfire had been employed by Luther in feverish literary activity. He had written and published the three great battle-cries of the Reformation; the supreme declarations of German defiance; the gages of mortal combat between the Wittenberg doctor and the Papacy. These three clarion calls to war were entitled (1) *An Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*; (2) *On the Liberty of the Christian Man* and (3) *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*.

All Germany was in an uproar.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CONFLICT.

The tumult caused by [the] disputation with Eck, the publication of the three treatises, and the burning of the Bull, coincided exactly with the election of Charles V to the Empire (1519), his coronation at Aachen (1520), and his meeting with the imperial Diet at Worms (1521). No more important meeting of the Diet than that of 1521 had ever been held. It had four questions of prime moment to debate and determine. They were :—

(1) *The disposal of the Hapsburg dominions.* As we have seen, Charles was compelled to surrender them to his brother Ferdinand. He retained, however, the Burgundian inheritance—the Netherlands and Franche Comte—which normally should have gone with them.

(2) *The Settlement of the Imperial Constitution* in view of the fact that the emperor would be frequently an absentee. It was finally decided to restore the Council of Regency (*Reichsregiment*), to rule during his absence ; to reform the Imperial Court (*Reichskammergericht*) ; and to raise an imperial army by means of assessments on the separate states.

(3) *The support of Charles in his first war with Francis*, which, as King of Spain and Lord of the Netherlands, he was already waging in Italy, in Navarre, and in the Low Countries. Since Charles urgently needed German co-operation, he found it necessary in order to secure it to yield to the demands of the Diet respecting the Hapsburg dominions and the Council of Regency. Since, moreover, he needed the support of the papacy in his Italian operations, he had to take in hand the suppression of the Lutheran rebellion,

(4) *The Lutheran Rebellion*, therefore, was the fourth and greatest problem that confronted the Diet of Worms.

Luther was summoned to appear before the emperor and the assembled magnates of the empire. He came under an imperial safe conduct fully expecting that, like John Huss in similar circumstances, he would meet with a martyr's

death. His courage, however, never failed. He was called upon to renounce his heretical opinions. He replied in words that rang throughout Germany :—"Unless I am convinced by Scripture and reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything ; for my conscience is a captive to God's word, and it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. There I take my stand. I can do no otherwise, So help me God. Amen". On his refusal to recant, the Diet ratified the papal excommunication, and also placed him under the ban of the empire. His life was thus forfeited, and no doubt, like Huss, he would have been burned at the stake had it not been for the widespread popular support that he received. Frederick, Elector of Saxony, carried him away, hid him for a year in his Castle of the Wartburg, where he was able to continue his writing ; to labour at a translation of the Bible into German ; and (as he believed) to fight the Devil. Meantime disturbances of all sorts broke out in Germany. There were religious riots in Wittenberg which were not suppressed until Luther himself was brought from the Wartburg to restore sanity and order (1522). There were national risings, headed by Ulrich von Hutten—the so-called "Knights" War—directed against the Papacy and Spain (1523). There were social revolts—appalling insurrections of the peasants against their lords—marked by the perpetration of frightful atrocities. These proletarian upheavals Luther denounced with ferocious energy ; they gravely prejudiced the cause of the Reformation in which alone he was interested (1524).

The emperor was absent from Germany for the seven years 1522-29. The Council of Regency showed itself to be wholly impotent either to restore order, or to enforce the ban against Luther. The French wars continued and strained the resources of the empire. Charles quarrelled with the pope ; his troops sacked Rome and held Clement VII a prisoner. The Turks overran Hungary and threatened Germany. Hence a truce had to be made with the Lutheran reformers. A Diet was summoned to Speier (June 1526)

and a "Recess", or collection of decrees, was issued, according to which "each State should so live rule and conduct itself as it should be ready to answer to God and his Imperial Majesty." That left the German princess free to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism; and in virtue of that freedom, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hesse, Brunswick and many smaller States and Cities, declared for the reformed religion, Throughout the Lutheran States monasteries were suppressed, their property confiscated, and reformed churches organised.

The Catholics of Germany, whose strength lay in the South, with Bavaria as centre, were, of course, gravely perturbed by this triumph of heresy and schism. They leagued themselves together, and as soon as the Treaty of Cambray¹ restored peace to Western Europe (August 1529) they proceeded to attempt a reaction. A second Diet of Speier was summoned which by a majority abrogated the tolerant "Recess" of 1526 and decreed the strict enforcement of the repressive edict of 1521, The Lutheran princes, led by John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, vehemently protested against this return to oppression; hence they acquired the name, which soon became attached to the whole movement, of "Protestants".

Next year Charles himself returned to Germany after an absence of seven years and called another Diet to be held at Augsburg. He wished, if possible, to heal the breach between Catholics and "Protestants", and to restore the unity of the Church in Germany. The hope of compromise was shared also by many of the moderate Lutherans, among whom the notable Greek scholar, Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) was the most eminent. These moderates drew up the famous "Augsburg Confession" (1530) which remained the standard statement of the Lutheran creed. The desire for reconciliation and peace breathes in every line of this great manifesto. The hopes of the moderates on both sides, however, were frustrated by the extremists.

1. Note also that a separate peace between Charles and the Papacy was concluded at Barcelona in June 1529.

The Catholic zealots repudiated all compromise and demanded complete submission ; the Protestant stalwarts rejected the concessions offered to Rome in matters of non-essential doctrine and ritual. Hence the "Recess" of Augsburg ended by prohibiting the teachings of Lutheranism and commanding all its defenders to surrender (1530).

The reply of the Protestants to this challenge was the organisation of the Schmalkaldic League for resistance ; the raising of armed forces ; the appointment of John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse as commanders : and the preparation for war. (December 1530). The first phase of the Reformation movement in Germany was over. Luther retired into the background¹ ; the Protestant princes came to the front ; religious reform became subordinate to a political struggle for independence of imperial control.

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CONFLICT

The armed struggle portended by the formation of the Schmalkaldic League did not at once break out. It was postponed by the urgent need for German unity in view of the formidable advance of the Turks into Austria. The Hapsburg rulers imperatively required the aid of the forces of the Protestant princes. Hence the Truce of Nuremberg (1532) re-established the toleration of 1526 pending the meeting of a General Church Council which Charles promised to secure. The truce thus restored lasted for no less than seven years ; for no sooner was the Turkish peril removed, than the third war with Francis I broke out (1535). These seven years witnessed a prodigious advance of the Protestant cause, now predominantly political. North Germany went over almost solidly to the Schmalkaldic League, the only important exception being Brunswick-Wolfenbittel. In South Germany the Catholic remnant in 1539 was almost limited to the ecclesiastical principalities, together with Austria, Bavaria, and the Palatinate.

1, Luther died at Eisleben, his birthplace, on February 18th 1546,

In 1539 war appeared to be on the point of breaking out. The Catholic League, now painfully reduced in numbers but increased in ferocity, organised its forces for a last desperate resistance to the Protestant advance. But once again the clash was postponed. The peril of Turkish invasion recurred; a new conflict with France seemed imminent; above all, the Pope (Paul III) refused Charles's request for the calling of a Council in Germany. So another attempt was made by the moderates of both parties to find a compromise, or *via media* of peace. The liberal Cardinal Contarini met the pacific Melancthon in amicable conference (1541) and ardently sought a way of reconciliation. Their efforts were vain: on the one side, the pope refused all concessions to Lutheran dogma; on the other side, the princes of Germany declined to return to the Catholic obedience on any terms whatsoever (1542). By this time, however, the fourth and last war between Charles and Francis was on way, and for two more years all the energies of the Empire had to be devoted to defence against French attacks from the West, and against Turkish attacks from the East. The Peace of Crespi (1544), however, at last produced conditions that enabled Charles to concentrate his attention on the religious revolution and the political rebellion in Germany. He carefully prepared his way; made peace with the Turks; came to an agreement with the pope concerning the calling of a General Council at Trent; concluded alliances with as many German princes as possible, among whom an able renegade, Maurice of Saxony, was the most important. Then, in 1546, he declared war on the rebels of the Schmalkaldic League. The decisive battle was fought at Muhlberg on April 24th 1547. It resulted in the overwhelming victory of Charles. The elector John Frederick of Saxony was captured on the field; Philip of Hesse was compelled to surrender soon afterwards. The Schmalkaldic League was crushed; the authority of pope and emperor once more apparently re-established in Germany. The terms imposed on John Frederick and Philip were harsh. Both were imprisoned

for life. The Saxon electorate was taken away from John Frederick and given to his renegade relative Maurice; the Hessian fortresses were demolished, and a heavy fine inflicted upon the revellious Hessian landgravate.

The triumph of Charles was shortlived. Even before the Battle of Muhlberg the emperor was again at loggerheads with the pope. On the one hand, the pope, to Charles's great annoyance, had moved the seat of the Council from Trent to Bologna, that is from German to Italian control; and he was obstinately resisting any discussion of moral reform, preferring to concentrate the attention of the Council on abstract definition of dogma. On the other hand, the emperor, to the intense disgust of the pope, had in Italy occupied Parma and Piacenza, which the pope had marked out as his own. This quarrel, rending the Catholic world, once more made Charles anxious to secure peace in Germany; hence, summoning the Diet in 1548, he instituted with its sanction a number of political reforms, and at the same time issued a religious eirenicon known as "The Interim" which, without papal consent, offered certain provisional concessions to the Protestants, on condition of their maintaining good relations with the Catholics, with a view to ultimate re-union. The Lutherans were to be allowed (1) to partake of both the bread and the wine in the Eucharist; (2) to have a married priesthood; and (3) to preach a modified form of the doctrine of justification by faith. This compromise did not satisfy anyone, and was obviously a mere temporary expedient. Nevertheless circumstances were such that it provided a basis for peace during the next four years. Pope Paul III had died (Nov. 1549) and his successor, Julius III, had recalled the Council to Trent and was directing its debates to the urgent questions of reform, as well as to the problems raised by the imperial "Interim". Charles, for his part, was pre-occupied with schemes for the devolution of his vast dominions to take place on his death or abdication. He was prematurely old, racked with gout, and very weary of his sisyphean tasks. He was eager to make the empire

hereditary in the Hapsburg House, and to transfer its centre and seat to Spain.

These schemes were intensely obnoxious to the German princes, who found a leader in the double-rene-gade Maurice of Saxony. He entered into a secret alliance with the new French king, Henry II, promising him, in return for help, the three western bishoprics—strategically invaluable—of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (January 1552). Having secured this alliance, he rose in revolt. At first he and his allies carried all before them : the French occupied the three bishoprics ; the rebels overran the Tyrol and captured Innsbruck itself, whence Charles himself had to flee, carried in a litter, to avoid capture. The emperor was compelled to make a truce (August 1552) on condition of releasing John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse from their life-imprisonment, and of admitting Lutherans to the imperial chambers. Next year, however, the tide turned once more. Maurice of Saxony, the life and soul of the revolt, was killed in battle (July 9th 1553), his chief supporter Albert of Brandenburg was crushed ; a stalemate was established. It became clear that neither party was strong enough to destroy its opponent. It was also evident that their conflicts, now extending over more than thirty years, were fatal to any sort of prosperity in Germany. Hence the Diet, meeting under the presidency of Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles and soon to be his successor in the Empire, proclaimed the famous and all-important Peace of Augsburg (February—September 1555).

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG 1555

The Peace of Augsburg was a severe blow to the papacy, and a fatal blow to the empire. (1) *To the papacy* it meant to the end of the unity of Western Christendom ; the triumph of heresy and the establishment of schism ;

the limitation of the power of the Inquisition and of the jurisdiction of the courts of Rome. Pope Julius III, through his legate, protested vehemently against any concession to the Lutherans, but his death in March 1555, which recalled the papal legate to Rome, weakened the Catholic resistance and enabled progress towards a compromise to be made. The next pope, Marcellus II, lived only three weeks after his election (April 11—30) and another three weeks elapsed before the stern and unbending Cardinal Caraffa—Pope Paul IV—was chosen. He, a fierce inquisitor and an implacable foe of the Hapsburgs, fought violently against the Catholic surrender. He succeeded in securing the rejection of some of the more extreme Lutheran demands; but he could not prevent the weary and exhausted Germans from terminating the long conflict by a peace of compromise and accommodation. (2) *To the empire*, that is to say, to the authority of the emperor and to the efficiency of the central government of Germany, the Peace of Augsburg was fatal. It signalised the complete triumph of the princes, each one of whom became virtually sovereign within the limits of his territory. Even in the vital matter of religion the supreme power of the Church was abolished in favour of the supreme power of the secular lord. The Peace was a victory not for the ideal of toleration but for the practice of what is commonly called Erastianism, that is, of the subordination of Church to State.

The main terms of the Peace as finally concluded, after seven months of acrimonious debate, were four in number :—

- (1) That, on the principle "*Cujus regio ejus religio*", each prince should determine whether the official religion of his territorial State should be Catholic or Lutheran. There was no suggestion of toleration: if any subject dissented from the prince's religion, he could be required to go into exile.
- (2) That ecclesiastical property secularised up to August 1552, should remain in the hands of the new possessors; but that secularisations effected

after that date should be restored to their former Catholic proprietors.

- (3) That if, in the future, any Catholic bishops or abbots should turn Lutheran, they should relinquish their offices with all the revenues and patronage attached to them. These offices were to be "ecclesiastical reservations".
- (4) That the Imperial Court (*Reichskammergericht*) should be reconstituted, so as to consist of equal numbers of Catholics and Lutherans; and that in future all disputes between the two bodies should be settled, not by war, but by the judicial decisions of this reorganised tribunal.

These provisions, embodied in a "recess" of September 1555, gave Germany freedom from open war for a period of sixty-three years. The settlement, however, was no more than an unsatisfactory truce, not sincerely accepted by either side. It contained, indeed, in itself the seeds of new and embittered conflict in the future. In particular, first, it recognised only one form of dissent from Catholicism, namely, Lutheranism as defined in 1530; and already there were several other varieties of Lutheranism. Moreover, creeping into Germany across the Rhine had come two new and totally different types of reformed religion, far more extreme than Lutheranism, namely Zwinglianism and Calvinism. These both rapidly spread in Germany, but they were refused all legal recognition. Secondly, no means were provided for securing the return to the Catholic of the lands secularised since 1552. In general they were *not* returned, and, still worse, fresh secularisations continued to take place. Thirdly, the provision respecting "ecclesiastical reservations" was so loosely worded as to cause incessant controversy. For instance, supposing that when a bishop or abbot turned Lutheran, all his chapter accompanied him; and supposing that after he had resigned his office he were re-elected to it as an "administrator" by his

renegade chapter, what then? This contingency actually occurred with increasing frequency during the sixty-three years 1555-1618: it was one of the prime causes of the Thirty Years' War.

Charles V viewed the proceedings of Augsburg, from a distance, with increasing apprehension and disgust. He would have nothing to do with the Diet; he left it to his brother Ferdinand to make the best of the lamentable situation. He was determined never to visit disrupted Germany again; and as time went on he, resolved to divest himself of all his offices, and to spend his declining years in retirement. He was anxious, too, to transfer as much of his empire as he could to his son Philip, and to leave as little as possible to his brother Ferdinand, with whom he was on bad terms.

He was, indeed, surrounded by enemies. As Holy Roman Emperor he was necessarily hostile to the Protestant heretics and schismatics; as German king he was antagonistic to the princes: as Italian ruler he was at daggers drawn with the pope; as Austrian archduke, he was the foe of the Turks; as Spanish monarch he was the enemy of the Moors; as Burgundian duke he was the opponent both of the French king and of the Flemish towns. He had few friends, and no trusty allies, anywhere. He had enough of strife and responsibility: he would seek repose and consolation. Hence he began a gradual process of abdication which Christendom watched with amazement and fascination. The process may be said to have begun when, prior to the marriage of Philip to Mary Tudor in July 1554, he invested his son with the kingdom of Naples. In October 1555, in an impressive scene at Brussels, vividly described in Motley's *Dutch Republic* he transferred the Netherlands to Philip, and took a final farewell of the people whom, more than any other, he regarded as his own. Next, in January 1556, he divested himself of the monarchies of Castile and Aragon, with all the vast possessions in Europe, Africa, and the Americas that appertained to them. The imperial office he nominally

retained, at his brother Ferdinand's request, until 1558, but all its active functions (such as they then remained) he devolved upon Ferdinand, whom he recommended to the electors as his successor. Meantime, towards the close of 1556 he reached Spain from the Netherlands, and slowly made his way to the monastery of Yuste, where a modest eight-roomed house was being built for his reception. Early in 1557 he took up his abode within the monastic precincts, and there he spent the short remainder of his days. His occupations during this brief period of retirement were by no means monastic. He ate and drank enormously, bringing on increasingly severe attacks of gout by his excesses. Although he devoted much time to religious exercises, he kept up an undiminished interest in secular concerns. His dwelling was the centre of a constant political activity; and, being free from responsibility, he was lavish in advice to all and sundry who applied to him. He was, in fact, a nuisance; and it was with a sigh of relief that the responsible rulers of Christendom heard the news that on September 21st 1558 he had completed his irresponsible and mischievous activities, and had departed this life.

6

The Reformation Outside Germany

ZWINGLI AND CALVIN IN SWITZERLAND

Whilst Luther and his confederate princes were fighting their fierce battle against the pope and the emperor in Germany—the battle of the tribal state and the territorial Church against the mediaeval *Respublica Christiana*—a separate and independent Reformation was taking place in Switzerland. It was at once more popular and more radical than that initiated by Luther. Luther was essentially conservative and reactionary. In the matter of doctrine, and especially sacramental doctrine, he kept as near to Catholicism as he could; in the matter of ceremonial he abandoned only such practices as seemed inconsistent with his fundamental principle of justification by faith. Very different was the reform movement initiated by Huldreich Zwingli in the Swiss canton of Zurich.

Zwingli was born in the same year as Luther (1484) at Wildhaus, within the jurisdiction of the Abbey of St Gall. His father was bailiff of the village, and an uncle was the priest. Of unusual intelligence, and destined for the service of the Church, young Huldreich received an excellent classical education at Basle, Berne, and Vienna. In 1504 he took his degree, and two years later was ordained priest

by the bishop of Constance, being placed in charge of Glarus. At Glarus he continued his studies, being particularly influenced by the writings of Erasms. Under the guidance of this great scholar he fearlessly applied the principles of classical criticism to the dogmas of the Church. In particular, he questioned the bases of the papal power : so early as 1517 he arrived at the conviction that "the papacy must fall". At Glarus he made a great reputation not only as a courageous and original thinker, but also as an eloquent preacher. Hence in 1519 he was called to the still more important city of Zurich where he was appointed to the Great Minister. Here, protected by the republican Government of the city, he developed and proclaimed his revolutionary religious opinions. He was soon, moreover, involved in politics, for Zurich and its neighbourhood was one of the great recruiting-fields for Swiss mercenary soldiers. Zwingli, who had been a chaplain to the Swiss who fought against Francis at Marignano (1515), developed an intense antagonism to the mercenary system of enlistment, and he strenuously opposed the agents of both the French king and the pope when they came to raise armies for their incessant wars. Zwingli was no pacifist : he took an entirely Old Testament view of war as an instrument of divine justice. But he objected strongly to the bartering of this instrument for money, and he found unemployed mercenaries in Zurich to be fruitful sources of vice and disorder. Opposition to the papacy in the matter of enlistments was soon followed by opposition to the sales of indulgences, and so on until the whole papal position was challenged. Zwingli, indeed, was from the first more concerned with church-government than with theological doctrine. He wished to reorganise the Church of Switzerland on an independent and a republican basis. Under his influence Zurich in 1526 repudiated the authority of the bishop of Constance, and its example was followed by Basle, Berne, and Schaffhausen. This repudiation involved the stoppage of payments to Rome, and also a general confiscation of monastic pro-

perty. The older "Forest Cantons" of Switzerland, zealous in their devotion to the Catholic cause, were outraged by the progress of the Zwinglian spoliation. In 1525 they took up arms and a civil war raged among the mountains for two years. In 1531 Zwingli himself was slain in battle, and the war was ended in a compromise peace, according to which each canton should be free to determine its own form of religion. Zwingli was not much of a theologian, but he was far less conservative than Luther (with whom he became engaged in embittered controversy). He took the Scriptures as his sole standard of authority: he rejected all doctrines and ceremonials for which he could not find scriptural warrant. Thus, in respect of the Communion Service, he denied both the Roman dogma of transubstantiation and the Lutheran theory of consubstantiation. He refused also to accept Luther's doctrine of human freewill, holding rather the Augustinian doctrine of pre-destination. Moreover, as against the Lutheran trust in princes, the Zwinglians were ardent republicans and democrats. Hence between Lutherans and Zwinglians fierce conflict and controversy raged.

Very soon a third and still more potent combatant entered into the fray. This was John Calvin, a Frenchman, who in 1536 arrived as a fugitive in Geneva at this date was just terminating victoriously a ten-years' struggle for independence against the Dukes of Savoy. In the course of the struggle the burghers of the city adopted Zwinglianism, and abolished the mass (1535). The ecclesiastical authorities in the city, headed by their bishop, did not readily accept suppression, and for six years (1535-41) a doubtful contest was waged. Into this contest Calvin threw himself with energy and commanding power.

Although only twenty-seven years of age when he arrived at Geneva, Calvin had already acquired name and fame by formulating in his *Institutes* (1536) a complete and coherent system of theology utterly antagonistic to that of Rome. It is one of the most amazing products of the human mind, almost miraculous as the work of one so

young. Born in 1509 at Noyon in Picardy, Calvin, who early showed unusual linguistic powers and strongly logical mind, was originally destined for a legal career. While studying law at Orleans, however, he became acquainted with men interested in the new humanism of the Renaissance and in the new theology of the German and Swiss Reformations. He turned his great gifts to the study of the Scriptures which he came to regard as the final authorities in matters of faith and morals, and he gradually framed the vast system which he propounded in his *Institutes*. For several years the French king, Francis I—partly through indifference, and partly under the influence of his liberal-minded sister, Margaret, the Queen of Navarre—showed an easy tolerance of heretical opinion. But in 1534 the agitated French hierarchy stirred him up to activity, and Calvin found it necessary to escape from the country. He completed and published the first edition of his *Institutes* at Basle (1536) hopefully, or impudently, dedicating the work to Francis I. From Basle he visited Geneva, and was persuaded to remain there to aid in the settlement of the new Church and the new Constitution.

At Geneva, where he remained except for one short interval of exile (1538-41) until his death in 1564, a theocracy was established on the Old Testament model. Both Church and State were governed on republican lines by elected elders. The spiritual power was made supreme over the temporal power. As to theology, the Calvinistic system was based exclusively on the Bible. Its fundamental doctrine was that of predestination: everyman's eternal destiny was determined before time began by the will of God which nothing could alter. Hence all the sacraments, penances, fasts, and indulgences of the Roman Church were futile and meaningless. Calvinism thus rejected the whole Catholic system: it became the great fighting creed of the Reformation. Lutheranism had little vogue outside Germany: it was vague in its theology, hesitant in its ceremonial, subject to princely control. Calvinism spread far and wide—to France, to the Nether-

lands, to England, to Scotland, to the New World of America.

THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE

In every country where the Reformation movement manifested itself it was closely associated with politics. The idea of the separation of Church from State was alien from the sixteenth-century mind. Conformity to the established cult was a test of loyalty to the established government : heresy was regarded as a form of treason, and schism as an act of rebellion. In the sixteenth century, however, rebellion and treason were rife, and everywhere they fortified themselves by calling to their aid the principles of the religious reformers. In Germany the territorial princes, in their revolt against the mediaeval *Respublica Christiana* ruled by the joint sovereignty of pope and emperor, allied themselves with the Lutherans, and the Lutherans on their side emphasised the duty of subjects to obey their princes. Hence Lutheranism became a support to monarchical authority, and one of the bases of the totalitarian State. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the cities were struggling to emancipate themselves completely from the jurisdiction of alien dukes, extortionate bishops, and oppressive abbots, both Zwinglianism and Calvinism took an extreme anti-monarchic and republican form. The Swiss reformers allied themselves with the burghers, who became the elders in the Reformed Churches.

In France the Reformation followed lines widely different from either the German or the Swiss. The Catholic Church in France was not regarded as a hostile and anti-national institution as it was by both the German princes and the Swiss burghers. On the contrary, the relations between the French kings and the popes had for a long period been generally most cordial. During the long residence of the papacy at Avignon (1309-78) most of the popes and a majority of the cardinals had been Frenchmen,

and the Catholic Church had almost sunk to the level of a department of the French State. Even after the return of the popes to Rome, and the consequent restoration of Italian ascendancy in the papal curia, the Church in France remained "Gallican", that is, national and autonomous, rather than Roman. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 recognised in it large measures of self-government, and even the much-hated Concordat of 1516 merely transferred authority from the cathedral and monastic chapters to the king. The Reformation movement in France, therefore, was not directed, as in Germany, against the papacy, nor, as in Switzerland, against local bishops and abbots, but against the king, who, particularly since 1516, controlled both State and Church.

The Concordat of 1516 had, indeed, been disastrous to the spiritual life of the Gallican Church. By putting into royal hands the patronage of bishoprics, and abbeys hundreds of other rich ecclesiastical offices, it had deeply corrupted the hierarchy. For the king used his power of presentation to put into the high places of the nationalised Church ministers whom he desired to reward, critics whom he wished to silence, favourites for whom he sought to provide. Thus some bishoprics were given to foreigners who never came near their dioceses; some abbeys to youths who spent their revenues in debauchery. One favourite of Francis I, Jean du Bellay, was invested with five bishoprics and fourteen abbeys. The discipline of the whole Church was relaxed; drunkenness and concubinage abounded, the standards of both morality and intelligence fell very low. The need for reform was evident and insistent; but it did not involve any demand for separation from Rome; for the influence of Rome, whether for evil or for good, was too small to cause concern.

The first distinct movement for reform came from Italy as an adjunct of the Renaissance. The great humanist Jacques Lefevre of Etaples in Picardy brought to France from beyond the Alps not only a knowledge of the Greek language and of the works of Aristotle, but also a keen

critical intellect which from 1507 he applied primarily to the study of the Scriptures. In 1512 he published a translation of St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary in which the doctrines of Luther were curiously anticipated: he questioned the doctrine of transubstantiation, and he emphasised the superiority of faith over works. His writings were purely academic, and they attracted little attention. It was a pupil of Lefevre who brought his teachings from the schools into the market-place, and initiated a practical agitation for reform of the Gallican Church from within. This man was Guillaume Bricconnet, who was appointed bishop of Meaux in 1516. Round him at Meaux he gathered a company of learned and earnest men, including his old tutor Lefevre, and in association with them began to preach a primitive Christianity, based on the New Testament, closely akin to that which Luther was about to proclaim in Germany. He attracted the attention of Margaret, sister of Francis I, afterwards Queen of Navarre. She became his enthusiastic disciple, and for several years she was able to keep her brother friendly to the reformers. They said and did nothing to challenge his authority; in their theology he was not interested. After his capture at Pavia, however, and his return from captivity at Madrid in 1526, the attitude of Francis changed. In his struggle with the emperor he needed the support of the pope, and the pope demanded the suppression of Lutheranism and other kindred heresies. So a persecution began, which, although it fluctuated a good deal according as the king cultivated the alliance of the Pope or the Protestants, ended by crushing the reform movement as initiated at Meaux. Bricconnet was no rebel and no martyr. He made his submission; his company dispersed; his agitation died down.

Meantime, however, Calvinism arose. This system of theology, worship, and government, severely logical and complete, appealed strongly to the French mind. But what commended it most was its militant republicanism: it was "the creed of rebels". It was a most formidable weapon in the hands of a feudal nobility eager to reduce the over-

grown power of the king. Hence after 1536 in a most amazing manner it spread, mainly as a political movement, among the aristocracy until within a quarter of a century it had become a serious menace to both Catholicism and monarchy. As a religious movement, too, it made its way among the bourgeoisie of the great towns and cities, particularly those in the south-west of the country, with La Rochelle as centre. To the French Calvinists the name of "Huguenots", or Associates, was commonly given. The growth of the Huguenot faction seriously alarmed both Francis I and his successor Henry II. In 1540 a resolute attempt to suppress heresy of all sorts began. Burnings became frequent; in 1545 some three thousand Waldenses were massacred in Provence; in 1546 fourteen "Men of Meaux" were sent so to the stake; in 1547 a royal Inquisition—later known as the *Chambre Ardente*—was set up, and a systematic attempt made to extirpate heresy. The fires of persecution, however, seemed but to stimulate the zeal of the sufferers. It is stated that in the four years 1555-9 no fewer than two-thousand Huguenot churches were founded, and the whole schismatical community was organised in provincial and national synods. The castles of nearly half the nobility became strongholds of the reformed religion. The pious Huguenot bourgeoisie bore persecution with patient submission; not so the rebellious nobles. In 1559, when Henry II died as the result of an accident in a tournament, the country was ripe for civil war.

THE REVOLT OF HENRY VIII IN ENGLAND

In England the Reformation movement differed widely from all its Continental analogues. Lutheranism in Germany, Zwinglianism in Switzerland, Calvinism in Geneva and in France, all began as popular revolts against Roman Catholicism, and not until their political implica-

tions became apparent: were they adopted (and prostituted) by rebellious princes, independent city-councils, or turbulent, and so made operative. In England, on the other hand, the movement was purely political in origin; it was inaugurated by King Henry VIII himself and carried through by his obedient Parliament without either stimulus or hindrance from the passive and indifferent commonality.

In 1527, when the movement began, there was no loud call for reform in England. The country was backward, only just recovering from the devastations of the Wars of the Roses. The population was small; it is estimated at fewer than five millions. It was, in the main, desperately poor, and, except in the cities, generally illiterate. There was no overt heresy, although the embers of Lollardy may have been smouldering underground. But the Church had lost its hold upon the nation. The papacy was looked upon as foreign and hostile; it had steadily supported France during the long process of the Anglo-French wars. The higher offices of the Church had become the monopoly of the nobility, and the bishops were usually on bad terms both with nobility, and the bishops were usually on bad terms both with the parochial clergy and with their parishoners. The monasteries, nearly empty since the Black Death of 1348-9, but still possessed of vast estates, seemed to have lost their usefulness and to be the abodes of mere handfuls of lazy and incompetent loungers. The continuance of the mediaeval condition of things depended on the Government, and when the Government decided to change them, there was little popular resistance.

It is true that before Henry VIII took the matter in hand there had been in academic circles some echoes of the controversies raging on the Continent. Sir Thomas More, a noble and courageous soul, had pleaded for moral reform; Colet, dean of St Paul's, had advocated the study of the Greek Testament and had preached an evangelical gospel; the great Erasmus had held a chair at Cambridge and had spread the practice of sceptical criticism. Even within the Church itself, Thomas Wolsey, cardinal archbi-

shop of York, and the powerful minister of the king, had taken the significant step of dissolving some of the smaller monasteries and devoting their revenues to the founding of schools and colleges.

A Reform movement, indeed, had shown signs of beginning in England before 1527, and probably it would have developed into a popular agitation towards the middle of the century, if the king had not intervened, taken command of it, and directed it to his own ends. Three sets of causes were leading towards it. First, there were political causes tending to a breach with the papacy—the corruption of the Roman court; the extortion of money by the papal agents; the abuse of papal patronage; the interference of the curia with the jurisdiction of English tribunals, and so on. Secondly, there were ecclesiastical causes tending to relations between Church and State—the King was steadily moving towards the establishment of his own supremacy over the Church similar to that enjoyed by Francis I under the Concordat of 1516, and was looking to the monastic lands as an unexploited source of wealth. Thirdly, there were theological causes tending to change in doctrine and to a simplification of worship—in particular, the dogma of transubstantiation was being questioned, the doctrine that lay behind the mystery of the Mass, the very basis of sacerdotal power.

But long before these various tendencies showed any sign of combining and causing a popular outbreak of revolt, the problem of the king's marriage precipitated the conflict with Rome and left the victorious conduct of it to the masterful Henry VIII. In 1501 Catherine of Aragon, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, had been married to Arthur, heir apparent of Henry VII. Prince Arthur had survived the marriage for less than half a year, dying at the age of sixteen. Henry VII, anxious to retain the Spanish alliance and unwilling to refund Catherine's dowry, had procured a papal dispensation permitting his second son Henry to marry his deceased brother's widow—a marriage prohibited by both Levitical and Canon Law.

The marriage was accordingly celebrated in 1509. Eighteen years later Henry wished to have the marriage declared null. He had three main reasons : first, it had failed to produce a male heir to the throne ; secondly, it stood in the way of an alliance with France against Charles V (Catherine's nephew) which Henry and Wolsey were wishful to conclude; thirdly, it stood between him and Anne Boleyn with who he had fallen violently in love and was determined to make queen.

Wolsey undertook to procure from Pope Clement VII the necessary declaration of nullity, expecting no difficulty. But as it happened, just at that time the pope was prisoner of Charles V in Rome and wholly unable to act contrary to his will. He did not, however, wish to disoblige Henry, so he temporised. He appointed a Legatin Commission (1528) to hear the case in England and report : by careful procrastination the legates dragged out proceedings till 1530. Then Henry, in growing impatience, appealed to the Universities of Europe : Could a papal dispensation set aside a clear prohibition of a law laid down in the Bible ? Thus he raised the fundamental problem of the Reformation, namely, What is the final authority in faith and morals ? The answers given by the Universities were ambiguous and indecisive. So in 1533 Henry took the matter into his own hands. He declared that the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury was competent to decide the point at issue. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, was complacent. In May 1533 he declared the marriage of Henry to Catherine to be null and void. Henry, anticipating his verdict, had already repudiated Catherine and married Anne (January 1533) who in September of the same year gave birth to the princess Elizabeth.

Thus in 1533 Henry VIII openly defied the papacy. The pope replied by declaring the Spanish marriage valid and cater by excommunicating the disobedient king. From that time events moved rapidly. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy was passed proclaiming the King Head of the Church in England ; in the same year all payments to

Rome were stopped. In 1535 an English translation of the Bible was published, and the appeal to the Bible as the final authority in religion became the dominating feature in English Protestantism. In 1536 the smaller monasteries were dissolved, and in 1539 all the remainder; their lands and revenues were appropriated by the king. None of these proceedings involved any change in doctrine, and Henry VIII remained to the end of his days rigidly Catholic in his creed. Indeed, when he found that Bible-reading was generating heresy, he had the Bibles removed from the public lectures in the churches; restricted the reading of the book to "persons of quality"; issued the "Six Articles" of 1539 affirming the leading Catholic dogmas and decreeing the penalty of death to dissenters. Thus at the time of Henry's death in 1547 the Anglican settlement of religion was unique. The Church as established by law in England was Catholic in doctrine, but Protestant in government: it was a department of State, divided from Rome not by heresy but by schism.

THE ANGLICAN COMPROMISE

The doctrinal portion of Henry VIII's settlement of religion in England was not destined to remain long undisturbed after the king's death. Henry was succeeded on the throne by his son—the child of Jane Seymour, the third of his six wives—Edward VI, a boy nine years of age. The old king had taken care to appoint a Council of Regency in which Catholics and Protestants were evenly balanced; but this arrangement was soon upset. The Protestants, headed by Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the young king's uncle and "Protector", expelled the Catholics and assumed control. They were supported by Archbishop Cranmer, who had been rapidly moving in a Protestant direction, and also by the youthful Edward VI, a most precocious child, who manifested a premature interest in theology.

Somerset and his associates began by repealing Henry VIII's "Six Article" and others persecuting statutes ; by sending round commissioners to remove superstitious images, pictures, and stained-glass windows from churches ; by disendowing and confiscating the property of chantries and gilds dedicated to religion (1547). Then they proceeded, under Cranmer's direction, to frame a new Prayer Book in the English language intended to supersede the Latin Missal of the Catholic Church. Although in outward form it kept very close to the Roman model, yet its inward essence—particularly in the Communion Service—showed a distinct affinity to Lutheranism. It was definitely, though moderately, Protestant (1549).

By this time, however, more extreme influences had begun to operate in England. Continental Calvinists, fleeing from persecution in Germany, France, and Switzerland, had come over to this country consumed with hatred of Rome, and vehement in condemnation of any sort of compromise with Catholicism. They carried both Cranmer and the young king with them, and prepared the way for a further Protestant advance. Before the end of 1549 Somerset was overthrown, his place at the head of the Government being taken by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. This man, entirely irreligious, observing Edward's inclinations and calculating that he would have many years to reign, adopted a violently Protestant policy. He procured the dismissal of bishops who remained Catholic ; he issued a Second Prayer Book (1552) more emphatically Protestant than that of 1549 ; he secured the passage of an Act of Uniformity enforcing its acceptance on the clergy ; finally, he gave his support to the proclamation of "Forty-two Articles" of belief, assent to which was to be required from all clergy, schoolmasters, and holders of governmental office. These "Articles", for the framing of which Cranmer was primarily responsible, were distinctly Calvinistic in tone. England under Edward VI, Northumberland, and Cranmer definitely ranged itself on the Protestant side in the great European conflict.

For the continuance of that stand, however, everything depended on the life of the young king. The country was not Protestant ; nor were the bulk of the clergy, however, they might profess acceptance of the creeds and service-books imposed by the Government. In 1552 the king's health obviously was breaking down. A consumption set in, and all the efforts of physicians proved unavailing. Northumberland and Cranmer were in moral terror, the one for his life, the other for his cause. For if the young king should die without issue, the next in succession to the throne would be the Princess Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, a zealous Catholic. Hence, when it was clear that Edward was doomed to die while still a boy, they made strenuous efforts to exclude Mary, and to secure the succession for the Protestant Lady Jane Grey. Their efforts failed. Edward died on July 6th 1553, in his sixteenth year. The Lady Jane was proclaimed queen : but the country would not have her. After a nominal reign of nine days she passed from the palace to a prison and the block. Mary was established.

Then came, as was inevitable, a strong Catholic reaction. For about a year Mary did no more than rescind the laws and abolish the institutions of Edward's reign : she returned to the position of her father, Henry VIII. But that was merely a preliminary move. In 1554 she completed the restoration of the old religion. She married Philip, son of the emperor Charles V, who was created King of Naples for the occasion. She invited a papal legate to the country, and when Cardinal Pole arrived, a formal reconciliation with Rome was effected. Then the heresy laws of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, were re-enacted, and a grim effort made to stamp out Protestantism by persecution. The number of victims was not large, compared with those of Continental holocausts. Between 200 and 300 were burned at the stake ; they included, however, some of the most eminent of English churchmen, among them Archbishop Cranmer himself. The persecution was fatal to the Catholic cause. Henceforth the papal supremacy

was indissolubly associated with Spanish rule and sanguinary terrorism. Protestantism became identified with patriotism, and with freedom from the horror of the burnings. So hateful did Mary become by reason of her subservience to Spain (which involved England in a disastrous war with France), and by reason of her fierce intolerance, that if she had not died in 1558, she would almost certainly have been deposed.

As Mary died childless, she was succeeded by Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth. The new queen's situation at her succession was difficult and dangerous. The passions of the people were aroused: the Catholics were furious at the spoliation of Edward; the Protestants at the persecutions of Mary. A religious civil war seemed imminent. A succession conflict also seemed probable, for the Catholics had a strong candidate in Mary Queen of Scots, who was supported by France. In the circumstances, Elizabeth, who was ably advised by cautious ministers, walked extremely warily. Her aim was compromise in the interests of national unity and international peace. Her position as daughter of Anne Boleyn made it necessary for her to sever the connection between England and the Papacy: this she did by means of a new Act of Supremacy (1559). She supplemented this by an Act of Uniformity which required all loyal subjects to attend their parish Churches regularly. No inquisition, however, was made into their beliefs, and the fines for non-attendance were small, and but rarely levied. In 1563 the official creed of the Anglican Church was formulated in the "Thirty-nine Articles"—a revised version of the "Forty-two" of Edward VI; but assent to them was demanded only from prospective office holders in Church of State (including University Students and schoolmasters).

Elizabeth's easy-going tolerance lasted until 1570, when a Bull of Excommunication issued against her by Pope Paul V, followed by plots to assassinate her, and schemes to invade England by French or Spanish forces, compelled her to take action against Catholic traitors. Inevitably

many loyal Catholic subjects suffered in the suppression of suspected conspiracies. The laws against "recusancy" were made more stringent, and heavy fines—amounting to £260 a year—were levied for persistent non-attendance at the Anglican Church-Service. The culmination of this period of one-sided suppression came with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

In 1588, for the first time since her accession, Elizabeth felt secure upon her throne. Henceforth she was free to pursue the ecclesiastical policy of her own choice. She reverted to Henry VIII's *via media*, suppressing as traitors those Catholics who refused to recognise her headship of the Church, and as schismatics those extreme Protestants—commonly called Puritans—who denounced the Anglican Church as unreformed and demanded the full Calvinistic system.

THE FERMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS

During the second half of the sixteenth century the connection between England and the Netherlands became increasingly close and intimate. In the later Middle Age commerce between the two regions had been of the highest importance. Flanders had provided the main markets for English wool; England had been an extensive purchaser of the cloths of Bruges and Ghent. When the New World was discovered and the new oceans opened up, Dutch seamen and English seamen, not yet become rivals, were allied in common resistance to the exclusive possession claimed by Spain and Portugal. So these economic, maritime and colonial bonds, however, were added after 1555, the still stronger ties of hatred of Philip II; of dread of absorption into the Spanish monarchy; of detestation of the Inquisition of defence of the reformed religion.

The emperor Charles V, born at Ghent, brought up in Flanders, had always remained primarily a Fleming. He spoke the language, made friends of the Flemish leaders,

chose ministers from among them, gave them lucrative posts both in Spain and in Germany, was most happy (or at any rate least miserable) when in the Netherlands. Under his rule, too, the Low Countries enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity. The rich markets of Spain and the Empire were open to them. They drew more than a proportionate share of the wealth that came from the Indies. Their hardy seamen became the carriers of Christendom. Charles's position as emperor, moreover, enabled him greatly to add to the Burgundian inheritance which came to him, through his father, from his grand-mother Mary. He completed the seventeen provinces by securing West Friesland (1524), Groningen (1536), Guelders and Zutphen (1543). He freed Flanders and Artois from feudal dependence on France. He obtained possession of the temporalities of the bishoprics of Utrecht and Overijssel. Finally, in 1548, although he made them collectively a "circle" within the Empire, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the Diet and established them in virtual independence.

Two things, however, Charles did which the Netherlands intensely disliked, and they bore with them only because the emperor was personally popular; because they believed that he had their interests at heart; because they were prosperous under his rule, and because by passive resistance they were able without violence to frustrate his designs. These two things were: (1) he tried to centralise the government; (2) he tried to suppress heresy.


I. Centralisation of Government. The seventeen provinces differed widely among themselves in languages, institutions and laws. The languages spoken included French, German, Dutch and Flemish. As to institutions; four were duchies (Brabant, Guelderland, Limburg, Luxemburg); one a margravate (Antwerp); five lordships (Friesland, Groningen, Mechlin, Overijssel, Utrecht): seven counties (Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Namur, Zealand, Zutphen). Some were autocracies, others oligarchies, one or two tended towards democracy. All alike were jealous of their autonomy, and opposed to change enforced upon

them from without. The Burgundian dukes had tried to give some sort of unity to the thirteen provinces that they had accumulated by instituting a States General. It consisted not so much of accredited representatives able to bind their respective provinces, as of diplomatic agents empowered only to negotiate and report. It met very irregularly, and never acquired any executive power. The same dukes also set up a Central Court of Justice sitting at Mechlin; but the provincial courts refused to send appeals to it, and it died out. Charles revived both these institutions, caused them to meet regularly, and enforced their decisions. He also set up three Councils—a Privy Council, a Finance Council and a Council of State—on which he conferred large authority. He appointed "Stadholders", as his representatives in the several provinces, and through them kept a close personal control of local affairs. Finally, he considerably circumscribed the ancient privileges of the towns, and when because of this the city of Ghent rebelled, he descended upon it in force and made an awful example of it (1540).

II. Suppression of Heresy. The weakness of the central government in the Netherlands made the seventeen provinces the fruitful breeding-ground for heresy. Both Lutheranism and Calvinism spread widely through the cities (which numbered 350) and the towns (of which there were over 6000). Their conflicts and controversies both with Catholicism and with one another were a constant source of disorder. But in addition to these two staple modes of dissent, there was a third which flourished with peculiar virulence amid the chaotic conditions of the provinces. This was Anabaptism, under which term were included all manner of pestilent and lawless lunacies. The sect got its name from its rejection of the practice of infant baptism; but this harmless eccentricity was supplemented by demands for community of goods and of women, by repudiation of the authority of both bishops and kings, and by general anarchism. Charles regarded heresy of all sorts with loathing. He was not much troubled with it in Spain :

there the Inquisition was strongly established, and it was able to deal effectively with such dissent as it could discover. In Germany he was greatly perturbed by it ; but he was impotent to suppress it. The power of the princes was too strong, supplemented as it was by the open support of the French king, and by the effective, if unconscious, assistance of the Turkish Sultan. But in the Netherlands Charles had a free hand, and he was determined to show that here, at any rate, the revolt against Catholic unity should not succeed. Hence he instituted a persecution fierce and persistent, under which thousands perished by fire and sword. He issued a series of decrees known as "Placards", the last and most severe of which was dated September 25th, 1550. This terrible decree (1) threatened death to all who were found in the possession of heretical books, who attended heretical meetings, who professed heretical opinions, or who mutilated sacred images ; (2) included in the same fate any person who should intercede on behalf of the heretics ; (3) prohibited any mitigation of the extreme penalty by the judges ; (4) promised informers that they should be entitled to receive half the property of the condemned. The consequences of this monstrous measure were appalling. Not even the popularity of Charles could stand the strain upon the Netherlands' loyalty which the holocausts and the confiscations entailed.

What would happen when the Placards were enforced by a hated Spaniard, and when the Inquisition worked by aliens was in full play ?



The Counter-Reformation

THE EXCESSES OF THE REFORMERS

The hatred of Charles for the reformers, and the still more ferocious hatred felt for them by Philip II, were to some extent justified by the revolutionary and anarchical excesses of which the reformers were guilty, or to which their principles seemed to lead.

At their purest and best the reformers were schismatics, breaking the ideal unity of the Church, defying the constituted and old-fashioned authority of pope and emperor, denying the validity of the three creeds—Apostles, Nicene, Athanasian—recognised as building for more than a thousand years. Most of them, too, were heretical since they set up as the final court of appeal in matters of faith and morals the authority of the Bible as interpreted by the intelligence and the conscience of the individual. Hence devout Catholics, such as Charles and Philip, who regarded the pope as the vice-gerent of Christ; who held that salvation was not to be found save through the ministrations of the priesthood; who believed that an eternity of inconceivable horror awaited those who should die out of communion with the Apostolic Church—such devout Catholics had no option but to use all the powers placed in

their hands by Providence in order to prevent schism, crush heresy, and restore the integrity of the *Respublica Christiana* on which, as they fervently believed, the future felicity of the whole human race depended.

The Reformation, however, nowhere continued long as a pure movement of religious regeneration. Everywhere it speedily found affinities with self-seeking politicians, with scatter-brained fanatics, with conscienceless criminals who all used it to further their own anti-social and vicious ends. Thus in Germany the challenge thrown down by Luther in 1517-21 to the indulgence-mongers, the councils, the Pope, and the emperor, was at once followed by the Wittenberg Riots (1522), the Knights' War (1523) and the devastating Peasants' Revolt (1524-5). Luther strenuously repudiated responsibility for these upheavals, and denied sympathy with them; but his enemies, not unreasonably, replied that his defiance of authority encouraged all other malefactors to defy the law. Similarly in Switzerland the violences of the Zwinglians led to open civil war and the breakdown of all orderly government. In France, again, the king's first easy-going tolerance of Lutheranism led to an orgy of iconoclasm. It began in 1528 with the smashing of a much-revered statue of the Virgin by a zealous fanatic, and this was succeeded by a series of similar outrages which the government tried in vain to stop by exemplary punishments. The climax was reached in 1534 when Paris was placarded with violent and blasphemous denunciations of the mass, one of the placards being actually affixed to the door of the king's bedchamber. Francis was furious, and henceforth showed no mercy to Protestants except when political necessity compelled him to do so. It was, however, in the Netherlands, and by means of movements originating there, that the worst excesses were perpetrated. For the Anabaptists there were antinomian, that is to say, they believed themselves to be above the law as laid down in the ancient codes, and so to be free to follow the impulses of the spirit—which impulses all too frequently meant the lusts of the flesh. To free-thought they tended to add free

love and free appropriation of other peoples' property. The most remarkable exhibition of Anabaptism in practice occurred at Munster in Westphalia. There, in January 1534, appeared two Anabaptists from Leyden in Holland. They were men of striking appearance, eccentric dress, wild enthusiasm, and moving eloquence. They claimed prophetic powers, and so strong was their appeal to the impressionable people that within a few weeks they were able to obtain possession of the city and to assume its government. They began their rule by driving out all who would not recognise their authority. Then they abolished all rights of property, and put to death all persons who withheld any of their possessions from the common stock. Next they proclaimed plurality of wives and introduced a regime of wild debauchery. The Bishop of Munster, expelled from his city, aided by the Elector of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves, gathered forces and laid siege to the place. The Anabaptists, filled with fanatical fury, fought well and were able to hold out for more than a year. At last, in June 1535, the city, reduced to the last stages of starvation, was taken by storm. Many of the leaders perished in the conflict; but "John of Leyden", who had been acclaimed as "king", was captured, tortured, and put to death, leaving sixteen widows to mourn his loss.

The cause of rational reform was gravely prejudiced when professed reformers displayed themselves as no better than sanguinary and lecherous criminals. Even, however, where no such extremes of violence and immorality were reached, the reformers frequently manifested qualities that made them hateful to moderate men, and a source of danger to constitutional government. They showed an intolerance as great as that of the Catholic inquisitors themselves: the diatribes of Luther exhausted the terms of abuse current in the German language; the government of Calvin and his associates in Geneva was a gloomy tyranny. In Geneva, indeed, dissent from the dogmas laid down in the *Institutes* involved penalties

culminating in death. The fate of Miguel Serveto who, because he questioned the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, was burned at the stake by Calvin's order in 1553, revealed the lengths to which totalitarian presbyterianism would go.

The reformer, moreover, not only justified and practised the sanguinary suppression of dissenters, from their doctrines, they also defended and exemplified the assassination of rulers whom they described as "tyrants". Thus the murder of the French Catholic leader, Francis, Duke of Guise, by the Huguenot, Poltrot, in 1563, was commended as a just judgment of God by no less a person than the eminent Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva; while even so noble a man as Admiral Coligny expressed satisfaction at its occurrence. Wherever Calvinism planted itself, in fact, it revealed itself as not only a destroyer of the Catholic Church, but also a disrupter of the secular government. It strove to set up a new *Respublica Christiana* in which an oligarchy of elected elders should exercise supreme power in all causes and over all persons. As John Milton later remarked, "new presbyter was but old priest writ large". Thus in Scotland John Knox challenged the very existence of Stuart authority; in England Oliver Cromwell overthrew and executed Charles I.

Lutheranism, as we have remarked, was not so subversive as was Calvinism. In Germany it allied itself to the princes, and its political theory was favourable to monarchy. But even Lutheranism when exported beyond Germany was a source of disturbance. Except in Scandinavia, however, it had no vogue. In Sweden, the proclamation of Protestantism and the dissolution of the monasteries in 1523 accompanied Gustavus Vasa's revolt from Danish suzerainty; in Denmark ten years later, the accession of the Protestant Christian III was followed by a devastating civil war initiated by the menaced Catholics. Europe, indeed, was faced by a century of almost incessant

religious wars. The Reformation came bringing not peace but a sword.

THE REFORM OF THE PAPACY

The cause of the Reformation was deeply discredited by the excesses of the reformers, that is to say, by their quarrels among themselves, by the infinite diversity of their creeds, by their subversive politics, by the lapse of some of their leaders into gross immoralities, by their general violence and unreason. Nevertheless, in spite of all these drawbacks, which might well have proved fatal, their cause continued to prevail because the reformers, to whatever school they belonged—Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Anabaptist—were able to agree in denouncing the corruption of the Papacy, the venality of the Curia, the depravity of Rome.

The degradation of the Roman Court had, indeed, become a crying scandal to Christendom. The evils on which the reformers especially laid stress were, first, the laxity of life of the pope and cardinals ! their luxury and debauchery ; their lack of serious interest in religion ; secondly, the prostitution by the Church of its spiritual power to the struggle for the maintenance and extension of the temporal dominion of the popes in Italy ; thirdly, the prevalence of nepotism whereby successive popes used the brief period of their supremacy to secure places and revenues for members of their own families, occasionally their own illegitimate sons ; fourthly, greed for money which resulted in wholesale simony, bribery, and actual sale of justice ; and, finally, the gross misgovernment both of the city of Rome and of the Papal States generally. The indictment, taken as a whole, was a tremendous one, and its validity was recognised with profound grief by pious Catholics throughout all the countries of the West, but most particularly in Italy where the evils were most evident.

The Popes of the Renaissance were those in whose

reigns the lowest deeps of degradation were reached. Innocent VIII (1484-1492), whose election was secured by lavish bribery, openly recognised his illegitimate children, instead of calling them "nephews" as had been customary. In his time the city of Rome sank into anarchy; murders were committed daily with impunity; civil war raged between the Colonna and the Orsini. The next pope, Alexander VI (1492-1503) was, as we have seen, a monster of iniquity. No conceivable crime was beyond his capacity. All his interests were domestic and secular. He was denounced in no measured terms by the great Florentine Franciscan Savonarola, who paid for his temerity with his life. Julius II (1503-13) was a more respectable person; but he was a fierce warrior and a most unscrupulous politician. All his activities were concentrated upon secular concerns. His main business was the recovery and re-organisation of the Papal States; he himself did not hesitate to don armour, lead armies, and fight. He patronised artists, and laid the foundation-stone of the great new cathedral of St. Peter designed by Bramanti (1506). Leo X (1513-21) was the typical Renaissance pope. Created a cardinal at the age of fourteen, his energies were devoted to the advancement of his relatives—the Medici of Florence—and the cultivation of art. When elected pope, he is said to have remarked; "God has given us the papacy, let us enjoy it." That remark is one of the few indications he gave that he believed in God at all. Under him came that issue of Indulgences—in order to provide funds for the new St. Peter's—which precipitated the German Reformation. Although Leo continued to reign during the early stages of Luther's revolt, he took little interest in it, and never perceived its profound significance.

On the death of Leo X a most remarkable election took place (January 1522). Under the influence of Charles V, a Fleming was chosen—the last non-Italian ever to hold the papal see. This was Adrian VI who had been Charles's tutor in the Low Countries. Charles had taken him with him to Spain and, to the great disgust of the Spaniards,

made him viceroy during his absences. He went to Rome as a reformer (August 1522) and for a year strove to remedy the appalling evils of which he was acutely cognisant. The opposition of the alarmed and angry cardinals, was too much for him. Having been able to accomplish nothing, he fell ill and died in September 1523. With joy the cardinals reverted to the old order and chose a cousin of Leo X, Giulio de' Medici, who took the title of Clement VII (1523-1534). This was the pope who had to face the fury of Charles V, to see the city of Rome sacked by the German hordes and to live a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo. This, too, was the pope who had to deal with Henry VIII's demand for deliverance from Catherine of Aragon, and in consequence had to see the Church of England in revolt. His pontificate was one long period of disaster. He had neither inclination nor opportunity to contemplate reform.

The effective reformation of the papacy and the papal curia began with Paul III (1534-1549). It had become clear at the time of his election that unless the papacy could reform itself, it would be extinguished. Paul began by appointing to the cardinalate a number of able men who were known to be eager to purify the church, *e.g.*, Contarini, Caraffa and the Englishman Reginald Pole. He then set up a Commission "*De emendanda Ecclesia*" which in 1537 presented a drastic report relating to both doctrine and discipline. He took the great Ignatius Loyola into his confidence and recognised the new Order of Jesus (1540). He established the Papal Inquisition for the purging of Italy from heresy. He caused the papal Index of prohibited books to be framed. He summoned and directed the opening stages of the all important Council of Trent (1545). In short he definitely started the Counter Reformation.

The work begun by Paul III was continued by Paul IV (1555-1559), a stern disciplinarian and a fierce persecutor. He vehemently denounced the terms of the Augsburg treaty which Charles V made with the Lutherans. His

successor. Pius IV (1560-1565), a mild and peace-loving man, did his best to heal the schism of Christendom. He earnestly strove to win the English queen, Elizabeth, back to Catholicism. He tried to reconcile the French and the Spaniards and get them to unite in the defence of the Church. He brought the Council of Trent to a conclusion and promulgated its authoritative decrees which defined the Catholic position for all time. The next pope, Pius V (1566-1572) was a Dominican friar who had been Grand Inquisitor. He was a man of exemplary piety, but of merciless severity. He completely burned out heresy in Italy ; he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and released her subjects from their oaths of allegiance ; he urged the king of Spain to crush the Dutch Calvinists, and the king of France to extirpate the Huguenots ; he organised alliances against the Turks. Under him the Counter-Reformation launched its great offensive against dissent of all sorts. Gregory VIII (1572-1585) is mainly remembered as the pope who celebrated the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris by means of a "*Te Deum*" in Rome, and a commemorative medal.

