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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

BARODA

EDITED BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.

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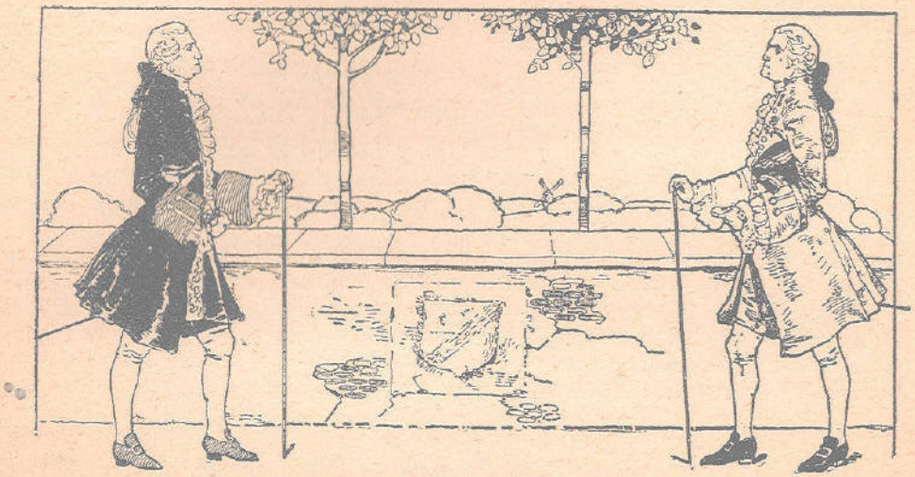


CHAPTER XVI

HOLLAND FROM 1722 TO 1815

During a period of thirty years following the Treaty of Utrecht, the republic enjoyed the unaccustomed blessing of profound peace. While the discontents of the Austrian Netherlands on the subject of the Barrier-Treaty were in debate, the quadruple alliance was formed between Holland, England, France, and the emperor for reciprocal aid against all enemies, foreign and domestic. It was in virtue of this treaty that the pretender to the English throne received orders to remove from France; and the states-general about the same time arrested the Swedish ambassador, Baron von Görtz, whose intrigues excited some suspicion.

The death of Louis XIV had once more changed the political system of Europe; and the commencement of the eighteenth century was fertile in negotiations and alliances in which we have at present but little direct interest. The rights of the republic were in all instances respected; and Holland did not cease to be considered as a power of the first distinction and consequence. The establishment of an East India company at Ostend, by the emperor Charles VI, in 1722, was the principal cause of disquiet to the United Provinces, and the most likely to lead to a rupture. But, by the Treaty of Hanover in 1726, the rights of Holland resulting from the Treaty of Münster were guaranteed; and in consequence the emperor abolished the company of his creation, by the Treaty of Seville in 1729, and that of Vienna in 1731.

The peace which now reigned in Europe allowed the United Provinces to direct their whole efforts towards the reform of those internal abuses resulting from feudality and fanaticism. Confiscations were reversed, and property was secured throughout the republic. It received into its protection the persecuted sectarians of France, Germany, and Hungary; and the tolerant wisdom which it exercised in these measures gives the best assurance of its justice and prudence in one of a contrary nature, forming a solitary exception to them. This was the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose dangerous and

destructive doctrines had been long a warrant for this salutary example to the Protestant states of Europe.[b]

DANGER TO THE DIKES

About this time the destruction of a large portion, at least, of the wealthy and populous provinces of Holland and Zealand, which Louis XIV, in the zenith of his power, had been unable to effect, was well nigh brought about by a very tiny agent. The dikes, which for three centuries had been formed of beams and pile-work, were discovered in 1732 in Walcheren and North Holland to be in a state of complete decay, in consequence of the attacks of the small marine worm called the *Pholas*, supposed to have been brought in the ships from the East and West Indies. This insect, by means of the horny shell of its head, furnished with a sharp edge like a saw, is able to hollow out the hardest wood, and even stone, and had been for some time committing its destructive ravages unperceived. The dread that the storms of winter would arrive while the dikes were thus incapable of resistance, and the country be overwhelmed by the sea, was so great in the minds of all men that public prayers were offered up in the churches to the Almighty to avert the evil. Their alarms, however, proved groundless; and the danger to which they had been exposed was, by the ingenuity and industry of the people, productive of a permanent benefit; since it gave rise to the discovery of a mode of covering the pile-work with a facing of earth, and flint and granite stones, which not only protected it from the worm, but rendered the dike firmer against the assaults of the waves.

About this time the long-pending suit between the King of Prussia and the Prince of Orange-Nassau, concerning the inheritance of William III, was compromised; the cession of the principality of Orange made to the King of France at the Peace of Utrecht was confirmed, the prince being at liberty to give the name of Orange to any one of his estates, and continue to bear the title and arms of that principality.[c]

The peace of Europe was once more disturbed in 1733. Poland, Germany, France, and Spain were all embarked in the new war. Holland and England stood aloof; and another family alliance of great consequence drew still closer than ever the bonds of union between them. The young prince of Orange, who in 1728 had been elected stadholder of Groningen and Gelderland, in addition to that of Friesland which had been enjoyed by his father, had in the year 1734 married the princess Anne, daughter of George II of England; and by thus adding to the consideration of the house of Nassau had opened a field for the recovery of all its old distinctions.[b]

WAR WITH FRANCE

In 1743 the states joined England in supporting the claims of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, and fell consequently into complications with France, which invaded the barrier country. In 1744 they granted a subsidy in money and put twenty thousand men in the field, and became a member of the quadruple alliance with Austria, England, and Saxony. In 1745 the provinces took their part in the rout of Fontenoy, after which Marshal Saxe overran the Austrian Netherlands, while England and Holland were alike paralysed by the Jacobite rising in Scotland. The states lost every barrier-town, and lay defenceless before the French, who in 1747 entered Dutch Flanders and made an easy conquest.