THE ORDER OF JESUS

One of the signs of the revival of spiritual vitality in the Catholic Church was the founding of new Religious Orders specially organised to meet the requirements of the novel conditions of this age of reformation and revolt. The first important step was taken towards the end of the unedifying pontificate of Leo X (about A D. 1520) when a number of pious men in Rome—prominent among whom was Giovanni Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV—associated themselves in the "Confraternity of Divine Love", whose purpose was the purification of the Church. Out of this influential Confraternity many institutions arose, one of the most important of which was the Congregation of Theatines established at Rome in 1524 by Caraffa, then bishop of

Theate. The members of this congregation were "clerks regular", that is to say they took the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; they did not, however, live in monasteries, but devoted themselves to service as parish priests. They helped to raise the low moral and religious standards of the ordinary secular clergy. A similar institutions was the Order of Barnabites, founded in Milan (1533) by St. Antonio Maria Zaccaria. It operated primarily in the neighbourhood of the city of its origin which was a centre of much heretical teaching imported from Germany, and of much indigenous loose living.

These new Orders, however, local in scope and limited in aim, were wholly eclipsed in importance by the great and still-potent Orders of Jesus, founded by Ignatius de Loyola in 1534, and formally recognised by Paul III in 1540. This Order, at first restricted in number to sixty persons and dedicated to visionary enterprises in the Holy Land, rapidly increased when the restriction as to numbers was removed until in 1626 its memberships exceeded 15,000 and its colleges were planted in almost every land. By that time it had abandoned its visionary aims, and had become the main pillar of orthodoxy, and the principal agent of the Counter-Reformation.

The founder of the Order, Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde of Loyola in the Spanish province of Guipuzcoa, was the scion of a noble house closely connected with the Court of Aragon. Young Inigo was brought up in the circle of King Ferdinand, and when he reached manhood he became a soldier. In the first war between Charles V and Francis I he was badly wounded in helping to defend Pampeluna against French attack (1521) and his recovery, never quite complete, took more than a year. He occupied the dreary period of convalescence in reading, and, having exhausted all available romances, he turned to what alone remained within his reach—the *Lives of the Saints*. The biographies of the early martyrs, and the more recent stories of the careers of St. Francis and St. Dominic, fired him most unexpectedly with religious zeal, and he determined that, if

his life were spared, he would dedicate it to the service of the Church. On emerging from his sick room at the castle of Loyola he proceeded to the monastery of Montserrat (1522) where he divested himself of all his worldly possessions and associations, embracing the life of poverty and asceticism. For a time he served the sick and poor in a hospital at the neighbouring town of Manresa, but in 1523 he set out on his pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem. At Jerusalem his efforts to convert the Moslems to Christianity signally failed, and he perceived that he lacked the knowledge necessary for effective missionary work. Hence he returned to Spain and, at the age of thirty-three, in deep humility, began a course of elementary education (1524). This course he continued for ten years, mainly at Alcalá and Salamanca—in both of which places his religious zeal got him into trouble—ending up in Paris. At Paris, where he resided for seven years, he slowly evolved his plan of action, developed his scheme for a new society, formulated his remarkable *Spiritual Exercises*, and gathered round him his first six associates. On the feast of the Assumption in 1534 the seven of them received the communion in the church of Montmartre in Paris, and took the vows that constituted the new Order of Jesus. Their intention was to resume Loyola's work in Palestine; but the Turkish wars prevented them from getting to the Holy Land. So they placed their services at the disposal of Pope Paul III who speedily perceived the value of their enthusiasm and unquestioning obedience. In September 1540, by the Bull "*Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*", he recognised the Order and confirmed its constitution. As the title of the Bull indicates, the Order was military in its nature: its members were to bear arms in the service of Christ; they were to become the shock-troops of the Papacy in its war against Protestantism. Loyola's early training as a soldier no doubt helped to determine the character of the Order's constitution. At its head was a "General" whose powers were despotic. He was, it is true, subject to the pope, and in certain circumstances he could be removed from

office ; but normally he was supreme, and the prime duty of the Jesuit was absolute obedience to the General's commands.

The Order of Jesus differed in several important respects from both the old monastic orders and the more recent orders of friars. It had no distinctive costume ; there was nothing in dress or demeanour to distinguish the Jesuit from the ordinary man of the world. The members of the order did not seclude themselves from mundane affairs, or spend their time in protracted services. On the contrary, they mixed with men of all sorts, and participated actively in politics and society. They became the confessors and confidential advisers of kings, and soon began to exercise an immense influence behind the scenes of world affairs. Above all, they devoted themselves to education. Their own training was immensely long and arduous ; it could not be completed before the age of thirty-three. It made them not only experts in theology, but also masters of the classical and scientific knowledge of the age. They rightly believed that if they could secure the education of the young up to the age of puberty, it did not matter to what alien influences they were exposed in later life ; they were sealed for both time and eternity.

Loyola, of course, was elected as the first General of the Order (April 1541) and he held the office until his death in July 1556. Under his command the constitution of the Order was developed : six grades of membership were ultimately recognised ; they ranged from novices to the "professed of the four vows", that is to say, the three monastic vows together with the additional vow to do whatever service of whatever kind and against whatever adversary the pope might appoint. Under his command, too, the extensive missionary labours of the order were begun ; they reached to India, China and Japan ; to Africa and to America. But, of course, the main activity of the Jesuits was directed against the spreading Protestantism of Europe.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

The successor to Loyola as General of the Order of Jesus was James Laynez, one of the original companions of the founder in the University of Paris. He was a Spaniard of high ability and of uncompromising temper. One of the most expert theologians of the day, a keen and masterful controversialist, he did more than any other single person to cause the Catholic Church to decide that no concessions whatsoever should be made to the Protestants. Some eminent men, such as Cardinals Contarini and Pole, were inclined to accept a modified form of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith. Others, such as the German bishops, were willing to concede the marriage of priests and the reception of the Communion in both kinds (bread and wine). But laynez, with his powerful and militant Order behind him, would yield nothing, and what he willed became law. He showed his metal as a disputant at a conference with the French Huguenots in poissy, where he overwhelmed his opponents by his brilliant dialectic, thereby securing the admission of the Jesuit Order into France. It was, however, at the great General Council of Trent that he exercised his most dominating influence and achieved the most enduring results.

The Council of Trent (1545-63)—the last General Council of the Catholic Church until the Vatican Council of 1869-70 was summoned, in the first instance, much against the will of the popes, under extreme pressure from Charles V. Luther at the beginning of his campaign against indulgences had appealed from the Pope to a General Council. The Diet of Speier (1529) had insisted on the convocation of a council. At Augsburg in 1530 Charles had tried to pacify the Protestants by pledging himself to secure the convention of a Council on German soil to deal with German grievances. Charles, eager above all things to restore German unity, was anxious to receive conciliar authority for the carrying through of much-needed reforms

in the Church, and he was willing to make large concessions to the Protestants in matters both of doctrine and of discipline. Knowing this, the popes were not unnaturally alarmed. They remembered how the fifteenth century Councils had exalted their own powers above those of the Papacy. They realised that any Council called on German soil was certain to pass resolutions obnoxious to Rome ; to demand reforms that Rome could not concede ; to propose modifications of Catholic dogma incompatible with the Roman tradition. The unhappy Clement VII, much harassed by Charles's insistence, managed by playing on the rivalry between the emperor and the French king, to postpone the evil day. Under Paul III, however, postponement was no longer possible. The pope saw that, unless a Council were held, the German Church would certainly follow the example of the English Church and break away from Rome. Hence, since he had to call a Council, he devoted his very great abilities to making sure that it should subserve his own ends and not the emperor's. He was determined that it should not get out of hand and challenge the papal supremacy as the fifteenth-century Councils had done.

The pope scored his first success as to the place of meeting. Trent was {a compromise between Germany and Italy eminently favourable to the latter}: though in imperial territory it was far more accessible to Italy and was dominated by Italians. Secondly, he declined to attend the Council himself, but appointed three cardinals as his representatives, placed in their hands the sole right of determining the subjects of discussion, and reserved the final decision of all issues to himself. Thirdly, he prohibited all discussion of the prerogatives of the papacy. Finally, he so arranged matters that the Italian representatives, under his own control, should have a clear majority in the Council, so that all the German and Spanish emissaries of the emperor could be outvoted and rendered ineffective.

As soon as the Treaty of Crespi (September 1544) had terminated the last of the four wars between Charles and

Francis, the summons to the Council was sent out : it was to assemble at Trent in March 1545. On the appointed date it duly met : but the attendance was scanty, and not until the December of that year was it possible to arrange the formal opening. The early sessions were devoted to matters of procedure. The most important question to be decided was whether doctrine or discipline should take the first place in the discussions. The pope wanted concentration on doctrine ; the precise definition of Catholic dogma ; the definite repudiation of Lutheran justification by faith, of Calvinistic predestination, of Anabaptist antinomianism, of Anglican bibliolatry. The emperor, on the other hand wanted immediate attention to urgent matters of reform, that is, to such questions as the sale of indulgences, the exactions of the papal courts the scandals of patronage, the marriage of priests, the use of vernacular language in place of the universal Latin. After long debate it was decided as a compromise that both groups of subjects should be dealt with simultaneously by separate commissions whose findings should be laid before the whole Council alternately.

On matters of doctrine the Jesuits under Laynez and Salmeron speedily took charge. Their policy of no concession and no surrender prevailed. They turned their faces to the Middle Age—to Aquinas and the Schoolmen—and decided that the Catholic Church should for all time stand on the old ways or on them perish. On matters of reform little agreement could be reached : the Italians were resolved to maintain the papal power ; the Spaniards were eager to secure a decision that bishops held their authority direct from heaven and not mediately through the pope ; the French contended that the papal authority was inferior to that of a General Council. When Charles, impatient at lack of progress, became troublesome, the pope replied by moving the seat of the Council to Bologna (March 1547). The German and Spanish bishops refused to go. So in September 1547 the Council broke up, with its work but half done.

So long as Paul III lived it never met again. But Julius III, anxious to conciliate Charles, and to live at peace, called it to meet again at Trent in May 1551. It did so, and spent a year in defining the doctrines of transubstantiation, penance, extreme unction, etc; and in laying down rules respecting patronage and the procedure of papal conclaves. Charles closely watched the proceedings of the Council from his seat at Innsbruck. But in the spring of 1552 the advance of the rebel Maurice of Saxony and his Protestant host into the Tyrol caused Charles to flee for his life from Innsbruck, and once more the Council dispersed (April 1552).

Ten years elapsed before it assembled for the third and last time, Pius IV being pope. This short third period (1562-63) saw more achieved than the two earlier periods together. The definition of dogma was completed; a few reforms were decreed. The Council finally broke up in December 1563. Its decrees were confirmed by the Pope in January 1564.

THE INQUISITION AND THE INDEX

In the matter of doctrine the Council of Trent was entirely reactionary. So far from paving a way for the return of Protestants to the fold, and for the re-union or Christendom, it threw down a challenge to all the sectaries and declared open war upon them. Such reforms as it decreed and initiated were intended to remove sources of weakness, and to strengthen the Church for the mortal combat before it. The discipline of the clergy was improved; they were compelled to preach; the authority of the bishops over them was increased; seminaries for their education were commanded in every diocese; they were organised as an army to do battle against heresy and schism.

One of the principal agents employed by the ecclesiastical power in this conflict of creeds was the terrible organi-

sation known as the Inquisition. From the very early days of Christianity one of the chief functions of the overseers of the Church, and especially of the bishops as their office developed, was to preserve the purity of the faith. As soon as correctness of belief came to be regarded as essential to eternal salvation, the task of the enquirer, or inquisitor, into alleged heresy inevitably came to be looked upon as supremely important, and the task of the suppressor of heresy, or persecutor, as of extreme urgency. The New Testament itself contained the germs of persecution. The text "Compel them to come in" (Luke XIV. 23) served many an inquisitor as a warrant for extreme severity. St. Paul used words both to Timothy (I. Tim. I. 20) and to Titus (Tit. III 10-11) that served as a precedent to excommunication. Most of the early martyrs displayed a zeal which not only enabled them in actual circumstances to face torture and death with heroic fortitude, but would in other circumstances have made them remorseless suppressors of what they regarded as idolatry or blasphemy. When Christianity had become the established state-religion of the Roman Empire, leaders such as Saint Augustine had no hesitation in calling upon the emperor to suppress by penalties culminating in death schismatics like the Donatists of Africa, or heretics like the Priscillianists of Spain.

The Early Middle Age was but little troubled by either heresy or schism. The Church reigned supreme, and Western Christendom, slowly emerging from barbarism, was intellectually docile. In the eleventh century, however, dissent once more reared its head: in A.D. 1022, for instance, thirteen "Cathari" were burned at the stake at Orleans; and from that time onward trials and executions were frequent. Such inquisition as there was, lay in the hands of the bishops. They showed themselves unequal to the task; some were slack, others incompetent; heresy spread and increased. In vain the papacy tried to stir them to effective action. At last, early in the thirteenth century, the heresies of the Waldenses and the Albigenses of Province and neighbourhood were so serious that the

popes themselves had to take the matter in hand. The great Innocent III (1198-1216) committed to St. Dominic and his friars the task of combating the teachings of the Albigenses, and of securing their suppression. It was left, however, to Gregory IX (1227-41) and Innocent IV (1243-54) fully to organise the Papal Inquisition, condemnation by which ultimately led to death by burning at the stake. During the later Middle Age this terrible tribunal did its best to prevent by means of fines, confiscations, imprisonments, banishments, torture, and mass executions, all lapses from Catholic orthodoxy. On the whole it was successful : by the middle of the fifteenth century mediaeval heresy had been pretty well burned out. The Papal Inquisition almost died out through lack of work.

Then in A.D. 1478, to the great annoyance of Pope Sixtus IV, Ferdinand and Isabella set up a Royal Inquisition in Spain and asked the pope's blessing upon it. They had to deal with Jews and Moors who, nominally converted to Christianity, secretly observed the rites of their old religions. They were determined to establish uniformity in the peninsula, and they used the inquisitorial tribunal with sanguinary efficiency. Under a series of Grand Inquisitors, of whom Tomas de Torquemada was the first and fiercest, heresy was burned out or banished : Torquemada alone is said to have burned over 2000 men and women, and to have driven 100,000 out of the land.

In spite of the triumphs of its severities the Royal Inquisition of Spain was regarded with suspicion and disfavour by the Roman curia. Although, of course, operated by ecclesiastics, it was too much under secular control. It tended to usurp the functions of the papacy. Hence, in 1542, at the suggestion of the stern Cardinal Caraffa, Pope Paul III set up in Rome the "Holy Office of the Universal Church" to supervise the work of the Inquisition in all countries, and to direct its energies in particular to the stamping out of the new heresies introduced by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. Six cardinals, later increased to twelve, were appointed as commissioners ; and under

them a large body of assessors, consultors, qualificators, etc., completed the organisation. The chief sphere of the Holy Office was Italy where very speedily it restored external uniformity of faith.

The work of the Holy Office was supplemented by that of the Sacred Congregation of the Index set up by Pius V (1566-72) who had been Grand Inquisitor. The invention of printing had, of course, greatly facilitated the production and distribution of heretical books. So early as 1479 Sixtus IV had felt it necessary to issue warnings to printers and publishers. Paul IV had gone further in 1559 : he had caused to be drawn up a list of books which the faithful were forbidden to read : or advised not to read. The list was subjected to severe criticism, and the Council of Trent ordered its revision. The revised version, known as the Tridentine Index, appeared in 1564. In order, however, to keep the thing up to date, the Sacred Congregation was established in 1571, and from that time onward periodical revisions and supplements have been issued, e.g., 1590 and 1596.¹



1. The latest edition of the Index is that of 1929. It runs to 560 pages. Among the authors *all* of whose works are, condemned are the two Dumas, Zola, George Sand, Maeterlinck, Dr. Annunzio, and Gudio da Verona. Among books specifically prohibited are Browne's *Religio Medici*; Richardson's *Pamela*; Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*.

8

The Spanish Bid for World-Dominion

PHILIP II AND HIS POLICY

The Reformation reached its high-water mark about 1540. Up to that date it seemed to be sweeping all before it ; the Catholic Church, corrupt and unreformed, appeared likely to be submerged. From 1540, however, the tide turned. On the one hand, the reformers split into wrangling sects, for no two thought exactly alike ; their religion became mixed with subversive moral and social doctrines that threatened chaos and confusion to organised community ; the leadership of their movement in Germany and elsewhere was seized by unscrupulous politicians who used it in the cause of rebellion against constituted authority. On the other hand, the Catholic Church, scared out of its lethargy and sense of security by its imminent peril, hastened to reform itself and reorganise its forces. Scandalous popes ceased to be elected : Paul III and his successors were men of a different type from the Borgias and the Medici of the Renaissance period.¹ The

1. Paul III, it is true, started in the old bad way. He had several illegitimate children, whom he openly acknowledged. Two of his grandsons he created cardinals, one Aged 15, the other 14. He soon, however, reformed both himself and his court.

College of Cardinals was gradually purged of its worst abuses ; infants and infidels were no longer appointed ; the new cardinals, scholars and saints, found ample employment in the Holy Office, the Congregation of the Index, and similar institutions. The establishment of the Order of Jesus (1540) ; the organisation of the Papal Inquisition (1542) ; the convocation of the Council of Trent (1545), marked the termination of Protestant advance, and the beginning of a strong Catholic reaction.

Protestantism was more or less completely stamped out in Spain by the Royal Inquisition ; in Italy by the Papal Inquisition ; and in France by the *Chambre Ardente* set up by Henry II. There were also partial recoveries in Germany, England, and the Netherlands. In Germany, Bavaria became the centre of the Counter-Reformation movement. In England, Henry VIII, alarmed at the spread of heretical doctrine, put on the break heavily by means of the Six Articles in 1539, and from that date until the end of his reign in 1547 denial of fundamental Catholic dogma was punishable by death. Under his daughter Mary (1553-58) a complete reversion to Rome took place. In the Netherlands, while the Dutch provinces remained strongly Protestant, the Belgian provinces were recovered for Catholicism. It is remarkable that the frontier lines between Protestantism and Catholicism fixed during the second half of the sixteenth century have remained firm to the present day ; that is to say, since A.D. 1600 no Catholic country has turned Protestant, and no Protestant country has reverted to Catholicism.

In fixing these permanent lines of demarcation the main determiners, except in Italy, were the secular rulers. The princes in Germany, Henry VIII in England, Henry II in France, William the Silent in Holland—these were the persons whose imperious wills made ecclesiastical law. And above all the others in power and resolution stood Philip II of Spain (1555-98), the colossus who spanned the Atlantic Ocean, dominating both the Old World and the

New, aspiring to universal sovereignty and at one time apparently having it within his reach.

Philip II was the oldest legitimate son of the Emperor Charles V, and the only legitimate son to survive infancy. His mother was Isabella of Portugal who, like Charles himself, had the "Catholic Kings", Ferdinand and Isabella, as grandparents.¹ The fact that both his father and his mother were descended from Isabella of Castile probably accounts for the mental deficiency, moral obliquity, and religious fanaticism that characterised Philip throughout his career. Born at Valladolid in May 1527, he was brought up by his father in the principles of strict Catholic conformity and extreme monarchical autocracy. He was taught that it was his function, as the representative of heaven, to stamp out heresy, to suppress schism, to establish the royal authority as supreme in Spain, to unify the Spanish empire, and to dominate the Christian world. These principles, by constant iteration, took firm root in his heavy unintelligent mind, and they brought forth fruit in a religious persecution and a political tyranny that were fatal to the prosperity of Spain, and would have been fatal to Europe and America as well if Philip's efficiency had been equal to his perverted will. But he was hopelessly hesitant and slow. Only with the greatest difficulty could he make up his mind, and, when he had made it up, it took him another long period to decide how he should put his decision into operation. He trusted no one, delegated no duty that he thought he could perform himself, toiled for long hours in a complete muddle at tasks that should have been performed by a staff of capable secretaries. Letters remained months, and even years, unanswered. Crises that called for instant action were allowed to drift into chaos and disaster. He had, indeed, many private virtues. He was sincere and conscientious, according to his lights. He had a keen sense of responsibility, since he regarded himself as a vice-gerent of God. He displayed

an infinite capacity for hard work, even if much of it was unnecessary, and all of it badly done. He was free from the gross vices that had disfigured the character of his more attractive father. But his private virtues were quite inadequate to compensate for his public defects. He was harsh, cold, repellant; he was pitiless and remorseless in his severity; he made no friends, he roused in his numerous opponents a fury of hatred.

He was a Spanish of the Spaniards. After his arrival in the peninsula from the Low Countries at the beginning of his reign, he never left it again so long as he lived. The Flemings, in particular, were made to feel the difference between himself and his father; for the Flemings had been the favourites of the great emperor. But to Philip all his vast dominions were subordinate in interest to Spain, and it was to a Spanish hegemony that he directed his policy. Even religious conformity was enforced mainly in order that a united nation—purged of Protestants, Mohammedans, and Jews—might support him in his efforts to dominate the world. For a person, indeed, who was a pious and even fanatical Catholic his attitude to the Papacy was singularly independent and even hostile. Within Spain itself he insisted on retaining a control of episcopal appointments and of the conduct of the Inquisition almost as complete as that exercised in the Gallican Church by the French kings, and not far short of that enjoyed by the Tudor sovereigns over the Anglican Church. As ruler of Naples and Milan his interests were seriously antagonistic to those of the Papal States. At the beginning of his reign, indeed, he found himself faced by the furious hostility of the Neapolitan pope of the House of Caraffa, Paul IV, who allied himself with Henry II of France to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. In the course of the struggle that ensued Philip was actually excommunicated by the fiery pontiff, who described him in a Bull as "the son of iniquity, offspring of the so called Emperor Charles, who passes himself off as King of Spain, following in the foot-

steps of his father, rivalling and even endeavouring to surpass him in infamy."

THE CENTRALISATION OF SPANISH GOVERNMENT

Philip II of Spain was just as determined as Henry VIII of England before him, or as Louis XIV of France after him, to establish a "totalitarian", State in which all persons and all causes should be under royal control. This determination brought him into conflict, not only with the Papacy, which claimed universal supremacy in spiritual matters, but also with the Spanish bishops, who desired independence of secular control; with the nobles who asserted feudal immunities; with the cities, which aspired to autonomy; with the Jews and the Moors, each of whom clung to their ancestral rites and liberties; and, above all, with the particularist administrations of Aragon, Barcelona, Castile, and the other sub-states, which demanded the continuance of their ancient constitutional practices and privileges.

To overcome these numerous and varied antagonisms was a gigantic task to which Philip addressed himself with stubborn determination as soon as he arrived in Spain. His arrival, however, did not occur until the autumn of 1559, the first three years of his reign having been occupied, to his intense annoyance, in the Netherlands, which were gravely disturbed; and in England, of which he was joint sovereign with Mary Tudor from 1554 to 1558.

The three years which preceded his advent to Spain were largely taken up with a war with France—instigated and supported by Pope Paul IV—concerning the possession of Naples and Milan. This war he inherited from his father the emperor, who from his monastic retreat at St. Yuste continued to play an active part in diplomacy and strategy. The Duke of Alva led the Spanish forces

in Italy, and easily held his own against the French under the Duke of Guise. Philip himself, from the Netherlands, directed a counter-invasion of France which had a striking success. A mixed Spanish force under Emanuel Philibert of Savoy defeated and captured the French marshall Montmorenci at St. Quentin (August 10, 1557). Only the lethargy and indecision of Philip prevented a Spanish occupation of Paris. Next year (July 13, 1558) another equally decisive victory was gained by a Flemish army under the Count of Egmont over Marshall de Termes at Gravelines. France, however, between these two defeats had gained a success which more than counter-balanced their humiliation and disaster. She had recovered Calais from the English (January 1558). For England, most reluctantly and without any preparation, had been dragged into the war by Philip and Mary. The only result to her was the loss of this gateway to the Continent, this main emporium of her trade with Flanders, which had been in her hands since 1347.

The events of 1558, and particularly the death of Mary Tudor, which occurred on November 17, caused both Philip of Spain and Henry II of France to desire peace. Both were exhausted by the struggle ; both had urgent internal problems to deal with ; for in both Spain and France hersy had once more raised its head and menaced national unity. Hence negotiations were opened which terminated in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, signed on April 3rd. 1559. There was a mutual restoration of conquests. France, nevertheless, was allowed to retain Calais. She abandoned, however, and never again renewed her claims on Naples and Milan. The two contracting kings agreed to join forces in the suppression of heresy, and in efforts to secure the re-assembly of the Council of Trent. Their union was cemented by the betrothal of the twice-widowed Philip (aged 32) to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II, (aged 13). In a tournament held to celebrate this betrothal Henry II received an accidental wound of which he died on July 10th 1559.

Peace having been thus concluded, Philip hastened to Spain where the presence of a ruler was urgently needed. In a surprising manner heresy had revived, after having been apparently completely stamped out by the Royal Inquisition under Torquemada and his successors. Heresiarchs of extreme views, such as Miguel Serveto ; more moderate reformers, such as Francisco de Enzinas, brought from abroad the seeds of subversive teaching. Protestant Churches of one sort or another were actually set up at Seville, Valladolid and other places. In 1558 Pope Paul IV called the attention of the Spanish authorities to the growth of the danger, and called upon the Inquisitor General to perform his duties with greater zeal. In 1559 he issued a Bull commanding all confessors to compel their penitents to inform against suspected heretics. The same year the first of the great *Autos da Fe*, or public burnings, took place at Valladolid, and a second was arranged as part of the festivities organised to greet Philip on his arrival in Spain, a third graced his wedding to Elizabeth of France in 1560. All through the reign the wholesale holocausts of heretics continued, and before Philip died protestantism had been virtually burned out.

The Moriscos, that is Moors, who had nominally accepted Christianity were regarded by Philip with profound dislike and suspicion. He felt that their conversion from Islam was insincere, and that they could never form an integral part of a homogeneous Spanish nation. So in 1560 he began to impose disabilities upon them. by 1568 these had progressively become so severe that they were goaded to revolt. The revolt was suppressed with extreme cruelty ; wholesale deportations took place, although their final expulsion from Spain was delayed until 1609.

Meantime in the political sphere Philip was busily engaged in suppressing such constitutional checks to royal absolutism as still existed in the various sub-kingdoms and provinces. The Cortes, or Parliament, of Castile did

not give him much trouble; for it had little power and Philip was not dependent on it for supplies. He allowed it to meet, and contented himself with ignoring its requests and with punishing members who showed undue independence. The Cortes of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia caused him more difficulty. For they enjoyed ancient privileges—which Philip had pledged himself to respect—privileges that considerably limited the royal authority. In 1563 the Cortes of Aragon exasperated him by denouncing the activities of the Inquisition. In 1590 friction culminated in open revolt which had to be suppressed by armed force. The privileges of the Cortes were taken away; the Justiza—who had possessed a remarkable power to safeguard Aragonese liberties was executed, and the royal autocracy firmly established.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE UNDER PHILIP II

Next to the centralisation of the government, and the establishment of the royal autocracy in Spain, the unification and extension of his vast and varied empire occupied the attention of Philip.

His possessions, indeed, were embarrassing in their heterogeneity and in the wide distances that separated them from one another. The two most important were Spain itself and the Netherlands. Spain provided him with his best troops and his most devoted ministers; the Netherlands were the main sources of his industrial and commercial wealth. Communication between the two, however, was of the most precarious kind. Under Charles V it had been possible to travel fairly securely, although very laboriously, by way of Genoa, Milan, the Brenner Pass, and Germany, but after 1558, with Germany in the hands of Ferdinand and his successors, this way was under the control of Hapsburgs not always friendly to the senior line. The only satisfactory means of communication, and the only one at all practicable for goods, was by

sea, and the sea-route was dominated by the English seamen. Henry VII of England had seen the vital importance of sea-power as a means of guarding his country from invasion and as an instrument for maintaining the balance in European politics. He had formed the nucleus of a formidable navy. Henry VIII, however, was the king who made the navy the corner stone of the edifice of influence that he built up. His new-model vessels—of which the *Henri Grace a Dieu* (1515) was the pioneer—armed with heavy artillery, placed on gun-carriages, and firing through portholes,—gave him before his death the indisputable command of the Channel and the North Sea. He could invade France whenever he liked; he could completely cut off Spain from sea-communication with the Netherlands. Hence in 1543 Charles V, in spite of his hatred of Henry VIII on domestic and religious grounds, was forced into an alliance with him. Hence, too, from 1558 to 1588, for thirty long years, Philip II was compelled to put with the tantrums and tergiversations of Elizabeth, whom he loathed and whose assassination he was assiduously plotting.

Sea-communications were almost equally important to Philip in the Mediterranean. For, as King of Aragon, he had inherited the lordship of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples. Intercourse between Spain and these overseas possessions was continually menaced and frequently interrupted both by the raids of the Barbary pirates from Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and other African ports, and also by the more-formidably organised navies of the Turks. In 1560 he sent an expedition against Tripoli, but he had underestimated the fighting strength of the corsairs, and his ships returned shattered and beaten. Eleven years later however, his galleys, under the command of his able half-brother Don John of Austria, more than redeemed his reputation by gaining a decisive victory over a great Turkish fleet at Lepanto, not far from the ancient Salamis and the modern Navarino (October 7, 1571). From this great sea-battle may be dated the beginning of the decline

of the Turkish power in Europe. Henceforth, at any rate, Philip's communications in the Mediterranean were secure. It was, however, one thing to be able to communicate freely with the two Sicilies and Sardinia, quite another thing to control them. Sardinia was troublesome mainly by reason of its lawlessness, and more particularly because of the deadly and persistent feuds that divided its leading families. Naples and Sicily presented more formidable problems. Their populations were more mixed and heterogeneous than most. Greeks, Saracens, Normans, Germans, Angevins, in turn had occupied them. Institutions the most varied had planted themselves among them. Above all, the clash of three religions—Orthodox, Catholic Mohammedan—with a large admixture of uneradicated Paganism, caused a freedom of speculation and a contempt for authority that taxed all the unifying power of Spanish officials and Dominican inquisitors.

In the north of Italy, too, Philip was Duke of the imperial fief of Milan. The transference of this important territory from the Empire to Spain was a source of intense indignation to the emperor Ferdinand and his successors. It long prevented cordial co-operation between the two branches of the Hapsburg House; it was, indeed, one of the causes that led to their fighting on opposite sides in the War of the Spanish Succession a century and a half later. All the associations of Milan were politically with Germany and ecclesiastically with Italy. Spanish ideas and institutions, like the Spanish language, were entirely alien and uncongenial to the restless and cultivated Milanese.

Another imperial fief improperly transferred to Spain was the Country of Burgundy (Franche Comte) part of the inheritance that the Duchess Mary conveyed to Maximilian in 1477: Here the dominating influence was French, and from France came echoes of feudal revolt and religious dissent infinitely disturbing to Spanish absolutism.

Besides these European dependencies, moreover, Philip was lord of the Indies, that is to say, of those immense

unrealised regions conquered by the pioneers of Spanish exploration under his predecessors, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V. He claimed, of course, the whole of the two Americas and their appendant Islands, except Brazil which had been first reached by the Portuguese. Most of the great continental mass was still unexplored, but Mexico and Peru, the seats of ancient civilisation, had been brought under complete Spanish control. The control, however, was mainly local; for Philip had little interest in these remote dependencies except in so far as they furnished him with silver from their apparently inexhaustible mines. Under the irresponsible rule of the Spanish exploiters the unhappy Mexicans and Peruvians were ground down by a tyranny that paid no regard to the immemorial rights, venerable customs, or ancestral religions of signally cultivated aboriginal peoples.

Of all the territories that Philip did not inherit the one that he coveted most was Portugal. Its possession was necessary to round off the Spanish kingdom; its fleets its ports were desirable as additions to Spanish sea-power; its colony of Brazil and its factories in the East Indies were attractive as accessions to the Spanish empire. Hence in 1543 Philip, then aged sixteen, had been married to his first-cousin. Maria of Portugal, daughter of King John III. This marriage, although of very short duration, gave Philip a claim to the Portuguese throne on the death of Maria's childless uncle, Henry, cardinal and king in 1580. Philip gained the prize over a rival, an illegitimate cousin, Antonia. He entered Lisbon in triumph in June 1581, and proceeded to impose upon the reluctant Portuguese the Spanish system of autocracy.

The main means by which Philip strove to unify and consolidate these many, varied and widely-scattered dominions were, first, by concentrating the supreme authority over all of them in Madrid and keeping it in his own hands; secondly, by building up an invincible military and naval power he made it a rule to interchange soldiers, e.g., to garrison the Netherlands with Spanish troops, and Françe

Comte with Flemings; thirdly, by binding them together in close economic bonds on the principles known later as those of "Mercantilism", a system of rigid and exclusive protection; and finally, by enforcing with the utmost severity a strict religious conformity.

Throughout the major part of his dominions he met with little overt resistance, although resentment boiled beneath the surface. In the Netherlands, however, discontent after some years broke out into open rebellion.

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

The constituents and the constitution of the Netherlands have been briefly described. We have observed that although the Low Countrymen were proud to think that the great emperor Charles V was one of themselves, and although his genialty and accessibility made him personally popular, yet they were profoundly disturbed, first, by his attempts to suppress their provincial liberties and to centralise the government, secondly, by the fierce persecution of Calvinism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism instituted by his successive "Placards". Further, although they were pleased to be recognised as a "circle" of the Empire in 1548, and virtually freed from the authority of the Diet, they were suspicious and alarmed when seven years later (October 1555) Charles transferred them to the government of Philip, and made them a member of his Spanish monarchy.

During the four years 1555-59 Philip as we have already remarked, remained in Northern Europe. Part of the time he was in England with his second wife, Mary Tudor; but frequently he was in the Netherlands which he had to defend against French attack until the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis brought peace and a Franco-Spanish alliance against the still-menacing forces of heresy. During this period of residence in the Netherlands Philip made himself intensely unpopular. He never learned to speak either

Flemish or Dutch ; he showed little or no concern for the interests of the provinces ; he was cold, haughty, inaccessible ; he developed and displayed a deep smouldering animosity towards some of the leading magnates of the Low Countries, and in particular towards William of Orange, Count of Nassau, whose palaces at Brussels and Breda were almost regal in their magnificence ; he enforced his father's "Placards" against religious dissent with an icy ferocity that excited a terror beyond any raised by Charles's persecution. When, therefore, he departed for Spain in 1559 ; never to return, he left behind him in the Netherlands a hatred of Spain ominous for future peace.

Although Philip left the Netherlands for ever in 1559, he continued to govern them from Madrid, and it was his maladministration during the next half-dozen years that caused the outbreak of revolt in 1565. The main causes of disaffection were six in number, but they may all be summarised under the single head—subordination of the interests of the Low Countries to those of Spain. The grievances were (1) Philip's appointment of his own half-sister Margaret of Parma, as Viceroy on his departure for Spain. The obvious person for the appointment was William of Orange, the owner of the immense Nassau estates in the Netherlands and in Germany, and also, as inheritor of the principality of Orange on the Rhone, a man of all but royal rank ; (2) the institution of a "Consult" or supreme administrative council of three men, of whom Cardinal Granvella was chief. This close and secret triumvirate superseded all the older authorities and became the chief agent of Philip's slow-moving autocracy in the Netherlands ; (3) the garrisoning and policing of the Netherlands by Spanish troops ; (4) the severity of the religious persecution under the "Placard" of 1550 ; (5) the re-modelling of the whole ecclesiastical organisation of the Low Countries, involving the creation of fifteen new dioceses, the appropriation of much monastic money to their maintenance, the introduction of the Inquisition, and the great increase in the Spanish control over the Church

in the Low Countries ; (6) Finally, in 1564, the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent by Philip's sole authority.

The protests of the Netherlanders in respect of these grievances was at first entirely constitutional. They were voiced by three leading men—William of Orange, Count Egmont, and Admiral Horn—all of whom were at this time conforming Catholics. They began with letters to Philip in 1561, but to these he either returned no answer or replied in ambiguous and inoperative terms. They sent a petition for a Convocation of the States-General, but the request was ignored. Finally, Egmont went on a personal mission to Spain to lay the causes of complaint before Philip directly (January 1565). He was well-received and much flattered in Madrid, for he was a great soldier who had played a distinguished part in the Spanish victories over the French in 1557-58. Philip promised to consider his requests for the revival and reform of the States-General ; the re-constitution of the "Consulta" ; the relaxation of the religious persecution. After ten months of meditation, in the Edict of Segovia (October 1565), he replied in an emphatic {negative.¹ Then the troubles began.

The troubles began among the lesser nobles, largely Protestants harassed by the Inquisition, who formed a league of "Confederates", soon to be popularly known as "Les Gueux", or "The Beggars". They made extreme demands, culminating in one for complete religious toleration. The greater nobles, still mainly Catholics, interested primarily in constitutional government, held aloof in strong disapproval. The Confederates, when their demands were refused, began to collect troops, among them Lutheran mercenaries from Germany. Stirred by the prospect of civil war, the persecuted proletariat rose in rebellion in

1. It should be noted, however, that on the advice of Margaret of Parma—who showed a good deal of wisdom in her awkward situation the Spanish troops had been withdrawn in 1561, and Cardinal Granvella removed in 1564.

Antwerp, St. Omer, Malines, and other places, committing gross outrages (August 1566). The situation was one with which Philip thought he knew how to deal. He sent the Duke of Alva with 10,000 men from Spain (*via* Genoa and Franche Comte) to suppress the rising by force. He and his host reached Brussels in August 1567.

I. Alva and the Policy of Repression 1567-73. For six years Alva pursued a policy of ferocious repression. He began by arresting the wholly innocent Egmont and Horn, whom he executed in 1568, William of Orange escaped to his German estates. The Inquisition was set to work at full pressure. Alva boasted that he and the inquisitors together put to death 18,600 persons in all. Tens of thousands sought safety in exile—60,000 in England alone; still more in Germany. But still, in spite of the dreadful ordeal, indeed because of the fury that it engendered, the revolt spread and became a general insurrection. This general insurrection began in 1572 with the seizure of Brille by the "Beggars of the Sea". The Northern Provinces rose in revolt. William of Orange declared himself a Calvinist and assumed the leadership. In vain Alva strove to drown the rebellion in blood: Haarlem stood an eight months' siege; the Spaniards were repulsed from Alkmaar (1573). Alva and the policy of repression had failed. In November 1573 Alva was recalled; the policy of repression was abandoned.

II. Requesens and the Policy of Conciliation 1573-6. When Don Luis Requesens arrived in the Netherlands the main centre of rebel resistance was Leyden which was invested from November 1573 to October 1574. It foiled all attempts at capture, finally driving the besiegers away by cutting the dykes and flooding the country. Requesens ardently sought means of pacification. He called together the Estates of Brabant (June 1574) and those of Holland and Zealand (March 1575). Their demands now, however, were so high that he could not possibly concede them. Things had gone too far for conciliation. In October 1575 Holland and Newzealand openly cast off allegiance to Philip;

in April 1576, by the Union of Delft, they formed themselves into a federation—the nucleus of the United Netherlands—and offered the sovereignty to Elizabeth of England, who prudently declined it. Both negotiations and military operations were dragging on inconclusively when Requesens died (March 1576).

III. Don John of Austria and the Policy of Recovery 1576-8. Eight months elapsed between the death of Requesens and the arrival of the hero of Lepanto (who travelled across France in disguise). When he reached Luxemburg in November 1576, that province alone remained faithful to Spain. All the remaining sixteen had joined in the Pacification of Ghent to expel the Spaniards and establish the States General in supreme authority, with William of Orange as "lieutenant, admiral, and general for His Majesty"—the Southern States insisting on the formal recognition of Philip's suzerainty. Don John had great schemes for the pacification of the Netherlands by extensive concessions, and for the subsequent using of them as a base for the conquest of England. He was completely foiled, however, by the refusal of William the Silent to accept his concessions, and by the refusal of Philip to grant them. In disgust and despair he gave up the ghost and died in October 1578.

IV. Parma and the Policy of Reconquest. The failures of Don Luis and Don John caused Philip to revert to the use of force. He sent to the Netherlands Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma—son of the former viceroy Margaret, and great-grandson of Pope Paul III. This man, equally capable as soldier and as diplomat, held office for the long period of fourteen years. With infinite patience and great skill he won the ten southern or Belgian provinces back to Spain and Catholicism. The seven northern or Dutch provinces, however, remained obdurate in their Calvinism and rebellion. In 1579 they formed the Union of Utrecht for mutual defence, and in 1581 they formally renounced their allegiance to Philip. They realised the need of foreign support against the might of Spain operating from Belgium

as a base. They therefore first offered the sovereignty to the French Duke of Anjou, brother of King Henry III. He accepted it in February 1582, but, after a stormy year, gave it up and departed (June 1583). In 1585, the Dutch a second time implored Elizabeth of England to be their Queen. She again declined, not approving of either Calvinists or rebels. But the growing fear of a Spanish invasion of England made her welcome an alliance with the Calvinistic rebels, and she consented to become their "Protector". Her assistance, sent under the incompetent favourite, the Earl of Leicester, did them little good (1585-7). But their own growing military power, supplemented by the destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English seamen, enabled them to maintain their defence and defiance. When Parma died in 1592 they were virtually independent. Spain, however, was too proud to recognise the accomplished fact, and not till 1609 did she conclude even a temporary truce. Complete acknowledgment of Dutch independence was not made until the Peace of Westphalia 1648.

William of Orange, who with profound wisdom and flawless courage, had guided Holland and its associated provinces during the critical twelve years that followed the seizure of Brille, was assassinated by a Catholic fanatic on July 10, 1584; it was the sixth definite attempt upon his life. He had been appointed Stadholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht at the time of Philip's departure in 1559, and he had resumed the office on his return from exile in 1572. He continued to hold it with enhanced powers and wider extension until his death. After him, his son Maurice held it, almost as though by hereditary right, from 1584 to 1625.

THE ANGLO-SPANISH DUEL

Philip II's unsuccessful efforts to retain control of the Dutch Netherlands were intimately bound up with his equally unsuccessful attempts to conquer England and

extinguish Queen Elizabeth. His relations with England and its two successive queens during the first thirty years of his reign were indeed more curious and interesting. They were determined in part by religion, that is to say, by his desire to restore the island Kingdom to full communion with Rome, but mainly by the exigencies of foreign policy, that is to say, by his supreme need to prevent any extension of the power of the French House of Valois.

In spite of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis and the momentary alliance between Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France in a union to suppress heresy and schism, the antagonism of Hapsburg and Valois was deep-seated and irremediable. The interests and claims of the two Houses clashed irreconcilably in the Netherlands, in Franche Comte, in Milan, in Naples, in Roussillon and Cerdagne on the Pyrennean frontier. The alliance, indeed, scarcely survived the signing of the treaty ; for, as we have remarked, Henry II was mortally wounded in the festivities that celebrated its conclusion, and the French crown passed to his eldest son, Francis II (1559-60) who was married to Mary, Queen of Scots. This personal union of France and Scotland was menacing enough, particularly as the policy of both countries was determined at that time by the able and ambitious Duke of Guise, uncle of the young Scottish queen, and the recent conqueror of Calais. During the six years 1554-60, too, Scotland was governed by Mary of Guise, sister of the duke and mother of the young queen (who was born in 1542). This masterful lady converted Scotland into a virtual department of the French monarchy. French officers dominated the Council ; French forces garrisoned the chief castles ; Frenchmen coming to Scotland enjoyed all the rights of native-born Scotsmen ; treaties made at the time of Mary's marriage to Francis stipulated that in the event of the young queen's dying without issue Scotland should become the property of the French crown. All this was disquieting to Philip, and still more so to his father Charles V whose position in the Netherlands was threatened.

Partly, no doubt, to facilitate England's return to Catholicism, but mainly in order to secure the Netherlands and to counter-balance the Franco-Scottish alliance, Charles arranged for Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor, Queen of England, in 1554. Thus for four years, *i.e.*, until Mary's childless death in 1558, the prospect of the absorption of England into the Spanish monarchy. As it happened, neither prospect was realised. Philip's hopes were dashed first : Mary Tudor died in November 1558 without issue, and Philip ceased to be King of England. At that time the French hopes were still bright. Mary Stuart (aged 16) was healthy and vigorous ; she had been married for seven months to Francis, heir-apparent to the French throne ; her mother was Regent of Scotland ; her uncle was the all-powerful Minister of France. To complete the discomfiture of Philip, the very moment when he ceased to be King of England, Mary Stuart, as a descendant of Henry VII, claimed the English throne for herself. She had, moreover, very powerful support in England itself ; for she stood as the Catholic candidate in opposition to Elizabeth whose position as daughter of Anne Boleyn committed her to the Protestant side.

Religion or no religion, Philip could not possibly contemplate the union of the three realms of France, Scotland, and England in the hands of the Valois and the Guises. Such a combination would place the Netherlands and its sea-communications entirely at the mercy of his hereditary enemies. At all costs the Anglo-Spanish connection must be maintained. Hence his first move—a move which must have been intensely repellant to him—was to ask Elizabeth to marry him. To his amazement and indignation she declined. First, she detested him ; secondly, she desired the independence of England from Spanish control ; thirdly, her marriage to her deceased half-sister's husband would have required a papal dispensation, and to have recognised the validity of such a dispensation would have been to acknowledge herself illegitimate. Moreover, her acute political sense told her that whatever she said or

did, Philip dared not break with her. Friendship with England was the prime necessity of Spanish foreign policy. Hence Philip swallowed his rebuff with the best grace possible, and tried to ease the continental situation by marrying as his third wife the French princess Elizabeth.

So long as Mary, Queen of Scots lived Philip had to refrain from open hostility to England. Mary's value as a prophylactic against Spanish invasion, however, diminished as the years went on. The death of her young husband, Francis II, in 1560 destroyed her influence in France, and sent her back to Scotland. Her overthrow in Scotland and flight to England in 1568 placed her in Elizabeth's power. She was a precious although a dangerous deposit; so in spite of the fact that she remained for nineteen years the centre of incessant Catholic plots, Elizabeth carefully preserved her as a safeguard against Philip's machinations. Not till 1587 did the English queen yield to the insistent demands of her ministers and have Mary executed. By that time, on the one hand, she was ready both by sea and by land for the Spanish attack; on the other hand, Philip was so intensely exasperated with her that he was prepared to subordinate even the reconquest of the Netherlands to the subjugation of England. For English seamen, such as Francis Drake, had long been engaged in raiding Spanish colonies and plundering Spanish galleons; English volunteers, moreover, in large numbers had since 1585 been openly aiding the revolted Dutch against the forces of Parma.

The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots determined the issue. She had long ceased to count in French politics; the influence of the Guise family had passed away; France was immersed in her own wars of religion. Moreover, Mary in her hatred of Elizabeth had, before going to her death, bequeathed her claim to the English crown, and the vindication of her cause, to the Spanish monarch, himself a descendant of Edward III of England, and for four years actually titular king of the country.

Philip planned the Spanish invasion of England for

the very year of Mary's execution, but Drake wrecked his preparations by a daring and brilliant raid on the harbour of Cadiz. In 1588, however, the Armada actually came, and was utterly destroyed. The Spanish sea-power never recovered from the blow. The war, nevertheless, dragged on for another sixteen years; for the Spaniards did not deign to admit defeat. Not till Philip was dead (1598), and not till Elizabeth had given place to James I was a peace concluded (1604).



The French Wars Of Religion

PRECURSORS OF WAR, 1559-1562.

The later stages of the Anglo-Spanish duel had been greatly simplified for both the combatants by the fact that the kingdom of France had sunk into a state of anarchy, and had ceased to be a serious element in European politics. The long and paralysing wars of religion had broken out and had torn the nation into murderously-hostile factions, each prepared to sacrifice French independence and prosperity in order to get the better of its domestic foes.

We have already traced the early history of the reform movement in France. It will be remembered that from 1519 to 1529 Lutheranism, or a movement akin to Lutheranism, made some headway in the country. Its most conspicuous leader was Briconnet, bishop of Meaux, who gathered round him a band of scholars and preachers. The movement, largely academic, was entirely loyal both to the Catholic Church (which it wished to re-invigorate and reform), and to the French Crown (whose authority it cordially supported). It met with considerable favour at the Court, where Margaret, sister of Francis I, openly approved it, and where the king himself regarded it with-

out apprehension. The French hierarchy, the theologians of the Sorbonne, and the papacy, were not so complacent : they recognised the menace to their positions and powers that lurked in the doctrine of justification by faith, in the appeal to the Scriptures as the sole source of authority in matters of religion, in the exercise of private judgment in the formation of opinion, and in the cry for moral reform within the Church. Hence, when Francis returned home after his defeat at Pavia and his incarceration at Madrid (1526), his need of papal support in his renewed struggle with his arch-enemy Charles compelled him to accede to the papal demand that this semi-Lutheranism should be suppressed. Its suppression presented no difficulties. Bricconnet and his colleagues bowed to the joint commands of pope and king, made their submission, and subsided. One interesting and important episode of this alliance between pope and king was the marriage of the king's second son Henry, to Catherine de'Medici, niece of pope Clement VII (1533). Henry's unexpected accession to the throne in 1547 gave to Catherine a sinister influence which she continued to exercise in varying degrees up to the time of her death in 1589.

After an interval of quiescence the Reformation reappeared in France in a new and more formidable shape, namely, the Calvinistic. It was late in arriving : not until 1539 did it attract serious attention. It found the nation as a whole unprepared to receive it, the Church was not unpopular or oppressive ; its moral delinquencies did not shock the French conscience. French Calvinism was aristocratic ; its main converts came from the ranks of the nobles. It was political rather than religious in character ; it was anti-monarchic, republican, disruptive ; it aimed at reviving feudal immunities ; it did not hesitate in pursuit of its ends to make unpatriotic alliances in Germany and in England.

The Government of Henry II (1547-1559) was compelled to take it seriously, and to make strenuous efforts to suppress it. The "Chambre Ardente" began its burnings

in 1547 ; in 1551 the ecclesiastical courts were invested with special powers for dealing with it ; in 1557 a Bull of Paul IV introduced the Inquisition, but the lawyers of the Parliament of Paris opposed the operations of the papal agents, and they were ineffective. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559, as we have seen, inaugurated a period of international peace in which the French government was able to concentrate its attention on the suppression of a Calvinism which was also very obviously rebellion.

The main agents of the suppression at first were the three sons of the foreigner, Claude of Lorraine, who for services rendered to Francis I had been created Duke of Guise in France, and raised to high favour and wealth. These were Francis, second Duke of Guise ; Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine ; Louis Cardinal of Guise. Their influence, always considerable, became predominant when Henry II died in 1559, and his son Francis II ascended the throne. For Francis, as we have already observed, was married to their niece Mary, Queen of Scots. During the short reign of Francis II (1559-60) they dominated French policy. Politically their main concern was to secure the English throne for their niece, and to this end they needed the support of the pope and of the Catholic world generally. Hence for political as well as for religious reasons they instituted a savage persecution of the "Huguenots", as the French Calvinists were called. The Huguenot nobles were not disposed to sit down quietly under this persecution. They included in their ranks men so eminent as the Bourbons, Antony (through marriage, King of Navarre) and his brother, Louis, Prince of Conde ; also the Chatillon brothers, Admiral Coligny and Francis d'Andelot.¹ The Guises were hated as foreigners and intruders, as well as persecutors. Hence in 1560 the more fiery Huguenots formed a plot—known as the Conspiracy of Amboise—to overthrow the family, seize the young

1. A third brother, Odet, though a cardinal, was in strong sympathy with the reformers.

king, stop the persecution, and re-adjust the policy of the government. The plot was discovered ; the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde were arrested, and only the unexpected death of Francis II, at the age of seventeen, saved them from execution.

The death of Francis II had revolutionary consequences. It broke the power of the Guises ; made the position of Mary Queen of Scots impossible in France in and so drove her back to her native country ; opened the way to the ascendancy of the Queen Mother, Catherine d'Medici. This masterful woman, married for political reasons to Henry (II), had lost her usefulness when her uncle, Pope Clement VII, had died in 1534. She had remained at the French court, disliked by her husband, despised by the nobles as bourgeois, apparently wholly engrossed in the nurture of her seven sickly children, three of whom in succession became kings of France. Trained in the school of Machiavelli, filled with a passion for power, hating the whole Guise faction with a deadly animosity, waiting and watching for revenge on those who had humiliated and scorned her, she found her opportunity when her eldest son died, and the French crown was placed on the head of her second son, Charles IV, aged ten years (1560). During his reign of fourteen years she dominated the French government. Her policy—which was always devoid of moral principle—at first was one of religious toleration : she needed the aid of the Bourbons and the Chatillons in order to get rid of the Guises. Edicts of toleration were issued under her directions in July 1561 and January 1562 : they gave the Huguenots legal recognition and wide freedom. The Guises, full of fury and not unnatural alarm, opened up treacherous negotiation with Philip of Spain ; organised a Catholic League in France itself ; gather troops and marched on Paris. On their way, at Vassy, they came by chance upon a Huguenot conventicle where a religious service was actually in process, on Sunday March 1st 1562. They broke the conventicle up and indulged in an indiscriminate slaughter of the worshippers,

This "Massacre of Vassy" precipitated the awful Wars of Religion which lasted, with intervals, until 1589.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF CONFLICT, 1562-1572

Those who study in detail these infinitely dreary and depressing Wars of Religion in France are accustomed to distinguish eight separate conflicts.¹ For our purpose, however, it is sufficient to define two main phases; the first that in which the Catholic League, with the aid of Spain, strove to crush the Huguenots; the second, that in which a new party of "Politiques", patriotic and non-religious, strove to break up the Catholic League and emancipate their country from Spanish thralldom.

The first period (1562-72) saw violent fluctuations of fortune. To begin with the League and its allies carried all before them. The Huguenots, in desperation, copied the unpatriotic example of the League and sought aid from the Protestants of the Netherlands, Germany, and England. All the same, they were heavily defeated at Dreux (December 1562) where the Prince of Conde was captured. They were preparing to make their last stand at Orleans when they were saved by the assassination of the Duke of Guise (February 18th 1563). In their profound relief they did not hesitate to rejoice in the bloody deed, and to assign its inspiration to divine providence. They were still more convinced of its sacred justification when Catherine de' Medici took advantage of it to open negotiations with the surviving leaders of the two sides and to secure the com-

1. For purposes of reference here is the list :—

1. A. D. 1562-3 ending in Treaty of Amboise.
2. A. D. 1567-8 ending in Treaty of Longjumeau.
3. A. D. 1568-70 ending in Treaty of St. Germain.
4. A. D. 1572-3 ending in Treaty of La Rochelle.
5. A. D. 1574-6 ending in Treaty of Beaulieu (or "De Monsieur")
6. A. D. 1577 ending in Treaty of Poitiers (or "Bergerac")
7. A. D. 1580 ending in Treaty of Fleix
8. A. D. 1585-98 ending in Treaty of Vervins,

promise Peace of Amboise (made 1563) by which the Huguenots were allowed freedom of worship in certain specified localities.

The uneasy peace thus established endured for four years. It was broken by the Huguenots who were gravely alarmed by the process of Alva's persecution in the Netherlands, and by rumours that the Catholic League was active once more and was again seeking Spanish aid. Hence in September 1567 they formed a plot—the so-called "Conspiracy of Meaux"—to seize the young king, Charles IX, and through him control the government. The plot was detected and frustrated. Conde then came into the open and laid siege to Paris. He failed to take it, even though he defeated at St. Denis a Catholic attempt to relieve it (November 1567). A deadlock thus ensuing, the compromise of Amboise was renewed at Longjumeau (March 1568).

Catherine de'Medici was intensely irritated by this Huguenot outbreak, and particularly by the attempt of Conde to take the young king out of her hands. To some extent also, probably, she was influenced by the zealous pope, Pius V, who was waging relentless war on the Reformation everywhere. At any rate, in 1568, she changed sides; dismissed her moderate ministers; issued an edict prohibiting Huguenot worship; and attempted to seize Conde and other Huguenot leaders. Conde, however, escaped capture, took refuge in La Rochelle and resumed the war. In the first big battle (Jarnac, March 1569) he was defeated and killed: the leadership of the Huguenots passed into the hands of the Admiral Coligny. Coligny called to his aid the German Lutherans and the Dutch Calvinists; nevertheless he and his allies were beaten at Moncontour (October 1569), and seemed likely to be extinguished. Then, to the great surprise and extreme annoyance of the Catholic powers—including the Pope and the King of Spain—the Peace of St. Germain (August 1570) gave them better terms and larger liberties than those conceded at Amboise and Longjumeau. When they asked

Catherine de' Medici for an explanation of this anomaly, she was obliged to confess that Charles IX (now aged twenty) had taken the bit into his mouth, had rebelled against his mother's tutelage, and politically had gone over to the Huguenot side. For two years this strange condition of things persisted ; Catherine maintained her association with the Catholic League, the Pope, and Philip II ; the disobedient Charles hobnobbed with Coligny, made an alliance with Elizabeth of England, sponsored the marriage of his sister Margaret to the Bourbon Henry of Navarre, the rising hope of the Huguenot faction. It was a state of affairs that could not last. Catherine de' Medici was resolved that it should be terminated at an early date. She was filled now with a hatred of Coligny and the Huguenots at least equal to that which ten years before she had felt for Francis of Guise and the Catholic League. With Machiavellian craft and skill she worked on the fears of the weak young king ; assured him that the Huguenots were really republicans who aimed at subverting the throne ; filled him full of suspicion of the designs of Coligny ; made him believe that an armed insurrection was imminent, the first episode of which would be his own assassination. The machinations of Catherine were seconded and supported by the influence of the king's brother, the Duke of Anjou, and by the revelations of the secret service of the Catholic League. Hence at last his consent was secured for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th 1572.

Such a massacre had long been contemplated by the more fanatical Catholics and the more zealous Royalists. Its prospect was regarded with high approval in Spain, and with sanctimonious complacency in Rome. The efficiency of its execution showed that it had been planned with careful deliberation. Its main theatre was the city of Paris, but subsidiary slaughters were effected in many other places. The murder of Coligny was the first object of the conspirators, and it was speedily achieved. How many Huguenots and others perished throughout France is a

matter of very varied calculation. Prefere estimates 100,000 ; Sully 70,000 ; D. Avila 40,000. Among recent historians Jervis puts the number at 30,000 ; Kitchin at 22,000 ; Lodge 20,000 ; Johnson 11,000. Lord Acton, in a lecture which the present writer was privileged to hear, said that his conclusions pointed to some number round about 8,000.

Whatever was the number of the slain, there can be no doubt concerning the prodigious effect of the massacre upon both French and international politics. Internationally, it freed Spain from fear of French intervention on the side of the Dutch rebels in the Low Countries. In France it marked the ruin of the aristocratic Huguenot faction which had perverted the movement for religious reform into a conspiracy for antimonarchical revolution. Henceforth the Huguenot cause, purified as by fire, became associated rather with the thoughtful and thrifty middle class of the cities and towns, and it grew once again into a genuinely evangelical revival. A second effect was the formation of the new party of the "Politiques" who found their chief leader in Henry of Navarre, and the main exponent of their principles in the great Jean Bodin. The Politiques were defined by their contemporary, Marshall Tavannes, who disapproved of them, as "those who preferred tranquillity to salvation, and would rather have godless peace than holy war". A later historian of the Catholic League, the Abbe Anquetil, characterised them briefly as those who "placed the interests of the State before religious orthodoxy". They were, in fact, patriotic Frenchmen who wanted to save their country from destruction in civil war ; wished to free it from invasions of Spaniards and Papalists on the one side, Germans and Dutch on the other ; desired the restoration of royal authority, the suppression of aristocratic faction, the restoration of communal prosperity, the establishment of toleration where agreement was impossible. Some of them, among whom the Chancellor, Michel de l'Hopital, was eminent, advocated religious toleration on principle ; but most of them,

such as Bodin himself, urged it as a mere matter of expediency and of political necessity. Since neither Catholics nor Calvinists could be extirpated : they must be made to live together in peace.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF CONFLICT 1572-98.

The news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day was received with ghoulish satisfaction by the Catholic world. Philip of Spain sent his warmest congratulations to Charles IX and the Queen Mother. Pope Gregory XIII ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in St Peter's and had a medal struck to commemorate the auspicious event. On the conscience of the feeble Charles IX, however, the horror of the slaughter preyed. In particular, he was weighed down by a sense of guilt respecting the death of his once-intimate friend, the Admiral Coligny. His spirit was broken ; he fell into a decline, and died on May 30th 1574, at the age of twenty-four. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry III, a degenerate r  ue, whose advent was marked by a renewal of Catholic persecution. The Huguenot remnant, however, were not on this occasion left alone to face the fury of their oppressors ; they had the powerful aid of the Politiques, led by Henry of Navarre, and supported by no less a person than the Duke of Alencon-Anjou, the king's brother and heir-presumptive to the throne. Tranquillity and mutual toleration were their aims. So great was the influence they were able to exert at the Court that in 1576 Henry II stopped the persecution and concluded with his brother and his brother-in-law the so-called "Peace of Monsieur" which conceded full freedom of worship to the Huguenots except within two leagues of Paris.

The Catholics were furious at what they considered the base and needless betrayal of their cause by the king. They openly denounced him as a traitor and, under

Jesuit influence, began to plot for his removal. The Catholic League was revived under the leadership of Henry, third Duke of Guise, son of Duke Francis murdered in 1563. It was now definitely anti-Valois, the Duke of Guise (who claimed descent from Charlemagne) aspiring to the crown. It entered into a close alliance with Philip of Spain to secure its ends. Desultory fighting, punctuated by temporary settlements, followed (1577-1580) the net result of which was some reduction of Huguenot liberties. A new situation, however, was created in 1584 by the death of the Duke of Alençon-Anjou; for his death left the Politique Bourbon, Henry of Navarre, heir-presumptive to the crown.¹ To prevent his accession was the fixed resolve of Guise, the Catholic League, and Philip of Spain who, by the Treaty of Joinville (December 1584) made an alliance for the purpose.

Poor Henry III was in a quandary. He did not know which side to take. He detested almost equally Henry of Navarre with his Politiques, and Henry of Guise with his Catholic League and Spanish allies. At first he recognised Navarre, banned the League, and attempted to kidnap Guise, however, escaped capture, collected his forces, and prepared to march on Paris (1585). Hence, on the urgent advice of Catherine de' Medici, Henry III changed sides. He recognised the League, excluded Navarre from the succession, and prohibited all Huguenot services. Then began the so-called "War of the Three Henrys" (1585-9). It was a ferocious triangular duel: for although Henry of Navarre and Henry of Guise were always opposed to one another—the one aided by Germans, the other by Spaniards—King Henry III oscillated from side to side with bewildering vacillation. At last, however, he came to hate and fear the Duke of Guise more than the King of Navarre. So in December 1588 he invited him and his brother, the Cardinal of Guise, to his palace, and had them assassinated by his guards. He did not profit by the crime. The pope excommunicated him; the Parle-

ment of Paris pronounced him deposed; the Catholic League declared war upon him; finally, a zealous Dominican friar, Jacques Clement, plunged a dagger into his heart (July 1589). So perished the vicious and malignant Henry III, and with him the sinister House of Valois.

The war now continued as a struggle between Henry of Navarre—now calling himself Henry IV of France—and the Catholic League led by the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guises. As a rival to Henry IV the League put up one of his elderly uncles, a nonentity, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they hailed as "Charles X". He did nothing, and indeed could do nothing, for Henry IV took the precaution of keeping him shut up in prison. The League, however, was active and resolute, Paris was its headquarters, and Paris refused to accept as King of France anyone not a Catholic. In vain Henry IV laid siege to his capital city: it would not surrender. In vain, on the other side, did the Catholic League attack the new king in the field; he defeated Mayenne at Arques (Sept. 1589) and at Ivry (March 1590). Finally, a deadlock having been reached, Henry decided that Paris was well "worth a Mass". So, to save appearances, he put himself under instruction, and on July 23rd 1593 announced his "conversion". It was the politic act of the typical Politique. Its results answered his expectations. France was weary of civil war which now had raged for thirty years with most disastrous results. Paris welcomed its Catholic monarch in March 1594. The Pope acknowledged him. One by one the leaders of the League made their submission. By 1596 all was calm once more.

Only Philip II, in rage and disappointment, held out. His slow mind could not accept the fact that the hated Politique—whose "conversion" he estimated at its true value—had established himself and the House of Bourbon securely upon the French throne. In 1595 he declared open war upon France. His forces advancing from the Netherlands invaded the north of the country, capturing Calais in 1596, and Amiens in 1597. Henry IV replied

by a counter-invasion which also resulted in a few conquests. In 1598, however, it was clear that no decisive result was likely to be attained. Philip, moreover, felt that his health was declining and that his end was near. Hence, recognising that in the mysterious order of Providence he had totally failed in all his great designs, he opened up negotiations with his successful enemy and concluded the Treaty of Vervins (May 2, 1598). By this brief instrument peace was restored on the basis of a mutual restoration conquests. Nothing was said on the vexed question of religion.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE POLITIQUES

A fortnight before the Treaty of Vervins was concluded the question of religion had been settled by the epoch-making Edict of Nantes (April 13th, 1598). This famous document embodied perfectly the victorious principles of the Politiques. It expressed no theory of toleration ; it proclaimed no Rights of Man ; it merely recognised ineluctable facts, and stabilised the *status quo*. It was a monument of expediency. This character facilitated its acceptance at the moment, but in the long run it weakened it ; for when, two generations later, circumstances had radically changed, the changed conditions seemed to justify the revocation of the Edict.

The terms of the Edict were as follows :—

- (1) Huguenot worship was to be allowed in certain specified places, but was to be prohibited elsewhere. The specified places included 75 towns mentioned by name, and also generally one town in each bailliage and all the castles of Huguenot nobles.
- (2) All civil and military offices were to open to Huguenots, also all schools and colleges.
- (3) The Huguenots should be allowed, under certain conditions, to hold their Synods.

- (4) Special "Edict Chambers" should be established to try cases arising out of disputes respecting the Edict.
- (5) A number of "Cautionary" towns—of which La Rochelle was the chief—should be placed in Huguenot possession for a period of eight years as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the terms of the Edict.

It was further stipulated, by a remarkable and unexpected concession, that the State should pay the salaries of Huguenot schools and colleges. The Catholics raged at this official support of heresy; but the king realised that by means of the purse he would exercise a control over the dissidents that would keep them both from religious excesses and from political agitation.

The whole settlement, of course, outraged strict Catholic sentiment. Pope Clement VIII, indeed was complacent, for he was at the moment dependent upon French support in a dispute with Ferrara in which he had become involved. The Jesuits vigorously and incessantly intrigued against it. The clergy from their pulpits denounced it. The Parliament of Paris for several months refused to register it. Henry had to meet the Parlement and address it in person. His speech has been recorded: it was short and to the point. It is worth repeating, for it expounds his principles perfectly.

"I pray you register the Edict" he said, "What I have done, I have done in the interests of peace, which I have succeeded in establishing abroad, and now wish to establish at home. You owe me obedience, and I can if necessary compel you. Do not take your stand on the Catholic religion. I love it better than you do. I am more Catholic than you. I am the eldest son of the Church, which none of you are or ever can be. You are mistaken if you imagine that you stand well with the Pope. I am on far better terms with him than you are. If you drive me to it,

I will have you all declared heretics for refusing to obey me."

With very bad grace and with extreme reluctance the Parliament yielded and registered the Edict in 1599.

The friendship of Pope Clement VIII was of very considerable value to Henry IV at this stage of his career. Not only did it enable him the more easily to secure the acceptance of the edict, it also made it possible for him to effect a matrimonial revolution that he had long desired. It will be remembered that during the brief period when Charles IX was intimate with Coligny and well-disposed towards the Huguenots generally—in August 1572, six days before the Bartholomew massacre—Henry of Navarre had married Margaret of Valois, the sister of the last three kings of that degenerate House. The political value of the marriage had been entirely destroyed by the massacre. Domestically, too, it had proved to be a failure. For Margaret displayed all the characteristics of her decadent family: she was childless yet dissolute, wicked yet fanatical, a burden to her husband and a drag upon his policy. He sought release from the uncongenial tie, and in 1599 the pope provided it. He declared the marriage null and void. Hence in December 1600 Henry was able to take as his second wife the unwieldy and unintelligent, but immensely wealthy, Marie de' Medici, of the great House of Florentine bankers. To Henry's high satisfaction, in September 1601, she gave birth to a son and heir, afterwards King of France as Louis XIII.

This second marriage had fulfilled its purpose when it had supplied Henry with money for the payment of his enormous debts, and had produced an heir to the throne. Beyond these two things he did not expect much of it, except, perhaps, an increase of influence in Italian politics. He found Marie's society unutterably boring, for he himself was gay and festive. So he sought domestic satisfaction elsewhere, to the very great scandal of the pious of both communions. But Marie de' Medici was to him worse than a bore; she was a positive nuisance

and a source of national danger. For she was, as became a relative of two popes and of cardinals innumerable, a zealous Catholic who regarded Huguenots with shuddering detestation, and looked upon the Edict of Nantes as a compact with the Devil. Moreover, she was a devotee of Spain; venerated Philip III as the most noble of monarchs, and she did not hesitate to reveal to Spanish agents all that she could discover of her husband's great designs. And, since her husband's great designs were mainly directed against the House of Hapsburg in both its Spanish and its Austrian branches, her persistent treachery was of serious moment.

THE FOUNDING OF THE BOURBON AUTOCRACY

Henry's position as King of France was one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. As we have seen, in order to secure the throne, he had to declare himself a Catholic; and, in order to achieve the acceptance of the Edict of Nantes, he had to profess to his sceptical Parlement of Paris an exceptional devotion to the Catholic cause. Abroad, however, where his "conversion" was estimated at its true value, he found himself regarded with undiminished hostility both by the Emperor Rudolf II (1576-1612)—grandson of both Charles V and Ferdinand I and also by Philip III of Spain (1598-1621). Their hostility revealed itself in frequent threats of war; in constant intrigues with Jesuit priests and with rebellious nobles; and in recurrent assassination plots. When Henry ultimately succumbed to the knife of Ravallac he had already survived nineteen previous attempts to kill him.

In this internecine conflict with the Hapsburgs Henry was perforce compelled to seek alliance with the Protestant powers of Europe—with Elizabeth and James I of England; with the Dutch Calvinists; with the German Lutherans. Hence gradually he was driven to adopt a policy which appeared to his contemporaries a mystery of iniquity—a

policy adumbrated by Francis I, and developed more fully by Cardinal Richelieu under Louis XIII—a policy Catholic at home but Protestant abroad.

Before, however, he was able to formulate and apply his foreign policy, he was obliged to devote the closest possible attention to the internal condition of France. The cessation of domestic and foreign strife in 1598 left the country in the most deplorable condition. Agriculture, industry, commerce—all had been disarranged by the long agony of the religious wars. The finances of the government were in a condition of chaos: an accumulation of debt, equivalent to some £ 345 millions in English money, weighed down the administration; the annual expenditure ran to some ten times the sum of the annual income. All the machinery of government, too, was out of gear. The States General had ceased to meet; the Parlements—which, of course, were judicial bodies composed entirely of lawyers—had sunk into shameless partisanship. The Constitution needed building up again from its very foundations.

Henry IV set to work on reconstruction with boundless energy and cheerful optimism. In character he presented as complete a contrast to his old enemy, Philip II, as it is possible to conceive. Where Philip was slow and hesitant, Henry was swift and decisive. Where Philip postponed action until it was too late to act, Henry acted with enormous vigour, without waiting either to seek advice or bestow thought. He made many mistakes, but he got things done, and in a dozen years he revived and rejuvenated France. He did it by establishing the bases of an absolute monarchy. He found the relics of the mediaeval polity too rotten to be used again. He never summoned the States General; he called the Parlements only to lecture and coerce them. He worked through a new and arbitrary *Conseil du Roi* consisting of twelve members chosen by himself. Within this body he formed an inner executive circle, called the *Conseil d’Affaires* which alone was cognisant of his secret purposes. He reduced the powers of

local and provincial governors, calling all cases to Paris, and keeping control of every branch of administration.

Close by his side, and at the very heart of his two *Conseils*, stood his faithful friend and wise counsellor, Maximilien de Bethune, Baron of Rosny, better known by his later title, Duke of Sully. This able, devoted and laborious man possessed qualities that admirably balanced and corrected the rather reckless energies of the king. He was a first-rate business man with a flair for finance. France has never been rich in sound financiers ; in fact, during the whole course of French history only four stand out as in the front rank, namely, Sully, Colbert, Turgot and Necker. Colbert followed hard on the heels of Sully ; Turgot and Necker had to wrestle with the intricate problems that heralded the Revolution. Not even they had a harder task than that which faced Sully in 1598. He dealt with it with masterly skill and resolution. He reformed abuses which had marked the collection of the old taxes *e.g.*, the *gabelle* (tax on salt) and *taille* (tax on landed or personal property) he punished and dismissed fraudulent and oppressive tax-collectors ; he abolished sinecure offices ; he revoked improper grants of crown estates ; he tapped new sources of revenue, *e.g.*, by means of an impost called after its proposer. "La Paulett" ; he levied annual payments from the lawyers of the Parlements who thereby secured a hereditary right to their offices and became a recognised *Noblesse de la Robe*. Before the end of Henry's reign he had converted a bankrupt treasury into a flourishing concern with some millions of livres in reserve.

Next to finance Sully's interests were centred on agriculture, and he fostered remarkable work in the draining of fens, the planting of trees, the irrigating of arid land, the development of the country's potential resources. He did not take much interest in manufactures ; but here he was supplemented by the king himself who was, for example, "the real father of the great silk industry at Lyons." The king, too, but not Sully, furthered maritime and colonial enterprise : it was during this reign that Port

Royal (Annapolis) was founded in Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Quebec in Canada (1608).

Until 1610 internal affairs absorbed the attention of Henry and his ministers. They were conscious, however, all the time of the smouldering hostility of the Hapsburg powers, whose territories rendered all their frontiers insecure. At any moment, they realised. France might be invaded from Spain, from Italy, from Franche Comte, from the Netherlands. All these regions, moreover, provided asylums for rebellious Frenchmen such as the Duke of Biron in 1602, and the Prince of Conde in 1610. The flight of Conde to Brussels in 1610, indeed, was one of the two main causes that led Henry to decide that the time had come to face the Hapsburg menace and remove it. The other was a dispute concerning the succession to the border dukedom of Cleves-Julich, which Henry was concerned to keep in friendly hands. He was making preparations for war on a large scale when he was suddenly cut off by the dagger of Francois Ravallac (May 14th, 1610).

10

The Age of Richelieu and Mazrin

THE EARLY YEARS OF LOUIS XIII. 1610-1624

The Duke of Sully tells us in his *Memoirs* that Henry IV at the time of his death was busily engaged in formulating, as a sequel to his projected war, a "great design" for the establishment of a comprehensive "Commonwealth of Nations." It was, he says, to be a form of international government intended for the settlement of disputes by judicial methods instead of fighting. It was to include representatives of all the three rival religions, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist. Fifteen original members were enumerated, namely, six hereditary monarchies (France, Spain, England. etc.), six elective monarchies (The Empire, the Papacy, Poland, etc.), and three republics (Netherlands, Switzerland, and a visionary Italian Republic). It hoped by means of its machinery to maintain a balance of power, and so to prevent any recrudescence of Hapsburg ascendancy in Europe.

It is doubtful whether this "great design" ever existed outside the brain of the elderly and imaginative Sully. In any case, the death of Henry and the eclipse of sully put it completely out of the range of practical politics. For the death of Henry placed the French crown on the

head of the nine-year old Louis XIII. with his mother Marie de' Medici as regent. Now Marie de' Medici in her dull unintelligent way was, as we have already observed. fanatically hostile to Huguenots and slavishly attached to Spain. She abhorred her husband's anti-Hapsburg Policy, and she loathed the parsimonious sully, who worked in his office under the shadow of portraits of Luther and Calvin, and who kept her chronically short of money. Sully prudently resigned his position as superintendent (January, 1611) and retired to spend the remaining thirty years of his long life in growing vegetables and inventing reminiscences.

For the next six years the control of French policy passed into the hands of an Italian Camarilla, of whom the chief members, apart from Marie de' Medici herself, were her waiting-woman Leonara Galigal and Leonora's husband. Concino Concini, who was speedily elevated to be Marquis d' Ancre and a Marshall of France. One of the first acts of the new Hispanophile clique was to disband the late king's great armies; dissolve the coalition of anti-Hapsburg powers that he had laboriously built up; get possession of the large treasure that he had collected for the prosecution of the war, and draw upon it for their own purposes; open up friendly negotiations with Spain. These Franco-Spanish negotiations culminated in 1615 in two marriages of great significance and high importance—marriages the mere thought of which would have been inconceivable by Henry IV—namely the marriage of the docile Louis XIII himself (aged fourteen) to the so-called Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III of Spain; and the marriage of Philip's son and heir (later Philip IV) to Louis XIII's sister, Elizabeth of France.

The Dominance of the Italian camarilla with their intolerant Catholicism and their subservience to Spain was, of course, most obnoxious to the great nobles, and in particular to those who called themselves Huguenots. Hence Marie de' Medici was much troubled throughout her regency by the secret intrigues and open revolts of the

Prince of Conde, the Duke of Bouillon, and other magnates who seized the occasion to challenge the central government and recover their lost feudal immunities. Where Henry IV before her hand Richelieu after her would have chopped off heads, Marie de' Medici doled out purchase money and pensions from Sully's well-filled war-chest. One of the demands of the rebels in 1614 was for the summons of the States-General, which had not met for over twenty years. It was convened in October 1614, and in four months it had revealed its complete futility. It consisted of three houses which met and voted separately, namely, nobles (132), clergy (140), and third estate, largely lawyers (192). Furious conflicts among the three at once broke out. The lawyers of the third estate attacked the pensions of the nobility and the papalism of the clergy; the nobles replied by denouncing the *paulette*, and the clergy by condemning Gallicanism. In February 1615 the regent locked the deputies out, and the States General never met again until the eve of the revolution (May 1789).

In 1617 the young king, who had been kept in severe tutelage and in complete ignorance of state affairs by his stupid and selfish mother suddenly asserted himself. He knew nothing of politics, but he did know that he regarded the two Concinis with supreme detestation. They persistently treated him with extreme insolence, regarding him as but half-witted. Hence he achieved the success of complete surprise when on April 24, 1617 he gave orders to the captain of his guard to arrest the Marquis d' Ancre, and to shoot him if he resisted. He did resist and was accordingly shot. His low-born wife was charged with witchcraft and executed. Marie de' Medici herself was shut up in the castle of Blois. The royal *coup d'etat* was complete.

Unfortunately, Louis XIII, thus emancipated from the tutelage of his unnatural mother and the insolence of her obnoxious parasites; allowed himself to fall under the influence of a favourite of his own. This man was Charles d' Albert, Sieur de Luynes, keeper of the King's

falcons. Handsome, easy going, dishonest, politically incapable, this man ministered to the young king's boyish pleasures and kept him amused. The king in return made him a duke, a peer of France, Constable of the realm, and Keeper of the Seals. During the next four years (1617-21) he had the ear of the king, and used his advantage to secure titles, wealth, heiresses, and honour for the members of his family. Neither he nor the king meddled much in affairs. These were dealt with by the surviving members of Henry IV's *Conseil du Roi*. Three things in particular marked this brief interlude in the reign. First, a revolt of a few great nobles, led by the Duke d'Empernon, professedly in the interest of the incarcerated Queen Mother, who in 1619 made her escape from Blois. The revolt was suppressed in a battle fought at Les Ponts-de-Ce (August 7th, 1620). Secondly, reconciliation of Louis XIII and his mother effected by means of a new man who had acquired great influence over the stolid but irate Marie, namely, Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, Bishop of Lucon. This also was accomplished before the end of 1620. The third event of the period was a serious revolt by the political Huguenots who were alarmed by the strong Catholic proclivities of both Marie de' Medici and Louis XIII; by a marked Catholic revival throughout the country under the inspiration of the Jesuits, the Oratorians the Visitandines, and other zealous orders; and by fears respecting the maintenance of their privileges under the Edict of Nantes, which the Catholics wished to modify or rescind. The rebels demanded nothing less than the establishment of an independent Huguenot republic in the south of France. Instead of attaining their object they lost some of the privileges that they already enjoyed. Having been defeated in 1621 at St Jean d'Angly and Rie they were compelled to come to terms at Montpellier (October, 1622). By the treaty signed there they were forbidden to hold political assemblies, and all their peculiar towns were taken from them except La Rochelle and Montauban.

The incapable and distracting Luynes had died in Decem-

ber 1621. The king, now twenty years old, was able to pay some attention to public business. He and his mother were working in harmony, both of them equally hostile to the feudal nobility and to the political Huguenots. In this hostility they found a strong and resourceful supporter in the brilliant Richelieu who in 1624 was admitted to the *Conseil du Roi*.

RICHELIEU AND HIS POLICY

When in 1624 Richelieu was admitted to the *Conseil du Roi*, a war of religion in Germany had already been in process for six years. It was of profound interest to France, for on its issue depended the fate of the Austrian branch of the Hapsburg House, the hereditary enemies of both the Valois and the Bourbons. If Henry IV had been alive during these six years he undoubtedly would have thrown all his weight onto the Protestant side, and would have thereby given it an assured victory. As it was, the ignorant young king, the incapable Luynes, and the over-cautious "greybeards" of the Council let the occasion slip. Richelieu, who was the continuator of the policy of Henry IV, groaned as he saw the golden opportunity allowed to pass unused. When he entered the Council he did so with a determination to readjust the bungled diplomacy of the kingdom, and secure for France the dominant position in Europe which the circumstances made attainable.

Richelieu at the time of his entry into the Council was nearly forty years old. Born in 1585, the third son of a noble but impecunious gentleman of Poitou, he had been intended for a career in the army, and to the end of his life he was much interested in military operations. The family, however, had received by royal grant the right of presentation to the bishopric of Lucon, and in 1606 it was vacant. Armand's older brother Alphonse having refused it, Armand was persuaded to abandon the pursuit of arms and accept consecration. So at the age of twenty, by

special dispensation and without any sense of vocation, he became a bishop. His interests, however, were wholly secular, and in his diocese he soon displayed a remarkable grasp of mundane affairs. His entry into the larger world of politics came in 1614, when he was chosen to represent the clergy of Poitou in the States-General. The masterly part that he played in the debates of that Assembly profoundly impressed Marie de' Medici and Concini, and they found places for him both at the Court and in the Government. The overthrow of the regency by the young king in 1617 checked his upward career ; but he remained the confidential adviser of the incarcerated Queen-Mother, and he was the main agent in her reconciliation to Louis XIII, in 1620. Two years later (September 1622), through the joint-pressure of Marie and Louis at Rome, (Richelieu received from Gregory XV the Cardinal's hat which he had long coveted. He wanted it because it gave him the security of an independent principedom, and a precedence above that of even the highest French nobility ; Pope Gregory showed great reluctance to concede it, because he realised that Richelieu was a churchman only in name ; that he had no interest in religion as such ; that politically he was the narrowest of nationalists, regarding the building up of the power of France as the one object of all his activities.

In 1624, as we have observed, he was admitted to the *Conseil du Roi* ; in four months, using his rank as cardinal to the fullest effect, he made himself complete master of the situation. He was consumed by a burning ambition ; he was conscious of the possession of outstanding powers ; yet his guiding passion was patriotism ; he was ready to do or dare anything for the aggrandisement of his country. He lacked the wide European vision of Henry IV : he cared nothing for the social and economic schemes of Sully ; he concentrated his superb talents on increasing the power of France ; on defeating her enemies ; on exalting the monarchy ; on abasing all the authorities within the realm that professed to rival the Crown.

It must suffice here merely to mention his main achievements during the eighteen years (1624-42) that he controlled French policy. Those who wish to realise their magnitude and their significance should study them in detail either in the massive French monographs of D' Avenel and Hanotaux, or in the brilliant English sketches of Lodge and Perkins.¹ They are all the more remarkable because they were achieved in spite of desperately bad health, in the face of ferocious antagonism in both Court and Council; in the teeth of intrigue and open revolt on the part of the nobles; and in the absence of intelligent appreciation and support from the king in whose cause he was fighting. Louis XIII, in fact, thoroughly disliked him, and it is an eloquent testimony to the king's fine character that he did not get rid of him. Louis XIII was, indeed, one of the noblest, although one of the most stupid, of French monarches. He had his country's security and prosperity at heart; and he had sufficient sense to see that Richelieu was profoundly patriotic and supremely clever. He, therefore, continued to keep him in office notwithstanding the constant solicitations of his wife (Anne of Austria), his brother (Gaston of Orleans), and hosts of other prejudiced persons.

The domestic policy of Richelieu may be summed up in the words: the completion of national unity; the centralisation of government; the establishment of the royal autocracy. The carrying through of this policy involved primarily two things, namely, (1) the destruction of the political autonomy of the Huguenots, and (2) the suppression of the independence and lawlessness of the great nobles.

1. D Avenel, G. *Richelieu et la Monarchie absolue*. (1884-9)
Hanotaux G. *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*. (1893).
Lodge, Sir R. *Richelieu*. (Foreign Statesmen Series) 1896.
Perkins. J.B. *Richelieu and the Growth of the French Power*.

(Heroes of the Nations Series) 1900.

The Huguenots, although somewhat reduced in power by the Treaty of Montpellier, were a great nuisance and a considerable source of danger during the early years of Richelieu's ministry. They were incessantly intriguing with the foreign foes of France. Twice, in 1625 and 1627, when Richelieu was deeply engrossed in foreign affairs, they actually rose in revolt seeking complete independence. Hence in 1628 he definitely took them in hand. The main operation, which he conducted in person, was the siege of their main stronghold, La Rochelle. This he eventually captured, in spite of the assistance rendered to the rebels by three successive English expeditions. The Peace of Alais (1629) which ended the conflict suppressed all the political privileges granted to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes: it still, however, left them with the stipulated measure of religious toleration. The Huguenot nobles, however, were not much interested in religious toleration, and they mainly reverted to Catholicism. The Huguenot remnant consisted for the most part of sincere, hardworking, and thoroughly loyal bourgeoisie. For another fifty-six years they were allowed to continue to exist.

The suppression of the turbulent nobles was a less easy task than the crushing of the political Huguenots. For they were strongly intrenched in privileges and immunities dating from the early Middle Age. Nevertheless Richelieu achieved his purpose, first, by the enforcement of the reign of law, *e.g.*, he prohibited duelling and severely punished those who disregarded the prohibition, also he caused the fortified castles of the rebellious aristocracy to be razed to the ground; secondly, by the creation of a professional civil service and a professional army which rendered the Crown independent of the services of the feudal magnates, and also enabled it to hold them in check; thirdly, by crushing with merciless justice the attempts of the magnates to overthrow him by force. His efficient secret service informed him of all conspiracies as they were being formed,

and he took prompt and vigorous measures to prevent their development.¹

THE ABASEMENT OF THE HAPSBURGS

Strenuous as were Richelieu's efforts to suppress domestic disorder in France; to crush rebellion; to establish a strong, efficient, and patriotic autocracy, still more strenuous were his activities in the sphere of foreign affairs. It was, indeed, as an international statesman that he made his enduring mark upon Europe. His aim was twofold: it was to give France security and, on the basis of security, to raise her to a position of dominance on the Continent. To achieve this twofold aim one single thing was necessary, namely, the abasement of the Hapsburgs. They were the enemy. On the one hand, their dominions menaced the French land-frontiers on every side; the Spanish Hapsburgs could at any crisis invade France from Roussillon, from Franche Comte, from the Belgian Netherlands; the Austrian Hapsburgs commanded the passes of the Vosges whence Alsace was readily accessible; Savoy, the close ally of Spain, held the vitally important Alpine passes leading from Spanish Italy to Southern France. On the other hand, the resources of the Hapsburgs in men and in money were so vast that it appeared possible for them in combination, if ever they were not otherwise engaged, to overwhelm France by mere weight of numbers and equipment. It was, therefore, Richelieu's policy to see that

1. The four main conspiracies of the feudal aristocracy against Richelieu were:—

- (a) Gaston of Orleans Conspiracy 1626 followed by the execution of the Comte de Chalais.
- (b) The "Day of Dupes", 11 November 1630, followed by the execution of the Marechal de Marillac.
- (c) Montmorency's Rising 1632 followed by the execution of the marshall himself.
- (d) Cinq Mars' Conspiracy 1642 followed by the execution of the marquis himself.

they were always engaged otherwise ; in other words, to watch them with ceaseless vigilance, to stir up troubles for them in every possible direction, to foster their enemies, to repress their friends, to bring them down from their high place.

The carrying out of this policy involved the complete ignoring of religion in international relations ; for most of the enemies of the Hapsburgs were Protestants of one sort or another. It meant forming alliances with German Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, English schismatics ; Swedes, Danes ; Jews, Turks, Infidels - any body of men anywhere fighting, or willing to fight, the Hapsburgs. This non-religious foreign policy was, of course, most anomalous in a prince of the Catholic Church ; and it was intensely obnoxious not only to the Pope and the Jesuits, but also to the devout Catholics in France herself, including Marie de' Medici who, as Richelieu's proceedings displayed themselves, bitterly repented of her early patronage, broke with him, and pursued him with malignant animosity. She was the main mover in the conspiracy to get rid of him that culminated in the "Day of Dupes" (1630).

When Richelieu attained to power in 1624 one of the first things to attract his unfavourable attention was the English king, James I's, leaning towards Spain, and in particular his endeavours to arrange a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish infanta. He did his best to impede the design, and when it was abandoned he hastened—in face of strenuous opposition from the Catholic zealots—to substitute for it a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII (1625).

That marriage was a severe blow to Spain's interests in Northern Europe : it placed the Netherlands under watch and ward. Simultaneously Richelieu was engaged in checking Spanish power in Southern Europe. The Valtelline, the upper valley of the river Adda, was the main way of communication between Milan and Vienna, that is to say, it was the chief link between the Spanish and the Austrian Hapsburgs. It belonged, however, to the Swiss

League of Grisons ; the French had taken the League under their protection, and by treaty had secured the exclusive right to use the valley. This, of course, was an extreme inconvenience to the Hapsburgs, and in 1622 the Spaniards from Milan took forcible possession of the coveted way. The Swiss appealed to their French protector, and Richelieu took up their cause with zest. Making an alliance with Venice, he aided the Swiss to drive the Spaniards out. The Treaty of Monzon (1625) restored the valley to the Grisons and the French.

The very next year another Franco-Spanish dispute broke out in Italy. In 1627 the Duke of Mantua died childless, and the duchy was claimed by a distant relative, the French Duke of Nevers. Spain was most unwilling to have a Frenchman so near a neighbour to Milan. The Emperor Ferdinand II, brother-in-law to the late Duke, supported Spain and sequestered the duchy as a lapsed imperial fief. The Duke of Savoy also claimed Montferrat which was an appendage of the duchy. Here was a to-do. The Duke of Nevers, driven out of his inheritance, appealed to his relative Louis XIII, and early in 1629 a strong French army under the king himself, who was accompanied by the cardinal, crossed the Alps, reduced the Duke of Savoy, and proceeded to expel the imperialists from the Mantuan fortresses. Their operations were vexatiously impeded by Huguenot disturbances in France ; but in 1631 they were crowned with success. By the Treaty of Cherasco, the Duke of Nevers was established in possession.

The year which saw the settlement of the Mantuan dispute witnessed the entry of France, under Richelieu's direction, into a conflict immeasurably more important, and considerably more prolonged, namely the Thirty Years' War of religion in Germany. The conflict had commenced in 1618 while Richelieu was still under the cloud caused by the fall of Concini. Although he was then entirely impotent, he had watched the early phases of this struggle with deep interest because upon its issue depended the question

whether the power of the emperor Ferdinand II should be greatly increased or seriously diminished. In spite of the fact that he was a bishop and an aspirant for a cardinal's hat his sympathies had been entirely on the side of the Calvinists. He had had to conceal his sympathies carefully, for they were incompatible both with the attainment of the cardinalate and with the retention of the favour of Marie de' Medici. So he had had to watch with helpless rage the bungling diplomacy of Luynes, the blind insouciance of Louis XIII, and the inactivity of the senile "greybeared" members of the Council. By the time that he came into power (1624) the first or Bohemian phase of the war was over. The great opportunity of humbling the Hapsburgs had been lost. Ferdinand II was firmly established on the Bohemian throne, and the fighting had ceased to centre round his claims. In the second or Danish stage of the war (1624-29) neither Ferdinand nor Richelieu was vitally interested. The struggle was waged in North Germany mainly between the forces of the Catholic League under Bavarian control and those of the Protestant princes aided by the King of Denmark. The triumph of the Catholic cause, however, in 1629 produced a condition of things which, as we shall see later, seemed so menacing to French security as to determine Richelieu to intervene on the Protestant side.

THE BUILDING OF THE BOURBON ARISTOCRACY

Postponing our consideration of the part played by France in the closing stages of Thirty Years' War until we have examined the causes of that great conflict and surveyed its earlier phases, let us complete our sketch of French affairs as they developed during Richelieu's later years (1631-42), and during the ministry of Richelieu's equally astute but less masterful disciple and successor, Mazarin (1642-61).

While the Thirty Years' War completed the disinte-

gration of Germany, and also hurried Spain along the road to ruin, the thirty years 1631-61, during which the two cardinals controlled French policy, exalted France to the first rank in the European state-system, and within France itself established the monarchy as supreme over all persons and in all causes. The kings did little to assist in the attainment of that consummation. Louis XIII died in May 1643, having survived Richelieu by only five months. To the end he maintained his character of courage, integrity, kindness, devotion to the interests of his country ; but at the same time of political incapacity, slowness of intellect, lack of concern for things of the mind, dependence upon minions and ministers. He continued to dislike Richelieu, whom he always regarded as the creature of Concini ; nevertheless he recognised his genius, trusted his judgment, and supported him, even when he was listening appreciatively to plans of Gaston of Orleans or Cinq Mars for getting him assassinated ! His successor was his infant son, Louis XIV, not yet five years old. Not until 1661 did this young king begin to influence the policy of the State.

When Richelieu passed away (December 4th 1642) the greatness of his work for France became evident. Not only had he given her security and ascendancy in Europe, he had also immensely developed her resources and increased her power. He found her with a microscopic mediaeval army of some 60,000 men ; he left her with a well-equipped modern force three times as numerous. He found her without a navy at all ; before he died she had a fleet of sixty-five sailing vessels and twenty-two galleys, all of them fitted with powerful ordnance. To accommodate this fleet he developed the harbours and arsenals at Brest, Havre, and other ports. He was, indeed, one of the few French ministers who have realised the nature and importance of sea-power. He was conscious of the value of over-seas colonies, and he fostered the occupation and development of such dominions as Canada, Martinique, San Domingo, and Cayenne. Together with the Colonies, too, he coupled

maritime commerce, which he tried to increase on mercantilist principles, that is, in order to use it for the enhancement of the power of the State. He lacked, however, as we have already remarked, the wide and wise vision of that marvellous pair, Henry IV and Sully. He was reckless in finance, both in modes of raising money, and in control of expenditure. He burdened France with gigantic debts which she was unable to discharge; at the time of his death the annual deficit on the budget amounted on the average to some 56 million livres. He centralised the administration of the country excessively, depriving provincial governments of their ancient liberties, putting arbitrary powers into the hands of *Intendants* and other officials of his own, depriving the venerable nobility of their local functions, drawing them away from the country (where they had long been leaders) and concentrating them in the Court where they were encouraged to spend their rural revenues in idle extravagances. Instead of using them and availing himself of their local influence, he degraded and demoralised them, making them ripe for their extermination in the Revolution of the eighteenth century. To set over against these defects, however, we have to note that he generously patronised arts and letters; that he rebuilt the Sorbonne; that he founded the Academy as a public institution (1535). Under him, indeed, France attained the definite leadership in the world of culture which she enjoyed down to the end of the Bourbon regime. Descartes (1596-1650) in philosophy, and Corneille (1606-1684) in drama, were but the pioneers of that remarkable company that long set the standard of European civilisation.

The almost simultaneous deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII caused a great resurgence of hope both in the harassed Hapsburgs abroad and in the repressed aristocracy at home. For the king's eldest son and heir—born 1638 twenty-three years after the marriage of his parents—was a child destined to remain under tutelage during a long minority. And the regent, his mother, Anne of

Austria, was herself a Spanish Hapsburg, sister of the reigning king, Philip IV. The Spaniards and the Jesuits, therefore, rejoiced in the change of rulers. The great nobles, too, led by Gaston of Orleans—whose expectations of the succession had been frustrated by the birth of the belated son to Louis XIII—looked for an opportunity to recover their lost privileges under the administration of an infant and a widow. The *Parlement* of Paris, moreover, found an immediate occasion for re-asserting its influence in politics—an influence which Richelieu had steadily refused to permit. Declining to accept Richelieu's ruling that its functions were purely legal and judicial, the *Parlement* met four days after Louis XIII's death, abolished the Council that Louis had nominated to guide and advise the regent, and declared Anne of Austria to be invested during her son's minority with absolute power.

Both the Spaniards and the Nobles, on the one hand, also the Jesuits and the Lawyers of the *Parlement*, on the other, were speedily disillusioned respecting Anne of Austria. During her long residence in France she had quite forgotten her Spanish origin, and had become wholeheartedly devoted to the interests of her husband's country. Moreover, during the twenty-eight years of her marriage to Louis XIII she had counter-balanced her intense personal dislike of Richelieu with a keen appreciation of the brilliant results of his diplomacy. Hence she soon showed that she was determined to maintain French policy along the lines laid down by the great cardinal. There was to be no reversion to the policy of the Catholic League such as had marked the infancy of Louis XIII and the regency of Marie de' Medici. The new regent revealed her determination by her first act of absolute power: she proclaimed Cardinal Mazarin her prime minister.

MAZARIN AND HIS MINISTERS

Strange that the intensely and narrowly nationalist monarchy dominated by Louis XIV from 1661 to 1715 should have been prepared for him and handed over to him by a Spaniard and an Italian! Yet so it was. We have observed how Anne of Austria, conveyed from Spain to France while yet a child, had forgotten the country of her birth and had become thoroughly French in spirit and in outlook. Although gross and passionate, she was a woman of far stronger character and immeasurably greater ability than Marie de' Medici had been. She effectively superintended the government of France until the death of Mazarin in 1661; then she gracefully retired and spent the remaining five years of her life in pious seclusion.

Who was this Mazarin who took up the task of Richelieu in 1643, and dominated French politics for the next eighteen years? He was Giulio Mazarini, the son of an undistinguished Sicilian attached to the household of a member of the great Roman family of Colonna. Born in 1602, he was marked by unusual physical beauty, as well as by high intellectual ability. Educated in the Jesuit College at Rome, he accompanied Jerome Colonna to the University of Alcala in Spain (1619) where he showed remarkable proficiency in gambling and love-making. On his return to Rome in 1622 he became a soldier and served under the Colonna in the papal forces that aided the Spaniards in their resistance to the French in the war of the Valtelline. During this conflict he found occasion to show his remarkable flair for diplomacy, so that when in 1629 the disputes concerning the Mantuan Succession became acute, Pope Urban VIII appointed him papal representative in the conferences that culminated in the peace of Cherasco. His brilliant conduct of the papal case in these conferences profoundly impressed Richelieu, through whose influence he was sent as papal nuncio to

Paris in 1634. That position brought him into constant contact with the great cardinal. Their regard for one another grew, until finally Richelieu persuaded Mazarini to transfer his services to the French government. Hence in 1639 he became, as Jules Mazarin, a naturalised French subject.

On Richelieu's behalf in 1640 he conducted a remarkably successful diplomatic mission to Savoy. As a reward for his services on this occasion Richelieu, backed by Louis XIII, compelled the reluctant pope—whom he had deserted—to make him a cardinal (1641). It was an amazing and singularly in-appropriate reward: for Mazarin had nothing of the ecclesiastic in his composition. He was not, and he never became, so much as a deacon, and to officiate in a church was the last thing that he ever contemplated. His position as a prince of the Church, however, gave to him—as it gave to Richelieu—an international rank that covered all his defects of alien birth and lowly antecedents. Next year (1642) when Richelieu realised that his own days were drawing to a close, he recommended Mazarin as his successor. Louis XIII readily accepted the recommendations, and before his own death five months later passed it on to his wife, Anne of Austria.

The queen-mother acted on her husband's advice all the more willingly because she had become passionately enamoured of the handsome and fascinating minister. In November 1644, she informed the Council that she was assigning rooms to him in the Palais-Royal, "So as to be able to confer with him on business more conveniently." Whether he actually divested himself of his sub-diaconate and married her is uncertain, although probable; for she was pious and proper. That they lived for many years as husband and wife can hardly be doubted.

Mazarin's perfect assurance of the queen-mother's confidence and support gave him a sense of security that otherwise might have failed him during the early troubles

of his ministry. For he was hated and opposed not only as a protege of Richelieu and a continuator of his policy, but also as a low-born alien who had intruded himself into an office that should have been held by a peer of France. Hence in the summer of 1643 a gang of nobles, headed by the Duke of Beaufort and the Duchess of Chevreuse, plotted to have him assassinated. His agents discovered and revealed every secret of the conspirators, and accordingly in September of the same year they were duly disposed of by imprisonment or banishment. Richelieu would have decapitated them.

More formidable were the two actual rebellions known as the Fronde.¹ They were especially directed against Mazarin and the centralised government that he had taken over from Richelieu. They had their headquarters in Paris where Mazarin was extremely unpopular, partly owing to the heavy burdens of taxation which his administration imposed upon the people, and partly to his own luxurious mode of living, his acquisitiveness, his nepotism, the ambiguity of his relations with the queen-mother. He was at daggers-drawn with the *Parlement* of Paris, whose pretensions to meddle with politics he declined to admit, and whose refusal to register his edicts he persistently overrode through the agency of the infant king. The queen-mother furiously angry with the *Parlement* for its insolence and destructiveness, precipitated the conflict, on August 26th 1648, by ordering the arrest of three leading orators of that body who had distinguished themselves by abuse of the Court and the Cardinal. She acted against the advice of Mazarin, and she had instant cause to regret her action. For Paris rose in insurrection, threw up barricades, demanded and secured the release of the arrested men, and then continued in triumphant tumult until, on

1. The word "fronde" means a sling. As applied to the rebellions of 1648 and 1650 it was a term of contempt. It implied that they were no more rational than the window-breaking enterprises of irresponsible boys.

September 13th, the regent, the little king, and the minister, in peril of their lives, secretly left the city and took refuge at Rueil. There they remained for several weeks, while Paris simmered down and began to regret the prosperity and vivacity which the presence of the Court brought to the capital. Negotiations were opened up and at the end of October and the court returned to Paris. The *Parlement* and the populace had won.

The return of the Court, however, was followed by new outbreaks of violence and abuse in which some of the great nobles, in their hatred of Mazarin, participated. Once more the Court and the Cardinal withdrew, this time to saint-Germain-en-Laye (January 1649). Actual fighting broke out in which great barbarities were perpetrated. An inconclusive truce, however, was patched up in March 1649 by what is known as the Peace of Rueil, and in August the Court and the Cardinal came back to Paris. The first Fronde was over. Much damage had been done; violence had partially succeeded; but still Mazarin was installed in the Palais-royal, and all-powerful with the regent. Nothing had been definitely settled.

Hence intrigues and plots once more began, the great nobles Conde, Conti, Longueville, and others—taking the lead. Mazarin, perfectly informed of what was going on, ordered the arrest of the chief conspirators in January 1650, and as a consequence the second Fronde broke out, a desultory struggle that lasted for rather more than two years. At the end of that time it died down, leaving Mazarin in undisputed possession of power. He had succeeded by consummate craft in dividing the forces of his opponents, turning them against one another, and winning over some to his own side. He had revealed them all as selfish, frivolous, and incompetent. The respite from civil strife achieved in 1652 was welcome to him, for all through the period of these domestic turmoils he had

been deeply engrossed in foreign affairs. It had fallen to him to superintend the negotiations that ended the Thirty Years War in 1648, and the supplementary Spanish War that dragged on its weary way to 1659. To these conflicts we must now turn our attention.



11

The Thirty Years' War

THE SUCCESSORS TO CHARLES V

When last we dealt with German affairs we saw how the Peace of Augsburg (1555) brought a temporary settlement of the conflict between Catholics and Lutherans in the Empire. We noted two things respecting this settlement. First, it was extremely unsatisfactory. Not only were its terms vague and ambiguous ; it also provided no machinery by means of which they could be enforced. Its lack of clarity and the absence of provisions for its enforcement proved to be a constant source of friction, until friction culminated in the armed conflict of 1618. Secondly, the settlement was intensely obnoxious to Charles V. He could not bear to contemplate permanent concessions to heresy and schism ; he had refused to attend the Diet of Augsburg when he discovered that such concessions had to be made ; he had determined never to visit Germany again ; so he deputed the presidency of the Diet to his more complacent brother Ferdinand, and in 1558 he formally resigned the imperial crown, recommending the same brother to the electors as his successor. The election duly took place at Frankfort in March 1558 : it was a mere for-

mality ; for Ferdinand had administered the Hapsburg lands since 1521, and had been elected "King of the Romans", *i.e.*, prospective emperor, in 1531.

Ferdinand I (1558-64) was a worthy man, pious, honourable, trustworthy. Although he possessed no shining abilities, he was a good and steady administrator, with the interests of Germany at heart. He understood Germany, too, as his brother Charles V had never done. His marriage to Anne, daughter of Ladislav of Hungary and Bohemia, led to important results. For when Anne's brother, Louis II, died childless on the field of Mohacs in battle with the Turks (1526), Anne became heiress to the two kingdoms and conveyed the titles to her Hapsburg husband. The conveyance was for the time not much more than that of titles ; for the Turks had taken possession of two-thirds of both Hungarian and Bohemian territory, and they constantly threatened to complete the conquest and to invade Austria. To Ferdinand the two crowns were a burden rather than an acquisition ; they greatly complicated his government of Germany. For Germany, as such, had little interest in them, except as buffer states keeping them from direct contact with the Turks. Hence Ferdinand had much difficulty in getting the Diet to vote men and money for his wars with Soliman II. These wars, however, made Ferdinand most anxious to restore peace within Germany, so that external defence should not be weakened by internal strife. He also was by nature tolerant and easy-going. He did not think much of the differences that divided Lutherans from Catholics ; he realised the need of reform in the papacy, and he was willing to advocate concessions to the reformers in such matters as clerical marriages and administration of the sacraments. Hence when first he met his Diet as emperor (1559) he urged the princes, both Catholic and Lutheran, to pledge themselves to accept and obey a General Council in respect of all matters in dispute ; and he also brought great pressure on the reluctant pope, Pius IV, to call the necessary Council. Pius IV did *not* do what Ferdinand wanted *i.e.*, call a new Council on definitely German soil.

He compromised by re-calling the old Council to Trent (1562-63). We have seen with what result.

Of the need for decision and action there could be no question. For as a consequence of the Peace of Augsburg, Protestantism was on the advance again. On the one hand, in spite of the regulations respecting "ecclesiastical reservations", bishops and their chapter were going over bodily to the Lutheran side, carrying all the episcopal property and patronage with them. On the other hand, Calvinism was making its way into western Germany with alarming rapidity, its most distinguished convert being Frederick III, elector-palatine of the Rhine (1559-76).

From Ferdinand's point of view the revived and completed Council of Trent was worse than a failure: it was a positive disaster. For instead of providing a basis for Christian reunion, it issued a declaration of truceless war; instead of leaving doubtful doctrines undefined, it enunciated them in clear and authoritative terms that permitted no heretical interpretations. Ferdinand was profoundly disgusted, and his disgust was more than equalled by that of his son and successor Maximilian II (1564-76). Under Maximilian, indeed, the entire defection of Germany to Protestantism seemed probable. Many new secularisations took place in defiance of the Augsburg prohibition, and bishoprics galore were appropriated by perverted prelates and their conniving chapters. Two things only seemed to check complete apostacy. First, Maximilian himself was prevented from professing Lutheranism by the prospect, at that time probable, of succeeding to the monarchy of his cousin, Philip II of Spain. Secondly, an embittered quarrel developed in Germany between Lutherans (led by Augustus of Saxony) and Calvinists (led by Frederick of the Palatinate). Thus the forces of the Reformation were divided, and that at a most critical moment.

For under Maximilian's son and successor, Rudolf II (1576-1612) the Counter-Reformation set in strongly.

Rudolf himself had little part in the movement. His interests lay in astronomy, not theology. He was a weak man, under whom central authority in Germany almost vanished away. The active Counter-Reformers were the Jesuits, vigorously supported by Ernest of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Cologne (1583-1612), his nephew Maximilian of Bavaria (1598-1651), and Ferdinand of Styria, who became emperor in 1619. Under the influence of these powerful men, the minor Catholic rulers still left in the Empire began to expel Protestants from their dominions, as the Treaty of Augsburg entitled them to do. The bishops of Bamberg and Paderborn began the process in 1595; it was continued by the three electoral archbishops. Then Ferdinand of Styria carried on the process in the three duchies (Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola) that he administered. The emperor Rudolf allowed the Jesuits to harry the Protestants from Austria, Bohemia and Moravia. Max of Bavaria, of course, thoroughly purified his duchy. Never was such a furniture-moving. The resurgent Catholics, moreover, in the flush of success, began to take measures to recover the secularised properties of the Church, and the bishoprics improperly taken over by renegade chapters.

Early in the seventeenth century the menaced Protestants began to organise themselves for resistance. In particular, the Calvinists of the Upper Rhineland formed a defensive Union in 1608 under the Elector-Palatine, Frederick IV. The Catholics replied by forming a League in 1609 under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. All things indicated the renewal of the war of religion.

THE PRELUDE TO THE WAR

In the midst of the agitations and alarms that convulsed South Germany as the Calvinistic Union and the Catholic League braced themselves to fight, the astronomical emperor Rudolf II passed away (January 20th, 1612).

His political incompetence and gross neglect of his duties had caused him to be superseded in most of his dominions long before his death. So far back as 1596 the government of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola had been placed in the hands of his cousin Ferdinand; in 1608 Austria and Hungary were assigned to his brother Matthias; in 1611 Bohemia repudiated the hopeless incapable, and placed itself also under the rule of Matthias, who in 1612 succeeded Rudolf as emperor.

Matthias (1612-19) when he became emperor was already fifty-five years old, and an invalid. Although a far abler and more efficient ruler than Rudolf, his enfeebled health prevented him from doing much during the seven years of his reign. He was naturally of a pacific and tolerant disposition, and he sought diligently to appease the raging passions of the rival religious parties. In this effort he failed. The second great object of his endeavours, since he was childless, was to secure the succession of his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, to all the Hapsburg dominions.¹ (1) Austria and its dependencies were assured by the consent of the family, including the members of the Spanish branch; (2) the Hungarian crown was assigned to him by a skilfully organised election; (3) the crux was Bohemia where the Hussite tradition was still strong, and where Lutheranism had found a congenial soil in which to spread. The Protestant position in Bohemia, moreover, had been considerably strengthened by a grant of a "Royal Charter" (*Majestatsbrief*), made under threat of revolt in 1609, by the feeble and injudicious Rudolf. This charter conceded freedom of conscience to all in Bohemia; freedom of worship on all the royal estates in the kingdom; and the right to determine the form of worship to be reorganised—on the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*—to the nobles and townships. The immense majority of these decided for Protestantism.

Now the Bohemians claimed that their crown was an

1. Table V.

elective and not an hereditary one. Matthias, moreover had apparently acknowledged the claim, for in 1611 he had himself submitted to election. He was fully aware, however, that if on his death a free election were to be held, a Protestant king would certainly be chosen, and so Bohemia would be lost both to the Hopsburgs and to the Catholic Church. And the consequences of such a loss would be immeasurably serious. For the king of Bohemia was one of the seven electors to the imperial office, and, of the other six electors three were Catholic (the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves) and three were Protestant (Saxony and Brandenburg, Lutheran; the Palatinate, Calvinist). The King of Bohemia, therefore, had the determining vote, and if he should give it to a Protestant, the, "Holy Roman Empire" itself would be won for the reformers. In the circumstances Matthias realised that prompt and decisive action was necessary. On the one hand, he ignored the Charter, and began to enforce conformity to Catholicism upon the estates under his control. On the other hand, having done this without rousing opposition, he ventured on the crucial step in a specially-summoned Bohemian Diet (1617). Taking the representatives by surprise, and overawing them by a great display of force, he compelled them (1) to acknowledge that the Bohemian crown was hereditary and not elective, and (2) to recognise Ferdinand of Styria as the rightful heir. The Diet with inexplicable and almost incredible weakness did as Matthias commanded them, and went back home to consider how they could obviate the consequences of the act of suicidal folly. Nothing but rebellion remained.

Having secured this diplomatic triumph in 1617, Matthias at once handed over the administration of Bohemia to the heir-presumptive. Ferdinand, since he was fully occupied in his own duchies and in Hungary, placed the government in the hands of regents who proceeded to repress Protestantism and foster Catholicism to the best of their power. The Protestant stalwarts,

headed by Count Henry of Thurn, furious at the Diet's abject surrender in 1617, determined to repudiate the settlement, dethrone Ferdinand, expel the Hapsburgs altogether, and proceed to elect a king of their own. Accordingly on May 22nd 1618, accompanied by a band of fully-armed men, they made their way to the Castle of Prague, presented themselves before the two chief regents, Martinitz and Slavata. Treating them with scant courtesy, they charged them with violation of the Charter, with illegal persecution and unconstitutional tyranny. Having completed their argument, they seized the two regents and, by way of conclusion, hurled them out of the window, which was situated about seventy feet above the castle fosse. By an amazing chance, which the Catholics ascribed to miracle they fell from that giddy height into a large and soft bed of manure, whence they were able to crawl with shaken nerves and ruined clothes, but otherwise, save in their dignity, unhurt.