WILLIAM IV DECLARED STADHOLDER (1747)

And now the Orange party, supported by English aid, began to lift its head. The provinces had fallen so low that all men began to wish for a dictator. Accordingly Prince William Charles Henry Friso was proclaimed stadholder, captain and admiral-general of Zealand, at Terveer, under the title of William IV. The movement thus begun spread like wildfire; all Zealand accepted him with enthusiasm, and Holland was not far behind; even at Amsterdam and the Hague the popular feeling was too strong to be resisted, and the government had to give way. William IV became captain and admiral-general of the whole union, and stadholder of the seven provinces; a little later these offices were declared hereditary in both male and female lines.[d]

This change, completed within a week, was unattended by bloodshed; and the prince of Orange, having been proclaimed by the towns separately, was unanimously declared by the states of Holland, "in consideration of the troubled state of affairs, and in order, by the blessing of God, to deliver the country from the difficult and dangerous situation in which it is placed, stadholder, captain and admiral-general of the province." The Orange flag was hoisted on all the public buildings in the voting towns, and the event was celebrated with bell-ringing, illuminations, the discharge of artillery, and every demonstration of the most extravagant joy.

The manner in which the prince received the notification of his appointment contributed much to confirm the good opinion entertained of him, by a large number of the inhabitants of the United Provinces. He declared that he congratulated himself on his advancement, which appeared to tend to the honour of God, and the welfare of his beloved country; and that it gave him the greatest satisfaction to reflect that it had pleased the Almighty to permit a work whereon he appeared to have set his seal, to be concluded as it began, without being defiled by a single drop of blood. He immediately, on the invitation of the states, repaired to the Hague, where, on his arrival, he found himself already appointed captain and admiral-general of the union. Utrecht and Overyssel quickly followed the example of Holland and Zealand; and thus William IV became stadholder of all the seven provinces — a dignity never yet enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

This resolution was followed by the more important one which wholly deprived the states of their ancient dignity and lustre, and left the constitution of the United Provinces a republic in little else but the name. The states of Holland now took the lead in passing the decree that the offices of stadholder, captain, and admiral-general should be continued in the direct heirs of the prince of Orange forever, in the male and female line, professing the reformed religion, as taught in the churches of the United Provinces; except in case, as regarded male heirs, they should become possessed of royal or electoral dignity. If the succession devolved on a female, she was to exercise the office of stadholder under the name of governess, and to enjoy likewise those of captain and admiral-general, with a sitting in the council of state and the colleges of the admiralty, and to be empowered to name an efficient commander of the troops in time of war; she was bound not to marry but with the consent of the states — otherwise her issue was ineligible to inherit. During the minority of the stadholder, the provinces were to be governed by the mother of the infant. The hereditary stadholderate was soon after conferred by the states of the other provinces on William, with the same authority as it had been held by William

[1747 A.D.]

III, except in Friesland and Groningen, where this measure was not carried till a subsequent period.

In this revolution we may remark the effects of the strong natural bias by which the populace of Holland, in common with that of every nation in every age, has constantly been inclined towards the government of a single head. Here, as ever, the advocates of a more liberal constitution were found among the wealthy, the educated, and the reflecting portion of the community; and it was upon this comparatively small class of persons that the states and municipal governments had to rely chiefly for support; the majority having been induced to acquiesce in the existing order of things, only in proportion as they enjoyed personal ease and happiness under it. No sooner, therefore, did the hour of adversity and privation arrive, than the municipal governments found numbers and physical strength arrayed against them; while their sole arm of defence lay in the schuttery, or burgher-guard, which, though nominally under their command, was composed, in so large a proportion, of a class of persons favourable to the opposite party as to render it, if not hostile, at best little to be depended on. Accordingly, on the first appearance of actual force or violence, the municipal governments, destitute of all means of resisting such, at once and necessarily fell; and this serves to account, as well for the rapidity with which changes were affected in Holland as for the absence of bloodshed which usually marked their progress.

We have already had occasion to observe on the anomalies existing in the office of stadholder, as combined with those of captain and admiral-general. Still more striking did these anomalies become when functions so important and multifarious as to be duly fulfilled by none but a man of mature age and experience, and possessed of more than common skill in military and political affairs, were liable to fall into the hands of a female or an infant: and when no provision was made to prevent an authority which, if administered unfaithfully, might be used to the destruction of the liberties of the nation; and if inefficiently, involved danger to its very existence, from coming into the possession of a tyrant, a madman, or an idiot.

Another capital error into which the states had allowed themselves to be hurried by the violence of popular commotion was that, with the virtually royal authority they conferred on their minister, they permitted him, also, many of the insignia of royalty. As captain-general, he issued the "patents" or orders of march to the troops, and the soldiers took an oath of obedience to him, as well as to the states; in his name were pronounced the sentences of the courts-martial, which he annulled or modified at his pleasure; his arms were on the military standards; he alone received the salute; he was constantly surrounded by a military guard. The stadholder and his family were prayed for in the churches; his birthday was celebrated with public rejoicing; he received every morning from the president of the states-general an account of the matters to be deliberated in that assembly, and from the pensionary of Holland the like, with regard to the states of the provinces; and a particular gate at the Hague, leading to the court-house, was reserved for him and his family, through which the members of the states themselves never ventured to pass. Thus the name and right of sovereignty alone remained with the states; the power and dignities were lodged in their subjects. Hence arose a perpetual and dangerous confusion in the public mind as to which was, in fact, the sovereign.

The soldiery, especially the foreign troops, were accustomed to look up to him alone as their real master, who had the distribution of offices, and rewards and punishments at his disposal, and to whom they saw military honours paid; and were inclined to obey him, rather than the states to whom they really

[1747–1748 A.D.]

belonged. The captain-general had thus the power of turning the forces of the state against the state itself, and subjugating it with its own army. The populace also readily adopted the error of imagining that he who was adorned with the outward trappings enjoyed the reality of sovereignty, and were led to consider every instance of its exercise on the part of the states as an assumption of powers which did not belong to them, and to resent such as an injury committed against their lawful ruler; while foreign nations, falling into the same mistake, were apt to look on the attempts made at different times to restrain the exorbitant authority of the stadholder not as a withdrawal by the sovereign of powers from a subject that had become dangerous to the state, but as acts of rebellion and encroachments on a legitimate prerogative, royal in everything but the name. On such occasions, therefore, the cause of the stadholder became the common cause of kings; and the neighbouring monarchs were always found ready to assist him in crushing his opponents, and regaining all the privileges he claimed, no matter how unconstitutional, or however glaringly usurped.

WILLIAM IV (1711–1751)

It was the expressed opinion of one of the wisest of their statesmen, the pensionary Slingelandt, that the abuses then existing in the constitution would, if suffered to continue, tend to give the stadholder absolute power; and that they ought to be reformed either by substituting a majority or two-thirds in the states, in place of the unanimity required in public measures; or by entering into an amicable treaty with the prince of Orange to confer on him the stadholderate, with strict limitations for the security of public liberty. Had the passions and prejudices of the opponents of the prince been less strong, or could they have resolved to sacrifice their party spirit to the welfare of their country so far as to follow this advice, they might have found in the office of stadholder a source of benefit and a principle of stability to the constitution.

That some such modification of the government had long been absolutely requisite to the prosperity and happiness of the United Provinces was a fact beyond all question. Selfish, luxurious, and intent upon gain, as the Dutch had become, it was impossible to deny that they were no longer fitted for the difficult task of sustaining a free constitution; that the labour, watchfulness, and self-denial it requires had now grown irksome to them; that they no longer considered what kind of government was most conducive to virtue, to the strength and glory of their country, or most likely to transmit liberty and happiness to their posterity, but what would procure for them the largest share of security and ease in the acquisition or enjoyment of their wealth.[c]

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The year 1748 saw the termination of the brilliant campaigns of Louis XV during his bloody war of eight years' continuance. The Treaty of Aix-la-

Chapelle (Aachen), definitively signed on the 18th of October, put an end to hostilities: Maria Theresa was established in her rights and power; and Europe saw a fair balance of the nations, which gave promise of security and peace. But the United Provinces, when scarcely recovering from struggles which had so checked their prosperity, were employed in new and universal grief and anxiety by the death of their young stadholder, which happened at the Hague, October 13th, 1751.[1] His son, William V, aged but three years and a half, succeeded him, under the guardianship of his mother, Anne of England, daughter of George II, a princess represented to be of a proud and ambitious temper, who immediately assumed a high tone of authority in the state.[b]

THE REGENCIES OF ANNE AND ERNST OF BRUNSWICK

The princess Anne, daughter of George II of England, retained the dignity of hereditary stadholder from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle till her death in 1759; from this period Ludwig Ernst of Brunswick, who had been associated with her in the government since 1748 as guardian of her son William V, remained by virtue of this guardianship at the head of the war department by sea and land. The duties of the stadholder devolved upon the states of the separate provinces. By this means the aristocratic republican party in Holland, called the patriotic party, obtained a very considerable increase of influence, particularly in the province of Holland, where Amsterdam exceeded all the other towns in influence, both in the provincial parliaments and in the states-general. In Amsterdam public opinion was decidedly against the government, for two reasons: the old anti-Orange party, called the Louvestein party, still existed there; and besides, it was observed with grief, in Amsterdam as well as elsewhere, that commerce and trade, navigation and naval power, were passing from Holland to England, and the government was blamed for what was merely the effect of circumstances. All ranks, however, were discontented with the prince of Brunswick and his partiality towards England.

Even before the death of the widow of William IV, many discussions had arisen between the states and Duke Ludwig Ernst: since 1759 these discussions had never ceased. The English, during Anne's lifetime, had taken advantage of that princess's relation to the king of England, and of the neglect of the Dutch navy, which was partly caused by Anne's confidence in the friendship of England and partly by the eternal dissensions with particular provinces, to restrict the commerce of Holland, and to extend their own power at sea. They even violated the express treaties by which the right of the Dutch to neutral trade was recognised, immediately after the commencement of the Seven Years' War between them and the French in America. They declared all commerce with the French West Indies illegal, ship-timber and other materials for ship-building contraband, and in the year 1756 alone captured fifty-six Dutch ships which had violated the laws so arbitrarily laid

[1 His benevolence, liberality, affability, and placable though choleric temper, rendered him greatly beloved; and it was thought, and perhaps justly, that if he had taken all the advantage he might have done of the popular feeling in his favour, at the time of his elevation to the stadholderate, he would have been able to obtain an absolute authority. But he constantly showed himself averse to the adoption of any violent or illegal measures to this effect; and, according to Cerisier, on one of his courtiers remarking upon his moderation, and that any other prince would seize the opportunity of manifesting his resentment against his opponents, "Resentment!" he answered quickly, "I have none, except against those who offer me such counsel." His zeal for the welfare of his country, though not always tempered with judgment, and still more rarely guided by penetration in the choice of his ministers, was deep and sincere. Accordingly, the memory of none of their stadholders, except Frederick Henry and William I was ever cherished by the Dutch with so great or so well-deserved affection.c]

down. In the year 1758 the Dutch merchants represented to the states-general, that during the short period since the commencement of the war between the French and English they had lost upwards of twelve millions of florins.

Duke Ludwig Ernst might certainly have made better preparations and have acted with greater energy. This was so much the more the duty of a captain and admiral-general, as actual naval combats took place whenever the Dutch men-of-war which were conveying the merchant-vessels fell in with English cruisers or men-of-war. It was computed that, up to the date of the Peace of Paris, at least a dozen Dutch ships in each year were adjudged to be fair prizes by the English admiralty court, according to the one-sided English law.