This "defenestration" at Prague was—as it had been intended to be—virtual declaration of war, and the two sides at once began to gather their forces together. The Bohemian rebels appointed a body of thirty "directors" to manage their affairs, and assigned the command of their army to Count Henry of Thurn. Neither the "directors" nor their general, however, showed the slightest capacity for either government or war. In spite of the fact that Matthias and Ferdinand had very scanty forces available—some fourteen thousand men under a Spanish commander named Bucquoi—they would have been speedily crushed, had it not been that they were joined by more competent allies who, for either religious or political reasons, were eager to assist in the abasement of the Hapsburgs. These included Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who sent a couple of thousand men under Count Mansfeld to the aid of the Bohemians; Bethlem Gabor, the bandit-prince of Transylvania, who hoped, with Turkish aid, to make himself master of such part of Hungary as Ferdinand still possessed; and Frederick V, the young elector-palatine,

who had recently married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. On the other hand, the imperialists were seriously hampered by risings sympathetic with the Bohemian revolt in Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia and even Austria itself. If the rebels and their co-adjutors had acted in unison, and had managed their affairs with normal prudence, the ruin of the Hapsburgs would have been achieved.

THE EARLY PHASES OF THE WAR

The story of the Thirty Years' War - which began with the Bohemian revolt in 1618 and ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648—as told in detail by German historians, such as Schiller and Gindely, or even as summarised by English writers, such as A.W. Ward and S.R. Gardiner, is one of infinite complexity and indescribable dreariness. Fortunately, from the point of view of European history, it is not necessary for us to follow its minute intricacies. It is enough for us to set clearly before our mind's eye its outstanding phases and its enduring results. It passed through four main phases which may be distinguished thus :—

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| I. The Bohemian Period | 1618-23. |
| II. The Danish | „ 1624-29. |
| III. The Swedish | „ 1629-35. |
| IV. The French | „ 1635-48. |

The student will observe that, as the war proceeded, it wholly changed its character. Beginning as a purely local conflict between Catholics and Calvinists in one section of the Hapsburg dominions, it spread until it involved the whole of Germany and most of Germany's neighbours ; finally it degenerated into a mere struggle between Bourbons and Hapsburgs for frontier provinces and for ascendancy on the Continent.

I. The Bohemian Period 1618-23.

The support given to the Bohemian rebels by Charles Emmanuel, Bathlen Gabor, and the elector Frederick, not only saved the rebels from extinction but actually brought the imperialists into peril. They were all but cleared out of Bohemia, and Austria itself was invaded. When the fortunes of the Hapsburgs were at their lowest ebb, the emperor Matthias died (March 20, 1619) and Ferdinand was elected to succeed him (August 28th). To this imperial election the Bohemian rebels instantly replied by proclaiming Ferdinand's deposition from the Bohemian throne and by offering the vacant seat to the elector palatine, Frederick V. With infinite folly, and against the advice of all his sane friends, the ambitious young man accepted the fatal offer. That one elector should hold two of the seven electorates was inconceivable; that either Catholics or Lutherans would tolerate so great an accession of power to the Calvinists was also unthinkable. As a matter of fact, Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown was followed by the withdrawal from his side of both Charles Emmanuel and Bethlen Gabor. On the other hand, it brought to the cause of the emperor the powerful aid of (1) the Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria and Count Tilly; (2) of Spain (from the Netherlands and Franche Comte); and also (3) of John George, the Lutheran elector of Saxony, who played during all these proceedings a part at once disgraceful and disastrous. The consequences of these formidable developments were, first, that the Palatinate was overrun by the Spaniards, and, secondly, that Bohemia was invaded by the army of the Catholic League which on November 8th 1620 completely crushed the forces of Frederick in the battle of the White Mountain, outside Prague. The winter king fled to Holland, and he remained a wandering exile for the rest of his life. His electorate was transferred to the victorious Maximilian of Bavaria. The Calvinistic Union was dissolved (1621). Desultory fighting continued for two more years: Mansfeld was still rampant in the Palatinate; he

was joined by Christian of Brunswick and other minor German Protestants. But by 1623 they were all defeated and Catholicism was triumphant.

II. The Danish Period 1624-29.

The decisive triumph of the Catholic League and the rehabilitation of Ferdinand seriously alarmed the Lutherans of Northern Germany ; they realised that their possession of the secularised ecclesiastical lands was threatened. James I of England, moreover, was moved to demand the restoration of his son-in-law, Frederick to the Palatinate. Richelieu, just arrived in power at Paris, was determined to abase the Hapsburgs, and at this stage Christian IV of Denmark was marked out as his agent.

Christian of Denmark, a Lutheran, was, as Duke of Holstein, also a German prince, a member of the Lower Saxon Circle. He possessed, also, the two important secularised bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which he was anxious not to lose. Richelieu easily preyed upon his fears ; he also encouraged his hopes of securing an ascendancy in the Baltic. Further, he persuaded James I of England to promise to pay him £30,000 a month so long as he continued to wage war in Germany. Hence in 1625 the war broke out again, this time as an attempt of the North German Lutheran powers, aided by Denmark, to overrun the South, and defeat both the Catholic League and the emperor.

Their attempt was a spectacular failure. The advance of Christian of Denmark up the valley of the Weser was decisively stopped by Tilly and the forces of the Catholic League, the main battle being that of Lutter (August 27th, 1627). Meantime a march by Mansfeld up the Elbe valley was checked at Dessau (April 25th 1626) by a new imperial army under a new commander of a most remarkable character, namely, Albrecht von Wallenstein. This man, born in 1583, was a Bohemian noble, the son of Lutheran parents but educated as a Catholic. By means of two prudential marriages he had become immensely rich, and

he used his wealth in 1620 and the following years to buy up masses of the landed property of proscribed Bohemian rebels. Thus he became owner of a large part of his native country, and the lord of multitudes of men. He had no enthusiasm for any form of religion ; but he was zealous for the idea of the unification of Germany and the centralisation of its government under the emperor. In the interests of this unity and autocracy he advocated religious toleration, and he included in his army men of all creeds and no character, provided they were prepared to fight efficiently on behalf of the empire. In 1626 he raised at his own expense a force of 50,000 men, and placed them, under his own leadership, at the emperor's disposal. Having defeated Mansfeld at Dassau, he proceeded to overrun Silesia, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania : only Stralsund was able to stand against him. The emperor made him Duke of Mecklenburg with almost independent power, and he contemplated the establishment of complete Germanic control of the Baltic.

Simultaneously, Tilly and the forces of the Catholic League, after their victory at Lutter, overran Holstein and actually invaded Denmark, until finally they were brought to a halt at Gluckstadt, which they failed to take.

By 1629 Christian IV had more than enough of the war. He had been beaten in battle ; his lands had been ravaged by relentless foes ; the English subsidies had remained largely unpaid. He had come off badly. Hence, taking advantage of the successful resistance of Stralsund and Gluckstadt, he sued for peace, and secured the not unfavourable Treaty of Lubeck (May 1629). He was to withdraw from the war, and not to meddle in it again ; he was to surrender all his secularised ecclesiastical lands ; but he was to recover his hereditary dominions.

Thus the Danish period of the war came to an end. Once more there was an interval of apparent tranquillity, and once more the joint cause of the League and the Emperor seemed to be decisively victorious. So secure, indeed, did Ferdinand feel in 1629 that he ventured to

promulgate the Edict of Restitution which has been described as "the most radical and dangerous document that has ever been issued in all the long course of German religious history."¹

THE LATER PHASES OF THE WAR

The fateful Edict of Restitution (March 1629) at one stroke of the imperial pen ordered the restoration of all ecclesiastical properties secularised since the Augsburg settlement of 1555. The properties concerned included the vast estates and revenues of two archbishoprics (Magdeburg and Bremen), twelve bishoprics, and about 120 other religious foundations. It came as a staggering blow to the North German Lutherans, many of whom—and in particular the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg—had enjoyed and developed these properties for periods extending to three-quarters of a century. Hitherto they had done their best to keep out of the war, although their territories had suffered much from the transit of the unsympathetic armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. Now, however, they realised that they would be called upon by the dominant Catholics to disgorge and make reparation. Where the Counter-Reformation would end, who could tell?

Beside John George the ambiguous elector of Saxony, and George William the hesitant elector of Brandenburg, three other persons of greater importance viewed the Edict of Restitution with profound misgiving. First, Wallenstein denounced it as fatal to the unification of Germany which, he contended, must be effected on the basis of religious toleration and mutual concord. He, therefore, found himself thrown into active antagonism to both the Catholic League (which had always regarded him with loathing and horror) and to the Emperor himself (hitherto the very centre of his hopes). Secondly, Richelieu in France saw

1. Henderson E.F. *A Short History of Germany* (1902) Vol. I. p. 463.

that if the Edict were carried into effect the power of the Austrian Hapsburg would be enormously increased. He, therefore, determined that at all costs the Edict should be rendered inoperative or, in other words, that the war should be renewed. Thirdly, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (1611-32), for reasons of his own, decided that the time had come for him to intervene in German affairs. On the one hand, as a strong Lutheran, he was unwilling to see his faith extinguished in its original home. On the other hand, as a Baltic ruler, he vehemently opposed the designs of Wallenstein in Macklenburg and Pomerania : he had, indeed, actually sent 2000 men to help to hold Stralsund against him.

In 1630, therefore, diplomacy and intrigue proceeded apace. The active mover was Richelieu, the consummate master of statecraft. With uncanny skill he carried on simultaneously two sets of negotiations, both crowned with complete success. On the one hand, through the agency of a clever Capuchin, Father Joseph, he worked up Maximilian of Bavaria and the other leaders of the Catholic League, who were assembled in the Diet of Regensburg (1630), to demand and insist upon the dismissal of the impious and ambitious Wallenstein. On the other hand, through the agency of his confidential friend the Baron de Charnace, he stirred up Gustavus Adolphus to invade Germany, and helped to smooth his path by mediating a peace between Sweden and Poland who had been at war for a dozen weary years. He persuaded England, too, to promise subsidies to Gustavus. Finally, he himself concluded a formal Franco-Swedish alliance by the Treaty of Burwalde (1631).

III. The Swedish Period 1629-35.

On June 24th 1630 Gustavus landed at Usedom on the Baltic coast at the head of 13,000 men. They were veterans; for the Swedish king—a military genius of the first order—had already waged successful wars against Denmark (1611-13), Russia (1614-17) and Poland (1617-29). A fortnight

after the unopposed disembarkation of the invader, the Diet of Regensburg met and compelled Ferdinand to dismiss the only man capable of contending against the new champion of Protestantism. Wallenstein's army was disbanded, the more doubtful part of it being dismissed, the select remainder being incorporated with the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly.

In 1613 Tilly, now at the head of the powerful force, took the aggressive and laid siege to Magdeburg, which city had refused to admit the archbishop (a son of the emperor) to whom it had been assigned under the Edict of Restitution. Gustavus implored John George of Saxony and George William of Brandenburg to join him in saving Magdeburg, or at any rate to give free passage for his troops. They hesitated and procrastinated, and meantime Magdeburg was stormed and sacked with most appalling ferocity. Schiller estimates that out of a population of 36,000, some 30,000 were massacred. The triumphant Tilly soon compelled the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to make up their minds: he began to harry their lands. Gustavus, too, made it clear that if they did not openly join him he would treat them as enemies. Hence, under pressure of necessity, North Germany and Sweden united their forces to face the host of Tilly. The crucial battle was fought at Breitenfeld on September 17th 1631. It resulted in the total defeat of the South German army, which was driven in a rout that never ceased until the Danube was reached. North Germany was finally recovered for Protestantism.

In 1632 Gustavus and his allies undertook the conquest of South Germany. For a time they carried all before them. Frankfort-on-Main, Mainz, Nuremberg, Deanworth, were successively taken. Tilly was killed in trying to hold the line of the Lech. Bavaria was overrun, Munich being occupied on May 7th. Bohemia was recovered, the fugitive elector-palatine being again proclaimed in Prague. The emperor was in despair. Catholic League was impotent. He could do nothing but recall Wallenstein, who came

back on his own terms, which included the revocation of the Edict of Restitution.

During the summer of 1632 the two masters of war played the great game against one another. Gustavus, deep in hostile country, strove to bring his opponent to early battle. Wallenstein, with time on his side, did all in his power to delay the inevitable clash until he had an overwhelming superiority of force. Finally Gustavus ran Wallenstein down at Lutzen in Saxony (November 16th). There the crucial conflict took place: it was a battle of giants, for long the issue was undecided. In the end Wallenstein had to admit defeat; but Gustavus had been killed. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command of the victorious host.

Wallenstein, freed from the fear of his one superior in strategy and tactics, now, on his own account, opened up negotiations both with the Swedes and the Saxons. He offered to them the revocation of the Edict; the cession of Baltic lands to the Swedes; compensations to the Saxons; the restoration of the Palatinate to the son of the "Winter King", Frederick V.¹ This intrusion into the sphere of high politics on the part of the defeated condottiere was not unnaturally regarded as an outrage by the emperor, Max of Bavaria, by the Spaniards, and by the Jesuits. So no longer needing him and not knowing how to check him, they had him assassinated on February 25th 1634.

After Wallenstein's extinction the imperial army was reorganised and placed under the command of the emperor's son, titular King of Hungary, afterwards the emperor Ferdinand III. On September 6th 1634 he brought Bernard and his Swedish allies to battle at Nordlingen and utterly defeated them. This battle was as decisive for South Germany as the battle of Breitenfeld had been for North Germany: it confirmed South Germany for Catholicism as its predecessor had confirmed North Germany for Protestantism.

1. Frederick V had died on November 29th 1632.

THE END OF THE CONFLICT

After the battle of Nordlingen the inevitable lines of a general pacification began to display themselves ; Lutheranism must remain dominant in north Germany, Catholicism in the South. The beginning of a settlement along these lines was made by the Treaty of Prague, concluded on May 30th, 1635, between the chastened emperor and the oscillating elector of Saxony : Lutheranism was recognised ; the Edict of Restitution dropped ; ecclesiastical lands left as in 1627. Most of the Protestant princes and many towns accepted pacification on similar terms.

But, unhappily, the peace thus partially achieved did not end the war. It left too many dissatisfied people : (1) the Calvinists remained still unrecognised ; (2) the numerous Protestants who had been deprived of their secularised ecclesiastical lands between 1618 and 1627 were disappointed of recovery ; (3) the Palatinate and its electoral hat still continued in the possession of Max of Bavaria ; (4) the Swedes had not received the Baltic provinces that they coveted : (5) the French had not achieved that rectification of the frontiers that they felt necessary for their security against Hapsburg attack. It was the French, indeed, under Richelieu's masterly but immoral direction, who were the prime movers in the war from 1635 to 1648. They took Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and his army into their pay ; they entered into an alliance with the Swedes for the realisation of their claims on the Baltic littoral ; they formally declared war on Spain in May 1635. It was, indeed, the Spanish Hapsburgs, with Philip IV (1621-65) at their head, whom Richelieu now regarded as the most formidable foes of France. The Austrian Hapsburgs were fairly well insulated by the now-independent Protestant princes of North Germany. But Spain still threatened France from Rousillon and Cerdagne, from Franche Comte, and the Belgian Low Countries. The two particular objects of Richelieu's desires were the two Pyrenean provinces (Rousillon and Cerdagne) and the two Rhineland provinces

(Alsace and Lorraine), for though the latter were not in Spanish possession, they were the main means of communication between Franche Comte and the Netherlands. The Austrian Hapsburgs connived at the Spanish use of Alsace; the Duke of Lorraine was too weak to offer any effective resistance to Spanish transit. The closing phase of the Thirty Years' War was, therefore, little more than a revival of the century-old struggle between France and Spain for frontier provinces and European hegemony.

IV. The French Period 1635-

The details of this concluding phase of the long war need not detain us. Under Richelieu's supreme direction, until his death in 1642, French armies contended against Hapsburg forces in the Netherlands, in Alsace; in Italy, along the Pyrenees; the Weimerian army held the Rhineland and harassed Spanish land-communications; the Swedish army made good its hold over Western Pomerania; the Dutch fleet was brought in to isolate the Netherlands from Spain by sea. After Richelieu's death Mazarin took up the work and carried it to a triumphant conclusion. The opening years of this period, it is true, saw a number of French reverses at the hands of the redoubtable Spanish infantry. Later on, however, France produced two generals of genius—Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Conde, and Henry d'Auvergne, Viscount Turenne. These men, before the end of the war, had made French arms supreme in Europe. Outstanding events in this ragged and ubiquitous struggle—events that did most to determine the final issue—were (1) the Swedish victory at Wittstock 1636; (2) the victory of Bernand of Saxe-Weimar at Rheinfelden in 1638; (3) Conde's crushing defeat of the Spaniards in the Netherlands at Rocroi in 1643—a victory invaluable as confirming Mazarin in power; and finally (4) the joint invasion of Bavaria in 1648 by the French under Turenne and the Swedes under Wrangel, culminating in the battle of

Zusmarshausen. The savage devastation of Southern Germany subsequent to this victory of Turenne compelled the reluctant Catholics to accept a dictated peace.

Discussions with a view to a settlement had been going on for several years. The Catholic Powers—the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, the ecclesiastical electors, the Catholic princes—had had representatives at Munster in Westphalia. The Protestant Powers—the king of Sweden, the Lutheran and Calvinistic electors, princes, and cities together also with their ally the king of France, had representatives at the contiguous Osnabruck. The decisive events of 1648 brought discussions to an end and enabled the Protestant Powers to have a determining voice in the settlement usually known as the Peace of Westphalia (October 1648)

The terms of this extremely important settlement may be succinctly summarised as follows :—

1st The Religious Settlement :—

1. The principle “Cujus regio ejus religio” to be maintained.
2. Calvinists to enjoy the same rights as Lutherans.
3. Ecclesiastical lands to remain as on January 1st, 1624.
4. Catholics and Protestants to have equal representation in the *Reichskammergericht*.

2nd The Territorial Settlement of Germany :—

1. The Elector Palatine to recover the Lower Palatinate and to receive a new electoral hat.
2. Max of Bavaria to keep the Upper Palatinate with the old electorate.
3. The Elector of Saxony to receive Lusatia and part of Magdeburg.
4. The Elector of Brandenburg to receive the remain-

der of Magdeburg, together with various other bishoprics and duchies.

3rd The Settlement of External Claims.

1. The Swedes to acquire Western Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with representation in the Imperial Diet.
2. The French to secure Austrian Alsace with Breisach, but excluding Strasburg, the fortresses of Philippsburg and Pinerolo, together with confirmation of their possession of Metz, Toul and Verdun.
3. The Dutch } to receive recognition of their complete independence.
4. The Swiss }

The conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Wars of Religion : henceforth commerce, colonisation, and command of the sea were the main subjects of contest. It also marked the establishment of the modern state system based on the principles of territorial sovereignty, theoretical equality, and internal autonomy. It signalised, too, the extinction of the mediaeval idea of a *Respublica Christiana* administered by a Holy Roman Emperor and a Holy Roman Pope. It also displayed the utter disruption of Germany ; the central authority had vanished away ; the Hapsburgs had sunk into impotence save as local rulers ; the way had been opened for the sinister rise of Prussia to ascendancy in North Germany, and for the anti-national machinations of Bavaria in South Germany.

The Peace of Westphalia did not end the Franco-Spanish war begun in 1635. That dreary struggle dragged on for another eleven years, occupying the major part of Mazarin's attention during the closing period of his life. It was, of course, much impeded and protracted by the internal disturbances due to the Fronde (1648-53). In 1657

however, Mazarin, at last free and supreme, made an alliance with England, and the combined forces of the two countries, operating in the Spanish Netherlands, soon compelled Spain to accept defeat. One of Mazarin's last important acts was to conclude the Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659) with Spain. By this agreement (1) France was to acquire Roussillon and Cerdagne, Artois and portions of Hainault and Luxemburg; (2) the young Louis XIV was to marry Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV—a fateful marriage.

12

The English Rebellion and Revolution

THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION 1603

The person with whom Mazarin made the Anglo-French alliance of 1657 was no other than Oliver Cromwell, the ultra Puritan head of the English commonwealth. What could be more amazing or, in pious eyes, more scandalous than this union of the Italian cardinal, minister of an absolutist king by divine right, and the regicide protector, rejector of all ecclesiastical authority extraneous to himself? Nothing could more clearly exemplify the entire divorce between French foreign policy and French religion.

But how was it that Oliver Cromwell, born an inconspicuous country squire, was in a position in 1657 to conclude international alliances, and to send six thousand well-equipped troops to wage war on the Continent? To answer that question we have to revert to the annals of English history from the dawn of the seventeenth century. It is all the more necessary to do this because the story which the records unfold is one of primary importance

in European, and indeed world history. For it is the story of the English Rebellion, a story that ranks in eminence with those of the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation, and the French Revolution. For the English Rebellion marked the turn of the tide of absolute monarchy in the Western world and the beginning of that general movement towards democracy which characterised European history until the beginning of the twentieth century.

When last we dealt with English affairs we observed that the fierce protracted duel between England and Spain, begun under Elizabeth, was ended by James I in 1604. We have now to note how it was that this James I (who was also James VI of Scotland) came to be ruling in England.

All through the Tudor period, and more particularly from the time of the Reformation onward, the question of the succession to the crown had been a burning one. The memory of the devastating thirty-years' Wars of the Roses between the rival houses of Lancaster and York was still vivid in men's minds, and from 1534 the question of the succession was complicated with the question of religion. Simultaneously with the Act of Supremacy which severed the Anglican Church from communion with Rome, was passed an Act of Succession excluding Mary (daughter of Catherine of Aragon) from the throne, and declaring the prospective children of Anne Boleyn to be heirs. The decapitation of Anne Boleyn in 1536 evoked a second Act of Succession in which both Mary and also Elizabeth (infant daughter of Anne) were set aside in favour of the prospective children of Henry VIII's third wife, Jane Seymour (who died next year in giving birth to a son Edward). In 1544 king and Parliament reconsidered the whole question and produced the third Act of Succession which remained operative during the remainder of the sixteenth century. Under this statute the crown was to pass 1st to Edward and his heirs, and failing these, 2nd to Mary and her heirs, and failing these, 3rd to Elizabeth and her heirs. Finally, in order to provide for the impro-

bable contingency that all three of Henry's children should die childless, the statute authorised Henry to make by will any further provisions that he might think desirable. In accordance with this permission, he made a will in which, deliberately passing over the descendants of his elder sister Margaret, who had been married to James IV of Scotland, he bequeathed the succession to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary Duchess of Suffolk.

Under this statute of 1544 when Henry VIII died in 1547, he was succeeded by his son Edward a boy of nine years old. The boy-king was brought up as an extreme Protestant by his uncle, Protector Somerset, and Archbishop Cranmer. Under their rule the country moved rapidly in the direction of Calvinism. The movement was still further accelerated when Somerset was superseded by Northumberland. Within six years, however, Edward was seized by a consumption and it became clear that he would speedily die childless. In that contingency the crown would, according to the statute of 1544, pass to his half-sister, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, a fanatical Catholic. The prospect filled Northumberland and Cranmer with horror and terror. Hence they persuaded the boy-king to make a will excluding Mary and devising the crown to the Lady Jane Grey (grand-daughter of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk). This will, however, not being made according to law, but in direct violation of the statute of 1544, was set aside. Lady Jane Grey, although proclaimed queen by Northumberland, was deposed, imprisoned, and executed. Mary duly succeeded (1553), married Philip II of Spain, and carried through a strong Catholic reaction. She, however, remained childless, and when in 1558 she found death approaching she realised that her half-sister, the hated Elizabeth, would succeed her, and would undo all her work. She also realised that she was quite powerless to change the rule of succession: she was loathed and impotent.

Elizabeth duly ascended the throne in 1558, and at

once severed the connection between the Anglican and the Roman Churches. Religious passions ran high at that time: the Catholics were exasperated by the vast confiscations of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the protestants by the burnings of Mary. The Elizabethan settlement of religion, under the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559) was disliked both by extreme Catholics and Extreme Protestants: it was indeed a political compromise acceptable mainly to the irreligious who wanted peace at any price. Its continuance depended wholly upon the life of the queen, and conspiracies against that life were incessant for many years. If Elizabeth were to die, who would succeed her? Under the will of Henry VIII her successor would be the protestant Lady Catherine Grey, younger sister of Lady Jane. The Catholics, however, advanced the claims of Mary Queen of Scots, grand-daughter of Margaret Tudor, contending that neither will nor statute could set aside claims based on divine hereditary right. For many years, while Elizabeth moved about in constant fear of assassination, the country was faced by a succession conflict, embittered by religious animosities. In vain both ministers and parliament implored Elizabeth to marry and have children; in vain they begged her to determine the succession either, by statute or by will. With supreme courage and profound wisdom she decided to leave the issue open. She did not wish to drive either Protestants or Catholics to desperation.

Lady Catherine Grey died in 1568 leaving such statutory claim as she possessed to her son, Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (1561-1612). Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed in 1587, and her claim by hereditary divine right passed to her son James VI of Scotland, who—since Scotland had adopted Calvinism—was brought up in a strict form of Protestantism. The religious issue, therefore, ceased to divide the rival candidates. Queen Elizabeth, who disliked the idea of death, and who tended to box the ears of ministers who reminded her of it, gave no indication of her wishes respecting the succession until, she was on the

point of expiring. Then (so the ministers said) she indicated James. They themselves, at any rate, had made up their minds. James, too, was determined. So without overt opposition he was proclaimed king on March 24th 1603, and was crowned at Westminster on the following July 25th.

THE GREAT REBELLION

James VI of Scotland came to England in 1603 with high ideas of divine hereditary right, and with a profound detestation of Calvinistic Presbyterianism. In Scotland his claim to the throne was parliamentary : his ancestor, Robert Stuart, had become king in 1371, on the extinction of the male line of the great Bruce, in virtue of an Act of the Scottish parliament passed to meet that contingency. In England, however, he claimed the throne in defiance of the Act of Succession of 1544. Under that Act Lord Beauchamp was heir ; he was, however, a poor creature, of doubtful legitimacy, and no one seriously considered his recognition. James, nevertheless, was in the circumstances driven to emphasise the doctrine of divine hereditary right, and to deny the competence of Parliament to change the order of succession. In Scotland, too, he had been from his infancy very much under the tutelage of Presbyterian ministers who had asserted the doctrine of the superiority of the Church to the State, and had treated him with gross insolence. He had grown to regard them with intense loathing : "Monarchy" he said, "agrees as well with Presbytery as God with the Devil".

Such being James's sentiments, it is no marvel that the uncouth and unattractive Scotsman soon found himself at logger-heads with the English Parliament, and with the increasing Puritan section of the English nation. He became involved in frequent and embittered quarrels with Parliament over such matters as freedom of election ; royal proclamations and declarations of indulgence ; impositions

and monopolies ; foreign policy ; regulation of commerce ; appointment and control of ministers. With the Puritans, or advanced Protestants, too, he came into violent conflict. These ardent reformers demanded changes in the Anglican Church—change in government, doctrine, and ritual—that would have converted the Church into a Genevan theocracy. James resisted and refused the Puritan demands, driving many of the Puritan leaders into exile.¹ So keen was the antagonism between James and large sections of his subjects towards the end of his reign that, if he had not died in 1625, he would probably have been deposed. He had become dangerously unpopular.

James I's son and successor, Charles I (1625-49) was a much more attractive person than his father. He had many graces, and not a few virtues. But, unfortunately for himself and for his kingdoms, he was even more obstinately determined than even James had been to assert the royal prerogative, and to maintain high Anglican uniformity. Hence he soon came into conflict with the Parliament and with the Puritans, who increasingly dominated Parliament. Disputes arose respecting Charles's choice of ministers ; his methods of raising money ; the concessions made to his Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria of France, in the matter of religion ; help given to Richelieu against the Huguenots ; the liberties of the subject ; the privileges of Parliament itself. Acute shortage of money compelled Charles in 1628, in return for a large grant, to sign the famous Petition of Right in which he recognised four of the most important claims of Parliament. To his intense annoyance, however, fresh disputes immediately broke out concerning the terms of the Petition. Hence in 1629 he dissolved Parliament in anger, resolving that he would never call another Parliament as long as he lived.

For eleven years (1629-40) the determined king managed to keep his resolution. His main problem, of course, was to find sources of revenue to take the place of the lost Parlia-

1. Among them was the "Pilgrim Fathers" who crossed to America in 1620 and they founded the first of the New England colonies.

mentary subsidies. With the help of astute lawyers he revived many antiquated dues; but the only one that seemed likely to succeed in providing him with a permanent and expandable revenue was "ship-money" first levied in 1634. The annual levy of "ship-money", on pretence that the country was in peril of invasion, roused strong opposition, led by John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, but the judges supported the king, and he got his way. The amount of money raised, however, was only just enough to carry on the government in time of peace, and, unhappily for Charles, he got involved in a war with his Scottish subjects respecting religion. He and his primate, Archbishop Laud, were determined to suppress the Presbyterian system in Scotland, and to enforce Anglican Episcopacy. The Scots rebelled and raised an army (1639). The outbreak of this "Bishops' War" compelled Charles, much against his will, to call Parliament again (1640). The first Parliament that met—the "Short Parliament"—insisted on redress of grievances before supplies were voted. Hence it was dismissed after a session of only three weeks, having neither done nor given anything (April–May). Charles managed to carry on the government and the war for a short time by means of gifts and loans, but the war went against him. The Scots invaded England, defeated his scanty forces, occupied the northern countries, and compelled the beaten king to conclude the Treaty of Ripon under which heavy payment to the occupying Scottish army had to be made. The king was thus forced to call Parliament again; and this time he could not dismiss it, because the victorious Scottish army was behind it.

So on November 3rd, 1640 the memorable "Long Parliament" met. Being now, thanks to the Scottish army encamped in the North, master of the political situation, it proceeded to remove the king's chief ministers (Strafford and Laud); to abolish "ship money" and other non-parliamentary sources of supply; to suppress the Star-Chamber and other arbitrary law-courts and to secure the continuance of parliamentary government by means of a Triennial

Act. So far Parliament was unanimous. But division of opinion rose when the more extreme opponents of the king began to demand further reductions of the royal power, and also the abolition of episcopacy in the Church.

During the Autumn of 1641 a Royalist Party began to gather shape. When in November the extremists drew up a "Grand Remonstrance" for presentation to the king, no fewer than 148 out of 307 members voted against it. The king then decided to strike. He went at the head of some hundreds of armed men to arrest the five leaders of the parliamentary opposition. (January 4th, 1642). He failed in his purpose ; but his attempt made the breach between himself and Parliament irreparable, and on August 22nd, 1642, the civil war began.

The struggle between Charles I and his rebellious subjects lasted four years (1642-46) with a brief recrudescence in 1648. The king had the distinct advantage at first ; but gradually the wealth commanded by the Parliament, the support of the navy, the assistance of the Scots, and the military genius of Oliver Cromwell, wore down the royalist resistance. The final and decisive defeat of the king took place at Naseby on June 14th, 1645. The beaten monarch evaded capture for more than ten months, but on May 5th, 1646 he surrendered. For two years, efforts were made to come to terms with him, but he proved to be intractable and utterly untrustworthy. In 1648, indeed, he stirred up the "Second Civil War", and when that was ended his fate was sealed. He was accused of high treason for waging war on his subjects. A packed court condemned him, and he was beheaded on January 30th, 1649.

THE PURITAN REPUBLIC

The execution of Charles I was followed by the formal abolition of the monarchy, together with the House of Lords, and by the establishment of a republican form of government. Supreme legislative power was left in the hands of what remained of the Lower House of the Long

Parliament—vulgarly known as the “Rump Parliament” Executive power was entrusted to a Council of State of forty-one members, mainly selected from the “Rump”. The various offices of state were placed in commission. The chief task of this stop-gap administration was the framing of a new and permanent republican constitution.

Whilst, however, this problem of the constitution was being discussed, the Puritan army—now the dominant power in the State—under its great commander, Oliver Cromwell, had to put down serious royalist resistances in both Ireland and Scotland. The Irish were crushed with extreme severity, mainly by Cromwell himself between August 1649 and May 1650. He had, however, to leave his son-in-law, Ireton, to complete the work, as he himself was imperatively called to Scotland, where “Charles II” had been proclaimed king, and where the young man himself landed (June 1650). The expulsion of Charles and the reduction of Scotland occupied Cromwell for more than a year: it involved the fighting of two big battles, one in Scotland (Dunbar, September 3, 1650) and one in England (Worcester, September 3rd, 1651). Scotland when reduced was forced into a union with England which lasted until the end of the republican regime. The union brought peace and prosperity to Scotland; nevertheless it was intensely unpopular in that country; it was foreign; it was oppressive; it was militarist; it was expensive; it was anti-Presbyterian; it was anti-Stuart.

Scarcely was the Scottish war concluded when the Commonwealth Government found itself involved in a conflict with the Dutch Republic. It seems at first sight most amazing that of all the Continental powers the United Netherlands should have been the one with which the Puritan militarists clashed. For the two Republics had many interests in common. Both were antimonarchic; the very year after the English had executed Charles I, the Dutch had defeated an attempted *coup d'etat* on the part of Charles's son-in-law, William II of Orange, and had passed an Act excluding the House of Orange from

the stadholdership. Both the republics, too, were Protestant and dominantly Calvinistic. Both, moreover were menaced by the hostility of France, Spain, and the Papacy. So much, indeed, had they in common that on both sides of the North Sea there were prominent persons who advocated not only an alliance but even an organic union, and negotiations were actually opened up on the matter (1649 and again 1651). The negotiations, however, came to nothing; they led, indeed, to outrage and insult on the part of the Dutch mob. For similar as were the political and religious principles of two peoples, in the sphere of commerce, colonisation, and command of the sea their interests clashed irrevocably. The Dutch were the embittered rivals of the English in the carrying trade; they met and contended as enemies in both the East and the west Indies: they refused to recognise one another's claims in the North Sea, the English Channel and the more distant Oceans. The Dutch, moreover, welcomed and protected fugitive English royalists, allowing them to plot and to organise expeditions for the restoration of the Stuarts. Hence, negotiations having broken down, the English Commonwealth Government threw down the gage of battle to the Dutch by passing a stringent Navigation ordinance, ruinous to the Dutch carrying trade, in 1651 and by ordering the English admirals to enforce their claims to sovereignty in the Narrow Seas. So war broke out in 1652 and continued until 1654. It was a fiercely contested conflict marked by five terrific naval battles, of which the English, under Blake and Monk, won four. In the end the superior resources of the English prevailed, and the Dutch (who had lost 1500 merchant vessels) had to acknowledge defeat. This deplorable war illustrates better than any other event the fact that the main determinant of international politics had ceased to be religion, or even form of government but had become economic.

Another illustration of the same cardinal fact was given in 1657 when Mazarin in his struggle with the

Spanish Hapsburgs sought and obtained the alliance of Cromwell, who had been established as "Protector" at the head of the Commonwealth Government in 1653. The alliance was speedily effective. On April 20th, 1657 Admiral Blake, in an action of extraordinary dash and daring, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Santa Cruz, Teneriffe. Next year, six thousand of Cromwell's veteran "Ironsides" joined the French in the Low Countries, helped to gain the battle of the Dunes, and received as their reward the valuable harbour of Dunkirk. Cromwell was also able to use his influence with Mazarin to bring pressure upon the Duke of Savoy to stop a persecution of the schismatic Vaudois which he had commenced.

Brilliantly successful abroad, however, the Commonwealth Government failed and collapsed at home. The Puritan regime, in spite of its many virtues, was loathed by nine-tenths of the nation. It had broken too completely with the past. It was a military tyranny of religious fanatics hated by all who loved the monarchy. The Parliamentary constitution, the established church, the local government of the justices of the peace, the old village sports, the amusements of towns, the festivities of May Day and Christmas, the joys of insobriety. In 1653 attempts at parliamentary administration had given place to the veiled dictatorship of the "Protector". In 1655 martial law had superseded civil administration: the country had been divided up into a dozen military districts, each under a major-general. The expenses of the army and the navy of the Commonwealth were very heavy: Cromwell required about three times as much revenue as Charles I had demanded. Thus the nation groaned under the exactions and extortions of the soldiers.

So long as Oliver Cromwell lived no revolt or resistance was possible. His invincible army and his victorious navy gave him absolute power. When, however, he died on September 3rd, 1658, circumstances rapidly changed. There was no-one to take his place. His son Richard,

no soldier and no saint was a hopeless failure as Protector ; he was happy to be able to resign after eight months of misery (May 1659). A year of anarchy followed, into the details of which we need not descend. Enough for our purpose to note that it was ended in April 1660 by the calling of a "Convention", and the restoration of Charles II (May 1660).

THE STUART RESTORATION

The restoration of Charles II was welcomed with profound relief by the immense majority of the people of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. It delivered them from a dictatorship that had degenerated into an aggressive and gloomy despotism. The country went wild with joy not merely at the return of the king but still more at the revival of the old national life which he symbolised. All the Puritan institutions were swept away, and it appeared as though all traces of the Commonwealth regime were wholly obliterated. Yet such was not the case. For if its positive results were effaced, that was not so with its negative consequences. That is to say, the evil institutions and the constitutional abuses that had caused the rebellion against Charles I were not reintroduced. The Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, the ship-money, the impositions and monopolies, the feudal incidents, the arbitrary imprisonments—these were gone for ever. Charles II during his twenty years of exile and wandering had learned lessons of caution and restraint that he never forgot. Moreover, kings all over the world have been startled out of their dreams of limitless autocracy, and had been taught that an ultimate sovereignty superior to their own resided in the people.

The change from republic to monarchy in 1660, caused singularly little alteration in English foreign policy. One would have supposed that gratitude to the Dutch for the home they had afforded Charles during the later part of his

exile, and for the help they had given him towards his restoration, would have led to a repeal of the obnoxious Navigation Ordinance of 1651, and to a general improvement in Anglo-Dutch relations. It did not, however, do so. On the contrary, a Navigation Act of 1660 confirmed and extended the restrictions of the Commonwealth measure. Soon, moreover, English merchants, supported by royal charters, were invading Dutch preserves in the East Indies, Africa, and the West Indies. English fleets, too, raided the Dutch West African ports (1663), and next year crossed the Atlantic and Italy, took possession of the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam which was re-named "New York" in honour of James, Duke of York, the king's brother, lord high admiral of England. The Dutch, mindful of their disasters in the war of 1652-54, stood these outrages as long as they could ; but in 1665 they found them intolerable and went to war again. This second Dutch war, which also lasted two years, was more evenly contested than the first. A crushing victory gained by the English fleet off the mouth of the Thames (July 25th, 1666) was balanced by a destructive raid made by the Dutch into the Medway in July 1667 when they burned seven of the finest English warships at Chatham, and destroyed the naval stores at Sheerness. Fear of an imminent invasion of the Spanish Netherlands by France caused the compromise Peace of Breda to be concluded between the two maritime powers in July 1667 ; the English relaxed the Navigation Laws ; the Dutch surrendered their claim to "New York".

The Peace of Breda lasted for only five years. During that interval Louis XIV of France won over Charles II by the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) to join him in an attack on Holland. In 1672, with infinite treachery, without any just cause, and without any declaration of war, Charles ordered his navy to seize the Dutch merchant fleet on its way from Smyrna to Amsterdam. This foul act of piracy failed, and, in the war that followed, the English fleet suffered four well-merited defeats. In 1674 Parliament,

which had disapproved of Charles's evil proceedings, compelled the beaten flag to withdraw by means of the Treaty of London. Three years later Parliament, increasingly alarmed at the aggressions of Louis XIV, constrained the unwilling king to conclude an Anglo-Dutch alliance, which was cemented by the fateful marriage of Louis's arch-enemy, William III of Orange, to Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York. Louis XIV was furiously angry.

The relation between England and France—or, more precisely between Charles II and Louis XIV—is the mystery of iniquity of this period. Co-operation between England and France was, of course, a tradition handed on from Elizabethan times by Cromwell and Mazarin: the English Puritan and the French Cardinal had openly combined to reduce the power of Spain. The alliance of Charles II and Louis XIV, secret and sinister, had other objects which neither dared avow. It was, indeed, in part directed against Spain: in 1640 Portugal had thrown off her dependence upon Spain, and had been actively supported by both Richelieu and Mazarin; in 1662 Charles, in return for the cession of Bombay and Tangiers, together with a donation of £500,000, married the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, and threw England's naval and military power into the anti-Spanish side. Spain, however, in 1662 had ceased to be terrible. Louis XIV, indeed, was already beginning to consider how he might carve up the decadent Spanish monarchy and appropriate its most delectable members. His more prominent purpose at this stage of his reign was the destruction of the Dutch Republic, and, as we have just seen, he won over Charles as an accomplice in this nefarious design in 1670. Charles, on his side, had two great purposes which Louis was very ready to further. They were, first, to recover the royal power which his father had lost; secondly, to re-establish Roman Catholicism throughout his dominions. No fewer than six secret treaties were made between the two immortal monarchs, respecting

the carrying out of their disreputable designs.¹ The most important of these was the Treaty of Dover (1670) already mentioned. Its leading terms are typical and should be remembered. They were :—

1. Charles was to join Louis in an attack on the Dutch.
2. Louis was to pay Charles a regular £300,000 a year, so as to obviate the need of his summoning a Parliament.
3. Charles was to declare himself a Catholic as soon as he found a favourable occasion.
4. Louis, on his doing so, was to pay him a further £200,000 a year, and, if any of his subjects should rebel, to supply him with an army to suppress the rebellion.

The joint attack on the Dutch was, as already noted, duly made, and it proved to be a complete and humiliating failure. The favourable occasion for Charles to declare himself a Catholic did not occur until, laid low by an apoplectic stroke, he lay prostrate on his death-bed in February 1685. He lingered long enough to receive the viaticum from a Catholic priest, and thus brought to a close the long hypocrisy of his evil life. His crown passed to his more open and honourable brother James, who in 1670 had dared to make his public profession of conversion to the Church of Rome.

THE "GLORIOUS" REVOLUTION

James II was fifty-two years of age when he succeeded his brother as king. He had the same general aims as Charles II, namely, to re-establish the royal authority and to restore the Catholic religion. He realised, however, that as he was already past middle life, would have to act much more rapidly and vigorously than his pleasure-loving and easy-going brother had done. He summoned a

1. The dates of these secret treaties were 1667, 1670, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678.

Parliament at the beginning of his reign and demanded the repeal of the Test Acts which excluded Catholics from office. When Parliament rejected his demand, he prorogued it in anger, and never called it together again (November 1685). Perceiving that in order to achieve his purpose he would ultimately have to resort to force, he began to increase the small standing army which, under the name of "guards", Charles II had been allowed to retain. Soon the 9000 men whom he found embodied in 1685 were increased to 16,000 and were concentrated in a camp at Hounslow Heath, within reach of London. The new recruits were mainly Irish Catholics, and in Ireland itself a further 60,000 were enrolled as a reserve.

Meantime, in the name of religious toleration, he began to use his royal prerogative to "dispense" with the penalties of the "Test Acts", and so to appoint Catholics to offices in army, navy and civil service from which they were excluded by law. He even ventured in the exercise of the same "dispensing power" to intrude Catholics into offices in the Universities and the Church. Further, in virtue of a supposed "suspending power" inherent in the royal prerogative, he suspended the operation of the Acts prohibiting the public worship of dissenters from the Anglican Church, thus allowing both Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists to open their chapels. The Declarations of Indulgence (1687 and 1688) in which the king announced these suspensions of statute-law aroused strong opposition. In particular, seven Anglican bishops petitioned James against them. James foolishly chose to regard this petition as a seditious libel and ordered the arrest of the bishops (June 1688). The country was in a ferment, of excitement and, when a London jury declared the bishops to be "not guilty" an outburst of wild rejoicing took place. In the midst of the tumult came the announcement that a son and heir had been born to the king (June 10th). That announcement sealed James's fate. In order to avoid revolution and civil war the country had braced itself to endure the perversities and illegalities of the elderly despot; but it was not pre-

pared to face the prospect of a succession of Catholic autocrats. Until the birth of this son, the heir-presumptive to the crown had been James's Protestant daughter, Mary, wife of William III of Orange. She was now superseded by the infant prince, commonly known in history as the "Pretender".

The leading men of both political parties, Whigs and Tories, met secretly to consider the new situation. They decided to invite William of Orange to come over to England in force in order to vindicate his wife's claim, to safeguard the English constitution, and to defend the Protestant cause. The difficulties in the way of William's acceptance of the invitation seemed at the time insuperably great. In a manner, however, that seemed little short of miraculous they were removed by the folly of James himself, or by the miscalculations of Louis XIV. Hence on November 5th, 1688 William was able to land unopposed at Torbay in Devonshire. His progress to London was a triumphal procession. James's courage completely failed him; he turned tail and fled across the Channel to France (December 23rd), where Louis XIV gave him a generous but contemptuous reception.

The flight of the king raised constitutional problems of great magnitude. A convention was called to consider the terms of a settlement. There were four main proposals:—(1) the High Tories, strong upholders of the doctrine of divine right contended that James must be recalled on such conditions as he should see fit to offer; (2) the Low Tories, who wished to subordinate principle to expediency, suggested that James should be left with the title of king, but should be excluded from the country, while William should act as his regent; (3) the Constitutionists argued that James's flight should be regarded as equivalent to abdication, and that Mary should be recognised as his heir. None of these proposals was agreeable to William. Hence finally the whig view prevailed. The Convention declared that James had broken the original covenant between king and people, that he had violated the "fundamen-

tal laws" of the constitution, and that, therefore, the throne was vacant. Then, having declared the throne to be vacant, they offered it to William and Mary jointly, on conditions laid down in an important Declaration of Right. William and Mary accepted it on these conditions in February 1689.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the significance of this "glorious revolution" in English history. The six-weeks' vacancy of the throne, followed by the election of William and Mary, swept away for ever the superstitious figment of hereditary divine right. Other consequences of the revolution were the establishment of the protestant ascendancy and the final frustration of the hope of a Catholic restoration ; the development of Parliamentary government and the growth of the Cabinet executive. A new period of foreign policy also was inaugurated ; for Louis XIV refused to recognise the change of dynasty and began a series of wars which continued, with intervals, for a century and a quarter. This persistent and embittered Anglo-French duel, moreover, had a profound effect upon the development of Britain's colonial empire. During its course the old empire—i.e, the American group of colonies—was lost ; but a new empire was established mainly out of territories owned or claimed by France.

It took three years for the government of William and Mary to establish itself firmly in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. England accepted it gladly and peacefully, and Parliament effected a constitutional settlement by means of a series of Acts, of which the Mutiny Act, the Toleration Act, and the Bill of Rights were the most important. Ireland, on the other hand, rejected the new regime, and had to be conquered. James himself landed in the island in March 1689 and was welcomed by the immense majority of the Irish nation. William followed him and inflicted upon him the decisive defeat of the Battle of the Boyne. James fled back to France, but the Irish resistance was not wholly overcome until 1692. Scotland was divided in allegiance. The Pro-

testant Lowlands acknowledged William and Mary ; but the Catholic Highlands remained faithful to the Stuart allegiance. The struggle was marked by the Battle of Killiecrankie (1689) and the Massacre of Glencoe (1692). Before the end of 1692, however, the Highlands were pacified and the universal acknowledgment of the new order secured.

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The Ascendancy of France

THE EMERGENCE OF LOUIS XIV

The foreign policy of Charles II and James II had been largely determined for them by Louis XIV of France, whose reign extended over the enormous period of seventy-two years (1643-1715). Charles II had been definitely the pensioner of the French king, who paid him large sums of money in order to render him independent of Parliament, and so to enable him, on the one hand, to foster autocracy and Catholicism at home, and, on the other hand, to place his fleet and his army at the disposal of the French for use against the Dutch and the Spaniards. James II, although compelled by reason of his quarrel with Parliament, to accept French subsidies, was less subservient to French domination than his brother had been. His struggle for independence, however, merely involved both himself and Louis in disaster. For when in 1688 Louis offered him protection against the menace of William of Orange, he replied ungraciously and mistakenly that he was quite able to defend himself, as a consequence of which rebuff Louis left him to his fate—a fate wherein Louis himself was ultimately involved. For William of Orange who became king of England in

1689 had one supreme purpose in life, and that was to curb the power of Louis XIV and put a stop to the aggressions which he was constantly making upon his neighbours, Dutch, German and Spanish. Even as Prince of Orange, William had been formidable; as king of England also he became an opponent too powerful to be subdued.

Before, however, William III came upon the scene to organise European resistance to French aggression, Louis XIV had a long run of spectacular success. He had made himself, without any question of rivalry, the brilliant centre *le Roi Soleil*—of the European system. A king from the age of five, brought up actually upon a throne, he played the part of an absolute monarch to perfection. When in 1661 he took over the control of affairs he displayed an exemplary diligence in the conduct of the business of state. He worked long hours at details of administration and made himself master of every department of government. His agents in every European capital conveyed his wishes to foreign rulers and enforced his will. His armies, maintained a high level in numbers and efficiency, and commanded by officers of the capacity of Condé and Turenne, Luxemburg and Vendôme, they were victorious on every battlefield from 1643 to 1704. The salons of his capital were crowded with men who stood above all rivals in the spheres of literature, art, and science. His brilliant court set the standard of fashion and of manners for the whole Western World. In all, the personal ascendancy of the king was uncontested. Men paid him tributes of submission and adulation that caused him to regard himself as more than mortal.

Not, however, without a sharp struggle did Louis XIV establish that ascendancy which for more than half a century he retained. Mazarin's death on March 9th, 1661 removed the masterly hand that had guided French policy for eighteen years. That the young king, then aged twenty-three, would assume the helm of State was not at all expected. He had been content to remain obedient in the background while the astute cardinal had determined his acts

and his utterances, not excepting even his marriage.¹ It was generally supposed that some other minister would step into Mazarin's place and control French policy; and the person who first aspired to play the part of "mayor of the palace" was Nicolas Fouquet, Superintendent of Finance.

Fouquet had been a faithful and assiduous follower of Mazarin. Having supported him during the troubles caused by the Fronde, and having managed his affairs efficiently, he was rewarded on the return of peace and security by being taken into the service of the State. He showed extraordinary skill in raising money and in keeping the king's treasury supplied; but at the same time he looked after his own interests and accumulated a vast fortune by unscrupulous means. He ceased indeed to make any distinction between his private accounts and the public budget. He loved ostentation and display; on his estate at Vaux-le-vicomte he built a palace which put the royal residences at Fontainebleau and Saint-Germain into the shade. In 1661 he entertained the king at Vaux with a magnificence which he meant to be impressive and decisive. Its effect, however, was the opposite of what he had intended. Louis was irritated and alarmed; here was a dangerous rival, he felt, not an obedient minister. Advised by the cautious Colbert, in September 1661 he ordered Fouquet's arrest, and demanded a statement of his accounts. The result was to Fouquet fatal. Enormous defalcations were revealed: the too-ambitious minister was removed from office and sent to spend the whole remainder of his days in the fortress-prison of Pignerolo.

Fouquet had made the great mistake of not taking the young king seriously. He thought that he could dazzle him, control him even fool him. Louis showed him emphatically the error of his judgment, teaching him a lesson which his

1. Mazarin had refused to allow Louis to marry his own niece, Maria Mancini, with whom the young king had fallen violently in love, he had compelled him, for political reasons, to marry Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain,

fellow ministers were not slow to apprehend. The new king made it abundantly clear that he intended to ruin as well as reign, and that the ministers he desired were not independent potentates, but subservient agents of his will. He found plenty of men ready to play such parts as he assigned to them ; but as the reign went on their, quality steadily declined until when Louis died, he bequeathed to his successor a service of third-rate mediocrities.

After the fall of Fouquet in 1661 the lines of Louis's policy soon displayed themselves. At home he was determined to maintain and extend the royal power ; to complete the centralisation of the government ; to suppress the feudal nobility ; to dominate the Gallican Church ; to keep the towns in subjection, to eradicate such religious dissenters as Huguenots or Jansenists ; to identify the State with himself. Abroad he perpetuated the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, making it his aim to extend the frontiers of France to the "natural" limits of Roman Gaul, namely, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees ; to weaken and despoil the Hapsburgs both Austrian and Spanish ; to destroy the Dutch Republic ; to establish an indisputable French hegemony in Europe. To accomplish these gigantic purposes he had at his command a large and well-equipped army led by generals of proved efficiency ; a body of skilled diplomats resident at all the European courts ; a hierarchy of obedient bishops ; a wealthy middle class ; a submissive and loyal proletariat. In 1661 the prospects of France seemed bright.

THE PERIOD OF COLBERT'S CONTROL

During the first eleven years of Louis's personal rule (1661-72) the main adviser of the king was the cautious and conciliatory Colbert. This man was in every way a contrast to the flamboyant Fouquet, towards whose fall he had largely contributed. Jean-Baptiste Colbert was the son of a tradesman of Reims. His mother, however, was

related to a minister, and so was able to secure her son's appointment, at the age of twenty, to a modest post in the War Office. His diligence and efficiency attracted the attention of Mazarin and he took him into his service (1651). Once again he won his way by hard work and sterling ability, so that Mazarin in his will left him valuable bequests coupled with a recommendation to Louis XIV in the words: "I beg the king to make use of his services, as he is very faithful." Louis accepted the advice and made Colbert his controller-general of finance. The new minister took care to avoid the errors that had brought ruin upon Fouquet: he remained modest in appearance and behaviour, unostentatious in mode of life, content to labour in obscurity and allow others—the king in particular—to take the credit of his achievements.

Colbert ranks as the greatest of French financiers, standing even above the other eminent three, Sully, Turgot and Necker. He found chaos in the treasury, and he soon reduced it to order. Modes of assessing and collecting taxes were reformed, so that far more of the money extorted from the people actually reached the government. Loans raised at extravagant rates of interest were either reduced or repaid. Fraudulent collectors were punished and removed. A thorough purge of the whole fiscal system was effected. Without any additions to the burdens of the nation the royal revenue was increased by no less than 150 per cent. Colbert, too, was interested, as neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had been, in industry and commerce. He carried through a great programme of what may be called "tariff reform". He was a convinced protectionist, and he attempted to foster French manufactures by high import duties. He prohibited, moreover, the export of corn, so as to keep the cost of living down, and he forbade the emigration of French artisans. To facilitate internal commerce he abolished or reduced provincial customs-barriers and local dues; he improved road-communications, and cut canals. He also endeavoured to extend trade between France and her overseas colonies.

This colonial policy necessitated attention to both the mercantile marine and the royal navy, and so Colbert stands out as one of the few French statesmen who have realised the vital importance of sea-power. He diligently fostered the fleets, engaged in commerce ; he virtually created the navy of the king. The ships that he built were the finest at that time in existence ; in perfection of construction they far surpassed the vessels of both the English and the Dutch. Unfortunately, however, the crews which had to be raised by "inscription" or even by the press-gang, lacked the sea-sense of the seamen of the two maritime nations. The king, moreover, could never be persuaded to take much interest in maritime affairs.

The weakness of Colbert's position, in fact, was that he was entirely dependent on the king. And the king—extravagant, ambitious, careless of the real welfare of the people, profoundly ignorant of all matters of moment—was bent on schemes that were incompatible with Colbert's masterly but unexciting programme of financial reform, rigid economy, industrial and commercial expansion, colonial development and maritime reconstruction. Louis, in spite of his marriage to the Spanish infanta, was bent on the humiliation and spoliation of Spain. The marriage, indeed, had been forced upon Philip IV, and endured but ; Louis himself, mainly in order that it might supply the French king with a basis for claims upon the Spanish possessions. For Philip's only son and heir was a physical degenerate and semi-imbecile, not expected to live many years or to have any children. Hence from the very time of Louis's marriage to Maria Theresa (1660) the problem of the Spanish succession engrossed the attention of Louis and his ministers.

The problem became acute in 1665 when Philip IV died and the defective Charles II became lord of Spain and the Indies, Naples and Milan, Franche-Comte and the Netherlands. The problem, indeed, was a twofold one. First, in the event of Charles's childless death, who should succeed to the Spanish monarchy ? Secondly, had Charles himself

or his half-sister Maria Theresa the better claim to the Netherlands? (1) As to the monarchy, the rivals at this date were Louis XIV, husband of Maria Theresa, and the emperor Leopold I, husband of Margaret Theresa full sister of Charles. In order to avoid a probable war, on January 19, 1668 Louis and Leopold concluded a secret Partition Treaty for the division of the Spanish empire between the two of them. (2) As to the Netherlands, the French lawyers discovered a Flemish "Law of Devolution" under which children of a man's first wife, took precedence over those of his second wife. Hence Louis claimed that his wife, Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV's first wife Elizabeth of France, had an immediate right to the Netherlands superior to that of Charles II who was the son of Philip's second wife, Maria of Austria. The claim, of course, was fantastic, but it sufficed as a pretext for war. So in 1667 Louis launched his armies into the Spanish Netherlands under the brilliant Turenne. In a few weeks he had mopped up the leading fortresses—Charleroi, Tournay, Lille, etc.—and the conquest of the whole region seemed assured. The Dutch, however, took alarm at the approach of the French to their borders. They succeeded, too, in exciting the apprehensions of the English who dreaded to see Antwerp as a French naval base and commercial centre. Finally they persuaded or bribed Sweden to join in forming a Triple Alliance, to check French aggression (January 23rd, 1668). The news of this Triple Alliance, which followed close upon the conclusion of the secret treaty with the emperor, caused Louis to abandon his attempt to conquer the Low Countries. He made the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with Spain (May 1668) under which he withdrew from all his conquests excepting twelve barrier fortresses which strengthened his own frontiers considerably and also gave him useful bases for future invasions of the Netherlands.