After the end of the Seven Years' War, or rather, since the death of the princess Anne (1759), the internal dissensions in the Netherlands had been very much increased by the personal character of the duke and his anti-republican tendencies. Ludwig Ernst, who was conceited and fond of power, increased the natural incapacity of the young prince by the kind of education which he caused to be given to him and made him dependent on himself by means of a secret and consequently illegal and unconstitutional agreement. He was unable indeed to conceal from the knowledge of his numerous enemies this act, to which he caused his ward to subscribe on his coming of age, although its actual contents were not discovered till a considerable time afterwards.

When the prince attained his majority in 1766 he had a powerful party against him, as well in the states-general as in the parliaments of the several provinces: the magistrates of the powerful towns had almost all become anti-Orange during the administration of Ludwig Ernst; the young prince therefore believed himself to be utterly helpless without the assistance of the duke, and was confirmed in this opinion by Prussia and England. This was the motive for the step which the prince took at the duke's instigation — the entirely unwarrantable step of subjecting himself and his free state to a foreign prince in order to retain the latter near his person. He drew up and subscribed to an agreement (*Acte van Consulentschap*), according to which he bound himself to follow the advice of his ex-guardian in all state affairs. The only persons who knew of this agreement were the pensionary of the council (minister of foreign affairs), the English ambassador, and two chiefs of the Orange party: the others only guessed that such a contract might exist.

Under these circumstances the result was such as might have been expected; even the wisest and most reasonable propositions of the duke met with opposition in the separate states, where the aristocratic party had the majority, whilst the lower classes were entirely devoted to the prince. As early as 1767 the duke wished to take measures to prevent the increasing loss of trade, but was unable to succeed in his attempt; he endeavoured in 1769, 1770, and 1771 to increase the naval and military force, at least as much as might be necessary in order to retain everything in its then position, and to strengthen the garrisons in the strongholds on the Belgian frontier; but each time he was prevented by the pedlar spirit and little-mindedness of the states.

In 1773, when it was perceived that Spain, as well as France, was not only making great preparations at sea, but was even creating an entirely new naval force, equal to that of England in the number of ships of the line, the province of Holland was desirous that its naval force also should be strengthened, but at the same time resisted such a proposal of the government.

HOLLAND DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Because the English were aware that the Dutch were entirely unable to fit out either a land or a sea force, or even to be of the same opinion concerning any energetic measure, inasmuch as the Orange party and the patriots mutually distrusted each other, they allowed themselves not only to disturb the Dutch timber trade, which ought to have been free according to the law of nations, but also to violate express treaties with Holland. Notwithstanding the advantages allowed to the Dutch over other nations by the treaty of 1674, which the Peace of Utrecht had confirmed, the English enforced their right of search with violence and by force of arms in the midst of peace.

The government and its partisans, consisting principally of the inhabitants of some provinces, such as Zealand and Gelderland, where the prince had large possessions, and of the Dutch nobility, were favourable to the English; the Dutch towns, on the other hand, and particularly Amsterdam, were inclined to a treaty with France and to the support of the American colonies then in revolt. The prince in 1767 had married the niece of King Frederick II of Prussia and the sister of his successor, Frederick William II; this princess soon began to interfere in public affairs, because the prince was phlegmatic, lazy, and helpless, and apparently always looked to England for support. The influence of the princess was most felt in the states-general, and the governments of several of the cities and provinces acted oftener on this account in opposition to the government of the county.

The English were thus furnished with an opportunity of complaining, that the province of Holland had given Paul Jones an asylum in the Texel, that the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies had become a regular market for the North American trade, that an English frigate had been taken almost under the guns of the island, and that English prizes were sold there.[1]

When the English coasts were threatened by the French and Spanish fleets, the Dutch would not agree to their demand for a loan of the Scotch Guards, which the prince would willingly have granted. This refusal particularly displeased the English, because the pensionary of the province of Holland and the two burgomasters of Amsterdam were known to be declared republicans and friends of the French. The Amsterdam merchants were also at this time intimately connected with the Americans, and however ill the democratic Franklin might consider it his duty to speak of the plebeian aristocracy of Holland, they had favoured the loans which the Americans had raised on French security. The English therefore annoyed the Dutch in many ways; they totally destroyed their timber trade, on the pretence that timber might be used as building materials for ships of war, and hindered their communication with the French West Indies by force. The Dutch, on the other hand, to please the French, gave orders to all their ships to avoid touching at Gibraltar, in order that the English there might not be provided with supplies by means of Dutch vessels.

Whilst everything had the appearance of England being at silent feud with Amsterdam and the province of Holland, but on the best understanding

[1] It will be seen from Franklin's letters that whilst he was in Paris his official correspondence went by way of St. Eustatius and Holland, as soon as war had been declared between France and England. The whole conduct of the Dutch and their relation to the other powers is very justly delineated by Franklin in a few words, in a letter of the 13th of June, 1780: "Holland, offended by fresh insults from England, is arming vigorously. That nation has madly brought itself into the greatest distress, and has not a friend in the world."

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA. LIBRARY

with the hereditary stadholder and the states-general, a circumstance happened, the necessary consequence of which was the interruption of the friendly relation between the stadholder and the English, although the latter, on account of the bad condition of their fleet and army, could not venture to declare war. The Dutch rear-admiral Bylandt (*Schout by Nacht*), with three ships of the line and some frigates, was convoying a Dutch merchant fleet destined for the Mediterranean; this fleet was joined, without Bylandt's consent however, or any promise of protection on his part, by some ships laden with building timber, or timber which the English considered as such and liable to search, because they were conveying materials to the enemy. The English captain, Fielding, with a small squadron, was ordered to follow the vessels under Bylandt's convoy, to search them, and to capture all such as should be laden with marine stores or with timber for ship-building.

He came up with the fleet in January, 1780. Bylandt, however, properly refused to suffer the vessels to be searched, and only yielded when the English, who far exceeded him in numbers, actually fired upon them; he then struck his flag, as if he had been captured during a war, and followed the English squadron with his whole fleet, as if war had been actually declared and commenced by them. He remained in the harbour whither they were conducted as a prisoner of war, until he received further commands from his government.