Although Louis's evacuation of the Spanish Netherlands in 1668 was probably due rather to the Partition Treaty than to the Triple Alliance, Louis was filled with

fury against the Dutch for their impudence in what he called "plotting" against him. He resolved to punish them for their insolence. Hence his main business during the next four years was to isolate them diplomatically. England was won over by the scandalous secret Treaty of Dover (1670). With Sweden, too, an agreement was reached the same year. Further treaties were concluded with the emperor and many other German princes. By 1672 all was ready for the decisive blow.

THE DOMINANCE OF LOUVOIS

Although Colbert remained in office until his death in 1683, after 1672 his influence waned, and he was compelled to see the king embark on courses at home and abroad of which he strongly disapproved, courses too the pursuit of which were fatal to his policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform. After 1672, indeed, the influence of Colbert was superseded by that of Francois Michel le Tellier, Marquis of Louvois, minister of war, who has been well called "the evil genius of Louis XIV." This man, violent, unscrupulous, cruel, brought out all that was worst in the character of the king; fostered his ambitions, flattered his pride, encouraged his aggressions, fed his extravagances, put him and the kingdom well on the road to ruin. As a war minister, in truth, he was highly efficient. He was a strong disciplinarian, an excellent organiser of armies, a capable strategist, a master of craft and guile, a clever deviser of excuses for fighting. For the cost of campaigns he had no concern: he would wage war; Colbert must pay for it.

By 1672 all was ready for the attack on the Dutch. French diplomacy had isolated them: they were without allies. They were, moreover, wholly unprepared for invasion by land: their army was small and ill-equipped; their fortresses in poor condition and unready to repel assaults. On sea they were much better qualified to defend themselves, and it was on the sea that the war was begun. In the middle of March, under French instructions, the English

navy attacked the Dutch merchant fleet as it made its way up the Channel from the Levant. It was a base and treacherous attack, made without any declaration of war, upon a nation with whom England was still bound by the terms of the Triple Alliance. The attack, too, as it turned out, was not only a crime, it was also a failure. The Dutch beat off the assailants with but small loss to themselves. Charles followed up this disgraceful fiasco with a formal declaration of war on March 17th ; and Louis did the same on April 6th.

The French invasion of Holland began in May and it looked likely to terminate in a complete conquest within a couple of months. With the king himself in nominal command, but with the great captains Conde and Turenne really directing operations, a force of 120,000 men set out from Charleroi for Amsterdam. By brilliant strategy the French generals outmanoeuvred the Dutch and by the middle of June were within reach of the capital. The city was saved partly by the hesitation of Louis, who had no military capacity and always shrank from battle and partly by the resolution of the Dutch who, to stop the French advance, cut the dykes and laid the whole country under water. It was a desperate resort ; but it succeeded in driving the invaders back. It was followed by a domestic revolution in which the republican party was overthrown and supreme power placed in the hands of William of Orange.

The situation, of course, was still most critical and Louis was asked on what terms he would make peace. In his arrogance and confidence he said that the Dutch, if they desired peace, must (1) acknowledge his suzerainty ; (2) endow Catholicism ; (3) repeal all commercial laws unfavourable to France ; and (4) pay him an indemnity of 24 million livres. Rather than accept these terms, which were equivalent to abject surrender, the Dutch determined to fight on. And they were encouraged to do so by the knowledge that Europe was rallying to their side. Fear of French designs brought to their aid [(1) the emperor Leopold and the elector of Brandenburg (October 1672) : (2)

the King of Spain and the duke of Lorraine (1673) ; (3) the King of Denmark and the elector palatine (1674). In 1674, too, the English parliament compelled the reprobate and defeated Charles II to make peace with the Dutch. The war thus spread from the Low Countries to North and South Germany. The French were driven to act on the defensive. The brilliant talents of Conde, Turenne, and Luxemburg, enabled them still to win victories in the field ; but the mass of their enemies prevented them from gaining any permanent advantages from their successes. By 1678 the French were exhausted, and were glad to make a peace on terms remarkably favourable to the Dutch. By the Treaties of Nimwegen (July-September 1678) they secured the removal of French restriction on their trade ; their territory remained intact. The only serious loser was Spain which had to surrender Franche Comte to the French. Louis had totally failed either to crush the Dutch, or to establish the hegemony that he desired. He had also raised up in William of Orange an implacable enemy who watched every movement of his with sleepless suspicion.

Ten years of uneasy peace followed the conclusion of the Treaties of Nimwegen. They were marked by five important events. First, there was an embittered quarrel between Louis and the Papacy concerning the relations between Church and State in France : Louis, supported by his Gallican bishops, maintained that in temporal matters he was not subject to papal control, and that even in spiritual matters the pope was subject to the authority of councils, and also to the customs of the Gallican Church. These views were embodied in the famous *Four Resolutions of St. Germain* (1682). The quarrel was not composed until 1693 when the king withdrew the Resolutions in return for various papal concessions. Secondly, while this quarrel was at its height Louis committed the greatest crime and blunder of his reign. He revoked the Edict of Nantes (1685) and undertook the cruel and foolish task of suppressing the Huguenots : He was determined to secure national unity and to enforce Catholic orthodoxy. He began the

process in 1681 by excluding Huguenotes from office ; in 1683 he closed their churches and schools ; in 1684 he subjected them to "dragonades" at the hand of soldiers ; finally he announced the revocation of the Edict of 1598 under which they enjoyed a limited freedom. The consequence was a vast exodus to Protestant countries of the very elect of the French artisans, merchants, and professional men. Thirdly, by means of so-called *Chambers of Reunion* instituted in 1679, Louis began to examine and extend his claims to territories assigned to France under the treaties of Westphalia, Aix-La-Chapelle, and Nimwegen. As a result of the decisions of these highly-prejudiced courts he seized a number of places that did not belong to him, in particular Strasburg (1681) and Luxemburg (1684). Europe once more took alarm. Hence, fourthly, William of Orange assumed the lead in building up a coalition to put a stop to further French aggression. It was a laborious process, but gradually with infinite skill and patience he formed the League of Augsburg. By 1686 the League included the emperor, the North German princes, the kings of Spain and Sweden. In 1687 it was joined by Bavaria and various Italian powers, while the pope, Innocent XI, gave it his blessing. In 1688 everything was ready for war. Louis XIV, on his side, was preparing for combat, and was looking for aid from James II of England when, fifth and last, the "Glorious Revolution" occurred in England, upsetting all his plans.

THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

The English revolution of 1688 was almost equally embarrassing to William of Orange and to Louis XIV. Louis, on his side, lost his only ally, and saw all his military and naval plans upset. As for William, he was threatened by the dissolution of the League of Augsburg, which for three years he had been painfully constructing. For the League was directed against Louis and its members

might well object to the diversion of the forces of its leader against James. Moreover, the English revolution was obviously the rebellion of a Protestant people against a Catholic king, and it could hardly be expected that the emperor, the king of Spain, and the elector of Bavaria, would take part in an anti-papal expedition. William managed with masterly diplomacy to keep the League together by stressing the constitutional rather than the religious aspect of his enterprise; also by showing the importance of breaking the Anglo-French alliance and so securing the command of the sea. Louis, moreover, himself assisted him by stirring up new quarrels with the pope respecting the privileges of the French embassy in Rome; and concerning an election to the archbishopric of Cologne. The pope, therefore, continued to support the League, and so relieved its Catholic members of serious embarrassment: they were able to regard Louis XIV not as a defender of Catholicism, but as an enemy of the Papacy.

Besides his difficulties with the League, William had to face awkward problems both in the Netherlands and in England. In the Netherlands, before he could accept the English invitation and lead an expedition overseas, he had to secure the consent of the States-General, in which the opposition to acceptance, led by Amsterdam, was very strong. Once again, Louis, with infatuated folly, broke down the opposition, partly by intensifying his persecution of the Huguenots, and partly by imposing new prohibitive duties upon Dutch exports. So William received unanimously the necessary authorisation. There remained, however, the English problem: should he enter England with or without a large Dutch army? To go without an army would be to court disaster; to go at the head of a large Dutch force and fight a second battle of Hastings against an English army would infallibly rouse the national spirit and wreck his designs. The dilemma was an awkward one. James resolved it by bringing over from Ireland

the hated and dreaded Catholic soldiery raised there for him by Tyrconnel.

One more difficulty finally presented itself. Louis massed his armies on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and threatened to invade them the moment that William set sail for England. He Publicly announced that he took the King of England under his protection. The announcement filled the doomed James with mistimed indignation : he repudiated French protection; he was not a petty elector of Cologne that he should need to be defended by a foreign potentate ; he could look after himself, Louis, intensely annoyed, took him at his word, moved his troops from the neighbourhood of the Low Countries, and launched them against the Palatinate. This move has been described as the "greatest political error of his reign" and long controversies have been waged as to why he committed it. Partly, no doubt, he was actuated by irritation as James's ungrateful and ungracious refusal of his assistance, but probably he had more statesmanlike reason. He may well have thought that it would be a good thing to get William out of Europe: In England he would most likely meet with vigorous opposition, a long civil war might result ; and he might even be defeated and destroyed. At any rate, Louis cleared the way for William's expedition and on November 5th, 1688 the Dutch forces landed at Torbay. Before the end of the year James was a fugitive in France ; in February 1689 William and his wife Mary were joint sovereigns of England. Louis was made to realise the magnitude of his mistake.

Thus began the War of the League of Augsburg, which is sometimes called the War of the English Succession, since its main issue became whether or not James II should be restored to the throne whence he had fled. The struggle lasted eight years (1689-1697). Its main theatres were four in number, namely, the British Isles and the British Seas, the Low Countries, the Rhineland, Savoy. (1) As to the war in and around Britain, we have already noted how James II, supported by

French troops, landed in Ireland in March 1689, how almost the whole country passed under his control, and how ultimately he was defeated and driven into a second ignominious flight by William III himself in the Battle of the Boyne (July 1st. 1690). Meantime the situation in England had become exceedingly critical ; for the very day before the Battle of the Boyne an Anglo-Dutch fleet under Torrington was heavily defeated by a superior French fleet under Tourville and England apparently lay open to invasion. The French, however, inexplicably failed to seize their opportunity, and they lost their temporary command of the sea when in May 1692 Tourville was decisively beaten by Russell off Cape-la-Hogue. From that date England felt secure from invasion. (2) In the Low Countries severe fighting was going on, the French under the brilliant but erratic Duke of Luxemburg attempting to invade Holland ; the allies under the Prince of Waldeck and later William III himself struggling to expel the French from Belgium. In the field the French proved to be invincible : they gained in succession the battles of Fleurus (1690), Steinkirk (1692) and Landen (1693). They captured, too, the great fortresses of Mons (1691) and Namur (1692). William, however, recovered Namur in 1695—an event which marked the definite decline of the French power. (3) In the Rhineland the French armies made many devastating raids, particularly in the Palatinate where Heidelberg and many other towns were wantonly destroyed. (4) Savoy, too, suffered severely. Its duke, Victor Amadeus, was in a difficult situation. His territories lay between the French in Dauphine and the Spainards in Milan. At first he threw in his lot with the allies (1690) and consequently found his duchy overrun by French armies who defeated his forces at Staffarda and captured most of his fortresses. In 1696 he changed sides and was rewarded by Louis XIV not only by the restoration of his lands, but also by the marriage of Louis's eldest grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, prospective heir to the French throne to his

daughter. In thus winning over Savoy to his side Louis had his eye on the impending struggle for the Spanish succession. The Alpine passes controlled by Savoy were indispensable for French campaigns in Italy.

By 1696, indeed, the Spanish succession problem overshadowed all others in the mind of the French king. He ardently desired to be free from all other occupations so as to be able to devote all his energies to its satisfactory solution. His country, too, was utterly exhausted by the strain of the numerous theatres of war : it urgently needed peace. Louis, therefore, opened up negotiations with the allies at Ryswick, near the Hague, where William had a chateau. He showed himself willing to make remarkable concessions and surrenders. Hence in 1697 the Peace of Ryswick terminated the war. The main terms were :—

1. Louis recognised William as King of England, and promised to withdraw all support of the claims of James II.
2. He agreed to restore all his conquests, and also all the spoils of his "reunion" seizures except Strasburg and Landau.
3. He consented to the occupation of the chief fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands by Dutch garrisons.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION PROBLEM

The Peace of Ryswick was rightly regarded as a severe set-back for the French king. His ambitious design of conquests from the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the Germans, had all been frustrated. He had, too, completely failed in his efforts to restore his protegee James II, to the English throne. Exhausted as France was by her excessive exertions, Louis would not have agreed to terms so humiliating had he not been impelled by the imperative need to come to an understanding with William and, if possible, with the

emperor, respecting a solution of the problem of the Spanish Succession.

Ever since the death of Philip IV in 1665 that problem had been present in his mind. For, as we have observed, Philip's son and successor, Charles II, was a physical and mental degenerate incapable either of ruling his empire or of begetting a son. At that date the rival claimants for the succession were Louis XIV himself (husband of Charles's elder half-sister, Maria Theresa) and the Emperor Leopold (husband of Charles's younger sister, Margaret Theresa). As we have already noted, these rivals, expecting Charles's early demise and anxious to avoid war, made a secret Partition Treaty (1668) according to which Leopold was to take the Spanish monarchy as a whole, but to compensate Louis by letting him have the Netherlands, Franche Comte, Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and a few overseas odds and ends.

This treaty remained inoperative; for Charles did not die so soon as had been expected, and it was, of course, abrogated when war broke out between the two signatories in 1673. When, a quarter of a century later, the matter once came up again for consideration and settlement, circumstances had radically changed. On the one hand, it was now quite certain that Charles's feeble life was flickering to its close. On the other hand; there were now three claimants to be taken into account.

- (1) The Dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa, had the best hereditary claim; but his claim was barred by a formal renunciation made by his mother at the time of her marriage to Louis XIV. As, however, that renunciation had been made conditional upon the payment of a large dowry, which never had been paid, Louis contended that it remained inoperative.
- (2) The Electoral Prince of Bavaria (born 1692) stood next in hereditary right. He inherited the claim of his grandmother, Margaret Theresa; but

here again a renunciation had to be taken into account. It was a private and informal one exacted by the Emperor on the marriage of his daughter to Maximilian of Bavaria. Its validity was doubtful.

- (3) The Emperor Leopold himself remained the third claimant in order of priority. He claimed as a grandson of Philip III, a very weak claim, but it was barred by no renunciation.

Hereditary right, however, was by no means the only consideration to be taken into account in determining the disposition of the vast Spanish empire. Political considerations also had to be weighed, and among these the question of the maintenance of the balance of power was of primary importance. Louis XIV was determined that his enemy, the emperor, should not reunite the dominions of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, nor was he placated when Leopold professed his willingness to transfer his claim to his second son, the Archduke Charles. The emperor, on his side, was not prepared to see the Spanish monarchy united to the French in the person of the Dauphin, heir-apparent to Louis XIV; nor was he at all conciliated by the Dauphin's readiness to surrender his rights to his own second son, Philip of Anjou. William of Orange, too, as leader of the opposition to Louis XIV in Europe, was firmly resolved to prevent the union of France and Spain in Bourbon hands.

As soon as the Peace of Ryswick had rendered possible the renewal of normal diplomatic relations Louis opened up two secret and independent sets of negotiations respecting the succession problem. The first, it was opened up in Madrid, whether he sent an able ambassador, the Marquis d'Harcourt in 1698. Harcourt found that the supreme desire of the Spaniards was to keep the monarchy intact and to avoid partition. An Austrian faction was ascendant in the capital, led by Charles's queen, Maria of

Neuburg, sister-in-law of the emperor. It was labouring to secure public recognition of the Archduke Charles as heir-presumptive. Harcourt, with great skill, set himself to discredit or defeat this faction. Assisted by Cardinal Porto Carrero, and backed by Pope Innocent XII, he convinced the Castilians that the only hope of preventing partition lay in bequeathing the monarchy to a French prince, and so securing the support of Louis XIV. The conflict between the Austrian and French factions, waged with consummate craft and extreme ferocity, continued undecided to within a few weeks of the death of the unhappy king, who stood in helpless indecision in the centre of the strife.

The second set of very different negotiations was initiated by Louis in Paris, where in March 1698 the French foreign minister, the Marquis de Torcy, approached the English ambassador, sounding him as to the views of William III respecting the Spanish succession. The sequel to this opening was the sending of Marshall Tallard to London to discuss the question with the English king in person. The only solution contemplated, of course, was partition, the points at Hague being (1) which of the three claimants—Philip of Anjou, the electoral prince of Bavaria, the Archduke Charles—should be recognised as King of Spain; (2) what compensations should be conceded to the unsuccessful candidates. The negotiations conducted in London, without the cognisance of either the emperor or the King of Spain, were long and intricate. No fewer than fourteen schemes were brought forward and rejected by one side or the other before a final agreement was reached and embodied in the secret First Partition Treaty of October 1698. According to this treaty (a) the Spanish monarchy was to go to the electoral prince, then five years old, a harmless infant whose accession would alarm no one; (b) the Dauphin was to receive as compensation for the surrender of his own and his son's claim, Naples and Sicily, various Tuscan

ports, Finale, and Guipuscoa ; (c) the Archduke was to get Milan. If either the Spaniards or the emperor were to refuse to accept this settlement, the French, the English, and the Dutch were to combine to impose it upon them.

This First Partition Treaty remained valid for only four months ; for on February 5th 1699 the electoral prince died at the age of six. The whole problem had to be faced again, this time with only Philip of Anjou and the archduke Charles as candidates. Within eight days of the Bavarian prince Tallard was again in London to discuss the new situation with William. He found William adamant against the recognition of a Bourbon prince as king of Spain. Hence, the final and a Second Partition Treaty was concluded in March 1700. Its terms were (a) the Archduke Charles should succeed to the Spanish monarchy ; (2) the Dauphin should receive, in addition to the territories assigned to him in the first treaty, the Duchy of Milan, which it was understood he would exchange for the Duchy of Lorraine.

Although this treaty was concluded in profound secrecy, when completed it was communicated to both the King of Spain and the emperor, and it excited the most intense irritation, directed mainly against England and Holland, in both Madrid and Vienna. The diplomatic struggle being waged round the wretched Charles II was renewed with redoubled fury. The dying king was urged by both sides to make a will bequeating the undivided monarchy to one or other of the rival claimants. He yielded to the pressure. At first the Austrian party prevailed, and in June 1700 he made the archduke his heir, announcing the fact to the emperor. The French party, however, did not accept defeat. The ecclesiastics at its head brought the terrors of hell to bear upon the superstitious degenerate, and in October they secured a new will rescinding that of June and making Philip of Anjou the heir. The existence of this final will

was not made known to any one, not even the French ambassador, until after the death of Charles on November 1st 1700.

When that event occurred Louis XIV was faced by an acute dilemma : should he accept the will of Charles II, or should he adhere to the terms of the Second Partition Treaty ?



14

The end of the Hapsburgs in Spain

THE DILEMMA OF LOUIS XIV

When early in November 1700 a messenger brought to Louis XIV the news that Charles II of Spain was dead and that he had proclaimed Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, heir to the whole Spanish monarchy, the *grand monarque* was faced by as awkward a dilemma as ever confronted a conscienceless politician. In both sets of his unprincipled negotiations he had achieved success: at Madrid he had secured a will which gave to his grandson all that he could possibly ask; at London he had obtained a treaty which granted to France very substantial territorial gains. He was not, of course, under any obligation to accept the will, but he knew that if Philip of Anjou were to reject the Spanish heritage, the reversion was to go to the Archduke. On the other hand, he *was* bound in honour to observe the recently-concluded treaty; but honour weighed as little with Louis as with most other real politicians. Nevertheless, for several anxious days Louis felt, or

professed to feel, considerable hesitation. He was, indeed, compelled to make a choice between the glorification of his family and the interests of France. On the one hand, the acquisition of the Spanish monarchy would immensely enhance the prestige of the Bourbons; it might also be expected to bring to an end that antagonism between Spain and France which had persisted throughout the Seventeenth century. On the other hand, the treaty assigned to the dauphin—to be incorporated in the French kingdom whenever he should succeed his elderly father—territories which would make France the dominant power both in the Mediterranean and on the Rhine.

The dilemma was debated at a royal council held at Versailles on November 10th. Torcy in his *Memoirs* has given us a vivid summary of the arguments employed on both sides. On behalf of the treaty a minority, led by Beauvilliers, maintained (1) that good faith demanded its observance: (2) that it secured to France herself far greater advantages than the doubtful benefits of the will; and (3) that it would ensure the friendship and support of England and Holland if any opposition position should arise in either Spain or the Empire. For the acceptance of the will, however, there was an overwhelming majority which included Louis himself, the dauphin, and Torcy. They stressed (1) the wishes of Charles II; (2) the good of Spain; (3) the honour of the Bourbons. They also contended (4) that, whether will or treaty were accepted, war with the emperor was inevitable, and (5) that in such a war the support of England and Holland could not be counted on: they would probably leave France in the lurch. Hence Louis decided to accept the will, and repudiate the treaty. Emerging from the council-chamber he presented his grandson to the expectant courtiers as Philip V of Spain.

The emperor Leopold, of course, heard of these proceedings with astonishment and disgust. It was a severe shock to him to learn that Charles's will of June had been superseded and that the archduke had been deprived of his expected heritage. He at once declared war on France and

sent Prince Eugene to seize the Milanese, that ancient fief of the Empire. William III, too, was naturally intensely angry at the frustration of all his negotiations and at Louis's gross breach of faith, but he was not then able to persuade either the English or the Dutch to go to war on the matter. Neither the English Parliament nor the Dutch States General, hearing of the partition treaties for the first time, was impressed by their wisdom or propriety. They considered that on the whole it was better to have a Bourbon at Madrid than to have the French established in Naples, Sicily, and the Tuscan ports. Hence they compelled William, much against his inclinations, to acknowledge Philip as king of Spain.

In 1701 all seemed to be going well with the Bourbons. Philip V was welcomed in Madrid, and under him the French faction secured an easy ascendancy. No one of importance took up the cause of the archduke or came to the help of the emperor. The Spaniards, supported by the French, more than held their own in Milan against Prince Eugene and the imperial forces. So complete, indeed, did the Bourbon triumph appear to be that Louis lost his sense of caution, and made four colossal mistakes which once more roused the alarm of Europe, enabled William to reconstruct the Grand Alliance, and precipitated the general war of the Spanish Succession. First, in his arrogance, he refused either to grant any compensations to the emperor for his loss of the Spanish inheritance, or to make any commercial or colonial concessions to the two maritime powers. Secondly, he refused a demand that Philip, now, king of Spain, should renounce all claim to succeed also to the French throne; on the contrary by Letters Patent he expressly reserved the succession to him in case of the failure of the line of his elder brother, the dauphin. Thirdly, in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, he occupied the "barrier fortresses" of the Spanish Netherlands with French troops expelling their Dutch garrisons. This act of lawless aggression caused intense indignation and much apprehension in the Dutch Netherlands. Finally

in September 1701, when James II died in France, Louis recognised his son, commonly known as the "Pretender", as "James III", King of England. This act, whether it meant much or little, roused the English to fury. It seemed to be not only a wanton repudiation of the Treaty of Ryswick, but also an impudent attempt to interfere with the English constitution.

William III made the most of the situation. Seconded by Heinsius, grand-pensionary of Holland, he persuaded the English and the Dutch to join the emperor in resisting the Bourbon powers. Together they secured by various inducements a number of German states as members of the alliance—in particular Brandenburg, Hanover, the Palatinate, Baden. Later on (1703) Portugal was brought in. Savoy for a long time remained hesitant. Victor Amadeus was bound to the French side by the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, and Louis made the tie still stronger by arranging the marriage of a younger daughter to Philip V of Spain himself. Nevertheless, the Duke of Savoy was restless under Bourbon tutelage. Louis XIV treated Savoy as though it were a French province, and Philip V treated its duke as though he were a social inferior. Hence in 1703 Victor Amadeus yielded to the persuasions of his relative, Prince Eugene, and, lured by the prospects of increase of territory and a royal title, threw in his lot with the allies. By holding the Alpine passes against the French he materially assisted in the imperial reconquest of Milan. To face the formidable coalition the only allies of the Bourbons the electors of Bavaria and Cologne.

The professed aims of the Grand Alliance were at first very modest. They were (1) to secure a guarantee that the French and Spanish crowns should never be united; (2) to expel the French from the Low Countries, and restore the obliterated barrier; (3) to establish the emperor in possession of Milan and Mantua; (4) to gain for the two maritime powers such West Indian islands, and such commercial concessions, as they should desire.

As the war progressed these aims were expanded to include (5) the ejection of Philip V from Spain, and (6) the partition of the Spanish monarchy. Accordingly, in September 1703, the Archduke Charles was proclaimed by the grand allies King of Spain, under the title "Charles III".

William III did not live to see this event. He died on March 8th 1702, leaving his throne to his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne, and the command of his army to John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough.

THE DECLINE OF SPAIN IN THE 17th CENTURY

The Spanish monarchy for which the great conflict opened in 1702 had gravely declined in both power and wealth since the prosperous days of Philip II. The absolutist form of government which this king had established demanded the most assiduous toil on the part of the monarch. Philip II devoted his energies with extreme conscientiousness to the task of administration, but not all his efforts sufficed to fulfil his multifarious and varied duties. His slow pedantic mind was unable to keep pace with the march of events, and business in every department of State fell hopelessly into arrears. His three successors, Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II were progressively inferior to himself both in capacity and in application. Hence the whole machinery of government ceased to function, and administrative chaos resulted. Philip III was lazy and self-indulgent. He allowed control of affairs to pass into the hands of the corrupt and incompetent Duke of Lerma who used his power in the interests of himself and his family. Philip IV, the slave of priests and prostitutes, extinguished the Lerma brood, but allowed the Duke of Olivares and his friends to take their places. He himself was distinctly inferior even to Philip III in ability and energy; he let things slide. Charles II, as we have observed, was a congenital idiot whose feeble mind and will exercised

no influence whatsoever upon the course of events during the thirty-five years of his nominal rule. When he succeeded to the throne he was an infant of but four years old. His mother, Maria of Austria, acted as regent, but she was dominated by her confessor, the Jesuit Nithard, and the narrowest ecclesiasticism determined such policy as the Government displayed. As the young king grew up, one favourite after another enjoyed a short period of authority and then vanished into oblivion, expelled by his supplanter. All things fell into confusion.

As the central power decayed the Spanish empire showed signs of falling as under, the Netherlands were the first to break away. Their long-drawn struggle for freedom was virtually ended when in 1609 a twelve years truce was concluded. In 1621 the war was formally renewed; then the Spaniards were unable to do anything effective, and in the pacification that terminated the Thirty Years' war they were compelled finally to acknowledge the Dutch independence (1648). The loss to Spain of the revenues that had accrued from these rich commercial provinces was irreplaceable. Even more serious was the revolt of Portugal in 1640. For Portugal not only became a base from which enemies of Spain could attack her with deadly effect, but with Portugal went her large overseas dominions in the Indies and New World. Portugal, however, ever since her forcible annexation in 1580 had been restless under Spanish rule. Under Philip II that rule, indeed, had been mild and conciliatory; but even so, the incorporation of Portugal into the Spanish monarchy had converted both the Dutch and the English into enemies, and consequently the Portuguese colonies and trading stations, together with the Portuguese fleets, had suffered much from the hostility of the ubiquitous maritime powers. Under later Spanish rulers, however, and particularly under Philip IV's minister Olivarez, the alien government had become painfully oppressive. Heavy burdens of taxation had been imposed upon the portuguese people; their men had been impressed for foreign campaigns; their ships commandeered for

expeditions in which they had no interest ; the administration of their country placed in Spanish hands. Everything pointed to complete absorption into the lavish system and the entire suppression of national liberties. Hence in 1640 the Portuguese rebelled, finding a leader in the Duke of Braganza who assumed the royal title as John IV. The struggle for independence was long-continued, but assistance from France and from England (whose King Charles II married Catherine of Braganza) ensured ultimate success. The decisive battle was fought at Villa Viciosa in 1665, and three years later Spain by treaty recognised Portugal as once again a sovereign state (February 1668).

The example of Portugal was followed by Catalonia on the other side of Spain. The Catalans intensely resented the dominance of Castile. They protested against the presence in their midst of Castilian soldiers and civil servants : they objected to the operations of the Inquisition controlled from Madrid. Hence in 1640 they, too, rose in revolt and proclaimed their independence. They also, like the Portuguese, appealed for French help, and received it in ample measure from both Richelieu and Mazarin. They actually transferred their allegiance from Philip IV to Louis XIII, and admitted French officers. The French, however, soon became tired of them ; for they were turbulent and disobedient subjects. So their support of the Catalans fell off, and in the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) the rebels were abandoned to the mercy of the Spanish king.

There were similar but less formidable rebellions in Andalusia, Biscay, Sicily and Naples all of which were suppressed within short period. Franche Comte was overrun by the French in 1674 and was restored by Spain in the pacification of Nimwegen in 1678. By this cession the link which connected Milan with the Low Countries was severed, and the Spanish Netherlands isolated.

While the Spanish empire was thus undergoing disintegration its condition was rapidly degenerating. A fatal

blow had been struck at its agricultural and industrial prosperity by the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors. In 1609 the Moriscos, or nominally converted Moors were also driven out by the intolerant and priest-ridden Governments. The Spanish people, too indolent and too proud to work, allowed the land to fall out of cultivation and the industries to languish. Such commerce as survived passed, in spite of prohibitions, into the hands of Dutch and English carriers. For the commodities, however, which the alien seamen carried to Spanish ports the Spaniards could offer them little save the gold and silver imported from America. This came over in large quantities, but very little of it remained in Spain, and still less reached the royal treasury. It passed on to replenish the currencies of most of the States of Western Europe, leaving the Spanish kingdom sunk in the depths of poverty. The Spanish ships rotted in their harbours; the Spanish soldiers, once the finest on the Continent, remained ill-armed, unpaid, mutinous. Their great defeat at Rocrio was an exhibition to the world of a general national decay.

Only in literature and art did the greatness of Spain maintain itself during this century of decline. This was the age of the prolific play-wright Lope de Vega; of the unique satirist Cervantes by Saavedra, author of the immortal *Don Quixote*; of the great painters El Greco, Velazquez, and Murillo; and of many others only slightly less eminent. It is amazing that their genius could flourish amid such general decadence, and still more so that it was not stifled by the tyranny of an obscurantist and persecuting Church, sunk in irrational superstition.

Literature and art, however, could not save the Spanish nation. But who could tell what regeneration might be possible if in place of the decadent Hapsburgs a new and virile race of kings could be established upon the throne?

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION : FIRST PHASE

The war which was to decide who should be the monarch to undertake the revival of the Spanish kingship was formally begun by a simultaneous declaration against France made at London, Vienna, and the Hague on May 4th, 1702. The struggle was destined to last for twelve years, that is until it was terminated by the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714). It passed through two main phases: the first (1702-6) saw the overthrow of France, an overthrow so complete that Louis was compelled abjectly to seek for peace; the second phase (1706-11) following the allies' foolish actions of Louis's overtures, saw a remarkable rallying of the French nation to Louis's side and an unexpected revival of the Bourbon cause. Then came a couple of years (1711-13) marked primarily by political changes in the combatant countries and by diplomatic negotiations terminating in the treaties of peace. Throughout the conflict it was not so much the succession to the Spanish crown that was at issue, as the possession of the Spanish dominions in Italy (Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Tuscan ports) and in the Netherlands, together with the control of the commerce between Europe and the Spanish Indies.

During the first phase of the war the main theatres of operations were five in number, namely, the sea, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain.

(1) **The Sea.** Almost from the first the two maritime power secured complete command of the sea. This was a vital factor in their ultimate victory. They were able to send expeditions and land troops wherever they desired. They secured, moreover, full control of the overseas commerce hitherto carried on by both France and Spain. In the opening year of the war (1702) there were minor operations in the West Indies under Admiral John Benbow, and round the coasts of Spain under Sir George Rooke. Of the latter the most striking episode was the capture of the

Spanish treasure-fleet off Vigo on October 22nd, 1702. After that year the allied command of the sea was in danger.

(2) *Italy.* It will be remembered that the emperor had begun the war by the invasion of Milan long before the formation of the Grand Alliance. His army was generally under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy. The task of the imperialists was considerably lightened when in 1703 Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was induced to desert the Bourbons and join the allies. His desertion, however, brought down upon him the full fury of Louis XIV, whose forces in 1704-5 overran almost the whole of the duchy. In 1706 they actually laid siege to the capital, Turin. Prince Eugene, reinforced by a large contingent of Prussian troops, marched to its relief and on September 7th fought the decisive battle of Turin which ended in the total defeat of the French and the death of their commander, Marsin. This resounding victory not only saved Savoy, it also resulted in the total expulsion of the French from North Italy; Milan, Mantua, Modena were all cleared, and cleared permanently. The war in North Italy was ended.

(3) *The Netherlands.* Here the struggle, although keenly contested, was brought to what looked like an equally conclusive termination about the same time. Marlborough, at the head of the English and Dutch forces, spent the greater part of the campaigns of 1702-3 in recovering the barrier fortresses from the French and in expelling them from the Spanish Low Countries. Amongst other places, he captured Venloo, Ruremond, Liege and Huy. He tried to bring the Netherlands to battle, but was prevented from doing so by the excessive caution of the Dutch. However, his successes in capturing the fortresses was such that he received the thanks of Parliament, a pension of £5000 a year, and a dukedom. In 1704, as we shall see, he was called away to Germany to save the emperor from extinction. In 1705 he was back again on the Rhine. He planned an invasion of France up the valley of the Moselle, but it was frustrated by the lethargy of his allies under Lewis of

Baden. He then returned to the Low Countries, broke through the French lines between Namur and Antwerp, and advanced on Brussels. The French stood to defend the capital on the field of Waterloo, but once again the obstruction of the Dutch prevented Marlborough from anticipating the victory of Wellington gained on that spot 110 years later. In 1706, however, Marlborough's chance came. He brought the French to battle at Ramilies on May 23rd and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Ostend, and many other places at once opened their gates. In a few weeks the Spanish Netherlands were almost entirely cleared of the French, and in allied hands.

(4) **Germany.** The German interlude in this reconquest of the Spanish Netherlands had been short but sharp. In 1704 Louis XIV determined to make his main objective the elimination of the emperor. To that end he planned that two French armies, under Marsin and Tallard respectively, should join the forces of the Elector of Bavaria and the 'Vienna.' To frustrate this design, Marlborough with mastery decision and incomparable skill, in face of almost insuperable difficulties, led his army through the Black Forest into the Danube valley, effected a junction with Prince Eugene, and placed their combined forces in the path of the Franco-Bavarian host. The great battle was fought at Blenheim on August 13th. It resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the combined but ill-coordinated armies of Marsin, Tallard, and the elector. The remnants of the shattered Franco-Bavarian forces fled back to the Rhine, and Germany was finally cleared of the invaders.

(5) **Spain.** The fifth and last theatre of important fighting was the peninsula itself. Here, as we have observed, Portugal joined the Grand Alliance in 1703 (May 16), and Lisbon became a base of active operations against Philip V. In May 1704 a naval expedition under Sir George Rooke set out thence for Barcelona, which was expected to rise on behalf of the Archduke Charles. The expedition failed in its main purpose, as the Catalans, were not yet ready for

rebellion ; but on its way back to Lisbon an unforeseen opportunity presented itself to capture the ill-defended rock of Gibraltar. The opportunity was seized (4th August, 1704), and that all important sentinel-post of the Mediterranean passed into British possession, where it has ever since then remained. Next year, under happier auspices, another expedition to Barcelona was planned and carried through to success. The Earl of Peterborough accompanied by the Duke himself left Lisbon in July, invested Barcelona in August and captured it in October (1705). Catalonia, followed by Valencia and Murcia, declared for "Charles III". In 1706 a threefold advance on Madrid was made : the archduke moved from Saragossa ; Peterborough from Valencia ; Galway from Lisbon. The Spanish capital was entered on June 25th and "Charles III" proclaimed. Philip V fled to Burgos and prepared to evacuate Spain altogether.

The fortunes of the Bourbons appeared to be at their lowest ebb. In Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and now in Spain, they had been crushingly defeated. Their resources were exhausted. They desired peace at almost any price.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

2nd PHASE

In 1706 the pride of Louis XIV had been effectively humbled. His once-invincible armies had been heavily defeated at Blenheim, Ramillies, and Turin ; his forces had been expelled from Germany, Belgium, and North Italy his grandson was a fugitive from Madrid ; his domestic finances were in such complete chaos that he was unable to raise loans at less than a 20 per cent interest. Hence, under the severe compulsion of necessity, he approached the Dutch and suggested to them the terms of an immediate peace. They were :—

- (1) the surrender of spanish and the Indies to the archduke ;
- (2) the restoration of the frontier fortresses to the Dutch and the grant of commerical privileges to them ;
- (3) the recognition of the Protestant succession in England, and also commercial privi legea ;
- (4) In return for these immense concessions, he asked that Philip V should be allowed to retain Naples, Sicily, and Milan with the title of king.

With little hesitation the Dutch, under the influence of Marlborough and the emperor, rejected these overtures, determining to continue the war until France were invaded and Louis XIV, so long the terror of Europe, utterly annihilated.

Events proved that the rejection by the allies of Louis's offer was a gross mistake. The terms actually secured by seven more years of fighting were less favourable than those proposed by Louis himself in 1706. For from that date events took a serious turn against the allies. First, Castile refused to accept the king, "Charles III", imposed upon her by Portugal and Catalonia. Madrid had to be evacuated. Worse was to follow : in 1707 Galway striving to hold valencia and Murcia was badly beaten by the French under Berwick (an illegitimate son of James II) at Almanza (April 25th). Little besides Catalonia was left to "Charles III". From that base, however, he and his allies continued with occasional gleams of transient success to fight for three more years. But in 1710 two more defeats—Brihvega (December 10) and Villa Viciosa (December 20)—put the issue beyond a doubt. Philip V could not be dislodged from the Spanish throne.

Meantime in the Netherlands the war had blazed up again, and things had gone badly for the Ramilies. The towns evacuated by the French after Ramilies had been garrisoned by Dutch troops, and these had soon made themselves intensely obnoxious to the Flemish inhabitants. Hence in the summer of 1708 one town after another, in-

cluding Bruges and Ghent, opened its gates to the French and expelled the Dutch intruders. Antwerp was prevented from doing so only by the prompt action of Marlborough. Having reinforced the garrison of Antwerp, Marlborough determined to recover Bruges and Ghent. In order to check him, the French under Vendome advanced to capture the fortress of Oudenarde which covered the approaches to these two cities. Outside its walls Marlborough gave battle to them, defeated them and drove them away (July 11th 1708). Bruges and Ghent once more passed into the hands of the allies.

During the winter of 1708-9 Louis XIV once more made desperate efforts to end the war. His finances were in a ruinous condition; his armies disorganised, his people disillusioned and in despair. To add to the agony, a frost of almost unprecedented severity held the country in its grip, destroyed the crops and reduced the nation to a state of famine. Hence the French king in March 1709 sent an emissary to Holland to lay fresh proposals before the Dutch. He would recognise the Archduke as King of Spain; would withdraw all help from Philip and would make great concessions to the allies. The English, and the Dutch in particular, were entirely unconciliatory. They demanded not only that Louis should withdraw his aid from his grandson, but also that if Philip should prove obdurate, he himself should wage war upon him and drive him out of Spain. Louis, of course, rejected this monstrous condition, saying that what he wanted was peace, but that if he had to wage war he would rather wage it against his enemies than against his friends. So the negotiations were broken off, and the French king made an appeal to his people to which they nobly responded.

Meantime the allies prepared to invade France from the Low Countries. As a preliminary they laid siege to Mons (September 1709), and the able French general Villars marched forward to relieve it. Hence, not far from the great fortress, Marlborough fought, at Malplaquet (September 11th) his last great battle. It was the most strenuous of

his career. Ultimately he remained master of the field ; but his losses in men (some 20,000) were almost double those of the defeated enemy. As a result of this hard-won victory Mons fell (October 26) but so exhausted and weakened were the allies that nothing further could be done. The project of an invasion of France had to be abandoned. In 1710 the project was resumed and more strong places were taken—Douay, Bethune, St Venant, Aire. But Villars, strongly posted, prevented a rapid advance although with great skill he avoided the pitched battle which Marlborough was anxious to force upon him.

The long and inconclusive protraction of the struggle began to cause serious discontent in all the allied countries. Philip V was obviously so firmly established in Spain that it was useless to try to turn him out. What else were the allies fighting for that both Louis and Philip were not willing to concede ? In England, particularly, general dissatisfaction led to a political transformation. Marlborough was accused of prolonging the war for his own private purposes. The Whig party which supported him was driven from office. A Tory ministry under Harley (Lord Oxford) and St. John (Lord Bolingbroke) was formed, pledged to make peace (1710). In 1711 Marlborough was dismissed from his command ; the Duke of Ormonde was appointed to succeed him, with secret orders to do nothing. These orders, although concealed from the allies, were treacherously communicated to the French. Hence Villars was able with confidence and complete success to attack the depleted allied force at Denain (July 24th, 1712). The victory that he gained there, followed by the recovery of a number of border fortresses, put a stop to any possibility of an invasion of France. Even the Dutch obstinate to the last, realised that a stalemate had been reached, and that the results of further fighting would not be worth the expenditure of men and money involved.

The imperialists, however, still held out, refusing to face facts, and in Spain the Catalonians still clung faithfully to the cause of "Charles III". But the position of Charles

had recently so changed that it was no longer possible for the allies to maintain his claim to the Spanish crown. In 1705 his father, the emperor Leopold II had died, and had been succeeded by Charles's elder brother, Joseph I. But Joseph had lived for only six more years. In April 1711 he died leaving no son and Charles, elected to succeed him, became the emperor Charles VI. To have placed him also upon the Spanish throne would have been to restore him to something like the menacing position held by Charles V in the sixteenth century. His election to the imperial throne, therefore, rendered Phillip V's possession of Spain secure, and so made the pathway to peace much easier.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT AND RASTADT

The urgent need for peace, the general desire for a settlement and the useless absurdity of further war in 1711, can in no degree atone for the base and treacherous manner in which the Tory Government of Oxford² and Bolingbroke went about the work of negotiation. The Tory ministers at this date were, indeed, eager for peace at any price. They cared little, if at all, for the Spanish succession; their interests were centred on the English succession. The health of Queen Anne was obviously failing; and her children were dead, and the question who should come after her was acutely divided the political parties. In 1701 an Act of Settlement had been passed by the English Parliament providing that in the event of Anne's dying childless the crown should go to the electress Sophia of Hanover, grand daughter of James I, and her heirs if Protestant. The Hanoverian succession, supported by the Whig party, was strongly disliked by the Tories, who leaned decidedly towards James II, provided always that he would abandon Catholicism and become a member of the Anglican Church. The queen, also, vehemently detested both the electress (who died June 8, 1714) and her son George who succeeded to her

claim. The Tories and the queen alike desired peace in order that they might open discussions with James Edward and with his patron and protector Louis XIV.

Accordingly, early in 1711, Oxford and Bolingbroke sent secret messages to the French king saying that they wished to end the war and asking if he did so also. Torcy in his *Memoirs* remarks ; "To ask His Majesty whether he chose to have peace was the same thing as to ask a person lingering under a dangerous malady whether he chose to recover." But, all the same, the astute French diplomats, realising the change in circumstances, and understanding its causes, exploited the situation to the full. They did not show undue eagerness. They made offers which gave rise to acute dissensions among the allies ; they came out of the negotiations on far better terms than they had themselves proposed in 1706 and 1709, and terms immeasurably better than their position, even after Denain, indicated.

Preliminaries of peace between England and France were signed on September, 27th 1711. A very much modified version of the proposed terms was submitted to the Dutch and to the Emperor, for their "amusement." Even though this bowdlerised version was much less favourable to the French than the genuine draft, it excited the most indignant protests from both the Dutch commissioner and the Imperial ambassador. These protests, too, were echoed by the English Whigs led by Marlborough and by the electoral-prince of Hanover, afterwards King George I. In spite of the protests, however, formal negotiations were opened at Utrecht in January 1712 on the basis of the Preliminaries. An immense amount of time was wasted over formalities ; for example ; six months were spent (March-August 1712) in discussing whether French replies to allied enquiries should be given verbally or in writing.

The main points at issue were six in number ; as follows : First, there was the question of the guarantee that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. This matter had become specially urgent because of an extraordinary mortality in the French royal family. The

Dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV, had died in April 1711. The next heir-apparent, the Dauphin's eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy, was, together with the young wife, cut off by an epidemic in February 1712. During the same year their infant son, the Duke of Brittany, succumbed. Between Philip V of Spain and the French throne there stood only another sickly infant, the younger brother of the Duke of Brittany, afterwards King Louis XV (born 1710). The union of the two crowns seemed an imminent possibility, and remained such for more than a dozen years. Secondly, was the question of the "compensations" to be assigned to the emperor in consideration of his abandonment of his claim to the Spanish monarchy as a whole? Thirdly, there were the Dutch demands for their barrier, and for commercial rights in the Spanish colonies. Fourthly, there was the problem of the reward to be given to the Duke of Savoy for his desertion of the French side and his aid to the allies. Fifthly, there were the similar demands of the Elector of Brandenburg. Sixth and last, there were the claims of Great Britain for some adequate return for her immense labours and expenses naval and military.

The negotiations concerning these major problems and countless minor ones were long and intricate. During their course the British representatives completely alienated the Allies by their selfishness, their dishonesty, and their obvious leaning to the French side. The French, on their part, became more and more insistent and masterful, as if they and not the Allies had won the war. Torcy was exultant as well as astonished: "France so often vanquished during the course of the war was at length grown victorious by negotiation. Similarly Polignac; "We are assuming the figure which the Dutch made in 1709, and they are taking ours."

The outcome of the conferences conducted in this atmosphere of suspicion and mutual recrimination was the Peace of Utrecht which consisted of nine treaties in all, namely five between the Allies and France, and four between the Allies and Spain (1713). The emperor refused to

take part in this pacification, and continued to hold out for another year. Finally he made terms of his own with Louis at Rastadt in March 1714.

The main provisions of this composite pacification were :—

1. Spain and its empire should remain in the hands of Philip V, but should never be united to France.
2. The Emperor should receive as compensation for his claims the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia.
3. The Dutch should recover their barriers (including Namur, Tournay, and Ypres) and receive commercial privileges in the Spanish colonies.
4. The Duke of Savoy should acquire Sicily and the title of king.
5. The Elector of Brandenburg should gain Upper Guelderland and be recognised as "King in Prussia", a region lying outside Germany.
6. Great Britain should have as her reward (a) a recognition of the Protestant succession and a guarantee that no help should be given to the "Pretender"; (b) the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca; Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay Territory; and (c) the "Assiente" for thirty years, that is to say, the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, together with the right to send to the same colonies one shipload of commodities annually.

The Peace of Utrecht and Rastadt was very severely criticised at the time of its conclusion, and it has been very generally condemned in more recent times. Coxe, the able biographer of Marlborough, spoke of it as "the principal cause of the miseries that for more than a century prevailed in Europe". William Pitt denounced it as "an indelible reproach of the age." Of the magnitude of its consequences, together with those of the war that preceded it, there can be no doubt. They marked a profound modification of the balance of power in Europe. (1) France emerged from the

conflict with her territories intact, indeed, but with her people exhausted and poverty-stricken, her government demoralised, her finances in hopeless chaos. Her period of ascendancy was over. (2) the Dutch, too, although victorious, were over-strained. The effort of maintaining large armies for many years was more than they could stand. They never recovered their place among front rank powers. (3) Spain, on the other hand, was regenerated under her new rules, and during the eighteenth century she was able to exercise an influence that recalled her great days of old. (4) Savoy and Brandenburg, under their newly-recognised kings, began to play a prominent part in Continental politics.

Simultaneously too with this War of the Spanish Succession a Northern War was going on—the details of which we shall have to note later. This, also, resulted in further changes in the relations of the powers: Sweden fell from the high estate to which Gustavus Adolphus had raised her. An easy way was opened for the entry of Russia upon the European stage.

The Shifting Balance of Power

THE DECADENCE OF FRANCE

The old king, Louis XIV, did not long survive the conclusion of the war of the Spanish Succession. He died on September 1st., 1715 having reigned for the immense period of seventy-five years. He had completely outlived both his glory and his popularity. His vaulting ambition, which had led him to seek to conquer the territories of his neighbours and to establish a lordship over Europe, had caused the formation of coalitions against him that had resulted in his decisive defeat. The principle of the balance of power had been formulated to offset the royal passion for dictatorship ; and the determination to maintain the balance of power had become the *leitmotif* of British foreign policy.

Not only had Louis XIV failed in his main purposes, but his attempt to achieve them had brought immeasurable misery and suffering upon his people. The records of the opening decades of the eighteenth century reveal the deplorable condition of France at the time of the death of the grandiose but never great monarch. The population of the country, we are told, owing to war and famine, had declined from over 15 millions to under 12 millions. Poverty was so great and widespread that only one person out of

every ten could be regarded as in comfortable circumstances : of the remainder Vauban describes one-tenth as "mendicants", five-tenths as "near starvation", and three-tenths as "ill at ease". The finances of the kingdom were in hopeless disarray : the annual expenditure of the government exceeded its income by some 60 million livres ; the currency was depreciated ; worthless promissory notes in extensive circulation destroyed credit ; the nobles and clergy evaded due taxation on the plea of privilege ; the vicious system of collecting taxes by means of "farmers" caused leakages that kept the treasury empty. Profound social unrest displayed itself : in 1703-4 an open revolt of "Camisards" in the Cevennes had compelled Louis to recall one of his best generals, Villars, from the war in Germany and send him with a large force to repress the rising.

The revolt of the "Camisards" was also associated with deep religious dissent. In spite of the dragonnades and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenot cause still flourished underground; inflaming the peasants' desire for resistance and revenge. Hence the war of the Cevennes had something of the horror of the old-time crusades against the Albigenses. Less revolutionary than the Huguenot Calvinists, but hardly less obnoxious to the Government were the Jansenists of Port Royal. They stood for a national Gallican Church, self-ruling and free ; for independence from royal autocracy ; for resistance to the dogma of papal infallibility ; for a liberal Catholic theology that had affinities with Lutheranism. Louis XIV in his closing years had sunk more and more under the influence of the Jesuits and of his second (morganatic) wife, commonly known as Madame de Maintenon, a good woman fanatically orthodox. Under pressure from them, Port Royal had been suppressed (1710) and a Bull "Unigenitus" procured from the pope (1713) condemning the Jansenist tenets. So the last two years of Louis XIV's reign had seen a cruel persecution in which some 30,000 persons suffered imprisonment, confiscation, or exile.

The death of Louis XIV caused a remarkable and

almost revolutionary change in the scene. The crown passed to the old king's great-grandson, the sickly Louis XV, a child of five. Louis XIV, anxious concerning the future, had decreed by will that the education of the infant should be in the hands of the orthodox Duke of Maine, assisted by the ardent Jesuit confessor, Le Tellier. As to the government of the country he had appointed a Council of Regency in which the Jesuits were dominant. His chief concern was to prevent any effective power from falling into the hands of his nephew, Philip, Duke of Orleans, whom he cordially detested. Orleans, indeed, was a man utterly alien in spirit from his uncle. In religion he was an avowed free-thinker who regarded the persecuting priesthood with hatred and contempt. In politics he was a constitutionalist who disliked and disapproved of the royal autocracy. In economics he was an innovator ready to make novel experiments in commerce and finance. He was clever and brilliant, utterly alien from the gloomy fanaticism of the old king's court. His liberalising influence, unfortunately, however, was weakened by the gross immorality of his private life and by a laziness and which shrank from strenuous endeavour.

Louis being dead, however, Orleans was determined not to accept the position of importance assigned to him in Louis's will. He got the Parliament of Paris at once to set aside the will and recognise himself as regent with powers both over the young king and over the government of the state. The Jesuits were removed from all positions of influence, and a new era was inaugurated.

The Regency of Orleans (1715-23) stands out as a curious and most interesting interlude in French history. Orleans himself largely determined the policy of the government; but he was ably assisted by a man of kindred spirit, a man almost as profligate and irreligious as himself, yet most incongruously, a prince of the Church, Guillaume Dubois, cardinal-archbishop of Cambray. Dubois, crafty and well-informed, made up by laborious diligence for the slackness of his master. He had a genius for intrigue: it was said of

him that "he exhaled falsehood from every pore". Under these two men and their subordinates a new domestic policy, a new financial policy, and a new foreign policy were introduced with brief but most disturbing consequences.

(1) **The New Domestic Policy.** This may be summed up in the two phrases political : decentralisation and religious toleration. Local liberties suppressed by Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV were revived ; the nobles deprived by the late king of their administrative functions were recalled to office ; the Parlement of Paris was restored to its old powers : the main executive departments of the government were placed in the hands of aristocratic councils. In the matter of religion, the persecutions of Huguenots and Jansenists were stopped. The latter, in particular, were taken into high favour and their leaders endowed with important offices. Literary men so openly anti-clerical as Voltaire were patronised and protected.

(2) **The New Financial Policy.** This may be summed up in the expression 'the exploitation of credit.' Orleans took over from his predecessor an enormous and increasing public debt. He himself was reckless and extravagant. The deficit in the treasury increased year by year. In vain were new taxes imposed and the currency again depreciated. Then came on to the scene John Law, an ingenious Scotsman, with a scheme for the institution of a Land Bank whose paper-money should represent the value of the vast estates of France. The issue of this paper-money, which proved to be unconvertible, caused first an immense inflation with consequent rise of prices, and then a frightful collapse culminating in widespread bankruptcy. French finance had not fully recovered from the shock when the Revolution swept the whole regime away.

(3) **The New Foreign Policy.** This may be summed up in the words, Defence of the Treaty of Utrecht. Could

anything be more amazing? The Regent entered into alliances with Great Britain (1716), Holland (1717) and the Emperor (1718)—those ancient opponents of France—for the enforcement of those treaties that had signalled French defeat in the great war. The explanation, however, is simple; Louis XV was not expected to live long. The question was, Who should succeed him? Orleans was determined to secure the crown. His rival was Philip V of Spain, who was resolved to set aside the Treaty of Utrecht by which he was excluded, and to claim the French throne by hereditary right. Hence Orleans joined the members of the old Grand Alliance in maintaining the treaty in all its provisions. The Pyrenees had come into existence and prominence once more.

THE REJUVENATION OF SPAIN

Philip V of Spain was a man of piety rather than power. He lacked energy and initiative, but he was conscientious and devoted to the interests of people over whom Providence had called him to rule. He had a profound belief in the divine authority of monarchy, and a sincere desire to perform his duties as an agent of Heaven. Fortunately he was well served by able and well-chosen ministers, so that under him Spain underwent a remarkable regeneration and revival. Agriculture, industry, and commerce were fostered; the colonies were knit to the mother-country by wise regulations; the navy was reorganised; the army put upon an improved footing. Spain seemed to be in a fair way to recovering the place in the first rank of European powers which she had held under Philip II.

The main agents in this rejuvenation of Spain in the period immediately following the pacification of Utrecht were Philip's second wife and her confidential adviser, Giulio Alberoni, an ecclesiastic who was made a cardinal in 1717. Philip's first wife Maria Louisa of Savoy, died early in 1714, leaving him two young sons, Louis and

Ferdinand. That Philip would marry again was taken for granted, and the old Louis XIV, his grandfather, was much concerned to find a suitable spouse for him. Out of the many suggested the one finally selected was Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of the Duke of Parma, and her selection was largely due to the representations of Alberoni at that time the minister of Parma at the Spanish court. This remarkable man (born 1664), the son of a gardener of Piacenza, had entered the Church, and by sheer ability had attracted the attention first of his bishop and later of the political authorities. He discovered that both in Paris and Madrid the supreme desire of the Bourbons was to destroy the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, to recover the lost Spanish possessions, and in particular to drive the Austrians from Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. He pointed out how valuable to that end would be the acquisition of a base in Parma and Piacenza,

The marriage between Philip and Elizabeth Farnese was effected in December 1714, and Alberoni was at the same time made chief minister of Spain. The new queen—who came to be known as “the termagent of Spain”—at she revealed herself as a woman of masterful temperament and limitless ambition. She obtained complete control over her passive and inert husband, and until his death in 1746 she continued to determine his policy. She tended, however, to be rash and impulsive, and it was Alberoni's constant care to curb and direct her injudicious energies. The main aims of both were the same, namely, firstly to recover for Spain all her lost territories, particularly those in Italy; and, secondly, to maintain Philip's claim to the French succession in case Louis XV should die childless. Both these aims involved the repudiation of the Treaties of Utrecht, and their active pursuit by the young queen and her minister soon divided Europe into the two camps of those who wished to abrogate the treaties and those who wished to maintain them. Alberoni realised that considerable time would be required before Spain would be ready to make any open bid for reconquest. He asked for five years of

undisturbed tranquility. Setting to work with skill and energy he began his task of national regeneration : army, navy, industry, commerce, all were reorganised and revived. But his most remarkable efforts were in the sphere of diplomacy in which he was supremely adept, Wherever the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt had defenders, there he intrigued and stirred up plots. Against the Emperor he incited the Turks and Transylvanians ; against the new Hanoverian dynasty in England he fomented Jacobite conspiracies ; against the Orleanists in France he directed Jesuit attacks, and actually countenanced a scheme for the kidnapping of the Regent himself.