TREATY OF UTRECHT BROKEN

This circumstance gave rise to a violent diplomatic contest — an interchange of notes full of bitter reproaches and complaints on both sides; until the English, who would gladly have been long since relieved of the treaty of 1674, and of the clause in the Peace of Utrecht which was so entirely opposed to their naval law, declared that, if the Dutch did not comply with what was required of them within a period of three weeks, they (the English) would no longer consider themselves bound by particular treaties. When the demands of the English were afterwards discussed in the states-general, all the provinces except Zealand voted against compliance, and a declaration of war was then expected; this, however, the English ministry did not yet consider advisable. They wished merely to gain time; they did not wish immediately to have a third war upon their hands, but to prevent the states, miserly and vacillating as they knew them to be, from adopting the proposal of the stadholder, that preparations should be immediately made, and at the same time to prevent the party of the stadholder from entering forthwith into the neutral alliance proposed by Russia; they therefore gave hopes of the continuance of peace, but in reality pursued a hostile course of action. The English first formally declared null and void the Treaty of Utrecht with the Netherlands — by means of which the latter had a right to particular advantages — in a statement made by them to the states-general; and then issued a proclamation to the English people corresponding to the statement.

The Dutch rightly looked upon this one-sided abolition of maritime rights which had existed for more than a hundred years as an act of injustice, proceeding rather from commercial jealousy than from political enmity, the intention of which was entirely to suppress the Dutch trade and to deprive the United Provinces of all the advantages of their neutrality; they determined, therefore, at least to arm.

The government required the states to furnish them with means for raising the land army to about fifty thousand or sixty thousand men, and for building fifty or sixty new ships of war to strengthen their fleet; and long

discussions and much contention were the consequences of this demand. At length, after much squabbling and a great deal of bargaining, the demand was entirely refused as regarded the land army, and only thirty-two ships were allowed to be built. The patriotic party was therefore fully as negligent and slothful, out of reliance on the French, as that of the house of Orange was from confidence in England.

It was not until the 20th of November, 1780, that the Dutch resolved to join the armed neutrality; the English therefore had time enough to furnish the empress with a tolerable pretext for refusing the Dutch signature to her treaty, which thus became of very little consequence to them.

ENGLAND DECLARES WAR (1780)

According to the extraordinary constitution of the republic, which consisted of provinces united but in most things entirely independent of the common government, a province or a city could conclude separate treaties with any foreign state without communicating with the general government on the subject; and this had been done by the city of Amsterdam in 1778. The burgomasters of Amsterdam, and particularly the pensionary of the province of Holland, were in favour of a very close connection with France. In 1778, when the French concluded a treaty with the new republic, the pensionary of Amsterdam was also agreed with the congress as to the articles of a commercial treaty. We see from Franklin's letters that other cities hastily applied to him in the hope of being enabled to conclude similar separate treaties with America. When everything was arranged, the American congress committed the duty of formally concluding the treaty with the city of Amsterdam to one of its ex-presidents (Laurens); his departure was however delayed in the year 1779, and took place in 1780. The English, however, captured the ship on board of which he was, and succeeded in recovering his papers, which he had torn and thrown overboard; he and his despatches were brought to England on the 8th of October.

Laurens was treated very severely in England, and his imprisonment in the Tower was very strict.

The English ministry communicated to the government of the hereditary stadholder the papers which had been found on Laurens. They demanded an explanation from the province of Holland and from the city of Amsterdam; and, on their attempting to justify their proceeding by appealing to the nature of the constitution, plainly signified their dissatisfaction. As the English wished for a pretext for declaring war, their ambassador was instructed to demand that the pensionary of Holland and the burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam should be actually punished; and this he did in a threatening note. According to the constitution of Holland, the satisfaction which the English demanded could not be given them. The English then declared war against the United Provinces on the 20th of December, 1780.

The Dutch, in the year 1781, experienced the consequences of their divisions, their narrow policy, their cautiousness, and their avarice, which had hindered them from affording to their government the means of acting with energy immediately after the commencement of the war. The French, on the other hand, helped the Dutch again to their property, without being bound to them by any treaty, and restored to them what had been taken from them by the English. As to the English, in this war also they remained true to a custom which had afforded matter for reproach against them in every war during the eighteenth century. They gave permission and issued

commands to capture the enemy's ships long before the declaration of war. Before the English declaration of war arrived at the Hague, therefore, the merchant-vessels of the unsuspecting Dutch had been captured wherever they were met with; so that, from the 20th of December, 1780, on which day war was declared, till the end of January, 1781, two hundred Dutch ships were captured, the value of which was estimated at 15,000,000 florins.

LOSS OF THE DUTCH COLONIES AND COMMERCE

The English ministry had long determined to destroy that dépôt of the Dutch in the West Indies which was at the same time the regular port for the North American trade, by the capture of St. Eustatius; on the same day, therefore, on which war was declared, a swift-sailing frigate was despatched to Rodney with orders to put this plan immediately into execution. When Rodney received this order he was lying off Barbados, and he immediately sailed towards Martinique as if to seek out the French: he appeared suddenly before St. Eustatius on the 3rd of February, 1781, where the inhabitants had no intimation of the breaking out of the war, and where consequently not the slightest preparations for defence had been made by the miserable Dutch government, at the head of which was Ludwig Ernst. No opposition was even attempted; the island, which resembled one immense magazine, was immediately given up. Two hundred and fifty ships and a frigate, which were lying in the harbour, were captured; sixty others under the convoy of a frigate attempted to save themselves by flight; but Rodney sailed after them and captured them all, together with the ship of war which was convoying them.