As knowledge of the Spanish machinations came to light, the menaced beneficiaries of the treaties drew together in their defence. In 1717 a Triple Alliance of Great Britain, Holland, and Orleanist France was formed to oppose the designs of Alberoni. The formation of this alliance precipitated the conflict. Alberoni, still unready, would fain have gained time by continued diplomacy, but his hand was forced by his impetuous mistress, and in August 1717 a Spanish expedition was sent to Sardinia (one of the Emperor's acquisitions under the treaties) which was conquered in a few weeks. From Sardinia the Spaniards passed on to Sicily (assigned by the treaties to Savoy) and began its occupation (1718). This aggression brought the Allies into action. A British fleet under Admiral Byng defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro (August 1718) ; a French army invaded the north of Spain (1719) ; the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy joined the alliance : Spain was compelled to sue for peace. The first condition of the settlement was the dismissal of Alberoni who in 1720 retired for ever from Spain and from the sphere of politics. Secondly, Philip renounced all claim upon Milan, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia. The Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, however, effected an exchange of their recovered possessions : the Emperor received Sicily which was thus rejoined to Naples : the Duke of Savoy took Sardinia with the title of King.

Elizabeth Farnese, through overhaste, received a serious set-back in 1720; but she was not deterred from further effort. After a period of quiescence which was marked by a brief abdication of the throne by Philip V (January—August 1724)¹ she found a new agent in a renegade Dutchman, Jan Willem Ripperda, who advised her to come to an agreement with the Emperor and to direct Austro-Spanish policy against the two maritime powers. Ripperda succeeded in negotiating the Treaty of Vienna (1725) according to which the Emperor was to assist Spain to recover Gibraltar and Minorca, and to exclude the British and Dutch from Spanish commerce; while Spain, for her part, was to give special commercial facilities to subjects of the Emperor, and to guarantee the Emperor's "Pragmatic Sanction" by means of which he hoped to secure the Austrian succession (Since he had no son) for his daughter Maria Theresa.

This strange and unnatural alliance between the two old rivals for the Spanish succession led to nothing. Friction between the two courts soon arose, and in 1729 Spanish policy began to return to its proper line of development, namely, alliance with France. Circumstances in that country facilitated this reversion. The Regent Orleans and Cardinal Dubois both had died in 1722; Louis XV married in 1725 and in 1729 a son was born to him. The question of the French succession no longer divided the two branches of the Bourbon House. French policy was now directed by the wise and pacific Cardinal Fleury, while in Spain the prudent Don Jose de Patino had succeeded the discredited and banished Ripperda (1726). The Treaty of the Seville (1729) brought France and Spain once more together, and

1. Philip had sunk into a morbid melancholy. In January, 1724 his eldest son, Louis, was established as king: but he died in eight months, and Philip resumed the crown. Another cause of Philip's brief abdication may have been that the health of the young Louis XV of France was very bad in 1721, and Philip may have hoped by abdicating the Spanish throne to increase his chance of securing the French throne.

its acceptance by Great Britain and Holland seemed to guarantee the tranquillity of Europe.

Four years later Louis XV and Philip V were drawn more closely together by the secret Family Compact of November 1733. This, however, was not so pacific as the Treaty of Seville. It was, indeed, directed against Great Britain, envisaging the expulsion of the British from Gibraltar and their exclusion from Spanish commerce. Not however, until 1739 did war break out, and during the interval of peace (1720-39) Spain immensely increased in prosperity. Commerce developed; wealth accumulated; literature and learning were encouraged. The Royal Library at Madrid, the Spanish Academy, and the Academy of History, are all monuments of this halcyon interlude.

THE EXPANSION OF BRITAIN AND THE CONTRACTION OF HOLLAND

The rejuvenation of Spain and the renewal of her friendship with France by means of the Family Compact brought the two Bourbon powers into increasing hostility with Great Britain. For Great Britain after the pacification of 1713 saw an immense development of her commerce and a rapid expansion of her colonial dominion. Everywhere—in Europe, in America, in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in Africa—the interests of Britain clashed with those of the Bourbons. From 1739, for a quarter of a century, conflict was almost incessant in some part of the world or another. Before 1739, however, also for a quarter of a century, prevailing peace enabled a new regime to establish itself.

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688-9 had secured for England the Protestant Succession, while the Act of Settlement of 1701 had stipulated that, if neither William III nor Anne should leave heirs, the crown should pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs. In accordance

with this statute, when Anne died in 1714, the Elector George of Hanover was proclaimed king. His Kingship included not only England and Ireland, but also Scotland; for in 1707 an Act of Union had joined the hitherto separate Crowns and Parliaments of the two realms. Hence George I was monarch of Great Britain and Ireland. Before, however, he was established upon the throne he had to meet and defeat a determined attempt of the "Old Pretender", James Edward Stuart, to regain the seat of his father, James II. But the rising of 1715—described as "the worst-managed rebellion on record"—was a complete failure. It served little purpose except to throw suspicion on the Tory party, and to secure for the Whig party a half-century of exclusive possession of office. This party, whose strength lay in the commercial middle-class of London and the other great cities, under the leadership of Sir Robert Walpole (1721-42), Henry Pelham (1743-54), and the Duke of Newcastle (1754-6 and 1757-62), devoted its energies to the increase of the wealth of the nation.

The reigns of the first two Hanoverian kings—George I (1714-27) and George II (1727-1760)—witnessed a profound change in the government of Britain. Both of these monarchs were Germans who never acquired familiarity with the English language or with British institutions. Hence they ceased to attend the meetings of their ministers or attempt to control domestic policy. Thus the main body of ministers became a "cabinet" the presidency of which fell into the hands of the "prime minister" Thus the early Hanoverian monarchy was a veiled aristocracy, the supreme power in the kingdom being wielded by the great Whig families whose heads normally acquired dukedoms for themselves. Although these magnates were not as a rule men of high ideals, but rather men who made a quite unscrupulous use of both money and patronage, nevertheless their rule was on the whole enlightened and good. They established parliamentary government beyond the possibility of its overthrow; they maintained international peace as long as the nation

allowed them to do so ; they secured religious toleration and the freedom of the press ; they fostered industry and commerce and gave the country an unprecedented prosperity. Under them exports were doubled, the national debt all but extinguished, the towns immensely increased in size and importance.

Towards the colonial empire their policy, particularly as directed by Sir Robert Walpole, was one of non interference. On the American mainland twelve separate settlements had been made during the seventeenth century. In the north were the four New England colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhodes Island, and New Hampshire ; in the south the four, Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas ; in between these widely different groups were the four colonies founded in regions taken over from the Dutch and other associated peoples in the course of the second Anglo-Dutch War ; to these the names New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were given. Under the mercantile system, then in vogue, these overseas settlements were regarded as estates to be worked for the benefit of the mother-country. Their industries, their commerce, their mercantile marine all were subject to British regulation. In return for the complete subjection of their economic development to the service of British interests, the British government provided them with protection against all external enemies.

The colonists as they increased in numbers, partly by natural expansion and partly by continued immigration, more and more rebelled against the limitation of their ambitions ; and Walpole perceived the wisdom of allowing them all possible freedom of energy. Hence he removed duties from both imports and exports ; left the restrictions on their industries unenforced ; allowed the Navigation Laws to remain dead letters ; lowered the barriers on colonial trade ; and in general treated the Americans with salutary neglect. Under this judicious *laissez faire* policy the colonies advanced in prosperity by leaps and bounds. But, unhappily as it turned out, Walpole, although he

ceased to enforce the restrictive statutes, did not repeal them. To save controversy he left them untouched upon the statu-book. His watchword was "let sleeping dogs lie". It gave him a welcome tranquility in his own time, but it left a heritage of trouble for his successors who conscientiously felt that unrepealed laws ought to be strictly enforced. During George II's reign the thirteenth and last of the English colonies was formed in America. This was Georgia, in the extreme south, established debtors, by a philanthropic General Oglethorpe, in 1732.

While the British Empire was thus expanding and increasing in prosperity, the Dutch Republic and its dominions were on the decline. The seven United Provinces reached the height of their prosperity and power in the seventeenth century. The glory of their triumph over the might of Spain, the final achievement of their independence in 1648, gave them a prestige that raised them for a time to the rank of a first-rate power. Their energies and abilities, too, stimulated to the highest pitch in the course of the conflict, sufficed to give them a leading place in every walk of life. They became pioneers in navigation, in commerce, in colonisation. Their scholars, their philosophers, their men of science, easily out-distanced those of other countries. Their artists stood supreme. The Bank of Amsterdam set the standard for financial efficiency.

But the prosperity of Holland and its fellow provinces was based on an insecure foundation. The country was too small, too thinly populated, too ill-situated and indefensible to play the role of a great power. Its federal constitution, moreover, was too loosely knit to give them efficient government; it was divided into fierce factions, Orange *versus* Republican; Calvinist *versus* Arminian; military *versus* naval wars with England struck a mortal blow at its maritime power and its commercial prosperity. Its implication in the great continental wars of the English and the Spanish successions exhausted its resources. It emerged from the pacification of 1713-74 so gravely im-

proverished and weakened that never again was it able to play a prominent part on the international stage.

With the death of William III in 1702 the main line of the House of Orange came to an end. The stadholdership was suppressed, and for forty-six years the United Netherlands were administered as a republic under successive grand-pensionaries. The empty title "Prince of Orange" passed to a distant relative of William III, John William Friso. At the end of the War of the Austrian Succession (1747-8) when the Netherlands were invaded and when circumstances not unlike those of 1672 were repeated, this man's son William IV was recalled to the stadholdership which was made hereditary in his family. In 1814 his grandson became King of the Netherlands. By this time, however, not only had New Amsterdam become 'New York', but New Holland had become the English 'Australia', Van Diemen's Land, 'Tasmania', while the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope had also passed into English hands. On the mainland of India, too, the Dutch stations had been absorbed into the dominions of the English East India Company. The Dutch Empire everywhere except in the Spice Islands had dwindled away.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

While Britain was establishing her overseas empire and securing the command of the ocean, new power was rising to eminence on the European Continent, seriously disturbing the normal balance of power. This was the power of Brandenburg-Prussia under its Hohenzollern rulers.

The Mark of Brandenburg had been established about A.D. 228 as an eastern outpost of Germany against the Slavs. From the first it was aggressive - aggression, indeed, was its *raison d'être*. Steadily and persistently it expanded from the Elbe to the Oder, and from the Oder towards the Vistula. In 1415 it was conferred upon Frederick of Hohenzollern, the founder of the greatness of his house.

He and his successor continued the process of expansion, their most important acquisition being the Duchy of East Prussia which came into their hands by inheritance from a junior branch of the family in 1618. This duchy was awkwardly separated from the mark by a broad expanse of Polish territory. About the same date also the Hohenzollerns laid claim to, and ultimately secured, three scattered Rhineland principalities, namely. Cleves, Mark, and Ravensburg. These were separated from Brandenburg by Hanover, Hesse, and other small German states. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, therefore, Hohenzollern dominions were very varied and most inconveniently divided. During that war they suffered severely; for the valleys of the Elbe and the Oder which ran through Brandenburg were among the main theatres of the fighting. The elector George William (1618-40), a weak and incapable man, saw his margravate ravaged again and again by both Protestants and Catholics. His son and successor, however, Frederick William (1640-1688), was a man of very different calibre. He is popularly known as "The Great Elector" and he well deserved the designation, for in the half-century of his rule he raised his electorate from a condition of devastation and disaster to a foremost place in Germany. By the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) he acquired Eastern Pomerania, which helped to link up Brandenburg and East Prussia; and also the secularised bishoprics of Magdenburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Cammin. The main lines of his policy soon revealed themselves. They were, at home, to unify his dominions; to centralise their government; establish an efficient absolutism. Abroad he aimed particularly at completing the links connecting the scattered portions of his territories, and at freeing East Prussia from feudal dependence upon Poland.

In pursuit of his policy the Great Elector built up an army powerful beyond all proportion to the scanty population of his dominions—some 40,000 out of a total population of 2,500,000; he built the nucleus of a navy and made attempts at colonial expansion; he concentrated adminis-

tration in Berlin, suppressing the various provincial Diets : he fostered industry and commerce, in particular, by means of wise measures of religious toleration he brought into Brandenburg large numbers of thrifty and skilful French Huguenots who introduced new arts and crafts into Germany. So far as possible he avoided war, preferring to gain his ends by diplomacy backed by an impressive display of force. Without actual violence he succeeded by threats in securing firm possession of Cleves, Mark and Ravensburg, which had been in dispute for half a century. In order, however, to obtain the emancipation of East Prussia from Polish suzerainty, he did intervene with impartial treachery in a war which broke out between Poland and Sweden in 1655. First by supporting Sweden he obtained Swedish recognition of East Prussia's independence (1656). Then, changing sides, he made confirmation of that independence a condition of actively supporting Poland against his former ally, Sweden. In short, before he died the Great Elector had not only greatly enlarged his dominions but also had converted a loose and scattered collection of widely separated and diverse principalities into a consolidated state with a highly efficient bureaucratic government. In all but name he was a king, and a king of the same absolute type as his contemporary Louis XIV. In giving his people unity and government, however, he did much to destroy whatever soul they had previously possessed. He militarised and brutalised the Brandenburg Prussian people, confirming them in their tendency to lawless aggression.

The Great Elector was succeeded by a son, Frederick (1688-1713), very different in character and ambition from himself. Whereas the Great Elector had been concerned solely with the substance of power, and had been indifferent to titles and trappings, Frederick was above all things anxious to secure the rank of king. His opportunity to attain the object of his desire came with the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession. The Emperor Leopold, in order to obtain the services of the elector's finely equip-

ped army of 40,000 men was constrained to concede the coveted title. He would not, however, allow Frederick to become a king in Germany: he made him take his title from his Slavonic province of East Prussia, and since East Prussia was still Polish, he became not King of Prussia, but merely King *in* Prussia. For the rest, King Frederick I did service to his country by improving its roads, causing canals to be cut, and fostering trade. He made no additions to its territory, but in the settlement effected at Utrecht and Restadt just after his death his successor received as a reward the region of Upper Guelderland, subtracted from the Austrian Netherlands (1715).

This successor was Frederick William, known commonly as "The Soldier King" (1715-1740). This man, who introduced the habit followed by all subsequent Prussian kings of the constant wearing of uniform, was wholly engrossed in the maintenance and development of his army. His very gardens at Potsdam he caused to be converted into a parade ground where daily he watched the drilling of troops. He raised the number of his soldiers to 90,000, and on them and their equipment he spent five-sevenths of the revenue of the state. He used the menacing might of his great military machine to bully and terrorise his neighbours, and also to keep his subjects in object bondage. Only once, however, did he actually intervene in an armed conflict, and that only when the enemy, Sweden, was already beaten by a coalition of Danes, Poles, and Russians. He intervened in 1720 merely that he might share the spoil. This for him consisted of a large part of Western Pomerania, including Stettin, Usedom, and Wollin, which gave him complete control of the navigation of the Oder.

Few more brutal Prussians can ever have lived. His insane bursts of fury kept both court and capital in terror. Even his son Frederick—afterwards "The Great"—was a victim of his frenzy. He caned him in public, and, when the young man tried to escape, the tyrant was with difficulty persuaded not to have him put to death. Having

subjected his people, terrorised his neighbours, and ruined the character of his son, he drank himself to death before he was fifty-two years old (1740), Frederick II—"The Great"—succeeded him.

THE FALL OF SWEDEN

It will have been noted that when the Prussian "Soldier King" on one solitary occasion ventured upon war, it was with an already-beaten Sweden that he fought. We have now to see how Sweden had by 1720 fallen from the high place secured for her by the great Gustavus Adolphus

Gustavus, during the twenty-one years of his reign (1611-32) by sound statesmanship and brilliant military genius had raised Sweden from comparative insignificance to the position of a first-rank power. He had aimed at three things, namely, to establish Swedish supremacy in the Baltic, to secure free access to the Atlantic; and to gain the foothold upon the European Continent. These aims he had successfully pursued by means of war with Denmark (1611-13), Russia (1614-17) and Poland (1617-29). His entry upon the Thirty Years' War in 1630 inaugurated the last episode of his adventurous career. By the time he met his death on the victorious field of Lutzen (1632) he had made himself the dominant power in Germany.

The Swedish crown passed to the dead king's daughter, Christina, a child of six years of age, during the twelve years of whose minority the conduct of affairs was in the capable and devoted hands of the chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. He continued the Swedish support of the Protestant cause in Germany, and simultaneously waged a successful war with Denmark (1643-5) as a result of which he acquired the province of Holland and also the free passage of the Sound between the Baltic and the Atlantic. The Treaty of Westphalia which closed the Thirty Years' War (1648) yielded to Sweden Western Pomerania, the

valuable ports of Bremen and Verden, and also the right of representation in the German Diet.

By this time Christina had been declared to be of age (1644) and she had assumed the personal control of affairs. She soon quarrelled with Oxenstierna and went her own way, which proved to be one of increasing irresponsibility and eccentricity. She was a brilliant woman, highly educated, keenly interested in science, literature and art. She had, however, but little interest in politics and her knowledge of her kingdom's needs was very small. She disliked both the northern climate and the Swedish people. Her heart was in the sunny South, and she filled her court with foreigners from France, Spain and Italy. She had moreover, no sympathy with Protestantism to which her subjects were devoted. Further, she was wildly and recklessly extravagant, squandering money on favourites, and scattering among them titles of nobility supported by pensions: within the ten years 1644-54 no fewer than 489 pensioned nobles were created. She persistently refused to marry, although strongly pressed by her ministers to do so. Finally, owing to the importunity of the ministers and also to the general dissatisfaction of her subjects, she nominated her cousin Charles of Zweibruken as her successor, resigned her crown, and proclaimed herself a Catholic 1654. She lived for another quarter-century, wandering with a crowd of disreputable followers through France, Spain and Italy, a centre of scandal and intrigue. There was general relief in both Sweden and Europe at large when she died in Rome on April 19th, 1689.

Charles X (1654-60) set himself energetically to work to repair the mischief due to Christina's extravagance and eccentricity. He found the treasury exhausted, and in order to refill it he revoked the grants of some 300 royal estates conferred by the reckless queen. This and other strong measures roused the opposition of the nobility who became turbulent and obstructive. Unfortunately, too, Charles became involved in a war with Poland, whose king, John II, refused to recognise him. (1655). A general Northern

War resulted in which Prussia, Russia and Denmark all become implicated. The Swedes, however, were still strong militarily, and they came out of the composite conflict successfully. When the pacification was made, however, in 1660, Charles X had passed away, and the crown had descended to his son, Charles XI, a boy of five. It was left, then, to a Council of Regency, appointed by Charles X to complete the Treaties of Oliva. with Poland and Prussia; Copenhagen, with Denmark; and Kardis, with Russia. By these treaties of 1660 Sweden gained North Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, and Esthonia. Sweden had attained the summit of her greatness.

The Council of Regency appointed by Charles X proved to be both incompetent and corrupt. The central government was allowed to languish; the turbulent nobles gained control of affairs. They proved to be singularly amenable to bribery. It was by means of money that the Dutch secured the adhesion of Sweden to the Triple Alliance of 1668, intended to check Louis XIV's advance into the Spanish Netherlands; and it was by means of still more money that Louis XIV seduced the Swedes from their duty to the Dutch and lured them into the war of 1672-8. This base betrayal proved to be the beginning of irretrievable ruin. For the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia entered the war, nominally as an ally of the Dutch but really as a rival to Sweden for control of the Baltic littoral. In 1675 the great battle of Fehrbellin saw the complete defeat of the Swedish army by the forces of the Elector, and Sweden was saved from dismemberment in the pacification of 1678 only by the chivalrous determination of her French ally.

The disastrous conduct of foreign policy and war by the dominant nobility caused a monarchical reaction in Sweden. Charles XI recovered control of affairs, and at his death in 1697 handed over to his son Charles XII (1697-1718) a restored monarchy of the absolutist type. The

youthfulness of this monarch, who was only fifteen at the time of his accession, seemed to some of the disgruntled noble to offer an opportunity for successful revolt. The lead was taken by a Livonian magnate named Patkul, who in 1699 formed a league (for the partitionment of Sweden) with Frederick IV of Denmark, Peter the Great of Russia, and Augustus of Saxony who since 1697 had also been the elected King of Poland. It was an immensely formidable coalition, and everyone expected that the young Swedish king would be overwhelmed. But, although only a boy, he showed himself to be a veritable thunderbolt of war. He did not wait to be attacked. but with lightning-like rapidity, in a series of campaigns of amazing brilliance and audacity, disposed of his enemies one by one. Denmark was compelled to sue for peace in August 1700; three months later the Russians were heavily defeated at Narva; in 1702 Poland was overrun. Warsaw captured, Augustus deposed and (1704) Stanislaus Leczinski established in his place; in 1706 Saxony itself was invaded and in 1707 was reduced to subjection.

At this date Charles was well within reach of the regions where the War of the Spanish Succession was raging. Louis XIV, in desperate need of assistance, did all that he could to win him over to his side. So serious did the possibility of his intervention appear that Marlborough himself went to Saxony to use his powers of persuasion on the other side. Marlborough's skilful diplomacy was successful. He convinced Charles that his proper course was to invade Russia whose tsar, Peter the Great, had reorganised his forces, overrun Ingria and Livonia, and founded Petersburg on territory claimed by Sweden. Charles's march on Moscow in 1708 was as disastrous as Napoleon's a century later. His army melted away and its remnants were hopelessly defeated at Poltava in June 1709. Charles himself escaped from the stricken field to Turkey, where he remained in exile for five years. Meanwhile Livonia

and Esthonia were annexed by Russia : Stanislaus was expelled from Poland which secured Western Pomerania.

In 1714 Charles managed to get back to Sweden where he resumed his plans for recovery and conquest. In 1718 he went to war again with Denmark, this time for the possession of Norway, and in Norway he perished being killed on December 11th while vainly besieging Frederikshald.



16

The Polish and Austrian Successions

THE ENTRY OF RUSSIA

With Charles XII of Sweden perished all his schemes. His victories vanished into thin air. His conquests were re-divided among his conquerors. Since he left no son to succeed him, his kingdom passed to his sister Ulrica Leonora, the wife of Frederick of Hesse. In 1720 she abdicated in favour of her husband who was formally elected as King Frederick I (1720-51). Under him constitutional government was resumed; but the kingdom had been hopelessly weakened and exhausted by the wild adventures of Charles XII; and it never recovered its frontank position.

It fell to Ulrica and her husband to bring the Northern War to a conclusion by means of a series of treaties of abject surrender. In the general share-out Hanover got Bremen and Verden; Prussia secured Stettin and its environs. But the main gainer was Peter the Great of Russia: by the Treaty of Nystad (1721) he was con-

firmed in the possession of Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia. Thus he finally ousted Sweden from her ascendancy in the Baltic and himself became the dominant power.

This entry of Russia into the political system of Western Europe was an international event of outstanding importance. It ranks in significance with the simultaneous rise of Prussia to the position of a first-rate power. And just as Prussia owed her elevation to the energy and wisdom of the Great Elector, so did Russia owe her entry to the genius and determination of Peter the Great.

We noted at the beginning of our study how Russia had been overrun by the Tartar hordes in the 13th century, and delivered from their tyranny in the 15th century by the princes of Moscow. We observed, too, how Ivan III, known as "The Great" (1462-1505) reduced his neighbours to subjection, centralised the government, established the "tsardom", and assumed the headship of the Greek Church. His work was continued and extended by Ivan IV, "The Terrible" ; (1533-1584), who in half-a-century of ferocious rule, marked by insane orgies of purposeless bloodshed, firmly established the imperial despotism, and extended the frontiers of Russia by the conquest, from the Tartars, of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556). The occupation of Astrakhan placed the whole navigation of the Volga in Russian hands and gave the Russians access to the Caspian Sea. But even so, Russia was almost wholly land-locked, since only the Arctic White Sea gave her for a few months in the summer of each year a difficult approach to the Atlantic Ocean and the outer world. Near the shores of the white Sea, as commerce developed, Archangel was founded in 1583. To carry on trade with Russia, and through Russia with the East, an English "Muscovy Company" had been instituted in 1553. Ivan IV was eager to secure an outlet to the Baltic, and in 1558 made war upon the German Knights of the Sword who, as Crusaders, held Livonia. He was thwarted by a combination of Germans, Poles and Swedes.

As Ivan IV had in a fit of passion slain his eldest son by his own hand, on his death in 1584 the tsardom passed to his second son Feodor (1584-98). This Tsar, although amiable and well-meaning, was feeble and ineffective. Under him the power of the nobles revived; the Church began to assert a new independence; anarchy supervened. With Feodor, who died childless in 1598, the line of Rurik came to an end, and fifteen years of chaos followed.

The period of chaos was terminated in 1612 by the election of Michael Romanov, a youth of sixteen, son of the powerful and able metropolitan Philaret, who exercised the power of government in his son's name. Before Michael's death in 1645 the independence of the nobles had been reduced, and the Church once more made subject to the State. His son Alexius (1645-76) still further increased the imperial authority. His successful struggle with the patriarch Nikon was a memorable incident of his reign. He also conquered part of the Ukraine from Poland, and thus brought into his service the invaluable horsemen of the Cossacks.

The son of Alexius, Feodor (1676-82) was a sickly child who soon died. On his death his brother Ivan V, who was feeble-minded, and his half-brother Peter (born 1672) were proclaimed joint-tsars, with their elder sister Sophia as regent. The regency was brought to an end in 1689, and Peter then assumed sole authority, although the imbecile Ivan was allowed to hold the empty title of joint-tsar until his death in 1696.

Peter the Great (1689-1725), although in manners and morals a brutal savage, was a man of immense initiative and power. His policy may be summed up in four statements. He aimed (1) to transfer Russia from Asia to Europe, turning her face from East to West; (2) to break away from the conservative and reactionary traditions of the *boyars*, (*i.e.*, nobles) and the priests, and start progress on Western lines; (3) to give outlet to Russia on the Black Sea (for the Mediterranean) and on the Baltic (for the

Atlantic) ; (4) to complete the subjection of the Church and the aristocracy.

His main achievements were as follows : First, he waged war on Turkey and captured Azof (1696) thus gaining access to the Black Sea.¹ Secondly, he made a most adventurous and romantic journey, in a private capacity, to Germany, Holland, and England (1697-8), in order that he might learn the ways of the West. In England he lived and laboured as an ordinary workman in the shipyards of the Thames. Thirdly, on his return to Russia in 1698 he sternly repressed risings of the Streltsi Guard and of the nobles, which had occurred during his absence. Fourthly, he waged the long and fluctuating war with Sweden already recorded (1699-1721), gaining by the Treaty of Nystad at the end of it Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia. Fifthly, during the course of the war, on Swedish territory, he seized the alluvial land at the mouth of the Neva, and there on a water-logged site totally unfit for human habitation founded, at the cost of 200,000 human lives, the city called after him Petersburg, his "little window to the west", which gave him his long-desired outlet to the Baltic and thence to the Atlantic.

Peter's "westernising" policy, roused violent opposition to his rule not only on the part of the *boyars* and the priests, but also in the court and among members of his own family. He suppressed it with ruthless vigour, in the process divorcing his first wife, Eudoxia, and throwing his son Alexis into prison where he died. He wore himself out by his violent exertions and his wild excesses at the age of fifty-three, but in the course of his effective reign of three dozen years he completely transformed his empire. When he died in 1725 he bequeathed to his successors a strongly-organised state with an efficient bureaucracy, a powerful army, a newly-constituted navy, and a Church controlled by a "Holy Synod" wholly obedient to the secular authority. It soon became clear that a new and important factor had entered into the sphere of European

1. Azof was lost in 1711, but recovered in 1739.

politics. The State most directly and immediately affected by the newcomer was Poland.

THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION

At the time of the death of Peter the Great Europe was enjoying a period of tranquility. It was, however, an uneasy and apprehensive repose. For a number of important persons cherished ambitions that could hardly be satisfied except at the cost of war. First and foremost, the Spanish termagant, Elizabeth Farnes, was looking round for principalities for her two sons, Carlos and Philip. These young men appeared to have no future in Spain, for Philip V had sons by his first wife, and they, of course, had precedence in the peninsula.¹ Hence Elizabeth was resolved to secure territories for her offspring in her native land of Italy. Secondly, Italy was the coveted hunting-ground of Victor Amadeus of Sardinia and Savoy. He was eager to expel the Hapsburgs from Milan and Mantua in the north; he also had hopes of securing the Two Sicilies in the South. Thirdly Louis XV had design on Lorraine. Finally, both Louis XV and Stanislaus Leczinski—whose daughter, Maria, Louis XV married in 1725—were eager to recover Poland, of which Stanislaus had been king from 1704 to 1709; to bind it by a close alliance to France; and to prevent its dismemberment by Prussia and Russia.

The position of Poland in the third decade of the eighteenth century was, indeed, one of extreme peril, its geographical situation made it exceedingly difficult to defend; it was almost devoid of Natural frontiers. It consisted, too, of an agglomeration of territories many of which had been filched from its neighbours and had remained alien. Russia, in particular, claimed as properly

1. The elder, Louis, died August 1724, having held the throne for eight months during his father's abdication. The younger, Ferdinand, became King of Spain 1746-59.

her own large tracts of Eastern Poland, including Podlesia, Volhynia, and Podolia. The king of Prussia, moreover, without any basis of right, desired West Prussia, and Ermeland in order to knit up his Pomeranian and East Prussian territories.

In the circumstances, only an unusually strong and efficient government could have saved Poland from disaster and, unfortunately, the actual constitution was exceptionally weak and ineffective. It had three defects, each one of which would have been serious, but which together were fatal. First, the Crown was elective, and every election saw a competition among rival candidates who bid for the votes of the electing nobles by concessions of royal rights and properties : hence the monarchy was impotent. Secondly, the Diet was rendered powerless by the curious institution known as the "liberum veto", which enabled a single adverse vote to Block any legislative measure. Thirdly, to complete the organisation of anarchy, the nobles possessed the right to form armed confederations in order to force their will upon king and country.

In 1697, it will be remembered, an election had occurred in which the Polish crown was secured by Augustus, Duke of Saxony. Having become involved in war with Charles XII of Sweden, he was deposed in 1704, the crown being conferred upon Charles's protegee Stanislaus Leczinski. Charles's overthrow in 1701 involved the expulsion of Stanislaus and the restoration of Augustus, who retained the possession of the royal title until his death in 1733. Thus a new election had to take place in 1733, and the election was more important than any of its predecessors owing to the fall of Sweden and the westward advance of Russia. Poland had become the bastion of Eastern Europe. Two candidates presented themselves : the one was the elderly Stanislaus Leczinski ; the other Augustus III of Saxony son of the lately deceased king. The contest at once became an international one. Stanislaus had the armed support of France and Spain, just allied by means of the First Family Compact. Sardinia also came in on

his side. On Behalf of Augustus, Russia and Austria took up arms.

The election, held in September 1733, to conduct which 64,000 nobles assembled at Warsaw, went overwhelmingly in favour of Stanislaus. He was proclaimed king, and, having crossed Germany in disguise, he took up his exiguous duties. He was not, however, allowed to settle down. Poland was immediately invaded by Russian and Saxon troops. Stanislaus fled from Warsaw and took refuge in Danzig, hoping to receive help from France by sea. France, however, failed him. Danzig had to surrender in June 1734 Stanislaus, once more assuming disguise, escaped before the city fell and made his way into perpetual exile. Augustus III was established on the throne which he held until 1763. He was, however, a more puppet king. "The seat of government seemed to be rather at Petersburg than at Warsaw¹."

The nominal cause of the War of the Polish Succession was thus decided before the close of 1734. Behind and beyond this Polish conflict, however, there lay the clashing interests of the Hapsburgs on the one side; France, Spain and Sardinia on the other. The three allies of Stanislaus had hardly from the first Pretended that their main concern was to restore him to his throne Spain and Sardinia had done nothing whatsoever on his behalf. Even France, the honour and prestige of whose King was more deeply involved, had done no more than send three battalions to Danzig in May 1734, and they, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, had withdrawn after four days. These four days, however, are notable as having been the first occasion on which French and Russian forces exchanged shots. The real efforts of the allies had been directed, not against Augustus of Saxony or his Russian supporters, but against the House of Hapsburg and the Empire. And the struggle initiated in 1733 continued for four years after the settlement of the Polish problem. (1) The main efforts of

1. Dyer T. H. *Modern Europe* IV p. 228.

France were concentrated on Lorraine, whose duke, Francis Stephen was destined to marry Maria Theresa, daughter and heiress of the Emperor Charles VI. The duchy was speedily overrun and taken into French occupation. (2) Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, with the aid of a French force under the aged marshal Villars, devoted his energies to the invasion of Milan and Mantua, where he defeated the depleted Austrian armies at Parma and Guastalla (1734). (3) The Spaniards, however, were those who gained the most conspicuous success. They, in the interest of Don Carlos, elder son of Elizabeth Farnese, invaded the Two Sicilies. The Austrians were routed at Bitonto in Apulia (May 1734) and Naples was completely conquered before the end of the year. Next year, Sicily was overrun, and on July 3rd Don Carlos was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo.

Before the end of 1735 serious fighting was at an end. Negotiations for peace were opened up and preliminaries were actually signed between France and Austria at Vienna on October 3rd of that year. But dissensions among the allies prevented the conclusion of peace, and hostilities dragged on until November 1738 when the final Treaty of Vienna was signed. According to this settlement (1) Augustus III was to be recognised as King of Poland; (2) Stanislaus Leczinski was to be compensated by the Duchy of Lorraine which on his death should be incorporated in France; (3) Francis Stephen of Lorraine should exchange his duchy for that of Tuscany; (4) Don Carlos should resign his claims on Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza, and should receive in exchange the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; (5) the Emperor Charles VI should surrender Naples and Sicily receiving in return Parma and Piacenza together with a confirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction. (6) Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia should receive Novara and Tortona as a solatium for his failure to secure Milan and Mantua.

THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCE AND COLONIES

Great Britain took no part in the war of the Polish Succession, or in any of the other conflicts that arose in connection with it. George II, as Elector of Hanover, was eager to join in the fray on the side of Augustus of Saxony, for he feared for the security of his electorate should France and Poland be linked in a close alliance. His great minister, Robert Walpole, however, feeling that British interests were not seriously affected by the struggle, refused to become involved.

Britain, indeed, at this time was much less concerned with Continental affairs than with those connected with the extension of her commerce and the development of her colonies. In the East from her "factories" at Surat, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, she was extending her influence in India, and bringing vast wealth to the proprietors of the East India Company. In the West Indies the rich sugar plantations were filling the treasuries of the families of their owners. In America the thirteen colonies, spread along the coast of the northern continent from New Hampshire southward to Georgia, were rapidly growing both in population and in prosperity. The rice and tobacco of the southern colonies; the skins and furs of the colder colonies of the north, were profitably exchanged for the manufactured commodities of the British Isles.

Besides this inter-imperial commerce, moreover, there was the important and lucrative trade opened up to Britain by the Treaties of Utrecht. According to these treaties of 1713, it will be remembered, Britain was entitled (1) to send one shipload of goods annually to a selected port in Spanish America—Portobello being the place ultimately fixed upon; (2) to enjoy the "Assiento" for thirty years, that is, the right to supply Spanish America with the Slaves require for the cultivation of Spanish plantation. These Utrecht concessions were from the first intensely obnoxious to the Spaniards. The French, too, who coveted

the "Assiento", joined the Spaniards in dislike as soon as the Treaty of Seville (1729) had brought France and Spain together again after the Orleanist split. The Secret Family Compact of 1733 had pledged the two Bourbon powers to rescind the Utrecht concession as soon as circumstances should permit. From that date, indeed, Britain found increasing obstacles placed in the way of her enterprises in the Spanish seas.

And, it must be admitted, Britain had come to interpret her privileges under the Utrecht concessions with excessive liberality. Under cover of the "Assiento" she sent to Spanish America not only slaves kidnapped in Africa, but also immense quantities of woollen and other goods, nominally as part of the equipment of the slaves. Further, having despatched the single shipload of commodities to Portobello, according to agreement, the vessel that conveyed them was anchored in the harbour and continually replenished by supplementary cargo-carriers that discharged their wares under cover of darkness; so that the original ship became a permanent emporium of inexhaustible supplies. To crown all, an immense amount of illicit trade was carried on by revenue-runners and smugglers. Until 1733 the Spaniards, in their easy, going way, had generally ignored the British excesses; for British goods were welcomed by the Spanish colonists and by the natives, and if they could get them duty-free, so much the better. After the conclusion of the Family Compact, however, Spanish discipline was tightened. The ultimate destination of the luxuries sent in with the African negroes was investigated; the continual replenishment of the Portobello merchantman was restricted; above all, the intrepid and insolent smugglers were seized by the coastguards and brought up for trial. By a refinement of aggravation and they were sometimes arraigned before the Inquisition and put through a theological examination which their training had not qualified them to pass with satisfaction to the examiners. Hence their punishment did not always fit their crime.

From 1733 onward, therefore, relations between Britain and the Bourbon powers tended to deteriorate. Sir Robert Walpole did his best to conciliate and compromise. He desired peace at almost any price, for he feared that war might lead to a Jacobite restoration. His efforts, however, were vain: the passions of both Bourbon and British people were roused to fighting-point. Walpole's peace efforts, too, were hampered by the fact that both in India and in North America friction between English and French was generating a dangerous heat. He lost control of the situation in 1738 when a certain captain Robert Jenkins, master of a trading sloop, came back from Jamaica displaying a severed ear and asserting that it had been cut off by a Spanish *guarda costa* which wrongfully accused him of smuggling. The opponents of Walpole perceived the propaganda value of Jenkins, and so had him brought before the House of Commons to tell his story. He repeated a well-rehearsed part, "What did you do when you were being maltreated and mutilated by the barbarians?" "Asked a member. "I committed my soul to God, and my cause to my Country" was the dramatic reply.

In the face of such an opposition Walpole was helpless. Utterly against his will, and against his better judgment, he was compelled by popular passion to declare war upon Spain in 1739. It is considered one of the gravest errors of his career that, in the circumstances, he did not resign the office of prime minister which he had held from 1721. He apparently felt that by retaining office he could keep the war within the narrowest possible limits, and could bring it to the speediest possible end. He knew, indeed, that the country was completely unprepared for war. More than a quarter of a century of profound peace had reduced both army and navy to a state of extreme inefficiency. The operations planned by Walpole were ridiculous in their inadequacy and exasperating in their ineffectiveness. Admiral Vernon began well by capturing, with six ships only, the strongly defended harbour of Portobello (November 1739): but he badly failed at Carthagen (1740).

and Santiago de Cuba (1741), and the result of his expedition was nil. Admiral Anson, also with six ships, set out in September 1740 for a raid on the Spanish South American ports. He was extremely illequipped for the venture: so short was the country of trained fighting men that his marines had to be drawn entirely from the ranks of the aged Chelsea pensioners many of whom were too infirm to walk in the circumstances he did well to succeed in damaging a few ports, capturing a certain amount of treasure, collecting a good deal of scientific information, and returning at the end of nearly four years, having lost five of his six ships, and 626 out of the 961 men with whom he started.

Before he got back, however, Walpole had been compelled to resign (1742) and the "Jenkin's Ear" war with Spain had become merged in the much wider and more important War of the Austrian Succession.

THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES VI

The War of the Austrian Succession followed, and was the consequence of, the death of the emperor Charles VI on October 20th, 1740. This ruler had succeeded his short-lived elder brother, Joseph I in 1711, during the course of the War of the Spanish Succession. His election to the imperial throne had destroyed any chance he may have had of securing Spain as "Charles III", and from that time onward he devoted himself to the affairs of Germany and the Austrian Hapsburgs. By the Treaty of Rastadt (1714), it will be remembered, he obtained from the Spanish lucky-bag the Belgian Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia (exchanged a few years later for Sicily). These additions of territory to the Hapsburg dominions added little to his power or wealth. On the contrary they were rather sources of weakness, since they exposed him to the attacks of jealous enemies, in particular, to the French eager for the Netherlands, to the Sardinians lustful for

Milan, and to the Spaniards bent on recovering the Two Sicilies.

His reign then was almost filled with fighting. In 1719 he had to face a Spanish invasion of Sardinia, which he would certainly have lost had he not been assisted by his maritime allies who defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro and so enabled him to recover, not Sardinia indeed, but Sicily in its place. In 1733, as we have just seen, he became involved as a principal in the Polish Succession war, and upon him the main losses fell, namely the Two Sicilies, very imperfectly compensated for by Parma and Piacenza.

Besides these wars in the West, moreover, he was incessantly menaced and harassed on his Eastern frontier by the Turks. The Turkish power which had declined during the ninety years 1566-1656 had been revived in the last half of the seventeenth century by two able grand-viziers, namely Mohammed Kiuprili (1656-61) and Achmet Kiuprili (1661-76). They had restored discipline and good government: had conquered Transylvania from Hungary (1663-4) and Crete from Venice (1669); had invaded Poland (1671-6) and Austria (1683) both of which countries had been saved by the military skill and might of the Polish John Sobieski. The peril of Austria, where Vienna itself had to stand a Turkish siege of two months (July—September 1683), caused the formation of a Holy League between the Empire, Poland, and Venice, which waged a defensive war for fifteen years (1684-99). It terminated in the definite expulsion of the Turks who were compelled to to disgorge all their conquests by the Peace of Carlowitz 1699.

In Charles's reign, however, the Turks were once more resurgent, and Charles had to wage two wars against them. In the first he was brilliantly successful (1714-18). He had at the head of his armies the masterly Prince Eugene, fresh from his victories in the Spanish Succession conflict. Having defeated the Turks at Peterwardein (1716) and Belgrade (1717), he imposed upon them the Peace of

Passarowitz (1718) under which they were compelled to cede part of Serbia including the key-fortress of Belgrade, the gate of entry into the Balkans. The second Turkish war, however, was disastrous (1736-9). It came, it will be noted while the War of the Polish Succession was still dragging along its weary concluding stages. The weakened imperial forces had to fall back before the Turkish advance. Nissa was taken in 1737 and Orsova in 1738. In 1739 a heavy defeat at Crocyka compelled the beaten emperor to make the humiliating Peace of Belgrade, (September 1739) under which he surrendered all his acquisitions of 1718. This debilitating defeat served as a gloomy termination to this long period of fluctuating conflict.

Side by side, moreover, with these external troubles, there had been one domestic anxiety which had increasingly absorbed the attention of the harassed emperor. That had been anxiety concerning the succession after his death to (1) the Hapsburg dominions, and (2) the imperial office. He had a number of children by his wife, Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, but of these children only two daughters had survived infancy, namely Maria Theresa (born 1717 and married 1736 to Francis of Lorraine) and Maria Anna (who married Francis's brother Charles). It was Charles's supreme purpose, first, to secure Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and their appurtenances, to Maria Theresa, and secondly, after her marriage, to prepare the way for the election of Francis of Lorraine to the imperial throne. To accomplish his first aim he drew up a document known as the Pragmatic Sanction in which he (1) proclaimed the indivisibility of the Hapsburg dominions ; (2) rescinded the rule that they should descend only to male heirs ; and (3) nominated his own daughters as heirs in preference to their cousins, the daughters of his elder brother Joseph. To this constitutional innovation he diligently sought the consent and support first of the Hapsburg states, secondly of the German Diet, and thirdly of the leading European powers. He succeeded, often at the cost of material concessions, in obtaining confirma-

tions of the Pragmatic Sanction from the Hapsburg States—beginning with Austria and ending with the Netherlands—during the years 1720-24. The Imperial Diet withheld its assent until 1732. Meantime guarantees had been secured from Spain 1725 (renewed 1739), Russian and Prussia (1726), and Great Britain (1731). The Polish Succession dispute brought a guarantee from Augustus of Saxony (1733), while the conclusion of the Warsaw the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed as part of the peace settlement by France, Spain, and Sardinia (1738-9).

If treaties and diplomatic pledges could ever make anything secure, the peaceful accession of Maria Theresa to the Hapsburg dominions should have been safe. There was, however, one ominous exception to the potentates who had promised to recognise and support Maria Theresa. That exception was Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who himself was able to advance a double claim to the Hapsburg inheritance: first, he was a descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I, and he contended that an ambiguous will of that emperor, dated 1564, gave him precedence to Maria Theresa; secondly, he was married to Maria Amelia, daughter of the Emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. He, therefore, came forward as a rival to Maria Theresa. He also aspired to the imperial throne as a rival to Francis of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband.

Charles Albert by himself alone, of course, had no chance of winning a war against the forces of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia; but, unfortunately for Germany, he did not remain without supporters. In spite of guarantees and pledges he was, after some hesitations, joined by France (in the hope of securing the Austrian Netherlands), by Spain, (eager to recover the Milanese) by Sardinia, and by ungrateful Saxony.

The conflict, however, was not actually begun by any of these, but by a new arrival upon the scene of international banditry, namely, Frederick II of Prussia.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

Frederick II of Prussia, later known as "the Great", had succeeded his martinet, father, Frederick William, on May 31st 1740. He inherited a well-filled treasury and a large magnificently equipped army, undoubtedly the best in Europe. He was eager to use both the money and the men. "A monarch ought to make himself respected", he said. "At the beginning of a reign it is better to give evidences of determination rather than of meekness". Hence, in spite of the fact that his father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, he resolved to seize Maria Theresa's province of Silesia. He was indifferent to the question of right: "let the soldiers take it", he said, "and then let the historians justify the seizure". Of its value to Prussia there could be no doubt. Its northern extremity lay within a few days' march of Berlin; it divided Saxony from Poland, and so enabled its possessor to invade each at his pleasure; it opened the way southward to Austria and westward to Bohemia. It was, moreover, rich in copper and other commodities of which Prussia had need. Its numerous advantages were sufficient justification for Frederick. He demanded its cession from Maria Theresa, offering, if she would cede it, to guarantee all her other possessions against all claimants; On her indignant rejection of this unprincipled demand and insolent offer, he poured his troop across the frontier (December 1740) and soon had the province in his power. Only one considerable battle was necessary, namely, that of Mollwitz, fought on April 10th 1741.

It was this triumphant piece of banditry that brought Bavaria and France openly into the field. They made an alliance with the predatory Prussia, in which they were soon joined by Saxony, Sardinia, and Spain. Hence during 1741 and 1742 the position of Maria Theresa seemed desperate. Apart from her own subjects, she had no supporters except the Hanoeavrians who were not able to give her much assistance. Bohemia was invaded and occupied by the

Prussians under Frederick, who defeated the Austrian army at Chotusitz (May 1742). Austria itself was overrun by the French and Bavarians, who reached the outskirts of Vienna. Maria Theresa was compelled to flee into Hungary and place herself under the protection of her faithful Magyars. Meantime, the jackal Spaniards tried to help themselves to the Austrian possessions in Italy. In the critical circumstances, under strong pressure from Hanover, Maria Theresa, with intense reluctance, made peace with Frederick. By the Treaties of Breslau and Berlin (June and July 1742) she recognised his possession of Silesia, and he for his part withdrew from the war. It caused him no concern that in doing so he was breaking faith with France and Bavaria and was leaving their troops, unsupported, in very awkward situation.

The pacification with Prussia in 1742 enabled Maria Theresa to effect a remarkable recovery. She was aided not only by Hanover, but also by Saxony and Sardinia, who were persuaded to change sides, partly by fear of Franco-Bavarian aggressions, and partly by promises and subsidies. The money for the subsidies was largely provided by Britain which, though not nominally at war with France until March 1744, was still engaged in the "Jenkin's Ear" conflict with Spain, and so was able indirectly to render aid. In 1742, then, the situation was radically transformed. Before the end of the year the Austrian dominions were almost entirely cleared of the invaders. First, the withdrawal of the Prussians enabled the Austrians completely to free Bohemia. Secondly, from Austria itself the French and Bavarians were driven by the loyal Hungarians. Thirdly, the Bourbon attack on Italy was brought to an end by the British fleet which blockaded the Spanish base at Cadiz and threatened Naples with bombardment.

So astonishing, indeed, was the reversal of fortune that in 1743 Maria Theresa felt strong enough to take the offensive. She directed her energies first against her rival, Charles Albert of Bavaria, (who in January 1742 had been elected emperor). His electorate was overrun, and he was

driven into an exile whence he never returned. Meanwhile, George II, as the head of a Hanoverian army reinforced by British and other "auxiliaries", defeated the French at Dettingen (June 27th 1743) and cleared them out of Germany. The Two Sicilies also were invaded and seemed in a fair way to be reduced.

This change of fortune was watched with extreme apprehension by Frederick of Prussia, who was under no illusions respecting Maria Theresa's attitude towards himself. He knew that her heart was set on the recovery of Silesia, and on the exemplary punishment of its conqueror. So in June 1744 he once more concluded an alliance with France and Bavaria, whose misfortunes compelled them to condone his desertion of 1742. His return as a combatant altered the complexion of things once more. Maria Theresa in fury accepted Frederick's challenge and invaded Silesia, making a strenuous effort to recover it. She was, however, unable to do so, her armies meeting with a final defeat at Hohenfriedberg on June 5th, 1745. Bohemia was again overrun by the Prussians, while the French invaded the Austrian Netherlands and defeated the British and their allies at Fontenoy on May 11th, 1745. The French, too, as a diversion, assisted the "Young Pretender", Charles Edward, in the formidable 1745 Jacobite insurrection in Britain. They also engaged in fierce conflicts with the British in India and North America.

So hard pressed, indeed, were Maria Theresa and her allies in 1745 that the harassed queen made peace both with Bavaria and with Prussia. The settlement with Bavaria was facilitated by the death of Charles Albert in January of that year. His successor, Maximilian Joseph, in return for the restoration of the electorate, promised to withdraw from the war, and to support the candidature of Francis of Lorraine for the imperial throne. As to Frederick of Prussia, by the Treaty of Dresden (December 1745) he made peace on similar conditions to those conceded in 1742. He had rendered his possession of Silesia secure.

From 1746 onward the war died down in Germany. The Austrian Succession problem was solved. Maria Theresa had secured all the Hapsburg dominions except Silesia. Her husband had been elected emperor (September 1745). In outlying regions, however, the conflict dragged on. In Britain the Jacobite rebellion was not crushed until (April 1746) the "Young Pretender" met his fate at Culloden. In Italy the two Bourbon powers continued to struggle ineffectively for the Milanese. In the Austrian Netherlands the French were active and more successful. In India and America the British and French pursued their controversies and quarrels irrespective of the happenings in Europe.

By 1748 all the combatants were exhausted and anxious for peace. Hence in October of that year the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the dreary conflict to an end. The main terms were :—

- (1) Silesia was definitely ceded to Frederick of Prussia ;
 - (2) Parma and Piacenza were granted to Don Philip, younger son of Elizabeth Farnese and Philip V ;
 - (3) Sardinia received some additions to her frontiers in North Italy ;
 - (4) Overseas there was a mutual restoration of conquests ; thus Madras, which the French had taken from the English East India Company, was exchanged for Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, which the British and New Englanders had captured in North America.
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The Conflict for Empire

THE EAST INDIES

The War of the Austrian Succession which had begun as a contest for the Hapsburg dominions in Europe had gradually changed its character and had become increasingly a struggle between the British and the Bourbons for commerce, colonies, and the command of the sea. During its whole period the "Jenkin's Ear" war between Britain and Spain continued its undistinguished course until absorbed and forgotten in the larger conflict: the original matters of controversy, indeed, remained undecided when the final treaty was concluded. During the late phases of the war, when the Hapsburg issues had been settled, the British and the French concentrated their efforts on the struggle overseas, and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which nominally restored peace throughout the world, brought hardly any cessation of conflict either in the East Indies or in North America.

In the East Indies the two contending powers were ostensibly, not the British and French governments, but the rival East India Companies established the one in 1600,

the other in 1604.¹ Both, of course, had received their charters from their respective governments, and both were under state regulation, nevertheless the English Company was much the more independent of the two. The French government retained direct control over its Company, and expected to receive satisfactory revenues from the conduct of its trade. Both the Companies at first met with strong opposition from the Portuguese and the Dutch who had preceded them in effecting communications with the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In spite of opposition, however, during the course of the seventeenth century the English had established "factories" or trading-stations at surat, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, while the French were settled at Mahe, Chandanagore and Pondicherry.

At the time when these "factories" were founded—usually with the ready assent of the local native rulers—the greater part of India enjoyed repose under the strong efficient authority of the Mughal emperors, successors of the great Babar and Akbar who had seated themselves at Delhi in the sixteenth century. When once the Mughal Empire had been established it had been allowed to continue without serious challenge because, on the one hand, it ceased to be aggressive, and, on the other hand, it displayed a wise religious tolerance. Unfortunately, however, when the Mughal throne passed into the possession of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) this prudent policy was abandoned. This injudicious emperor strove to extend his dominion in the Deccan; he also initiated a fanatical attempt to suppress the Hindu religion. The consequence was the formation of the powerful Maratha Confederacy of the Central Provinces intended to prevent further aggression, and to defend Hinduism. Aurangzeb had no force adequate to meet the attack of the Maratha cavalry, and the various provinces of his great empire—Oudh, Bengal,

1. The original French Company languished. Richelieu attempted to revive it in 1622; but it was not effectively re-started until Colbert took it in hand in 1664.

Orissa, the Carnatic—had to fend for themselves, paying tribute to the invader. On Aurangeb's death in 1707 succession disputes broke out and the loosely-knit Mughal empire began to disintegrate. The process of dissolution was much hastened by an invasion of Northern India by Nadir Shah of Persia who sacked Delhi itself and shook the Mughal power to its foundations (1739).

In the circumstances the governors of the European factories found themselves forced, in the midst of growing anarchy, to take measures for self-protection. Among these governors the Frenchman Joseph Francois Dupleix stood eminent, for he, more clearly than any other, saw that the political disorder of India made it possible for a European power to gain control. Hence, as governor of Pondicherry (1742-54) he set to work to strengthen the finances of the French Company ; to cultivate the friendship of the native princes of the Carnatic ; to fortify his factory, and, above all, to train and arm a strong force of native or "sepoys" troops.

When in 1744 France and Britain became involved in the War of the Austrian Succession Dupleix was ready for the occasion. He—with the assistance of the Count de Labourdonnais, governor of the Isles de France, who brought fleet—captured Madras, and when the Nawab of the Carnatic intervened, inflicted upon him a severe defeat. The English, on their side, ill-equipped for war, in vain attacked Pondicherry. The French government, unfortunately for Dupleix, showed no appreciation of his achievements. On the contrary, they expressed much dissatisfaction at his expenditure of money on diplomacy and armaments, and at the diminution of their dividends. Hence when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was made they had no hesitation in handing back Madras to the British Company in exchange for their captured American fortress of Louisburg.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle brought no cessation to the Franco-British struggle in the Carnatic. It was, however, for a time carried on indirectly, mainly as a struggle to

secure the alliance of native princes, *e g.*, the Nizam of the Deccan and the Nawab of Arcot. But meantime a servant of the British Company at Madras, Robert Clive, with a genius for war, was following the example of Dupleix and building up on efficient "Sepoy" army. In 1751 he was able to intervene in a native succession dispute with decisive effect. His capture of Arcot and his victory at Arnee placed the British power definitely in the ascendant. In 1754 Dupleix was recalled in disgrace, leaving his Company deeply in debt, and for four years there was no French governor-general in India.

Those four years were fraught with immense consequences. For during that interval, on June 20th, 1756, in the course of the Franco-British struggle in Bengal, had occurred the tragic episode of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. This had brought Clive with his "Sepoys" up from the Carnatic. He captured the French "factory" of Chandanagore, and defeated the vast host of the Francophile Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Dowlah, at Plassey (June 23, 1757). The unexpected result of this victory, which was confirmed by another victory gained by Sir Hector Munro at Buxar in 1764, was to place the administration of the great province of Bengal under the control of the British East India Company.

Before this consummation, however, had been reached, the conflict in the Carnatic had been renewed and concluded. In 1758 Count Lally arrived from France as the head of a strong force. He laid siege to Madras but was prevented from taking it by the action of the British fleet. Finally he was brought to battle at Wandewash (January 22nd, 1760) and decisively defeated by Sir Eyre Coote. Pondicherry was captured by the British next year, and the French political dominion in India was at an end.

By the Peace of Paris (February 10th, 1763) the French settlements in India were restored, but on condition that they should not be fortified, and that their occupants should strictly limit themselves to commerce, and should refrain from intervening in Indian politics. Hence in 1763

the British influence was firmly established as dominant in both the Carnatic and Bengal.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Side by side with the conflict in India between the rival British and French East India Companies, a struggle was raging in America between the rival groups of British and French colonies.

Stretched along the eastern coast of North America in a now unbroken chain lay the thirteen British colonies, extending from New Hampshire in the north to Georgia in the south. At both extremities, however, of this long range the Bourbons had their settlements. Next to Georgia lay the ancient Spanish dominion of Florida, and the indeterminate frontier between the two was a constant source of friction. At the other extremity lay the territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia which had been surrendered by France to Great Britain under the Treaty of Utrecht ; but here, again, the boundaries were ill-defined and serious clashes were the consequence. But more critical than these frontier disputes was the contest for the *hinterland* of the British Colonies, a vast region claimed by both the French and British settlers.

French colonisation in North America had proceeded by way of the rivers and the great lakes. Jacques Cartier, the pioneer, had navigated the St. Lawrence as far as the modern Montreal (1536), and on that river Samuel de Champlain had established a fort at Quebec in 1608. Thence expeditions were sent to explore and exploit the lakes—Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, Superior. In 1671 La Salle struck the Ohio valley and gradually working his way down its long course reached the Mississippi. Then, following that immense river to its mouth, he reached the Gulf of Mexico in 1682. To the Mississippi basin he gave the name of "Louisiana" in honour of Louis XIV, and he claimed it for France. Its capital, New Orleans,

was founded in 1717. France had thus two main settlements in North America, namely, Canada in the far north based on the river St. Lawrence, and Louisiana in the far south based on the Mississippi. She was eager to link the two together by obtaining possession of the valley of the Ohio and the vast regions that lay beyond the Alleghany Mountains. But these territories were the *hinterland* or back-country of the English colonies, and a French occupation of them would have been a complete bar to their expansion. It would also have exposed them to a constant threat of invasion.

Early in the eighteenth century the French erected forts at Frontenac and Niagara, at the two extremities of Lake Ontario, and in 1727 Governor Brunet of New York replied by building Fort Oswego midway between the two. In 1748 the British and the Virginians combined to found the Ohio Company for the occupation and development of the disputed valley. The French countered these operations by putting up fortresses at several nodal points, the most important being Fort Duquesne, on the site of modern Pittsburg (1753). It was not long before open hostilities broke out. British Government decided that Fort Duquesne must be captured and the French expelled from the regions of Lake Erie and Ontario. To effect these purposes they despatched General Edward Braddock with a couple of regiments to reinforce the Virginian militiamen. The expedition proved to be a disastrous failure. Braddock, being totally ignorant of American methods of warfare, fell into an ambush when penetrating the dense forests some nine miles east of Fort Duquesne. He himself and more than half his men—about 900—were slain, the French and their native allies losing only 43. (July 9th 1755). The sequel to this catastrophe was the dreadful ravaging of Virginia and Pennsylvania by the Red Indian allies of the French. Other disasters followed, including the loss of Fort Oswego: the British fortunes touched their lowest ebb.

Soon afterwards (1756) the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, and there once again France and Great Britain

ranged themselves on opposite sides. The critical situation of affairs, however, brought William Pitt (later Earl Chatham) into office, and his inspiring genius soon put a new complexion upon things. He realised that so far as Britain and France were concerned the main points at issue were not those being contended for on the Continent of Europe, but rather those respecting which Britons and Frenchmen were fighting in India, in America, among the West Indian islands, and on the high seas. Hence, while subsidising his allies on the Continent, he devoted his energies, his enthusiasm, his organising power, and his superb capacity for choosing the right agents, to the task of establishing the British ascendancy on the Ocean, in the East and West Indies, and above all on the North American Continent.

As to North America, Pitt resolved upon nothing less than the complete conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French from the Continent. He planned his expeditions on the grand scale, and in a few years he saw them carried through to spectacular success. In 1758 Louisburg, the great fastness on Cape Breton Island, the main French outpost, was stormed by Amherst and Wolfe : it was totally destroyed and laid waste, its inhabitants being deported to Europe. Then the British generals—Amherst, Abercrombie, Prideaux, Wolfe—set to work to reduce the mainland fortresses. One by one, they were taken—Duquesne, Frontenac, Ticonderoga, Niagara. The Ohio valley was entirely cleared of its French occupants. But still there remained the central citadel of Quebec, seated upon a rocky eminence, looked upon as impregnable, defended by a strong French force under an able and resolute commander, the Marquis de Montcalm. The almost insuperable task of taking it was assigned to General James Wolfe, who was supported by a fleet under Sir Charles Saunders. The expedition arrived before the great fortress in June 1759, having overcome formidable difficulties in navigating the St. Lawrence. The whole summer, however, was spent in vain efforts to effect a breach in the

French defences, September came and the approach of autumn made it necessary to begin preparations for the raising of the siege and for departure. One more attempt, nevertheless, Wolfe determined to make. He resolved to try to scale the almost perpendicular approach to the Heights of Abraham that commanded the fortress. He had to do so by means of a cliff path up which his men could crawl only one at a time. The amazing feat was accomplished without detection on the night of September 12th, and next morning the astonished garrison found themselves faced by an ordered force of 4000 men ready for an assault. Astonishment gave place to confusion and panic: the French were beaten and Quebec was taken. Both Wolfe and Montcalm met their deaths in the short fierce fight.

The capture of Québec did not finally decide the fate of Canada. Whether Quebec could be held, and whether Montreal the capital would fall, depended on whether a French or British fleet would appear next year in the St. Lawrence. That question was settled by the naval victories of Boscawen off Lagos (August 18th, 1759) and Hawke in Quiberon Bay (November 19th 1755). In 1760 a British fleet reached American waters and Montreal fell (September 8th).

By the Peace of Paris which ended the war (February 10, 1763) the French ceded to Britain the whole of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton Island. Louisiana moreover was ceded to Spain who, in exchange, handed Florida over to Britain. Thus French power was wholly eliminated from North America.

THE DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION

While these fateful conflicts had been going on in India and North America, equally portentous events had been taking place in Europe. A veritable "diplomatic revolution" had been effected, and the tremendous Seven Years' War had been fought to its dramatic finish. The Peace

of Paris (February 1763), already mentioned twice, was the instrument that concluded all these closely-associated struggles.

It will have been observed that ever since the accession of Henry IV of France the main feature of the political history of Europe had been the rivalry of the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg. The chief aim of Henry IV himself, as of Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV, had been the humiliation and spoliation of the requisitive Hapsburg family. The death of Charles II of Spain, however, brought the senior branch of the family to extinction; the War of the Spanish Succession transferred the throne of Spain to the Bourbons, the Wars of the Polish and Austrian Successions revealed the weakness of the junior branch of the family, and involved it in serious losses of territory. It ceased to be a source of danger to the Bourbons, who became much more apprehensive of peril from the growing and aggressive power of Prussia. Moreover, beyond the seas the Hapsburgs had no possessions. In these regions Great Britain was the enemy. After the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession, therefore, France was ready to realign her policy.

Austria, too, was in a mood not dissimilar. Maria Theresa and her ministers, although they had miraculously survived the ordeal of the long succession struggle, came out of it with shattered armies exhausted treasury, depleted resources. The grave defects of their constitution had been revealed, and they realised the urgent need of a thorough reform of their institutions, as well as a reorganisation of their foreign policy. For them, as for France, Prussia was the enemy. The loss of Silesia rankled incessantly; Frederick the Great was Maria's *bête noire*. She was intensely annoyed, moreover, with Austria's traditional ally, Great Britain. For British foreign policy was determined at this period very largely by Hanover, and the interests of George II, as Elector of Hanover, threw him decisively on the Russian side. More than once, during the Austrian Succession conflict, he had intervened to compel

Maria to the loathsome humiliation making a truce with Frederick, and it was largely due to his pressure that Silesia had ultimately to be abandoned to the robber. She was, however, determined to recover Silesia and to crush Frederick, and she realised that in the carrying out of this purpose she would meet with no assistance from the Hanoverian ruler of Great Britain. Hanover was too near to Brandenburg to permit the King of Great Britain to challenge the might of the King of Prussia. Hence the peace of 1748 left Austria deeply alienated from her ancient British ally.

The First task of the Hapsburg monarch, however, after the war had ceased, was to effect the needed domestic reforms. Fortunately, Maria Theresa had round her a body of loyal and capable ministers who in a few years vastly improved the condition of things. Van Swetten overhauled the whole educational system ; Chotex devoted his energies to the restoration of sound finance and to the development of commerce ; Haugwitz reformed the civil service and, above all, began to build up a new army based on conscription, intended to equal and rival the host of Frederick of Prussia. The revolution in foreign policy was, however, mainly carried through by Prince Kaunitz the ablest and most far-sighted statesman of the mid-eighteenth century.

Kaunitz realised that the rise of Prussia had upset the power of France both in Europe and in Germany. He rightly beheld Prussia the arch-enemy of Austria, and he considered that the supreme aim of Austrian diplomacy and war should be to isolate Prussia, crush her, dismember her, and recover the stolen province of Silesia. Further, he perceived that in this Germanic rivalry both Great Britain and Holland, Austria's old-time allies, were more inclined to the Hohenzollern than to the Hapsburg side. Hence he advocated an Austro-French alliance. He embodied his views in a notable memorandum laid before Maria Theresa in April 1749.

It took some time to overcome the empress's conservative instincts, but finally her consuming hatred of Frederick prevailed, and she gave Kaunitz permission to proceed. Accordingly he went as ambassador to Paris in 1750 and remained there for three years. He had no easy task in France, for he found hostility to the Hapsburg still dominant in French official circles. He completely won over, however, the ruling mistress of the Court, Madame de Pompadour, whose wrath against Frederick had been kindled by reports of some of the truths respecting her that he had uttered. Her influence inclined Louis XV to the Austrian design. The matter was brought to a head in 1755 when fighting broke out between the British and the French in North America. George II, in sublime ignorance of the diplomatic revolution being effected on the Continent, and being apprehensive of a French attack upon Hanover while his main forces were on the other side of the Atlantic, appealed to Austria to guarantee the security of the electorate from French attack. To his amazement and disgust Austria declined to give the guarantee. He then applied to Prussia, and with sincerity Frederick acceded to his application. He was delighted to secure so useful an ally in the great conflict which he saw impending. A Prusso-British alliance was concluded by the Convention of Westminster (January 1756).

The news of the conclusion of the Convention of Westminster between Great Britain and Prussia clinched the negotiations between Austria and France. In May 1756 the First Treaty of Versailles, supplemented by a Second Treaty a year later, bound the ancient enemies together to defend one another's territories and to partition Prussia. The diplomatic revolution was complete. Britain and Prussia were arrayed against France and Austria. The Stage was set for the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Fighting was already going on in India and America. When would it begin in Europe? Frederick of Prussia answered that question by invading Saxony in August 1756.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Austrian diplomacy had not been content merely to secure the French alliance. In order to make the destruction of Frederick as certain as anything human could be, Austria had been busy encircling Prussia with foes. Thus she had won over the Tsaritsa Elizabeth who by a treaty of April 1756 had agreed to send an army of 80,000 men to aid in the recovery of Silesia and to assist in the partitionment of the Parvenu Prussian kingdom. Negotiations, too, had been opened up with Saxony whose ruler (Augustus III of Poland) was, not without sufficient cause, mortally afraid of Frederick's designs both on his German electorate and on his Polish kingdom.

Frederick, who had his secret agents in most European capitals, was not ignorant of the menacing coalition that the hatred of Maria Theresa and the skill of Kaunitz were forming for his destruction, and he realised that if he were to wait until the preparations of Austria, France, Russia and Saxony were complete, he would have but little chance of survival. So, encouraged by his recent British-Hanoverian alliance, he determined to act on the defensive-offensive, that is to say, to get his blow in first, while still his enemies were disunited and unprepared. Hence on August 29th 1756 he started the war by pouring his army across the frontier of his nearest and weakest foe, Saxony.

The first phase of the war that was destined to last seven years saw Prussia as the aggressor. It was a short phase—less than a year in duration (1756-7). It was marked, as was usual in most Prussian wars, by striking initial successes, due to careful preliminary planning, meticulous preparation, treacherous surprise, and the application of overwhelming force. The Saxon army, unsupported by its allies, was crushed at Lobositz on October 11th. Before the end of the month the unfortunate Augustus had to capitulate and withdraw to his Polish kingdom. Frederick occupied Dresden, and among the State-papers there seized found, or professed to find, documents which amply justi-

fied the preventive action that he had taken. He took possession of the electorate, and compelled the Saxons to serve in his army.

This act of violent aggression of the part of the Prussian King added to the number of his enemies. Not only did Russia and France enter into fresh agreements with Austria, but (January 1757) the Imperial Diet proclaimed him a public enemy and declared war upon him, while shortly afterward Sweden joined the Alliance in the hope of recovering Pomerania.

Nevertheless, the early months of 1757 saw the Prussian king still on the offensive. Using Saxony as a base he advanced up the Elbe valley into Bohemia against the forces of his archenemy, Maria Theresa. Once more victory crowned his adventurous arms: he defeated an Austrian army under Charles of Lorraine near Prague (May 1757) and laid siege to the capital. Here, however, his initial successes ended. Thanks to the military reform of Haugwitz a second Austrian army was available, and this advancing to the relief of Prague under the cautious and capable general Daun inflicted on Frederick a heavy defeat at Kolin on June 18th. The beaten Prussians had to evacuate Bohemia altogether, and make the best of their way back into Saxony. The first phase of the war was at an end.

The second phase of the war was a far longer and more critical one. It lasted four years (1757-61) and it saw Prussia brought to the verge of total destruction. The major enemies of Frederick appeared upon the scene of battle and the Prussian territories had to be defended against Russians from the east, Austrians from the south, and French from the west. Frederick had but a single army which, though easily the best in Europe, was comparatively small. In the seven great battles that it fought its original members were all but exterminated, and the later recruits were inevitably raw and ill-trained. If Great Britain had not taken in hand the defence of Frederick's western frontier against the French, the doom of the Prussian kingdom

would have been sealed. Even so, the task of holding back the Russian and the Austrians simultaneously was one that demanded almost superhuman agility and skill. The four campaigns of this critical period can be treated here only with extreme brevity.

I. The Campaign of 1757. (1) The Russians invaded East Prussia, gained a victory at Gross Jagersdorf (August) and occupied the duchy. The Swedes, meantime, took possession of Pomerania and, having thus achieved their purpose, ceased operations.

(2) The French invaded Hanover, defeated the British forces under Cumberland and compelled the beaten general to sign the capitulation of Kloster Seven withdrawing from the war (September). The French then passed on to the recovery of Saxony, and Frederick had to make a forced march to Rossbach where he met and defeated them on November 5th, thus saving the situation.

(3) The Austrians meantime overran Silesia where they gained some minor successes over the local defence forces. In December, however, Frederick, hastening from Rossbach, appeared upon the scene and inflicted upon them the heavy defeat of Leuthen. The net result of the campaign was that while he had lost East Prussia and Pomerania he had retained his hold of Saxony and Silesia, while Brandenburg remained intact.

II. The Campaign of 1758. This campaign was preluded by the complete change of government in Britain. The great Pitt-Newcastle Coalition, formed in the preceding June, repudiated the Convention of Kloster Seven and threw itself energetically into the war both on the Continent and overseas.

(1) The Russian joined the Austrians in their endeavour to recover Silesia, but were defeated at Zorndorf (August 25).

(2) The Austrians attempted the reconquest of Saxony and succeeded in beating Frederick at Hochkirch near Bautzen (October) : but the victor, Marshall Daun, failed to follow up his success,

(3) The French in Hanover found themselves faced by a formidable force of German mercenaries led by Ferdinand of Brunswick, a capable commander, heavily subsidised by Pitt. He inflicted on the French a sharp defeat at Crefeld in June.

III. The Campaign of 1759. This was disastrous for Frederick, but glorious for Britain. It was the year that saw the British naval victories of Boscawen and Hawke, and the capture of Quebec by Wolfe.

(1) The Russians and Austrians overran Silesia and heavily defeated Frederick at Kunersdorf (August 12th).

(2) The Austrians completely re-conquered Saxony, defeating Frederick at Maxen (November 20th) and capturing no fewer in 13,000 of his now depleted army.

(3) The French in Hanover, however, were crushed by Ferdinand of Brunswick at Minden (August 1st) and entirely cleared out of the electorate.

IV. The Campaign of 1760. Saw Frederick on the very verge of destruction.

(1) The Austrians continued their operations in Silesia until checked by Frederick at Leignitz (August).

(2) The Russian invaded Brandenburg itself and in October 1760 actually occupied and burnt Berlin. Frederick appeared to be doomed; but making a last rally of his forces he gained the most desperate of all his battles at Torgau in November, and so just saved the situation for the moment.

(3) Meantime two changes occurred among the European powers, both of them to his disadvantage. First, Ferdinand of Spain died (August 10th, 1759) and was succeeded by his half-brother Charles III, King of the Two Sicilies, who in 1761 entered into the war, primarily, however, as the enemy of Great Britain. Secondly, George II of Great Britain died (October 26th, 1760) and was succeeded by his grandson George III, whose advent was soon followed by a change in British policy, the dismissal of Pitt, and the withdrawal of British subsidies. At the end of 1760, indeed, the position of Frederick appeared to be hopeless,

THE SALVATION OF PRUSSIA

Little was done in 1761. All the combatants were exhausted and eager to bring the conflict to an end. Frederick employed himself in trying to create a new army, and in repairing the damage done by the invasion of Brandenburg. The Russians and Austrians established themselves in Silesia and Pomerania and prepared to strike the final blows at their enemy in 1762. As to the French and the Spaniards—now allied in a new Family Compact, concluded in August 1761—they were wholly engrossed in their struggle with Great Britain in America, the West Indies, and the Pacific Ocean.

At the beginning of 1762, however, an event occurred that changed the whole aspect of the war on the Continent. On January the Tsaritzza Elizabeth, the bitter enemy of Frederick, died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III, who was his fervid admirer. At once Russian policy was changed. Not only did Peter terminate the Russian alliance with Austria, thus putting a stop to the projected joint attack upon Brandenburg, but he actually went over actively to Frederick's side, sending an army of 20,000 men to join his troops in expelling the Austrians from Silesia. Austria now was far too much exhausted to carry on the struggle alone, and Maria Theresa saw once more the necessity of coming to terms with the Prussian robber. France, too, having suffered heavy reverses on the Continent, in India, in North America, and on the high seas, was in no condition to continue the war. Spain, also, who had entered the conflict when it was too late to influence the issue was being badly mauled by the victorious British. In August 1762 a joint naval and military expedition captured the great port of Havana in Cuba, and the following months Manila in the Philippines was seized.

The time had obviously come for a general pacification. The effort of Austria and her allies to crush Frederick of Prussia had already failed: he had survived and by the magnitude and marvel of his achievements had become

"the Great". With equal clarity and certainty Great Britain had established herself as mistress of the seas and as the dominant European power in India, in the West Indies and on the North American Continent. As that was necessary to conclude treaties recognising these different facts. Before the close of 1762 negotiations were opened. In February 1763, almost simultaneously, treaties were concluded (1) between Prussia and Austria at Hubertsburg, and (2) between Britain and the Bourbon Powers at Paris. Europe once more settled down to a quiescence of exhaustion and disgust. But Austria still burned for recovery and revenge; Spain and France eagerly longed for an opportunity to retaliate upon Britain for their losses and humiliations.

The terms of the Treaty of Hubertsburg (February 15th 1763) were short and simple. In substance they restored exactly the *status quo ante*; they were :—

- (1) Prussia should retain all her territories of 1756, including Silesia, intact.
- (2) Saxony similarly should be restored, but should receive no indemnity for the injuries she had sustained.
- (3) Frederick should pledge himself to give his electoral vote to Maria Theresa's son, Joseph, as "King of the Romans", that is, as successor to his father Francis as emperor.¹

The terms of the Peace of Paris (February 10th 1763) were more complicated, since they related to both France and Spain, and dealt with the affairs of four Continents.

1st. *The Anglo-French Treaty* provided that :—

- (1) In Europe, France should restore Minorca (which she had occupied in 1756) receiving in return Belleisle (which the British had captured in 1761).
- (2) In America, she should surrender Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, but should retain certain fishing rights off Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- (3) In the West Indies, she should surrender Grenada

1. The emperor Francis lived till August 18th, 1765.

and the Grenadines, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, but should recover Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St Lucia.

- (4) In Africa, she should give up Senegal, but recover Goree.
- (5) In India, she should get back her factories, but on condition of keeping them undefended and of preventing their factors from meddling in Indian politics.

2nd The Anglo-Spanish Treaty provided that

- (1) Spain should surrender Florida to Great Britain receiving in exchange for it (and for the abandonment of her claim to Minorca which she had expected to secure) Louisiana from France.
- (2) Britain should restore to her Havana and Manila.

The treaties of 1763 confirmed and revealed the profound change in the balance of power that had occurred during the process of the eighteenth century. First and foremost, Prussia, in spite of her enormous losses in men and material, and in spite of the devastations to which her territories had been exposed, emerged definitely as the dominant power in North Germany, and as one of the Great Powers of Europe. She emerged without the sacrifice of an acre of land or a single fortress. Secondly, France was displayed as rapidly on the downgrade. Her armies, badly led by creatures of Madame de Pompadour, had suffered constant humiliating defeats; her navies had been shattered by the British fleets; her empire in both India and America had been taken from her. True, in the West Indies she had been allowed to re-occupy a number of important islands, but this restoration was due not to any strength on the part of the French but rather to the insane folly of the British ministers who, after the fall of Pitt, conducted the negotiations at Paris. The British were destined to pay a heavy price within twenty years for the blind stupidity of Bute and Bedford who were primarily responsible for the restoration to a France eager for revenge

of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St Lucia. Thirdly, Spain was seen, in spite of the revival that had taken place under Philip V and Ferdinand VI, to be once more weak and decadent. She had ceased to count as a Great Power. Finally, Great Britain, notwithstanding the incompetence of George III and the ministers who concluded the war and made the peace, stood forth as undisputed mistress of the seas and as the possessor of an unrivalled empire beyond the oceans. But she stood solitary, an object of envy and hatred, without a friend in the world, in a position of great, though unrealised, danger. On the one side France and Spain were eager for recovery and revenge. On the other side, Frederick of Prussia, who owed his survival to the aid given him in the early stages of the war by Britain, was bitterly resentful of what he regarded as the base betrayal of his cause by George III and Bute after the fall to Pitt. From henceforth for the rest of his life he regarded Britain with bitter animosity.

The Enlightened Despots

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT.

The eighteenth century boasted itself to be the age of enlightenment. It witnessed, indeed, a widespread and successful revolt against authority in matters of opinion. It saw the rapid development of natural science, and the application of the scientific method to the study of philosophy and theology. The way to what the Germans called the "Aufklärung" had been prepared by the thinkers of the seventeenth century : by Descartes and Spinoza ; Newton and Locke ; Fontenelle and Leibnitz ; and above all by Pierre Bayle.

Bayle (1647-1706) was a Frenchman, the son of a Huguenot pastor of the County of Foix in the heart of the Albigenian country. He himself became professor of philosophy at the Calvinistic Academy of Sedan until the Academy was closed by Louis XIV in 1681, when he moved to a chair in the newly-established Ecole Illustre of Rotterdam. There he was living, studying, and teaching when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France (1685) caused the deaths of both his father and his brother. Bayle was roused to furious indignation by the sanguin-

any persecution of the obscurantist French government, and he wrote vehemently on behalf of religious toleration in his *Philosophical Commentary* (1686). His subsequent writings, however, showed a growing scepticism in matters of religious belief, and in 1693 he was dismissed from his chair. Henceforth he devoted his time, his erudition, and his exhaustless energies, to the preparation of his great *Historical and Critical Dictionary* which was published at Rotterdam in two folio volumes in 1697. This amazing and epoch-making work—with subsequent editions considerably enlarged—was the great storehouse whence the eighteenth century sceptics drew their information and inspiration. It is impossible to overstate the debt to Bayle owed by Voltaire and Diderot, Lessing and Frederick the Great, Shaftesbury and Gibbon. The articles of the *Dictionary* were conspicuous and shattering in the freedom of their Biblical criticism in the severity of their treatment of sacred characters such as Abraham and David; in their rejection of miracle and magic; in their denunciation of priestcraft; in their advocacy of free thought and the supremacy of the individual conscience.

The movement of thought started by Bayle the Sceptic was felt most strongly in France, the country of Bayle's birth; for it was there that the untimely reaction due to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused the fiercest and most contemptuous resentment. It was felt that persecution by men who themselves hardly professed to believe the doctrines for denying which they sent heretics to prison and death—men, too, whose lives were frequently scandalous—that such persecution was intolerable in an age of scientific research [and philosophic illumination. Specially notable and immensely influential were the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopaedists.

Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a member of the French nobility of the robe: he held by inheritance the presidency of the Parliament of Bordeaux. In 1726, however, he sold this office

and devoted the remaining thirty years of his life to study and travel. His imaginative *Persian Letters* (1721) had already, under the protective guise of fiction, severely criticised French institutions and ideas. His supreme work, however, was his *Spirit of Laws* (1748) which undermined the foundation of absolute monarchy and advocated the widest limits of constitutional liberty.

Francois Marie Arouet (1694-1778), who assumed the name of "Voltaire", embodied the very spirit of eighteenth century rationalism. His pungent wit, his inimitable literary style, his penetrating criticism, were devoted in a brilliant series of novels, such as *Candide*, and plays such as *La Pucelle*, to exposing the scandalous inconsistencies and the irrational pretensions of the decadent clergy.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), made a very different appeal from that of either Montesquieu or Voltaire. The politics of the one and the theology of the other were addressed to the educated class. Rousseau's writings were directed to the redress of the wrongs of the common man. He belonged to the uneducated proletarian and the outprouing of his Natural genius reached, and profoundly moved, the masses. His *Social Contract* (1762) preached the doctrine of the fundamental equality of all men; their original freedom; their natural goodness; their infeasible possession of political sovereignty.

Finally, the Encyclopaedists, led by Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert, produced their great dictionary of universal knowledge, based on Bayle but going far beyond him in all directions. Its twenty-one folio volumes, whose publication covered the years 1751-72, were issued under great difficulties and in spite of violent antagonism. It was a work of profound significance. In its masterly and authoritative pages the bright light of pure reason, free from the distortions of passion and prejudice, was brought to bear upon all subjects, both sacred and profane. The Age of Enlightenment was preparing the way for the Age of Revolt and Revolution.

Upon no persons did the works of these pioneers of modern free thought have more influence than upon the monarchs who were ruling as absolute sovereigns in the great European States at the close of the eighteenth century. Frederick the Great of Prussia was an avowed disciple of Bayle,¹ and an intimate friend of Voltaire. Catherine II of Russia cultivated the Encyclopaedists and entertained the French philosophers at her court. Joseph II of Austria kept himself abreast of the movements of contemporary thought, and tried to model his policy along enlightened lines. Many minor despots followed in their train, eminent among whom were Gustavus III of Sweden, Charles III of Spain, and Leopold of Tuscany.

But, of course, the rationalism of the pioneers of the *Aufklärung* was intensely obnoxious to the champions of the old order. In particular, the Jesuits offered to it the most strenuous resistance. But the day of the Jesuits was past. Their rigid orthodoxy was alien from the sceptical spirit of the age; their ultra-montanism offended the rising passion of patriotism; their devotion to papacy was hateful to the totalitarian monarchs; their cosmopolitanism was incompatible with the prevailing nationalism of the time. Hence with remarkable unanimity the rulers of Europe, even the Catholic rulers, agreed in suppressing or expelling them. Joseph of Portugal and his minister, Pombal, began the process by driving them out in 1759; the Bourbon rulers of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma all followed suite in 1767. Next year Austria, Bavaria, Venice, and Modena did the same. Finally under extreme pressure, Pope Clement XIV proclaimed the complete suppression of the order in 1773².

1. Frederick himself made an epitome of Bayle's *Dictionary* and had it published in Berlin (1765).

2. Many of the suppressed Jesuits took refuge outside Catholic Europe, particularly in Russia, where Catherine II gave them shelter. In 1801 Pope Pius VI recognised their organisation in Russia; in 1814 Pope Pius VII re-instated them in Catholic Christendom, and they still exist and flourish, their zeal modified by prudence.

FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA

Of all the "enlightened despots" Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) was the most notable. He was a man of strong but extremely unattractive character. The stern discipline to which he had been subjected by his harsh and unsympathetic father had rendered him hard and suspicious, cruel and treacherous, with a remarkable capacity for deceiving his enemies and betraying his friends. But his mind was alert and powerful: he was free from superstition and even reverence; his interests were numerous and varied; he read voluminously and wrote (in French) incessantly¹; he was an expert player on the flute.

We have already seen him at war during two periods of his long reign. During the first war (1740-8) he seized and secured Silesia. Whilst it was going on, moreover, he inherited East Friesland (1744) which gave him the mouth of the river Ems, with its port of Emden, and provided Brandenburg-Prussia with its first outlet to the North Sea. During the second war (1756-63), he was compelled to fight for very existence against a circle of potent and embittered foes: he survived yet so as by fire.

Between the two wars, that is during the period 1748-1756, he spent his enormous energy in transforming the backward, semi-mediaeval kingdom that he had inherited into a modern State. In 1750 he invited Voltaire to Potsdam, and the two emancipated pioneers, toiled together for what was in effect the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Catholic Church. In the sphere of politics Frederick pursued the task of making himself absolute monarch of all his dominions, the main-spring of the whole administrative system. He paid much attention to the development of the resources of Silesia: under his organisation the output of its copper mines was

1. The *Works* of Frederick the Great are still in incomplete process of publication. The 40th volume of his *Political Correspondence* appeared in 1928.

immensely increased ; its revenue doubled—to the intense annoyance and chagrin of Maria Theresa. He also endeavoured to utilise and extend the facilities of East Friesland, making Emden a free port, founding an “Asiatic Company” and a “Bengal Company” to open up a new commerce with the East—to the alarm of the English East Indian merchants. It was, however, in the sphere of the intellect that, under voltaire’s guidance, his work was most noteworthy and most enduring. He reorganised an antiquated Academy of Science that existed in Berlin, and set it to work with renewed vigour under a professional staff of Frenchmen. He proclaimed religious toleration, and even gave shelter to persecuted Jesuits ; he abolished the use of torture ; he made an attempt to introduce freedom of press, but the resulting freedom of criticism of his mode of government caused him to restrict the liberty so used.

Whilst he was carrying through these various innovations, however, he was conscious of the gathering storm of invasion. He realised that sooner or later he would have to fight both for Silesia and for very existence. So, amid all his other enterprises, he had to give his mind to the work of increasing his army, drilling it, and equipping it to meet the impending ordeal. When in 1756 the Seven Years’ War began, he had 160,000 men under arms, easily the most efficient military force at that time in being. We have noted its main achievements during the course of that stupendous struggle. Under Frederick’s daemonic leadership it performed deeds of almost miraculous impossibility—fighting a series of desperate battles against encircling foes ; making forced marches from one menaced frontier to another ; rallying from shattering defeats ; never surrendering. Nevertheless, in the process of the four critical campaigns it was all but exterminated, and in the end Prussia was saved from extinction, not by its own expiring power, but by the help that came from the Britain of Pitt and the Russia of Peter III.

The Peace of Hubertsburg (1763) left the Prussian kingdom in a most deplorable condition. East Prussia had

been for five years in Russian occupation, and Pomerania in the hands of the Swedes. Silesia had been ravaged by contending armies during four bitterly-contested campaigns. Brandenburg itself had been overrun thrice, and Berlin itself captured and burned. The army had been cut to pieces ; the treasury was utterly exhausted ; the coinage had been debased ; industry, agriculture, commerce, all had been ruined. It was a mere wreck of a kingdom that survived the seven years' ordeal ; yet, as we have observed, it was a kingdom intact, a kingdom that had not lost a single acre of its territory. Frederick had not only survived the war, he had won the peace.

With undiminished energy and complete confidence in the future the resolute and resourceful king set to work to rebuild the shattered State. His first care was to re-establish his army, for he felt sure that unless he continued to be feared he would certainly be attacked and destroyed. He was the most hated and dreaded man in Europe. So he never rested until he had once more 200,000 men regimented and ready for war. He did not want any more war, and for the remainder of his reign his influence was steadily pacific ; but it was only his great force and his formidable reputation that kept him free from molestation. Behind the shelter of his army, however, he carried on the gigantic task of restoring his ravaged country. He re-made roads, cut canals, drained marshes. He fostered agriculture and industry, and strove to develop commerce. He reformed the administration of justice, and recodified the law. He liberalised and improved the educational system, very ably assisted by the far-sighted Sulzer. He gathered "men of light and leading" in his country-house "Sans Souci", at Potsdam—Voltaire, D'Alembert, Maupertuis, and a crowd of others—and by means of them tried to leaven with French culture the boors of Berlin.

In the sphere of foreign affairs his main concern was to keep Prussia from becoming involved in any more wars. She needed time to recover from the effects of the last two. With Britain he remained on the worst of terms ; he never

forgave George III for his desertion in 1762. Bad terms with Britain, however, did not matter much, as British and Prussian interests did not seriously clash. France, too, had become negligible. She was rapidly sliding downhill towards the abyss of bankruptcy and revolution. His main business was transacted with his two fellow-despots Catherine II of Russia and Joseph II of Austria. He established good relations with both of them and in the friendliest manner he discussed with them the possibilities of the partition of Poland, Sweden and Turkey. We shall see later on the consequences of their confabulations. Only once was the harmony of the three crowned bandits seriously disturbed. In 1778 the Bavarian electorate fell vacant, and Joseph II conceived the happy idea of securing it in exchange for the Austrian Netherland. The prospect of this exchange did not please Frederick and he actually mobilised his forces in order to prevent it. But no fighting took place and Joseph abandoned his scheme. When Frederick died on August 17, 1786 his kingdom had enjoyed peace for twenty-three years.

CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA.

We closed our brief sketch of Russian history at the death of Peter the Great in 1725. Between that event and the accession of Catherine II—also, though with less justice, called “The Great”—thirty-seven eventful years had elapsed, the chief episodes of which we must briefly note. The succession of the tsardom during this period was extremely erratic; for Peter the Great had issued a ukase or edict empowering each sovereign to nominate his successor. He himself, however, did not exercise this baneful power thus assumed, for his death at the age of fifty-three was sudden and unexpected.

The obvious heir was the great tsar's grandson Peter, a boy of ten, son of the extinguished Alexis. He, although was personally insignificant because of his youth, stood for

the Old Russian party of reaction, for supporting which his father had died and his grandmother had been divorced. His claims were, therefore, pressed by the leaders of the old nobility, especially the princes Dolgoruki and Golitsyn. Over against them, however, stood the "Westernisers", the party of progress, headed by the ministers of Peter the Great led by prince Menshikov, and supported by the imperial guards. These, having the advantage of position struck first. They proclaimed as tsaritzza the dead tsar's second wife, Catherine, and compelled the Senate to accept her.

Catherine I (1725-27) was by birth a Livonian peasant who had been made captive in war. Her beauty and vivacity had attracted the fancy of Peter, who had seen her in the household of prince Menshikov, and he had married her. She made him an excellent wife, who encouraged him in all his westernising ways. As tsaritzza she left the control of affairs in the hands of Menshikov and his colleagues, who perpetuated the policy of Peter the Great. Amongst other activities, they founded the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1726. Catherine herself succumbed to the temptations of unlimited power, and drank herself to death in two years.

Then came the reaction. Catherine had felt it necessary to nominate the young Peter II as her heir; but she hoped to control him by appointing a supreme Privy Council under Menshikov to exercise the power of regency. No sooner, however, was Catherine dead than the Council was purged, Menshikov exiled and the Dolgoruki faction established in authority. The "Old Russian" reaction then set in; foreigners were removed from office; the ancient ways were restored. As a symbol of the return to antiquity, the court moved from Petersburg back to Moscow, and there the young tsar caught small-pox and died at the age of fifteen (1730).

The Council then offered the crown to Anna (1730-40), daughter of Peter the Great's elder brother, the imbecile Ivan. She disappointed the expectations of the reactionaries;

drove the Dolgorukis into exile, and resumed the westernising policy of Menshikov. She filled the administration, indeed, with Germans. The old Russian party she almost exterminated by ruthless persecution. She was, in fact, a coarse and brutal virgao. In the War of the Polish Succession she intervened on the side of Augustus of Saxony, and, as her reward, received Courland which she conferred as a duchy upon her favourite the German Bühren or Biron. She also went to war with Turkey (1733-9) and recovered the valuable port of Azov. As to the succession : she nominated Ivan, grandson of her sister Catherine, an infant only a few weeks old. As regent, she appointed the favourite, Biron.

Ivan IV (1740-1) terminated his nominal reign before he was one year old. This brief interim was a time of storm and stress. Biron was overthrown and exiled to Siberia, the regency being conferred on Ivan's mother Anne of Brunswick. She in turn, and the German intruders whom she represented, were dispossessed by Elizabeth, younger daughter of Peter the Great, whose claims were upheld by the imperial guards.

Elizabeth (1741-62) was drunken and sensual, but energetic and capable. She began by clearing out the Germans, and by restoring the Russians to office. Nevertheless, she continued her father's encouragement of western science, art and literature. Under her was founded the University of Moscow, the first to be established in Russia. Early in her reign she went to war with Sweden, and secured the southern part of Finland (1743). Later she joined France and Austria in their attack on Frederick the Great. Only her death in January 1762 saved Prussia from extinction.

Peter III (1762) was Elizabeth's nominee for the succession. He was her nephew, son of her sister Anne ; but his father was a pure German, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp and so was his Peter's wife, Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst. Peter had been dragged unwillingly to Russia, which he hated and despised, and he had been compelled to renounce

Lutheranism and submit to Greek Orthodoxy, which he disbelieved and detested. He was profoundly miserable. His leading passion was administration for Frederick of Prussia, and the first act of his reign was, as we have seen, to change sides in the Seven Years' War, restore East Prussia to Frederick, and assist him to recover Silesia. He then proceeded, with supreme disregard of Russian opinion, to introduce and enforce with Teutonic ferocity a number of German-inspired reforms in politics and religion. His injudicious acts and his repellant character stirred up against him a fury of resistance. It found a centre in his capable and ambitious wife. Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst was a very different sort of person from her husband. She, being an atheist, a diligent reader of Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu, felt no difficulty in abandoning Lutheranism for Orthodoxy : she readily conformed to the externals of any religion. On her admission into the Greek Church she took the name of "Catherine Alexievna." She made herself thoroughly at home in Russia, learned the language, cultivated Russian patriots, placed herself at the head of the anti-foreign parts. Between Catherine and her sub-human husband the most intense antagonism arose, and Peter III was contemplating a dissolution of the marriage when a palace-conspiracy resulted in his seizure, imprisonment, and speedy death (July 1762). Catherine was proclaimed tsaritsa.

Catherine II (1762-96) was a typical "enlightened despot". The personal friend and correspondent of the leading French radicals, she did her best to spread western culture and liberalism in her empire. She strongly advocated religious toleration and the emancipation of the serfs, but did not outrage Russian public opinion by pressing them prematurely. In foreign affairs she was extremely aggressive and unprincipled. She continued her husband's policy of collaboration with Frederick of Prussia and readily conspired with him to partition Poland. With him too, she contemplated the partition of Sweden, until waned off by the vigour of Gustavus III. With Austria,

again, she discussed the possible partition of Turkey. Twice indeed (1768-74 and again 1787) she went to war with Turkey, and in the first war she scored conspicuous successes. By the important Treaty of Kutchuk-kainardji (1774) which ended the war, Russia secured (1) the north shore of the Black Sea ; (2) free navigation in Turkish territorial waters ; and (3) the right to protect Greek Christians in the Turkish empire. Thus the "Eastern Question" was introduced, with fatal, consequences, into European politics. Catherine lived long enough to witness the French Revolution and the Revolutionary Wars. She used the opportunity which they presented to achieve the final destruction of Poland (1793 and 1795).

JOSEPH II OF AUSTRIA

The power most profoundly affected by the aggressions of Prussia and Russia was Austria. The rise of Prussia in Germany threatened the primacy which the Austrian Hapsburgs had enjoyed in the Empire for three and a half centuries. The advance of Russia southward to the Black Sea and the Dardanelles menaced the Austrian ascendancy in the Balkans, while the right conceded to the tsar to "Protect" the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire reduced Turkey to a vassal state of Russia.

During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-80) the relation between the Hapsburg dominions and the Holy Roman Empire was an excessively anomalous and complicated one. On the one hand, the two were not nearly co-terminous. *Within* the Empire the Hapsburgs held (1) Austria with its dependencies, Styria Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol ; (2) Bohemia and Moravia, but *outside* it they also were lords of (3) Hungary with Transylvania, Temesvar Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia ; (4) Milan and Mantua ; (5) the Belgian Netherlands. On the other hand, Maria Theresa, although monarch in her own right over all the Hapsburg dominions, had to share authority

over those that lay within the Empire first with her husband, Francis of Lorraine (emperor 1745-65) and then with her son, Joseph II (emperor 1765-90). In both these partnerships, however, Maria Theresa was the dominant member. She was, indeed, a woman of very high ability and immense strength of character. She did not belong to the circle of the "enlightened"; she remained an obedient disciple of the Church, and a staunch upholder of the laws of Christian morals. Yet she did not hesitate to prevent papal interference in Hapsburg politics; she consented to the expulsion of the Jesuits; she favoured religious toleration; she leaned towards the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom; she fostered liberal education, she encouraged commerce. But, above all, she strove to effect some sort of unity among her varied and scattered territories; to harmonise their institutions, and to centralise their government.

Her son, Joseph II, was a far more progressive person than his mother. He was a true child of the *Aufklärung*. But he lacked the caution and the practical wisdom of Maria Theresa. He was a reformer in a hurry. Regardless of opposition, he strove to enforce radical changes upon a medley of reluctant and resistant peoples. Yet, when he met with opposition, he lacked the energy and strength of will necessary to make his reforms effective. Thus by his schemes he caused widespread disaffection and unrest, yet in general he failed to carry them through to a successful issue. As he lay dying he sadly but half-humourously suggested as the epitaph for his tomb-stone "Here lies a prince whose intentions were pure, but who had the misfortune to see all his plans fail."

What were his intentions? What were the reforms which he endeavoured to effect, mainly during the ten years that followed the death of Maria Theresa (1780-90)? Firstly, he greatly simplified and reduced the elaborate etiquette of the court; he threw open the royal parks to the public; he devoted large sums of his private income to the public service. Secondly, he endeavoured to unify the military

forces of his various dominions ; to lessen the privileges assigned to aristocratic birth ; to render promotion by merit easier ; to increase efficiency. Thirdly, in order to foster native industry he introduced high protective tariffs ; he even went so far as to cause watches imported from Switzerland to be destroyed, and foreign wines to be confiscated and sent as gifts to hospitals. Fourthly, he formally and openly proclaimed religious toleration in 1781, and avowed his determination to nationalise the Church in Germany, virtually repudiating the papal supremacy. Fifthly, he propounded a plan for the reorganisation of his dominions into thirteen "governments", each with a number of subordinate "circles", and within these "governments" and "circles" he proposed to establish a uniform system of justice, accompanied by abolition of privilege and a large measure of democratic equality. Finally, he attempted to unify the administration throughout his dominions; suppressing local differences, and reforming provincial institutions according to a standardised model. These various schemes at last caused open revolt. Hungary rose in resistance early in 1789, and before the end of the same year a still more serious rebellion broke out in the Netherlands. The Netherlands rebellion soon developed, indeed ; into a movement for Belgian independence and it received great encouragement and assistance from the French Revolution which occurred at the same time.

Besides his attempts at internal reform, foreign affairs occupied a good deal of Joseph's attention. During his mother's lifetime two problems in particular presented themselves for their joint solution. The first was the problem of the partition of Poland, to the consideration of which we shall have to turn in a few moments, the second was the problem of the Bavarian succession which arose on the death of the Elector Marmaduke Joseph in 1777. With his death the male line of the Bavarian wittelsbachs came to an end. The nearest heir was Charles Theodore of the Palatinate branch of the family, but he

had no great desire to succeed. Joseph, on the other hand was eager to secure Bavaria, whose territories awkwardly divided the Hapsburg land in Southern Germany, and whose rulers had been for many generations the most formidable foes of the Hapsburgs. Charles and Joseph found no difficulty in coming to terms ; but when all seemed likely to be settled, Frederick of Prussia intervened with an emphatic negative which could not be ignored.

After Maria's death two more problems arose. The first was, once again, concerned with Bavaria after which Joseph still hankered. Charles Theodore was still willing to make a deal with the emperor, and Joseph hoped that an exchange on equal terms would be accepted by the German princes including the despot of Prussia. He, therefore, in 1785, suggested that Charles Theodore should remove himself to the Belgian Netherlands, which were already restless under Hapsburg rule, and should reign in Brussels as "King of Burgundy". Charles Theodore in return was to leave Bavaria to be absorbed by Austria. Once again, however, Frederick of Prussia intervened. He organised a "League of Princes" to oppose the scheme of exchange ; he mobilised his army and placed himself at its head. He had no occasion to fight. Joseph abandoned his design and Frederick returned triumphant to Potsdam.

The second wild-goose scheme which occupied Joseph's last years was a project for the partition of Turkey which he formulated in conjunction with Catherine II of Russia. According to their plan (1) Russia was to take the north shore of the Black Sea as far west as Odessa ; (2) Austria was to annex northern Serbia and Bosnia ; (3) Moldavia and Wallachia—modern Rumania—were to form a free state under Austrian protection ; (4) the rest of the Baltic peninsula was to be a Russian protectorate. In Pursuit of this scheme of partitionment Joseph and Catherine went to war with Turkey in 1788. England, France and Prussia were contemplating an alliance to assist Turkey to resist when the French Revolution occurred. The Turks, however, proved unexpectedly able to defend themselves. Joseph was still

deeply involved in fighting in 1789 when his health broke down. He returned to Austria only to die on February 20th, 1790. He had failed as signally in his foreign enterprises as in his efforts at domestic reform.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND

The one successful enterprise in which the illuminated and idealistic Joseph II participated was the first Partition of Poland; and in that enterprise he was a very junior partner of the superior bandits, Frederick of Prussia and Catherine of Russia. He was even less prominent in the scandalous affair than his mother Maria Theresa, who wept while she stole.

The condition of Poland under the nominal rule of Augustus III of Saxony (1723-63) was one of wild anarchy. The king was impotent; the lawless nobles quarrelled and fought among themselves unrestrained by any authority; the peasantry was oppressed and restless. Religious strife added to the confusion; the Catholic majority persisted in persecuting the Orthodox Russian minority on the one side, and the Lutheran German minority on the other side. During the Seven Years' War Augustus, driven from Saxony by Frederick, had been saved from extinction in Poland solely by Russian assistance. At the time of his death Poland had become virtually a province of the empire of Catherine II. She desired no change in the situation; she foresaw and desired the peaceful absorption of whole of Poland into the Russian system.

Augustus III had been the nominee and the ally of Austria. When he died Catherine was determined that his successor should be her own creature. She, therefore, put forward one of her own numerous lovers a Polish noble, by name Stanislaus Poniatowski. Frederick of Prussia, the leading line of whose foreign policy at this time and for the rest of his reign was collaboration with Russia, supported Stanislaus's candidature. Opposed to this Russo-

Prussian nominee was one in league with Austria and France—at first the son of Augustus III, then after his death during the crisis, a Polish nonentity named Branicki.

Stanislaus was duly elected (August 1764) by a Polish Diet dominated by Russian troops. His position was an extremely unenviable one; he found that in gratitude for his election he was expected to obey implicitly the commands of his joint-sponsors, Catherine and Frederick. And one thing upon which they agreed to insist was the admission to full civil and political rights of Orthodox Greeks and Protestant Lutherans. In vain Stanislaus warned them that toleration of religious dissent would lead to Catholic rebellion. The warning left them cold: there was, indeed, nothing that they desired more than a civil war in Poland, which would give them an excuse for intervention on behalf of persecuted Russians and Prussians. So under threat of foreign invasion Stanislaus and the Diet made the fateful concession. The consequence was as predicted: the Catholic nobles met and formed what was called from the place of meeting the "Confederation of Bar". In 1768 the civil war broke out. With eager satisfaction Catherine sent her armies into Poland, nominally to assist the legitimate king against rebels, and soon the cause of the Confederate Catholics was desperate. In their desperation they made the appalling mistake of calling the Turks to their aid. Catherine rather welcomed than otherwise the chance of chastening the Turks and securing select parts of their dominions. The Russo-Turkish war dragged on until 1774 when a complete Russian victory resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, already mentioned.

Long ere this the Polish rebels had been crushed, and the question what to do with Poland had been discussed between the two champions of religious toleration, Catherine and Frederick. Frederick suggested that, in the interests of Polish unity, it would be well to remove certain border regions in which dissident minorities were numerous. Catherine did not welcome the suggestion,

because she had hoped to absorb Poland as a whole. She realised, however, that Frederick would insist on his long-coveted portion of the spoil, namely, West Prussia and Ermeland, the missing link between East Prussia and Pomerania. So, making a virtue of necessity, she accepted the suggestion. When Maria Theresa heard of the proposed Partition she was violently indignant: she hated the prospect of the weakening of a Catholic State, and dreaded the enlargement and the nearer approach to her frontiers of Russia and Prussia. Joseph II, however, took a more realistic view of the situation; if Poland was to be partitioned let Austria get her share of the loot. So at last agreement among the robbers was reached.

By the First Partition of Poland (1772). (1) Prussia secured West Prussia and Ermeland; (2) Austria received Eastern Galicia and Lodomeria; while (3) Russia took the immense areas of Eastern Lithuania that lay between the rivers Dvina, Dnieper and Drusch.

This scandalous spoliation, carried out with nauseating hypocrisy in the professed interests of Poland, completely alienated Stanislaus from both Russia and Prussia. He recognised their monarchs as mere bandits out for plunder. Hence he set to work in his reduced kingdom to reform the Constitution, improve the conditions of the people, reorganise the Army, and establish an efficient government. He was much stimulated and encouraged by the example of the French whose Revolution began in 1789. Hence in 1791 he promulgated a New Constitution which (1) made the monarchy hereditary; (2) abolished the "Liberum Veto" and the right of Confederation; (3) set up a new centralised executive and legislature; and (4) alleviated the condition of the serfs.

This process of Polish regeneration was extremely unwelcome to Prussia and Russia whose appetites for annexation were by no means satisfied, and who preferred a weak anarchic Poland. Hence they encouraged the formation of a "League of Targowitz" by the old conservative nobility pledged to maintain the ancient "liberties" of the Poles. A

second civil war (1792-3) saw the triumph of the League with Russian and Prussian aid.

The Second Partition followed (1793). Only Russia and Prussia took part in it. (1) Russia acquired the remainder of Lithuania, together with Volhynia and Podolia ; (2) Prussia annexed a large part of Great Poland with its appurtenances—the region lying between Silesia and East Prussia. This new and wholly unprincipled spoliation caused a Polish national uprising under the patriotic leader Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1794). It began with a massacre of Russians and Prussians in Warsaw. From the first it was entirely hopeless. It brought the Russian and Prussian armies into Poland in overwhelming force, and it led to the total extinction of the Polish State.

In the Third and Final Partition of Poland (1795) (1) Prussia took Masovia and New East Prussia ; (2) Austria was allowed to add Western Galicia to her former acquisitions ; (3) Russia received all the remainder, *i.e.*, the land between Galicia and the lower Dvina.

Stanislaus Poniatowski abdicated his now non-existent throne in November 1795. Poland ceased to exist as a State. The Polish nation, however, survived this threefold catastrophe, and remained a source of inextinguishable European unrest throughout all the nineteenth century.

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Britain and The British Empire

GEORGE III's PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

George III of Great Britain and Ireland would have liked to be an "enlightened despot" ; but he was incapable of enlightenment and he was not allowed to become a despot. Nevertheless, for the first twenty years (1760-80) of his long reign he made a strenuous and disastrous effort to restore the personal authority of the monarch.

His two predecessors, George I and George II, had been, as we have already observed, Germans, imperfectly acquainted with both the English language and British institutions. Their main interests remained centered in Hanover, and they left the government of Great Britain in the hands of their British Cabinets. George III, however, when, at the age of twenty-two, he succeeded to the throne, announced that he "gloried in the name of Briton" and he determined to re-assume that royal control of affairs which the Tudors and Stuarts had exercised, but which the early Hanoverians had lost.

The first two Georges had been not so much kings of the nation as leaders of the Whig party. They owed their throne to the Whigs, and they always suspected the Tories

of being supporters of the exiled Stuarts, that is to say, "Jacobites". For many years they lay under constant fear of a Jacobite restoration: twice, indeed, in 1715 and again in 1745, they had to face serious Jacobite rebellions supported by France, the second of which came within an ace of success. Not until the Battle of Culloden Moor (April 1746) had finally eliminated the Jacobite menace dared they take into their counsels any ministers except those of the party who stood to lose everything if the Stuarts should return.

The Whigs during their long tenure of power (1714-1760) had so firmly established themselves in office that it seemed unlikely that they would ever be dispossessed. They had secured control of all the royal patronage in both State and Church, and had filled all important places with their nominees. They had gained command of the parliamentary system, so that they could determine elections at their will. By all manner of means—including where necessary both bribery and intimidation they wore down opposition in the House of Commons. They developed the cabinet system of government, under which they exercised the sovereign power in the King's name. Above all, they set up a "Prime Minister", the president of the Cabinet, who to all intents and purposes became, during his period of office, the real ruler of the State. Sir Robert Walpole, the first true "Prime Minister" completely controlled British policy during the twenty-one years of his ministry (1721-42); the two Pelhams,¹ although far smaller men, but supreme expert at party manipulation exercised a scarcely less decisive control during the thirteen years of their ascendancy (1744-56).

George III, whose father, Frederick Prince of Wales, had died in 1751, had been brought up by his widowed mother, Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, with the assistance of the Earl of Bute. The text-book of his political

1. Henry Pelham and his elder brother Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle.

education had been Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, a book originally written for his father's guidance. The lessons that it taught were, firstly, the necessity of breaking the power of the Whig oligarchy which had captured the machinery of government since the accession of George I; secondly, the need to abolish the division of the politicians into the two parties Whig and Tory—parties whose original distinction had become meaningless—and to reunite the whole nation under the banner of patriotism; thirdly, the importance of sweeping away the Cabinet system of government, together with the usurped office of Prime Minister: and, finally, the urgency of restoration of the King's personal influence and royal prerogative. The Princess of Wales had summed up the lessons in the simple and memorable expression "George be King".

After his accession in 1760 George III speedily set to work to apply the lessons in which he had been so diligently drilled. The ministry that he found in office when he came to the throne was the powerful Newcastle Pitt Coalition which had won immortal glory for itself and for the country by its triumphs in the Seven Years' War: the victories of Minden, Lagos, Quebec, Quiberon Bay, and Wandewash were all still fresh in the memory of the nation. The king and the "king's friends" nevertheless, in spite of its popularity, succeeded in breaking the coalition up, driving Pitt to resign in October 1761 and Newcastle in May 1762. The king was immensely assisted in his task by deep dissensions among the Whig leaders and also by the rally of the whole Tory party (now purged of Jacobitism) to his side.

For the next eighteen years George struggled to destroy the Whig oligarchy and resume personal government. His first agent, his old tutor, the Earl of Bute, proved to be a disappointing failure. He was politically incompetent and he had no hold over parliament. His treacherous termination of the Seven Years' War and his needless surrender to the French and Spaniards in the Treaty of Paris made him so unpopular that in terror of his life he compelled the

king to accept his resignation in April 1763. Four short-lived ministries followed¹ before George in 1770 found a submissive servant after his own heart in Frederick, Lord North, whom he kept in office until 1782.