The Dutch settlements on the coast of the continent of South America, the principal of which was Surinam, which surrendered immediately without being summoned so to do, had to thank the unanimous disapprobation which had been the consequence of Rodney's behaviour in St. Eustatius, for being treated with more leniency. From this moment, the seven united provinces entirely disappeared from the number of those states which had any authority or influence in Europe; they became dependent on the favour of foreign states, because they were driven out of their East Indian possessions after having given up all their West Indian settlements without attempting any opposition. In the East Indies, one settlement, one fortress, one island after another was taken from them; their merchant-vessels dared not show themselves anywhere; their fleet was useless, and even their trade with the Baltic was obliged to be given up, because their ports were watched by English vessels.

The Dutch at this time laid the blame of the losses which they had suffered in the East Indies, and of the bad condition of their shipping, entirely upon their government, and the partiality evinced by it for the English. The displeasure against the duke of Brunswick, who, as a stranger, was more blamed than he would otherwise have been, was afterwards very much increased by the complaints made by the brave commanders of the fleet which was opposed to the English at the entrance of the Baltic, in respect to the very bad condition of their ships, and to the promotion of officers, not according to merit but favour. The trade with the East and West Indies was almost entirely annihilated, and even in the Baltic the Dutch were obliged to trade under false colours; so that, while in the year 1780, 2,058 Dutch ships passed through the Sound — in the year 1782 only six. About the same time the East India Company, to which Holland was indebted

for much of its splendour, was very much broken up; the Dutch possessions on the west coast of Africa were lost, and Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were only rescued by the French admiral Suffren, who was gaining glory in the eastern seas whilst Grasse was being defeated in the West Indies by the English admirals.

PARTY QUARRELS

The divisions in the Netherlands, which began to show themselves in the last years of the war, served as the forerunners of the revolution which broke out immediately after the peace, and foreign nations treated the Dutch in an indifferent or contemptuous manner, because the latter were too weak to be able to resent such treatment; the French alone did everything in their power to connect the republican party closely with France.

The quarrel between the patriots and the party of the prince, which had begun before the declaration of war, continued with equal violence after the commencement of the war itself. The states had wished before the beginning of the war to unite with France; the government did not wish to break entirely with England. The stadholder demanded money for the land army: the states, on the other hand, required ships to be built; their progress was retarded, however, by the machinations of the stadholder. After the commencement of the war a complete division was effected. The city of Amsterdam in May, 1781, even went so far as publicly to express their want of confidence in the prince, and more particularly in Duke Ludwig Ernst, of whom the prince said that, notwithstanding the clamours of the opposite party, he honoured him as if he were his father.

From this time forward the two parties, the Orange party and that of the patriots, were to be considered as at open war.[g]

Almost the whole of those colonies, the remnants of prodigious power acquired by such incalculable instances of enterprise and courage, had been one by one assailed and taken. But this did not suffice for the satisfaction of English objects in the prosecution of the war. It was also resolved to deprive Holland of the Baltic trade. A squadron of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, was encountered on the Doggerbank by a squadron of Dutch ships of the same force under Admiral Zoutman. An action of four hours was maintained with all the ancient courage which made so many of the memorable sea-fights between Tromp, De Ruyter, Blake, and Monk drawn battles. A storm separated the combatants, and saved the honour of each; for both had suffered alike, and victory had belonged to neither. The peace of 1784 terminated this short, but, to Holland, fatal war; the two latter years of which had been, in the petty warfare of privateering, most disastrous to the commerce of the republic. Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, and the free navigation of the Indian seas, were ceded to England, who occupied the other various colonies taken during the war.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1785–1787

Opinion was now rapidly opening out to that spirit of intense inquiry which arose in France, and threatened to sweep before it not only all that was corrupt, but everything that tended to corruption. It is in the very essence of all kinds of power to have that tendency, and, if not checked by salutary means, to reach that end. But the reformers of the last century, new in the desperate practice of revolutions, seeing its necessity, but ignorant of its nature, neither did nor could place bounds to the careering whirlwind

that they raised. The well-meant but intemperate changes essayed by Joseph II in Belgium had a considerable share in the development of free principles, although they at first seemed only to excite the resistance of bigotry and strengthen the growth of superstition. Holland was always alive to those feelings of resistance to established authority which characterise republican opinions; and the general discontent at the result of the war with England gave a good excuse.[1] The stadholder saw clearly the storm which was gathering, and which menaced his power. Anxious for the present, and uncertain for the future, he listened to the suggestions of England, and resolved to secure and extend by foreign force the rights of which he risked the loss from domestic faction.

In the divisions which were now loudly proclaimed among the states, in favour of or opposed to the house of Orange, the people, despising all new theories which they did not comprehend, took open part with the family so closely connected with every practical feeling of good which their country had yet known. The states of Holland soon proceeded to measures of violence. Resolved, in 1786, to limit the power of the stadholder, they deprived him of the command of the garrison of the Hague, and of all the other troops of the province; and, shortly afterwards, declared him removed from all his employments. The violent disputes and vehement discussions consequent upon this measure, throughout the republic, announced an inevitable commotion. The advance of a Prussian army towards the frontiers inflamed the passions of one party, and strengthened the confidence of the other.

An incident which now happened brought about the crisis even sooner than was expected. The princess of Orange in 1787 left her palace at Loo to repair to the Hague; and, travelling with great simplicity and slightly attended, she was arrested and detained by a military post on the frontiers of the province of Holland. The neighbouring magistrates of the town of Woesden refused her permission to continue her journey, and forced her to return to Loo under such surveillance as was usual with a prisoner of state. The stadholder and the English ambassador loudly complained of this outrage. The complaint was answered by the immediate advance of the duke of Brunswick, with twenty thousand Prussian soldiers. Some demonstrations of resistance were made by the astonished party whose outrageous conduct had provoked the measure; but in three weeks' time the whole of the republic was in perfect obedience to the authority of the stadholder, who resumed all his functions as chief magistrate, with the additional influence which was sure to result from a vain attempt to reduce his former power.[b]

There is much political truth in the humorous description given by Burke of these events. "A chivalrous king, hearing that a princess had been affronted, takes his lance, assembles his knights, and determines to do her justice. He sets out instantly with his knights in quest of adventures, and carries all before him, achieving wonders in the cause of the injured princess. This reminded him of the ancient story of a princess Latona who, having been insulted by a nation like the Dutch, appealed to Jupiter for satisfaction, when the god in revenge for her wrongs turned the nation that affronted her into a nation of frogs, and left them to live among dikes and waters. Although the king of Prussia had, professedly, set out merely to obtain adequate satisfaction for the injury done his sister, his army by accident took Utrecht, possessed themselves of Amsterdam, restored the stadholder and the former

[1 A commission of the states-general reported that the defences of the country had been purposely ruined and the appeals of officers ignored by the stadholder, whose first remark after the battle of Doggerbank was: "I hope the English have sustained no loss."]