These twelve years of personal government by a prejudiced and unintelligent king through the agency of a pliant and irresponsible minister brought the country and the empire to the verge of dissolution. North's father, the first Earl of Guilford, had been Lord of the Bedchamber in the household of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Hence North and George had played as boys together and had formed a friendship which endured to middle life. North was quick and intelligent, genial and easy-going, but lacking in courage and conscience. All too readily did he yield both his judgment and his convictions to the passions and follies of his obstinate master. The period of his ministry was full of trouble. A new Radical Party, organised by a demagogue named John Wilkes and stimulated by the publication of the famous *Letters of Junius* (1768-72), commenced to clamour for constitutional reform. Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists began to demand a repeal of the laws that shut them out from the full privileges of citizenship; but when, in 1778, a few of the least defensible disabilities of Catholics were removed by Savile's Act, London rioters led by Lord George Gordon held the city in terror for a week (May 1780). Irish Nationalists, too, organised themselves in armies and insisted, under threat of civil war, on the restoration of the legislative independence of their island. India complained of the misgovernment of the Company's officials and cried aloud for reform. But, above all, the American Colonies revolted against the administration of the British Government, and it was the gross mismanage-

1. Grenville's Ministry	1763-5.
Rockingham's	„ 1765-6.
Chatham's	„ 1766-8.
Grafton's	„ 1768-70.

ment of this American business by George III and his too-complacent minister North that brought North's ministry and the King's personal rule to an end. North did not resign until March 1782 ; but the death-knell of the royal autocracy had been struck two years earlier, when, on April 6th, 1780, John Dunning, M.P. for Calne, had proposed and carried through the House of Commons the motion : "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

THE REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

Friction between the American Colonies and the Government of the Mother Country had arisen several years before Lord North assumed office. It had, indeed, long existed, but it has not become serious until the Seven Years' War and the Peace of Paris (1763) had removed the French entirely from the American Continent. The presence of the French in Canada and Louisiana, together with their obvious designs upon the British *hinterland*, had rendered the protection of British fleets and armies imperatively necessary. Hence the colonists had been compelled to submit to many restrictions and disabilities which they had much resented. The removal of the French peril left them free to state their grievances and to demand redress.

The dominant idea of the Old Colonial System universally maintained by the European nations in the eighteenth century, was that overseas dominions were estates to be worked for the benefit of the Mother Country. On the one hand the Mother Country protected and governed them, but on the other hand, she regulated all their industry and commerce in her own interests. In accordance with this principle, the American Colonies were prohibited from manufacturing goods, *e.g.*, woollen and iron, which Britain could supply ; they were required to provide commodities, *e.g.*, tobacco and skins, which Britain desired ; and under the Navigation Acts, most of their import and export

trade was compelled to pass through British ports and pay the dues thereof. These various regulations were a most serious handicap on American enterprise and an insuperable obstacle to the development of America's vast resources.

Under Sir Robert Walpole's negligent regime, however, these restrictive regulations had been very slackly enforced. In particular, the Navigation Laws had been allowed to slumber, and the colonists had developed a considerable and most profitable commerce on their own account, and in their own ships, with French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies. The Duke of Newcastle, through mere laziness and incompetence, continued Walpole's judicious neglect. But a change came in 1748 when the conduct of colonial affairs passed into the hands of more conscientious and less prudent persons, such as the Duke of Bedford. They began to enforce the Navigation Laws and the trade regulations to the immense annoyance of the victims of their untimely activity. Nevertheless the menace of the French advance in the Ohio valley kept the Colonies from open revolt.

After the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, in addition to these mercantile causes of friction, new grievances arose. First, in 1765, George Grenville secured the passage through the British Parliament of a Stamp Act intended to raise money to help to pay the expenses of the defence of the Colonies. The colonists vehemently protested, and the Act was repealed (1766). Next year, the frivolous Charles Townshend carried an Imports Duties Act, imposing dues on tea and other commodities, with a view to providing funds to cover the expenses of colonial government. The attempt to enforce the payment of these dues led to violence—the so-called "Boston massacre" (1770), the sinking of the revenue cutter *Gaspee* (1772), and the "Boston tea-party", when a cargo of tea was hurled into the harbour (1773).

The British Government replied to this challenge to its authority (1774) by closing the port of Boston, suspending the Charter of Massachusetts Colony, prohibiting the holding of public meetings, and by quartering soldiers on

the disaffected regions. The Colonists in return summoned a Congress to which all the colonies except Georgia sent representatives. The Congress, while professing entire loyalty, demanded the withdrawal of the repressive measures of 1774. The Government of George III and Lord North refused to withdraw the measures, and ordered obedience. while negotiations were still going on, fighting spontaneously broke out at Lexington in Massachusetts (April 1775) and the War of American Independence began. The war passed through two phases : first, the struggle for justice (1775-6) ; second, the struggle for independence (1776-83).

(1) *The Struggle for Justice.* To begin with the Colonists had no thought of separation from the Mother Country. They merely demanded the redress of their grievances, that is, the repeal of the Imports Duties Act and the Acts of 1774, the modification of the Navigation Laws, and so on. When, however, the British Government rejected their demands and sent over, in addition to British forces, 30,000 hired Hessians to reduce them to submission they realised that if left to their own resources they could not hope to maintain a successful resistance. Hence they despatched Benjamin Franklin to Paris to solicit French aid. The French Government was delighted to have an opportunity to avenge the humiliations and losses of the Seven Years' War. But it made it an indispensable condition of assistance that the Colonies should proclaim their independence. In accordance then with the French requirement the famous Declaration of Independence was issued on July 4th 1776.

2. *The Struggle for Independence.* The aid rendered by France to the rebels was at first secret and indirect : France supplied money and munitions, and also encouraged her citizens to go as volunteers to fight on the Colonial side. A remarkable, though bloodless, victory, however, gained by the rebels over Government troops at Saratoga, where a whole army was compelled to surrender (October 1777), encouraged France openly to declare war on Britain (1778).

She was followed by Spain (1779) and by Holland (1780). Further, also in 1780, a so-called "Armed Neutrality" was proclaimed by Russia, Sweden and Denmark, who agreed to resist the British claim to search neutral vessels on the high seas. Thus the war changed its character and became a general world-war, in which the colonial conflict sank into a quite secondary phase.

The French fleet, revived and rebuilt by the Duck de Choiseul, secured a temporary command of the sea and, so enabled the colonists to compel the capitulation of Cornwallis at York town (October 1781) and thereby achieve their independence. The French on their own account occupied many West Indian Islands seized Senegal and Gambia in Africa ; stirred up trouble in India, actually invaded the Channel Islands.

The Spaniards meantime directed their main efforts to the capture of Minorca (which they conquered in 1781) and to the attempt to recover Gibraltar (which they in vain besieged for three years, 1779-82).

The Dutch defeated a British fleet under Sir Hyde Parker off the Dogger Bank in 1781.

By 1782, indeed, it appeared that the British Empire was doomed. It was then that Lord North compelled George III to accept his resignation and send for the Whigs under Rockingham in order to make the best peace possible in the desperate circumstances. Fortunately, the task of Rockingham—which on his death in July was taken up by Shelburne—was rendered easier by a great naval victory gained by Rodney near Antigua (the "Battle of the Saints") on April 12, 1782, and also by the failure of the Spaniards to secure Gibraltar in their last great assault (Sept-Oct. 1782).

The Peace of Versailles (1783) included four separate treaties. Under their terms :—

1. Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the thirteen revolted Colonies, which later federated as the United States of America.
2. France received Tobago in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa. She was also

allowed to refortify Dunkirk forbidden by the Treaty of Utrecht.

3. Spain recovered Minorca and Florida.

THE BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA

The renewed conflict between Great Britain and France that broke out as an adjunct to the War of American Independence 1778 caused a revival of the Franco-British struggle in India. The French found a powerful ally in Hyder Ali, an able adventurer who had made himself master of Mysore. In 1780 at the head of 100,000 men he burst into the Carnatic and laid the whole country waste with fire and sword. Next year the French sent a fleet to his assistance, and its capable commander, Suffren, out-witted and out-fought the sluggish British admiral Hughes. The British position in Southern India was saved only by the exceptional energy of the man who was then Governor-general, namely, Warren Hastings. Hyder Ali was defeated by old Sir Eyre Cooto at Porto Novo in 1781, and his death the following year enabled Hastings to restore the *status quo ante*.

By this time some important developments had taken place in the administration of the East India Company and its dependencies. It will be remembered that between the years 1744 and 1763, the struggle between the British and the French had resulted in the establishment of the British Company as the dominant European power in both the Carnatic and Bengal. In the Carnatic the native rulers continued to function under British protection; but in Bengal the actual administration lapsed into the hands of the Company's servants. Neither in character nor in ability were they equal to the task of governing a population of some sixty million souls. They gravely abused their powers, making immense fortunes by private trade, by the taking of bribes, and by the sale of offices. So loud was the outcry against their misrule that in 1765

Clive was sent out to India again to put things in order. In two years he effected a useful reformation ; (1) he stopped private trading on the part of the Company's servants ; (2) he prohibited the acceptance of gifts from applicants for office ; (3) he reorganised the financial administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa ; (4) he regulated the procedure of the criminal courts.

Clive's reforms, however, were not adequate. The government of Bengal remained corrupt and inefficient ; the Company's commerce languished, and the accumulated : in 1770 a great famine in Bengal brought the administration to the verge of bankruptcy, and it had to appeal to the British Government for a loan of a million pounds to save it from extinction. The Government granted the loan, but took the occasion to pass North's India Act (1773). Under this regulating statute : (1) the governor of Bengal—at this time Warren Hastings—was to have authority over the governors of the other two presidencies of Madras and Bombay ; (2) he was to be advised and controlled by a Council of Four in which he himself should have but a single vote ; (3) a Supreme Court was to be set up to exercise final jurisdiction.

The constitution set up by North's Regulating Act did not work well. The governors of Madras and Bombay refused to submit to the authority of the governor of Calcutta ; the Council of Four quarrelled irreconcilably with the autocratic Hastings, the need to wage war against both Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas exhausted the Company's funds and caused Hastings to raise money (*e.g.*, from the Rajah of Banaras and the Begums of Oudh) by methods of violence and extortion. Hence, when Hastings returned to England in 1785, he was, in spite of his great services, fiercely attacked in Parliament, and was compelled to face a trial that extended over seven years (1788-95). In the end he was acquitted, although ruined by the enormous costs of the long ordeal. But the great speeches of Burke and Sheridan served as warning to all subsequent administra-

tors that they would be held responsible for their actions by the British Parliament and people.

Whilst Warren Hastings was still in India the British Parliament had again taken in hand the problem of Indian administration. In 1783, Charles James Fox, at that time Secretary of State in the Duke of Portland's ministry, brought in a Bill for the radical reconstitution of the East India Company's Government—a reconstitution involving an immense reduction of its powers. It proposed to deprive the Company of both administrative and commercial sovereignty.

(1) *A Board of Commissioners*, seven in number, named in the Bill, were to control all the affairs of the Company, and to appoint all its officials both administrative and commercial. The Board was to remain as constituted for at least four years. Subsequent vacancies were to be filled by the Crown.

(2) *A Council of Directors*, nine in number, were to manage the commercial affairs of the Company. They were to be appointed by the Board of Commissioners and to remain subject to the Board's control.

This measure of Fox was easily passed by the House of Commons where the ministry had a large majority ; but when it reached the House of Lords it was rejected in amazing circumstances. George III, who hated Charles James Fox as a political revolutionary and a moral reprobate, had conceived a violent dislike of the Bill : that he should have no voice in the appointment of the seven original members of the Commission filled him with indignation ; he suspected a deep and sinister conspiracy against himself and in favour of the Whigs. Hence he took action in a manner that would now be regarded as highly unconstitutional. He sent for Earl Temple, one of Fox's opponents, and commanded him to convey privately to as many of the lords as possible the message that any of them who should vote in favour of Fox's Bill would be looked upon thenceforth as the king's personal enemy. The message seems

to have been effective. The House of Lords rejected the Bill, and the king dismissed the Ministry in spite of its majority in the House of Commons.

Portland's successor as prime minister was William Pitt the younger, and no sooner was he, after an epic parliamentary struggle, established in power than he turned his attention to the urgent problem of Indian administration. The Bill that he introduced and carried through Parliament established the system of dual control which endured until the East India Company was abolished in 1858. Under Pitt's India Act (1784) :—

(1) *A Board of Control* appointed by the Crown determined the general policy of the Company, supervised all its activities, and appointed the governors, the commander-in-chief and a few other high officials.

(2) *The Board of Directors* appointed by the Company continued to control the commercial affairs of the Company and to exercise the bulk of its ordinary patronage.

The system set up by Pitt's Act was not a very satisfactory one. The separation between the political and the commercial departments of the Indian administration led inevitably to friction. The appointments made by the Crown to the Board of Control were sometimes highly injudicious. Moreover the rapid extension of the British dominion over Mysore, the Central Provinces, the Deccan, and Oudh, so vastly increased the importance of the work of the Company that the system of dual control became anomalous long before its abolition in 1858.

THE BEGINNING OF RADICAL REFORM

The problem of the government of India was only one of a large number of urgent questions that called for answer during the ministry of the younger Pitt. The times were transitional and turbulent. The long passive people were moving. The advance towards democracy was making rapid way. The oratory of John Wilkes ; the

passionate outpourings of "Junius"; the appeals of Thomas Paine's *Rights of man*; the arguments of Godwin's *Political Justice* all these, and many other similar influences caused profound political unrest. The British Constitution whose merits had been eloquently depicted by Blackstone, and admitted by the Swiss De Lolme, was subjected to severe and adverse criticism by scores of revolutionary speakers and writers. The example, too, of the American colonists, and the political ideas embodied in their Declaration of the independence and in their voluminous polemical literature, spread the principles of democratic equality. Through a thousand channels the teachings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau reached the ears of the masses; as also did the teachings of many men less moderate and balanced than they.

The demand for radical reform began to be heard insistently throughout the country. In Parliament it found its leading champion in Charles James Fox, whose genial humanity and brilliant eloquence, were unfortunately counterbalanced by the habits of the drunkard and the gambler. The parliamentary followers of Fox, however, were few. Neither the Old Whigs nor the New Tories desired any fundamental change in British institutions, which indeed served the purposes of the professional politicians exceedingly well.

William Pitt was neither an Old Whig nor a New Tory. Although he called himself a Whig of a sort, he really inherited the aloofness and solitariness of his father, the Earl of Chatham. Coming into the office of prime minister (1783), at the age of twenty-four, as a nominee of the King, he at once displayed an independence that brought the royal autocracy to an end. He re-asserted the supreme authority of the prime minister; re-established the cabinet system with its unity of policy and solidarity of responsibility; purified the administration of the deep corruption which had characterised it under Walpole, Newcastle, and George III himself; set himself

to the task of effecting necessary constitutional and social reform.

His first ministry lasted for more than seventeen years (1783-1801), but it was divided into two sharply contrasted periods. The first ten years were a period of peace; the last seven a period of war. Pitt was essentially a peace minister, a not-unworthy successor to Walpole. All his interests lay in finance, in commerce, in administration, in colonial expansion. Most unwillingly was he dragged into the Revolutionary War with France in 1793, and to its conduct he brought few useful qualities except those of dauntless courage and indefatigable endurance.

As a peace minister his general attitude may be described as that of a cautious or conservative reformer. He recognised the evils that existed and flourished in the country and the empire. He wished to remove them; but he believed that to remove them without causing new evils even greater than they, he must carry his colleagues, his parliament, and his people with him. "Hasten slowly" might well have been his motto. When any measure of his roused strong opposition he withdrew it—and did not resign office. Not until 1801, when the king declined to allow him to introduce a measure of Catholic Emancipation did he bring his seventeen-year first ministry to an end.

Apart from this long-overdue measure of Catholic Emancipation, the main reforms in which Pitt took an interest were :—

(1) the reform of the Indian administration already described; (2) the reform of the parliamentary system; (3) financial and communal reform: and (4) reform of the government of Ireland.

1st Parliamentary Reform. The parliamentary system had remained substantially unchanged since Edward I's time. During the intervening five centuries many old constituencies had decayed and many new ones come into existence, particularly in the growing industrial areas of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midlands. Hence representation had become very unevenly distributed: decayed boroughs, such

as Old Sarum, returned members ; rising towns, such as Manchester, did not. Further, the franchise, restricted to freeholders in the counties and to narrow oligarchies in most towns, excluded the immense majority of the population from the vote. The Radicals advocated revolutionary change, namely, equal electoral districts and manhood suffrage. Pitt set his face against such a complete transformation. He brought in no fewer than three Reform Bills (1782, 3, 5) in which he proposed such cautious modifications of the existing system as increase of the country representation and the extinction (with compensation) of the pocket-boroughs. His Bills were rejected and he dropped the subject.

2nd Economic Reform. Here he was more persistent and more successful. He acknowledged himself a disciple of the great Adam Smith, that is to say, an opponent of the Mercantile System and an advocate of Free Trade. Under the influence of the master-economist he carried through an immense simplification and reduction of custom duties. He further introduced a Sinking Fund (1786) with a view to the extinction of the national debt which had become formidably large during the War of American Independence. He abolished many abuses connected with the raising of public loans, thus saving large sums of money which hitherto had fallen into private hands in the form of commissions and fees. He reduced the privilege of Members of Parliament to "frank" letters—a privilege by means of which the post office had been grossly defrauded. He reconstructed the Board of Trade, vastly increasing its efficiency.

3rd Reforms of the Irish Administration. The Irish Parliament had been subordinated to that of Great Britain mainly by two laws, the first that of Poynings in 1494 which prohibited the introduction of any measure into the Irish legislature that had not received the previous consent of the English Council ; the second, the so-called Act Declaratory of 1719 which asserted the right of the British Parliament to legislate directly for Ireland. The

revolt of the American Colonies had excited the Irish to demand the repeal of these two laws, and the restoration of their mediaeval independence. The fear of a French invasion of Ireland after 1778 had caused the British Government to authorise the raising and arming of 80,000 volunteers. These volunteers used their power to enforce the granting of the Irish demands in 1782. Then the emancipated Irish Parliament under the leadership of Henry Grattan, made further demands for the removal of Catholic disabilities, for the extension of the franchise, for the admission of the Irish to the privileges of English Commerce. Pitt in 1785 made a beginning of concession by formulating a plan for commercial union between the two countries. The Irish, however, rejected it, and the matter was allowed to drop. Proposals for extension of the franchise and for Catholic emancipation came later, during the course of the Revolutionary War, and they culminated in the Act of Union of 1800.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Behind the numerous agitation for political and economic reform that marked the close of the eighteenth century there lay the immense social transformation effected by the so-called Industrial Revolution. Until the middle of the century, from time immemorial, England and Scotland had been agricultural countries. And the agriculture had remained of a mediaeval and unprogressive character. The common open-fields had barely provided a scanty subsistence for a population estimated in the early eighteenth century at less than eight millions. The late eighteenth century, however, initiated a vast transformation. The common-field system was generally swept away; extensive enclosures were made; small farms were consolidated into large ones; new methods of cultivation were introduced; agricultural machinery was invented; root-crops were added to the usual cereals; improvement

of all sorts were developed. The country as a whole benefited greatly; but the old rural population suffered many hardships through the loss of their common rights and the fall in the demand for their labour.

The dispossessed labourer drifted to the towns where a new demand for his services was springing up. For during the course of the century a series of remarkable inventions transformed the woollen, the cotton, the coal, and the iron industries. Before the end of the "Industrial Revolution" Britain became primarily a manufacturing country. The populations of the industrial towns increased by leaps and bounds; for example, Manchester which had 6000 inhabitants in 1685 had 45,000 in 1760.

The earliest of the great inventions were made in the woollen and cotton industries. They began with Kay's flying shuttle in 1733. By means of this simple mechanical device one boy could do the same amount of effective work as two adult weavers under the old conditions. As this invention came into general use the demand for woollen and cotton thread became so greatly increased that Hargreaves designed a "spinning-jenny" by means of which a number of spindles—at first eight, soon one hundred—could be worked by a single spinning-wheel (1765). The labour of working this wheel was of course heavy; but in 1769 Arkwright produced his "water-frame" which brought water power into use for turning the wheels. This invention marked the real beginning of the new industry: for the "water-frame" required the concentration of the spindles in a factory where water-power could be made available. Thus water-mills were built and an industrial population assembled round them. A further development came in 1779 with Crompton's "mule", so-called because it combined the features of the jenny and the water-frame. It included both spindles and rollers, by means of which the manufacture of stronger and finer thread than any previously produced in this country became possible. By this time the resources of the spinner had far outdistanced the capacity of the weaver to use

the thread produced. Hence invention directed itself to the work of weaving, and in 1785 Cartwright produced his "power loom" which enabled the weaver to keep pace with the producers of thread. The combined effect of these developments in the textile industries was not only to increase immeasurably the output of English looms, but also so greatly to reduce the costs of production that England had no rival to challenge her in the markets of the world. Her exports went up by leaps and bounds.

One further development completed the establishment of British industrial supremacy. That was the invention and application of the steam-engine. Experiments in the use of steam as a source of power had been made from time immemorial. The first effective machine, however, had been a steam pump invented by Newcomen in 1712 for use in pits. This appliance had been so vastly improved by Watt in 1769 that this date is usually given as that of the invention of the "steam-engine". Not until then, indeed, was it really serviceable. In 1782 Watt still further improved it making its action continuous and rotary. Thus it became applicable to the driving of the machinery in the spinning and weaving mills. The first factory to be driven by the new steam-engine was that of the Papplewick Spinning-mill in 1785.

The employment of steam as a source of power involved a great increase in the demand for coal. Coal, too, reduced to the form of coke, had come into use for the smelting of iron. Hence a rapid development of the mining industry took place during this period. New coal-fields were opened up in the Midlands of England, in Northumberland and Durham, in South Wales, and in the Lanarkshire region of Scotland. In the old coal-fields deeper and still deeper excavations had to be made, giving rise to novel and serious problems of drainage and ventilation.

The immense increase in the production of woollen, cotton, and iron goods, together with the enhanced

demand for coal, necessitated a general improvement in the means of communication. The old roads of the country had to be put into far better repair than had been customary in the earlier centuries when people moved about mainly on foot or on horseback. But the great novelty of the late eighteenth century was the system of canals that linked up the water-ways of the land. In 1755 a beginning was made in Lancashire. In 1766 the Mersey and the Dee were joined, in 1777 the Grand Trunk Canal connected the Mersey with the Trent, and in 1792 the Grand Junction Canal brought the system as far south as London. The application of the steam-engine to locomotion, in the shape of steam-ships and railway engines had to wait until the early nineteenth century.

It can well be imagined that this great and rapid transition from old agriculture to new, and from agriculture to still newer industry, involved revolutionary social changes. A "new nation" of workers sprang up, concentrated in the new manufacturing towns, living in conditions of gross overcrowding, subject to intolerably long hours of labour of the mercy of all the fluctuations of demand and supply. The old machinery of local government under the justices of the peace which had worked admirably in the rural Britain of the Tudor and Stuart times proved wholly inadequate in the new circumstances. The cry for reform became insistent. The alternative was revolution, and from France came the call for revolution in 1789.

20

Europe On The Eve of The Revolution

THE DRIFT TO REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

During the long period of the personal rule of Louis XV (1723-74) the decline of France, begun under Louis XIV and the Regent, was rapid and continuous. The King himself, possessed of almost absolute power, was incompetent and corrupt. Sensual and self-indulgent, he was the prey of evil favourites. In particular, his successive mistresses, Madame de Pompadour (1745-64) and Madame du Barry (1769-74), exercised a vicious and disastrous influence upon the policy of the government. Although the State was verging on bankruptcy, the Court was recklessly extravagant. No national accounts were published, and few were kept. When money ran short, loans were raised at increasingly monstrous rates of interest. All the public services declined in efficiency. The army, ill-equipped and undisciplined, sank into ineptitude. The navy, in spite of Choiseul's strenuous efforts to revive it, remained far inferior to its British rival: when the Seven Years' War broke out it contained only 63 ships of the

line as compared with the British 130. And yet, with all its vices and follies, the administration remained both despotic and obscurantist. The King resented criticism and opposition: in 1771 he suppressed the Parliament of Paris wherein resided the last constitutional remnant of resistance to his arbitrary will. The Church, too, hopelessly worldly and debased still continued to pursue and persecute those who dared to challenge its oppressive authority. The clergy, moreover, clung to their obsolete privileges—their exemption from secular jurisdiction, their freedom from the burden of taxation. So also the nobility—who numbered many thousands, since all the children of a noble inherited their father's rank—although they had ceased to perform their mediaeval functions of national defence and local government, still retained their social exclusiveness and their privileged political position. They escaped the heaviest of the State taxes; they enjoyed the right of themselves still levying many meaningless feudal dues from their unhappy peasantry. Almost the whole burden, indeed, of the national exchequer fell upon the "third estate", *i.e.*, upon the urban middle class and the rural population.

Now the urban middle class—the *bourgeoisie* of Paris, Lyons, and the other great cities—was precisely the class least impressed by the glitter of the Court, the assumptions of the aristocracy, or the pretensions of the Church. It consisted of the professional classes, the financiers, the merchants, the industrial magnates. Although devoid of any constitutional power, without any recognised means of controlling policy or criticising expenditure, it nevertheless contributed the bulk of the money extorted by the Government and by the Church. This was the class, moreover—well-educated sceptical—which was most influenced by the writers of the "Enlightenment", *i.e.*, by Montesquies, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopaedists. From this class came the prime movement of the forces that led to the Revolution.

Below this urban middle class both in intelligence and

in influence lay the still-inert peasantry of rural France. It was held fast in feudal bondage, although feudalism had ceased to render it the countervailing advantages of protection and help in time of need. Its condition was deplorable ; only by incessant toil was it able to wring a scanty livelihood from the soil, and upon it, too, fell a crushing load of taxation. Arthur Young, the Englishman who made his famous *Travels through France* in 1787-9, tells us that the peasants were required to pay 53 per cent of their earnings to the State ; 14 per cent to their feudal lords, and another 14 per cent to the clergy. That is to say they were able to retain for the use of themselves and their families less than one fifth of what they made. When once the Revolution got going, the peasantry, emancipated from their serfdom, played a tremendous part ; but under Louis XV they were inarticulate and inoperative.

Nowhere was the decadence of France more in evidence than in the sphere of foreign affairs. In the wars both of the Polish and Austrian Successions France failed to place her candidates upon the throne ; in the Seven Years' War she not only did not achieve the destruction of Frederick of Prussia, which was her main purpose, but in the process of trying to achieve it she suffered the loss of Canada, Louisiana, and her hegemony in India. In respect of the partition of Poland, she looked on in helpless disapproval while Russia, Prussia and Austria divided the spoil. One success she scored, indeed, although its significance was not perceived until a generation later ; in 1768 she purchased the island of Corsica from Genoa, and so it happened that in 1769 Napoleon Bonaparte was born a French and not an Italian subject.

In 1774 Louis XV died and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI. The new king was morally an infinitely better man than his grandfather ; but intellectually he was still lower in the scale of human intelligence. He might have been an adequate Constitutional monarch in a period of profound peace, but he was wholly unequal to the task of an autocrat in a time of rapid transition and

manifold unrest. His knowledge of politics was small ; he was unable to realise the meaning of events ; above all, he was hopelessly weak of will, irresolute, incapable of making decisions in swift-moving crises. His interests lay in mechanics, and particularly in lock-making, and during many a national emergency, when his ministers sought him diligently in order to know his commands in matters of high politics, they found him pottering in his little blacksmith's forge deeply engrossed in petty problems of ironmongering that would have been solved in a few moments by a competent artisan.

Louis XVI was, moreover, heavily handicapped by his wife, the volatile and irresponsible Marie Antoinette. This sparkling woman, whose tragic fate has conferred upon her the halo of romance, was a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, with whom she maintained an intimate and incessant correspondence. Her marriage, which took place in 1770, was a sequel to the "diplomatic revolution" which had joined those ancient enemies, Austria and France, in alliance against Prussia. The marriage, intensely, unpopular in France, had seemed to indicate the subordination of French to Austrian politics, and to its sinister influence was attributed much of the futility of French diplomacy in such matters as the Polish Partition and the Russo-Turkish war. Of interference in high politics Marie Antoinette was probably innocent ; she was too frivolous and too ignorant. But her reckless extravagance, her disregard of all appeals for economy ; her insensibility to the privations of the people, materially hastened the crisis of 1789.

THE OPENING YEARS OF LOUIS XVI

Louis XVI, although personally inert and incompetent, was during his early years served by a few men of energy and ability. In the sphere of foreign affairs such a man as Charles, Comte de Vergennes, who guided French diplomacy from 1774 to his death in 1789. The dominant

aim of Vergennes was to recover for France the prestige and power which she had lost during the disastrous reign of Louis XV. He saw his opportunity when the revolt of the American colonies against British rule broke out. He extended a ready welcome to Benjamin Franklin when he came as an emissary from the rebels to the French Court ; he caused him to be feted and flattered, and he persuaded the weak king, with the enthusiastic concurrence of the flighty queen, to give the desired aid to the revolted colonists, on the condition that they should declare their independence. From 1776 to 1783 he was assiduous in support of their cause, and the assistance that he gave them played a cardinal part in securing the success of their efforts. He fed them with funds ; he supplied them with munitions ; he encouraged volunteers to cross the ocean and join their forces. In 1778 he openly declared war on Great Britain, and he sent fleets and armies to harass the British on the high seas, in the West Indies, in America, in India, and in the English Channel itself. He had his revenge. Britain lost her colonies and she had to make a humiliating peace in 1783. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the terms of the settlement made at Versailles were not so disastrous to Britain as they had appeared likely to be a couple of years earlier. In particular, the recoveries by France—St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal, and a few others—were insignificant when compared with the magnitude of her exertions and expenses.

Vergennes, indeed, had unwittingly made the French Revolution almost inevitable. In three distinct ways the French entry into the War of American Independence helped to precipitate the catastrophe of 1789 : first, its strain upon French finances, already at breaking point caused the final snap and crash ; secondly, the French volunteers who went across the Atlantic to help the rebels—eminent among whom was the Marquis Lafayette—came back, many of them, full of republican zeal and intensely anti-monarchic ;

thirdly, the literature of the American revolt—such as Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*—was eagerly welcomed in France as an instrument for stirring up popular passion against Great Britain; it was actually circulated at the Court by the queen herself. It apparently was not realised that its attack upon the British Constitution was even more deadly if applied to the French autocracy. The subversive influence of the native "illuminati" was powerfully supplemented by that of the alien revolutionaries.

During most of the early years of the reign a constitutional conflict was raging in France. The main point at issue was the revival or non-revival of those bodies of hereditary lawyers which constituted the French *Parlements*, and in particular the most eminent and powerful of them the *Parlement* of Paris. It will be remembered that, after a long period of friction, Louis XV had suppressed them in 1771. Louis XVI, under the advice of Jean Frederick, Comte de Maurepas, restored them in 1774, hoping to allay agitation. They had, however, been intensely irritated by their temporary suppression, and they came back in a mode of unaccommodating hostility to the crown. Hence in 1788, by the dominant minister, Lomenie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, they were once more closed down. A tremendous agitation broke out as a consequence: it did much to cause the crisis of the following year.

The supreme cause, however, of the crisis—the cause which made the summons to the [States General of May 1789 imperative—was the actual arrival of national bankruptcy. When Louis XVI came to the throne the finances of the Kingdom were in the most hopeless confusion. Both the assessment and the collection of taxes were chaotic; on the one hand heavy extortion, on the other hand shameless speculation were rife. No accurate accounts were kept, and all that was certain was that the expendi-

ture of the kingdom far exceeded its revenue. The annual deficit had to be made up by loans and loans were becoming increasingly difficult to raise. The young king, however, was fortunate in being able to call to his side one of the ablest financiers that France has ever produced, namely Robert Jacques Turgot, the eminent philosopher and physiocrat, who had made a great reputation for himself as Intendant of Limoges. As controller-general of finance Turgot instituted a searching investigation into the national accounts, proposed drastic reforms in the system of taxation, and above all stressed the urgent need for immense reductions in the expenditure of the Court. This last roused the wrath of the frivolous Marie Antoinette and Turgot was dismissed in 1776. His place was taken by another able although more commonplace man, the Swiss banker, Jacques Necker. He echoed Turgot in his demand for strict economy, and on financial grounds he strongly opposed France's entry into the war of American Independence. When his warnings went unheeded, he startled the country by the publication of a *Compte Rendu* which revealed for the first time the reckless extravagance of the Court. This was too much for Marie Antoinette: she got him dismissed (1781). Then, after a short interval, came upon the scene the complacent Charles de Calonne who indulged the Court in its extravagance, raising money by borrowing at whatever rates of interest the lenders might demand. Even he, however, in 1787 had to murmur the word economy, and so he had to go. Lomenie de Brienne then tried to restore confidence by suppressing the Parliaments and by talking of retrenchment and reform. It was in vain. He could neither raise new loans, nor even pay the interest on the old ones. The state of national bankruptcy had arrived. The condition of things, moreover, was made much worse than it would otherwise have been by the failure of the harvest of 1788, and by the setting in of an unusually severe winter at the close of the same year. The situation was, indeed, desperate. The popular agitation

both in Paris and in the country districts was so violent that the Court had to bow before the storm. Brienne was dismissed and the patient Necker re-called. He surveyed the situation in agony ; it had inconceivably deteriorated during the seven years of his eclipse. He reported that the only possible means of restoring national solvency was to abolish the privileges of the nobles and the clergy, and to tax them with the same severity as the rest of the community. And, he added, the only way to break down the resistance of the privileged classes to this necessary abolition of privilege would be to summon the States General (which had never met since 1614) and so to constitute it that the Third Estate could outvote the other two. Accordingly the States General was summoned for May 5, 1789 and the Third Estate was given twice its normal representation. The Revolution was begun.

THE BOURBON ALLIES OF FRANCE

While France was rapidly drifting towards the abyss of revolution, the other Bourbon powers, bound to her by the Family Compact of 1761 were in no condition to come to her assistance. Spain, the Two Sicilies and Parma, all had their difficulties and dangers.

(1) *Spain*, the most important of the three had enjoyed, as we have seen, a brief revival under Philip V and his ambitious second wife, Elizabeth Farnese. Unfortunately, the "termagant queen" had exhausted the slender resources of her husband's kingdom by her ambitious and expensive schemes. The people of Spain, moreover, always enervated by the heat of the climate, kept in servitude and in superstition moreover by the nobility and the clergy, had sunk into lethargy and laziness. They had come to depend for the

scanty necessities of life upon the gold and silver imported from the New World regardless of the fact that there were but few commodities in the country with which the precious metals could be exchanged. A rigid protectionist policy closed the frontiers of the kingdom to external trade, prohibited the export of the accumulated treasure, and raised prices to astronomical heights.

The death of Philip V in July 1746 was followed by the accession of his sole surviving son by his first wife, Ferdinand VI (1746-59). This king was a good and worthy man, although dull and lazy. He was much under the governance of his wife Maria of Portugal, and of his ministers. The most eminent of these was Don Jose de Carvajal, a member of the high aristocracy, who claimed descent from the Englishman, John of Gaunt, son of Edward III. Ferdinand himself was a man of peace, retrenchment, and reform. Carvajal was definitely anglophile. Between them they did much to bring the war of the Austrian Succession to an end in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The reward of Ferdinand for his good offices was the grant of Parma and Piacenza to his half brother Philip, whom he particularly did *not* wish to have with him in Spain. Next year (1749) the Treaty of Aquisgran with Great Britain settled a number of differences between the two countries, among other things terminating the *Assiento* concession. Thanks, indeed, to the good understanding between Carvajal and the British Ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene, Anglospanish relation were more cordial than they had been for a couple of centuries.

In this matter a change for the worse came with the death of Ferdinand and the accession of his half-brother Charles III (1759-1788). This man, the son of Elizabeth Farnese, had been king of the Two Sicilies since 1735. He had won golden opinions there as one of the best of the "enlightened" despots", and he came with a great reputation to Spain.

In the event he proved to be one of the most beneficent of Spanish kings, the reforms that he carried through, with the aid of his chief minister, the Count of Aranda, being of immense and permanent benefit to the nation. They included a reorganisation of the system of taxation; the foundation of a national bank, the removal of the worst restrictions on commerce; the stimulation of home industries; the improvements of roads and the cutting of canals; the building of schools, colleges and hospitals; the revision and codification of the laws; the provision of a more efficient police system. All this was much to the good.

Unfortunately, however, both Charles and Aranda were Anglophobes, and too easily they were dragged into the Seven Years' War (1762); into a dispute with Britain concerning the Falkland Islands (1770); and into the War of American Independence (1779). They failed to secure Minorca in the first they failed to gain the Falkland Islands in the second; and they failed to capture Gibraltar in the third. But the most serious consequences of their departure from the wise Pacificism of Ferdinand VI was the exhaustion of their resources. So that when Charles III died in 1788 he transmitted to his weak and incapable son, Charles IV, a realm ill-equipped to play any but a passive part in the revolutionary drama about to unfold itself.

(2) *The Two Sicilies*—that is Naples and the Sicilian Island—formed an ill-compacted State under the junior branch of the Spanish Bourbons. The two parts of the realm, insular and peninsular, had, until their union in 1720, long been separated under hostile authorities; and their development had been very diverse. Sicily still remained semi-mediaeval, backward, and obscurantist; Naples, on the other hand, had moved with the current of modern thought.

We have remarked how Charles III before he inherited

the throne of Spain had for nearly a quarter of a century governed the dual Italian kingdom intelligently and well. He had been well served by an enlightened minister, Tanucci, who had aided him to suppress the feudal nobility, to take from them their much-abused right of administering justice, to repress the excessive power of the clergy, to resist the pretensions of the pope, and to expel the Jesuits. Together they greatly and advantageously increased the authority of the Crown and centralised the government. They also revived and reformed the antiquated laws of the realm, being guided by the advice of one of the most original thinkers of the time, Gaetano Filangieri, whose *Science of Legislation* had almost as much influence in Italy as Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* had in France.

When Charles III in 1759, to the great regret of his Italian subjects, moved to Spain, he handed over the Two Sicilies to his son, Ferdinand IV (1759-1806), a man of far inferior character and ability. He was alike unintelligent and indolent. Nevertheless for ten years he retained the services of the able Tanucci and there was no serious decline. In 1768, however, Ferdinand married the reactionary Maria Carolina, daughter of the Empress, and sister of the frivolous Marie Antoinette. She soon, secured the dismissal of Tanucci, and caused her lethargic husband to lapse into repressive incompetence.

(3) *Parma and Piacenza* had passed into the hands of Don Philip, younger son of Elizabeth Farnese, in 1748. Don Philip, a strong Francophile, had married Elizabeth of France, daughter of Louis XV, so that his son, Ferdinand, who succeeded him in 1765, was a Bourbon on both sides. Ferdinand had received an excellent and "enlightened" French education under the philosopher Condillac, and he had as his chief minister the progressive Frenchman, Du Tillot, Marquis of Felino. The two of them suppressed the Inquisition, expelled the Jesuits, developed the University of Parma until

it became known as one of the most efficient in Europe. Here again, however, reaction occurred when Ferdinand in 1769 married Maria Amelia, another of the numerous daughters of the Empress Maria Theresa, who thus became mother-in-law of three of the four Bourbon autocrats. The dismissal of Du Tillot followed, and enlightened progress ceased.

In 1789 all the Bourbon States were ripe for revolution.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF ITALY

(1) *Tuscany* in 1789, from its lovely and historic capital Florence, was ruled by another of the progeny of the prolific Empress, namely Leopold, who was destined next year to succeed his brother Joseph II on the imperial throne. By that time he had been grand-duke of the little Italian State for just a quarter of a century. His intellectual affinities and his political sympathies were with his reforming brother rather than with his reactionary mother and sisters. He was, indeed, "enlightened autocrat", and one of the best of them; better balanced than Joseph II, more energetic than Charles III, less corrupt than Catherine II, less aggressive than Frederick the Great. He was, in fact, not aggressive at all. Realising that Tuscany could never become a military state, and that it was from its size and situation incapable even of self-defence, he completely disbanded his miniature army, and so saved a considerable sum of money for desirable reforms. In these reforms he found a valuable coadjutor in Scipio de Ricci, bishop of Pistoia; and another in the eminent Jurist, Lampredi, who took in hand the codification of the laws. One of his greatest and most difficult tasks was the creation of a unified and centralised administration out of the

crowd of urban and rural communes that had prevailed since the Middle Ages. This task he, nevertheless, achieved. Further, he reduced the excessive number of petty bishoprics; enlarged and extended the universities of Pisa and Siena; swept away internal customs duties; removed many restrictions on industry and commerce; abolished the use of torture to extort confessions, and also the practice of secret denunciations. Moreover, he greatly increased the cultivatable area of the grand-duchy by draining marshes, and felling forests. He was, in short, within his limited sphere, the model ruler of his time. It was much to be regretted that when he became emperor he had but two more years to live (1790-2).

(2) *The Papal States*—which besides Rome and the Campagna, included the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, with the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo—presented a very different picture. The pope of the period, Pius VI, occupied the apostolic see for the unusually long and uniquely critical space of twenty-four years (1775-99). He found the papacy feeble and in deep humiliation. His immediate predecessor, Clement XIV, had just been compelled to submit to the painful pressure brought to bear upon him by Pombal of Portugal, Aranda of Spain, Choiseul of France, and Tanucci of Naples, under which he had been constrained to suppress the Order of Jesus, one of the main supports of Catholic orthodoxy and Papal authority. Pius VI had to face the full blast of the rationalism of the *Illuminati*, as well as the subversive shocks of the Enlightened Despots, who, though professedly orthodox enough, were bent on establishing full control over their national churches. Much against his will, Pius VI was forced to consent to the sweeping diminution in both bishoprics and monasteries effected by Leopold of Tuscany. He was unable, too, to prevent the still more drastic changes carried into effect by Joseph II who dissolved 1300 of the 2000 religious houses in his dominions. In 1782 the

pope visited the emperor in Vienna : he was received with due reverence and splendid pageantry, but he was not able to deflect the reforming monarch a hair's-breadth from his predetermined course. On his return to Rome the baffled pontiff had to devote his attention to such works as the collection of pictures, the building of museums and the drainage of swamps. His activities were innocent and interesting ; but they exhausted the papal treasury and caused much discontent throughout the States of the Church

(3) *The Kingdom of Sardinia* consisted of the four main divisions, Savoy, Nice, Piedmont, and the island of Sardinia. Its ruler, Victor Amadeus III (1773-96), was closely bound to the Bourbons. His wife, Marie Antoinette, was a Spanish princess ; two of his daughters were married to the two brothers of Louis XVI of France, *i.e.*, to the men who after the Revolution became the king Louis XVIII and Charles X. His situation between the dominions of France and Austria compelled him to be more military than his neighbour of Tuscany : he augmented and re-equipped his army ; he erected powerful fortresses at Alessandria and Tortona ; he looked for an opportunity to extend his frontiers at Austria's expense whenever an occasion should offer itself. At home, however, he was a progressive and reforming monarch. He strove to develop the commerce of his kingdom and to that end enlarged and improved the harbour at Nice. He encouraged agriculture, introducing new Crops and new methods of cultivation. He established schools and colleges, built the great Observatory at Turin, patronised science and art. Under him, in fine, the composite kingdom of Sardinia enjoyed a pleasant interlude of peaceful prosperity.

(4) *The Republics of Venice and Genoa* were definitely on the down grade. They still retained their mediaeval systems of government, each of them being ruled by a narrow and

unprogressive oligarchy under the nominal headship of a doge. The Venetian territory still extended from Verona to the Tyrol and along the Adriatic included both Dalmatia on the mainland and the Ionian Islands. Its wealth still lay in its commerce; its navies plied the Eastern Mediterranean and through the ports of the Levant kept us some communication with Persia and India. It maintained, too, a considerable army, drawn principally from the hardy mountaineers of Dalmatia. Its people, however, apart from those in the city of Venice itself were ill-educated and backward. It had long ceased to hold the pioneer place which had been its pride in the great days of the Renaissance. Genoa was still further advanced in decay. Its commerce had been almost entirely taken from it by the rivalry of the Tuscan Leghorn and the Sardinian Nice. Its institutions were antiquated, its laws unreformed and obsolescent, its people poverty-stricken and turbulent. Until 1768 it had claimed Corsica as its possession; but the island had been harassed by incessant rebellion which the Genoese had been unable to repress. Hence the Republic had been glad to relieve itself of an intolerable nuisance, and to make a substantial sum of money by selling the island to France.

(5) *Milan and Mantua* with their appurtenances—known collectively as Lombardy—were, of course, part of the dominions of the Hapsburgs. In 1789 they were administered, under the Emperor, by his younger brother, the archduke Ferdinand, who was assisted by a capable and progressive minister, Count Firmian. Among the eminent men who adorned the Lombard provinces were the celebrated Sociologist Beccaria of Milan, and the pioneer electrician Volta of Pavia. In spite, however, of its prosperity under the beneficent rule of the “enlightened despots”, Lombardy was conscious that its rulers were aliens, and that the ancient liberties of the mediaeval city-states had all been suppressed. Hence there was unrest

that only waited for an occasion to flame forth in open revolt.

THE DISOGRANISATION OF GERMANY

On the eve of the French Revolution the disorganisation of Germany was complete. The "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" founded by Charlemagne in A.D. 800, and claiming descent from the pagan empire of Augustus Caesar, was in the last stages of decrepitude. The title of emperor, now virtually hereditary in the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, was little more than an obsolete decoration; it carried no force, collected no revenue, commanded no obedience. The Imperial Diet or Reichstag, consisting of its three "colleges"—electors, princes, free cities—still met for formal business from time to time normally at Regensburg; but its resolutions were empty air; it had no executive power, it could be defied with perfect impunity. Similarly, the Imperial Court—the *Reichskammergericht*—was sunk in senile decay. It occasionally met at Wetzlar to deal with disputes between German princes, but it did little more than drag out the disputes to interminable lengths, and then pronounce verdicts which few could understand and none would obey. Even the localised "Circles" of the Empire, by means of which Maximilian I had tried to vitalise the Germanic body, were moribund, some such as the Circles of Burgundy, had been eaten into by French aggressions, others had passed under the complete control of Austria or Prussia; those that remained independent, such as the Circles of Westphalia, Franconia, and Swabia were torn by internal dissensions and reduced to impotence. The only power that remained effective in Germany was that of a few of the greater States and this was usually nullified by their keen rivalries.

Austria, the pre-eminent German State, was in 1789 still governed by the emperor Joseph II; but he was nearing the end of his adventurous and disastrous reign. He had returned from his unsuccessful campaign against Turkey with his health shattered, and he was sick unto death in Vienna. His zeal for the unification of the Hapsburg dominions; his attempt to impose the German language and German institutions upon his non-Germanic peoples had reduced his realm to chaos. Belgium, Hungary, Bohemia, were all either in open revolt or seething with discontent. His schemes to obtain possession of Bavaria had caused the aged Frederick the Great of Prussia to declare against him and to organise a League of Princes to frustrate his designs.

The anti-Hapsburg League of Princes survived Frederick the Great, who ended his unprincipled but highly-successful career on August 17th, 1786. He was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II (1786-1797), a man of very different calibre and character from his uncle. He was weak and frivolous, unskilled in either war or administration ignorant of politics, and incapable of ruling men. The weakness of "enlightened despotism", as exemplified by "Red Fritz", was that its success depended entirely upon the slender thread of a single human life. When the death of the despot cut that thread, the whole system tended to crash. Frederick the Great, more than most of his contemporaries, had gathered all the reins of government into his own hands, making no effort to train even his heir-presumptive to take over his multifarious functions. The French nobleman, Mirabeau who visited Frederick at Sans Souci, perceived the danger, he wrote :—

"If ever a foolish prince ascends this throne, we shall see the formidable giant suddenly collapse and Prussia will fall like Sweden".

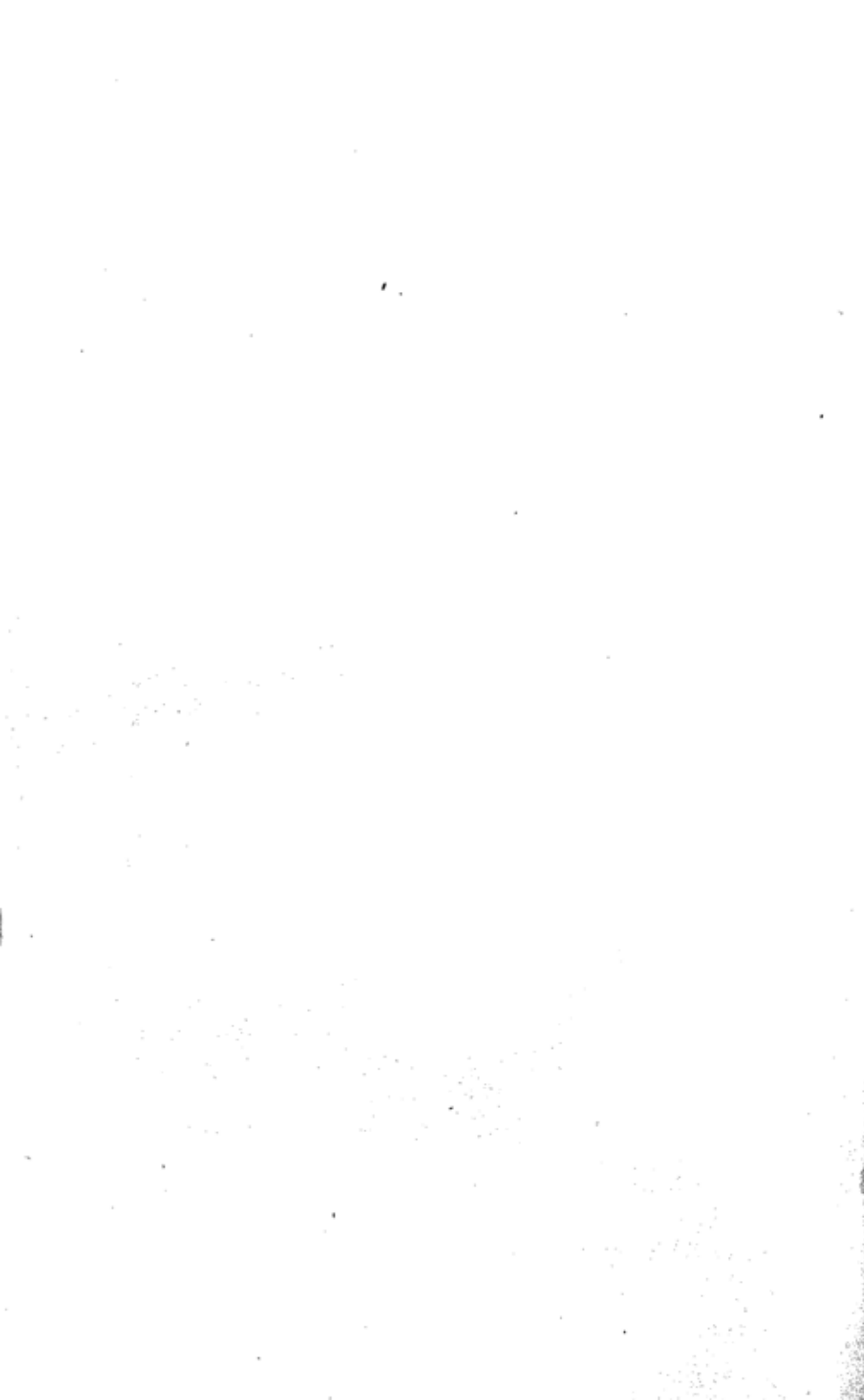
Mirabeau's prophecy was spectacularly fulfilled, as will be seen, in 1806. Meantime Frederick William II prepared

the way for its fulfilment. He was led from the prudent paths of his predecessor by qualities which would have been amiable and commendable in a private person, namely, affection for his sister and his daughter. The former, Wilhelmina, was married to William of Orange, Stadholder of Holland ; the latter, Frederica, to the Duke of York, second son of George III of Great Britain. Now both Holland and Britain were much perturbed at this time by Austrian and French designs on the Netherlands. Joseph II was known to be anxious to get rid of his responsibility for the turbulent and intractable Low Countries if he could secure satisfactory exchange for them ; his brother-in-law, Louis XVI, was believed to be more than willing to take them over and to assist him in procuring compensation at the expense of minor German princes. On the other hand, the Dutch dreaded the advent of the French as neighbours, while the English were firm in their ancient resolve never to allow Antwerp to fall into the hands of a hostile Great Power. Hence in 1788 Great Britain and the Dutch Republic drew together for mutual defence, and the domestic affections of Frederick William II drew him into the Triple Alliance. Over against this Triple Alliance was the Dual Alliance of France and Austria, dating from the Seven Years' War, and confirmed by the marriage of Louis XVI to Marie Antoinette.

Here was the primary schism of Europe in 1789. For the other powers tended to group themselves behind either one or the other of the two alliances. Russia under Catherine—II eager for expansion at the expense of Turkey, Poland and Sweden was closely allied to Austria and actually at war with Turkey. The minor Bourbon Powers Spain, the Two Sicilies, Parma—were bound to France by the Family Compact. Sardinia, too, connected by royal marriages, was on the same side. Denmark, dominated by Russia, followed submissively in the train of Catherine II.

On the side of the Triple Allies—Prussia, Great Britain, and Holland—ranged themselves the States menaced by subjugation or partition. They did not add much to its strength; rather they were a burden and a responsibility. Turkey, invaded by Austrian and Russian armies, looked to Great Britain for aid, and received advice. Poland, dreading further partitionment, tried to conciliate Prussia and to reform her ineffective Constitution. Sweden, under the vigorous Gustavus III, had barely escaped spoliation in 1772 by means of a constitutional upheaval and the establishment of an absolute monarchy: in 1789 he was actually involved in war with Catherine II of Russia and Charistain VII of Denmark. Most of the smaller German States, alarmed by the projects of Joseph II, rallied to the side of Prussia.

In 1789, then, the prospects of a general European War seemed clear—a war on which the fates of the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and Turkey would largely depend. William Pitt and other peace-loving ministers were busily occupied in trying by negotiation to ward off the threatened catastrophe. The calculations and expectations of all of them, however, were completely thrown out of gear by the outbreak of that cataclysmal event, the French Revolution.



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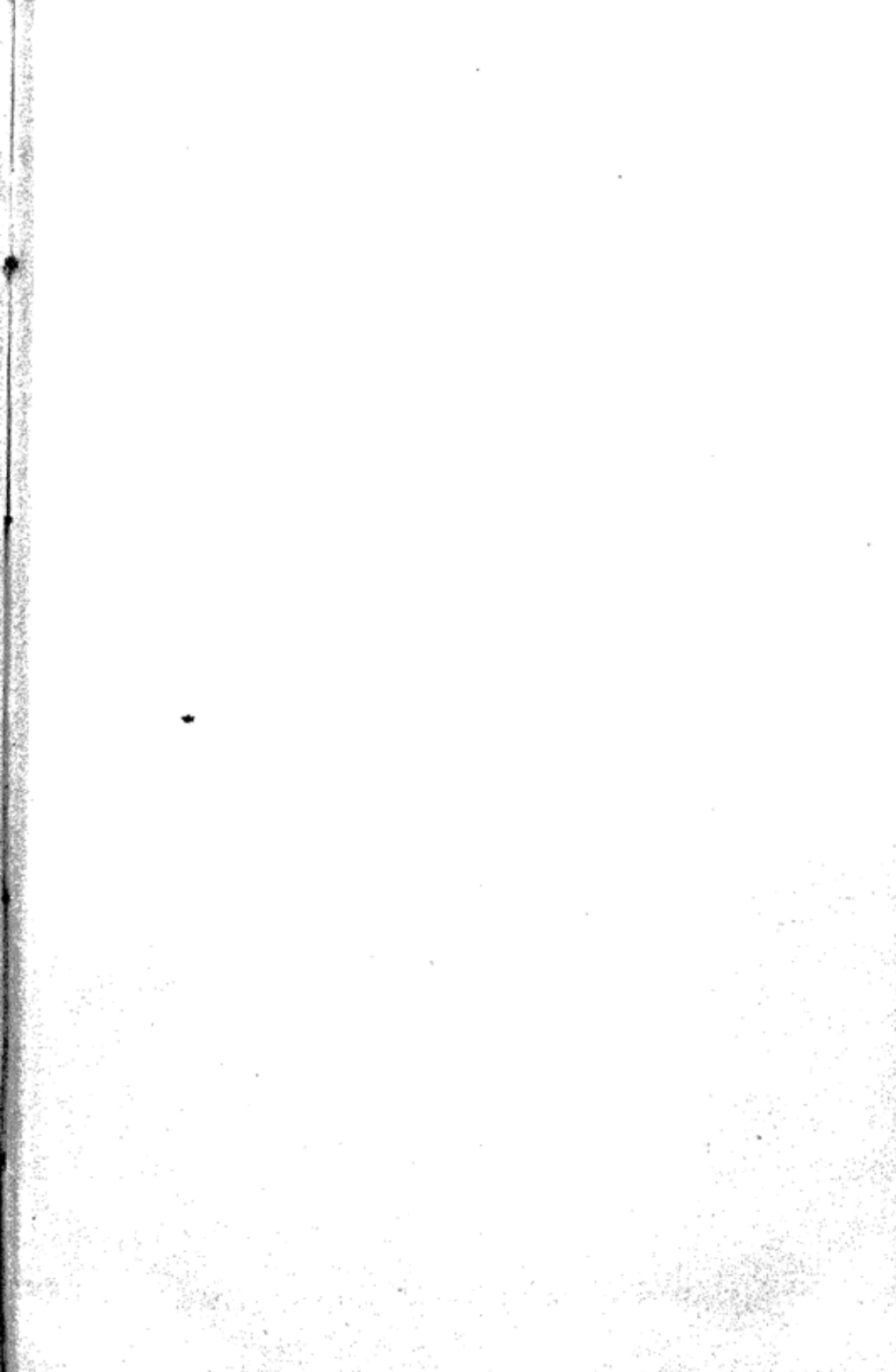
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