[1787 A.D.]

government, and all this at a stroke and by the bye." (Speech in the debate on the Hessian subsidy.) Nothing, indeed, but the weakness of Holland — her utter inability to attract the attention of other nations to her cause by the strenuous defence or reclamation of her rights, could have blinded their eyes to the nature of the interference of England and Prussia in the domestic affairs of that country. In direct violation of the law of nations and the principles of justice, they had forced a sovereign [*i.e.* the states-general] to reinstate a minister [*i.e.* the stadholder] whom, whether on good grounds or not, that sovereign conceived to have betrayed his trust, and had worked out the entire destruction of a constitution with which they could have had no possible right to meddle. Yet scarce a voice was heard in remonstrance or appeal against the aggression. Even the whigs of England, dazzled by the influence their court had by such means gained over so important an ally, forgot their usual zeal for the liberty and independence of nations; and, though they found some faults in the detail of the measures pursued, united in applauding their tendency.

The revolution had, to all appearance, annihilated the patriots as a party. The most considerate members had fled the country;[1] and the remainder, mistrustful of each other, and fallen into the contempt of the nation at large, ventured not to offer the slightest opposition to the proceedings of their adversaries.

An oath to support the constitution as at present established was imposed not only on all public officers but even on members of the lowest order of guilds. Still further security for the existing order of things was sought in an alliance with Prussia and England, whereby both these powers became guarantors for the preservation of the stadholderate according to the act of 1747; these two powers, moreover, by a separate treaty, somewhat novel in the history of nations, binding themselves mutually to a similar guarantee. So great a change had the public mind undergone, that England, whom three years before scarcely any dared mention except in terms of animosity, now governed the councils of the United Provinces with undisputed sway; the ambassador, Sir James Harris, mingled himself in all the affairs of state, and on his appearance in public was received with marks of distinction little inferior to those paid to the stadholder himself.

The influence of France, on the other hand, was now wholly annihilated. In a late declaration made to the court of England, Louis had disclaimed having ever had any intention of interfering in the affairs of the United Provinces. This act, which savoured, it was thought, as much of pusillanimity as of infidelity, inspired the patriots in the United Provinces with a hatred and contempt of France scarcely less than had formerly actuated the Orangists.

Thus deprived of the aid, or even the intercession, of any foreign potentate, and exposed defenceless to the vengeance of their adversaries, backed by the power of England and Prussia, the unhappy patriots were constrained to drink to the very dregs of the bitter cup of humiliation. Not a drop of blood, however, was shed on the scaffold, a very few only being condemned to death, and in their case the sentence was commuted to that of perpetual exile.

Among the minor vexations to which the patriots had to submit, not the least, perhaps, was the necessity of wearing the Orange badge, which no person, of whatever sex or country, dared appear without. An Italian officer

[1] The number of emigrants and exiles who quitted the United Provinces in this and the following year was reckoned at 42,394.

[1787–1792 A.D.]

was actually expelled from Amsterdam for refusing obedience to this singular mandate; and a woman was imprisoned for two years, and banished, for having indulged in some expression of ridicule on the subject.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As regarded its foreign politics, the Dutch nation at this period, under the entire sway of England and Prussia, made no greater figure than if it had been a province of one of those kingdoms. Out of complaisance to the latter power, the states secretly assisted the people of the Austrian Netherlands, though under constant professions of neutrality, in the formidable revolt which the attempts of the emperor Joseph to introduce a more liberal system of civil and religious government had raised against him; and became nominally a party to the treaty which, in consequence of a change of policy in the Prussian court, was concluded with Leopold II, successor of Joseph, and the Netherland provinces, whereby the latter were annexed to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, under the guarantee of Holland, England, and Prussia.

Further than this the United Provinces appeared to interest themselves little in the affairs of neighbouring nations; or even in the course of those mighty events which at this time drew towards France the contemplation and wonder of Europe. Well pleased to behold the humiliation of a power they detested, the Dutch government viewed with indifference the first attacks made by the French people on the throne and monarchical institutions of the country. They received the notification of the king's acceptance of the constitution forced upon him in 1789, which that unhappy monarch had neither the firmness to refuse nor the integrity to abide by. They kept studiously aloof from the confederacy entered into at Pillnitz by the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia for the purpose of obtaining the restoration of the king of France to his rights, and which drew from the national assembly of France the declaration of war against the former power; they received in silence the invitation of even the king of Prussia himself to become a party to the league formed against the present administration of France by the sovereigns of Prussia, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Savoy, and the papal see; and beheld with apparent indifference the march of the allied army of 180,000 men under the duke of Brunswick towards the frontiers of that kingdom.

But though exempt from participation in these acts, the Dutch were none the less sufferers by their pernicious consequences. The king of England having withdrawn his ambassador from Paris on the arrest of the king and royal family, the states found themselves obliged, however reluctantly, to assume a hostile attitude towards France by following his example; while the subjugation, soon after, of nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, the consequence of the brilliant victory obtained over the Austrian army in 1792 at Jemmapes by Dumouriez, appeared likely to produce a more immediate cause of quarrel.

On the reduction of the town of Antwerp by the French general Labourdonnaie, the citadel still holding out, two armed schooners were sent against it, with orders from Dumouriez to sail down the Schelde. The emperor, anxious to obtain co-operation in opposing the progress of the French arms in the Netherlands, exhorted the states to take the speediest and most energetic measures to resist so palpable an infraction of treaties and violation of their neutrality. Great Britain, unable hitherto to find a pretext for the war she was eager to commence, laboured diligently to invite the states to hostilities,

wherein she might bear a part as their ally, and declared her resolution of supporting them in the assertion of their rights when required.[1] But the death of Louis XVI on the scaffold in 1793, the expulsion of the French ambassador from the court of London, and the consequent declaration of war by the national convention against the king of England and the stadholder; the acquiescence of the stadholder in all the measures, and his constant deference to the counsels of the court of England, justified the national convention in treating him as a dependent of that power. Accordingly it was to him, as such, and not to the states — a politic distinction of which the convention afterwards found the value — that the manifesto was addressed, declaring the inhabitants of the United Provinces released from the oath they had been forced to take to the stadholderal government in 1788, and that all such as pretended to be bound by it were enemies of the French people and to be treated with all the rigour of the laws of war.

The states-general issued at once a counter-declaration, in the form of a letter to the states of the provinces, couched in terms of mingled contempt, derision, and aversion, both of the persons and principles of the party by which France was at that time governed; while the stadholder, nearly at the same moment, published a manifesto calculated to arouse the people to a strenuous defence of their country. Preparations were immediately commenced with great activity.

THE FRENCH CONQUEST

Whether the Dutch emigrants had possessed the national convention with an erroneous idea of the strength and disposition of the malcontents in the United Provinces, or whether the result of the Prussian invasion six years before had inspired the French with a profound and not wholly undeserved contempt of the military prowess of the Dutch nation, the army sent under the general Dumouriez to achieve the conquest of the provinces appeared absolutely inadequate to the occasion. In the proclamation by which his approach was preceded, the French commander had declared that he was about to enter Holland with sixty thousand men, to assist the Batavians in breaking the chains laid upon them by the tyranny of the house of Orange. But he advanced toward the confines with an army no more than 13,700 strong, among whom were 2,000 Dutch and Belgian emigrants, and with a ridiculously small train of artillery, consisting of only four twelve-pounders, and about thirty-six smaller pieces.

With so small a force at his command, Dumouriez was conscious that his only hope of success was in celerity, and in taking advantage of the feeling of dismay he had so dexterously inspired. The event justified his sagacity; since Breda, though defended on all sides by water and morasses, well fortified and provided, surrendered February 24th, 1793, the day after his summons. The magazines of Breda supplied Dumouriez with the material of which he stood so much in need.

The loss of Gertruydenberg, followed by that of Klundert, excited the

[1] If we call to mind the events of a few years before, it affords a striking instance how greatly the ideas of justice among nations are modified by considerations of their own interest, to behold the emperor now insisting upon the religious observation of a treaty which his predecessor, Joseph II, had so unscrupulously set at naught; France asserting that the privilege of closing the Schelde, which had been preserved to the Dutch at that time chiefly by her interference, was contrary to the natural and universal rights of mankind; and England, who then viewed the whole question with the most profound indifference, now ready to make it a cause of proclaiming war on behalf of her ally.

most vivid anxiety for the safety of Dordrecht, which was in some degree relieved by the appearance of a reinforcement of vessels from England, together with a body of two thousand four hundred troops under the duke of York.

The revolutionary tribunal now governed France in all its terrible strength. With the absolute disposal of the lives, the property, and the actions of twenty-four millions of men, who submitted in the utter helplessness of fear to its sway, it was enabled to bring a mass of force into the field such as had never, under the most powerful monarchs, yet been seen, and to oppose an army to its enemies on every side. And, while the power of coercion in filling the ranks of the defenders of France was unlimited, its exercise was scarcely necessary. The French, who at Paris appeared a nation of bloodthirsty tyrants or trembling cowards, on the frontier were a people of heroes and patriots. While horror and execration rested upon the names of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, honour and victory followed the standards of Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, and Kléber. Instead of gaining a foot of ground on the enemy's frontier, the allies lost a considerable portion of what they had before possessed.

The Dutch in this campaign lost above eight thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the expenses had been far above what the present condition of the United Provinces was able to bear. The states of Holland, in answer to the extraordinary petition of "the state of war," had contributed nearly 3,000,000 guilders, besides 200,000 for the expenses of the camp, and 900,000 for the maritime defence of the state. An additional sum of 3,500,000 was also voted for the equipment of ten ships of the line and ten frigates; 600,000 for the supply of the magazines, and 1,200,000 for the fortifications. A tax of a fiftieth had been imposed; but this was found so far from sufficient that the states were obliged to have recourse to the mischievous and uncertain expedient of a lottery for 1,000,000 guilders. Yet it is remarkable that, in the midst of its embarrassments, the province of Holland did not cease to supply funds to foreign nations. A loan of 5,000,000 guilders was this year raised for the king of Prussia, and the American congress sold to the Dutch two millions of acres situate in the state of New York for 3,750,000 guilders.

The campaign of 1794 was little less than a series of conquests on the side of the French. Moreau took Sluys by siege. Pichegru routed the duke of York, and took Crèvecœur and Bois-le-Duc. Maestricht was reduced by Kléber. Venlo submitted to Laurens, and the English yielded Nimeguen.

But notwithstanding these successes, the invaders found the most formidable obstacles opposed to their further progress. The passage of the rivers, defended by powerful batteries and large bodies of troops, appeared next to an impossibility. Nearly the whole country before them was under water. The hereditary prince in person superintended the cutting of the dikes.

But, though England did not want for zeal and activity in her behalf, the troops she furnished, ill-organised and wretchedly commanded, appeared to serve no other purpose than to abandon one by one every position they had taken up; and, totally destitute of discipline, were an object of terror to the inhabitants and contempt to their enemies. "Their conduct on their retreat from Nimeguen," says a writer in the *Nederlandsche Jaarboek*, strongly favourable to that nation and the Orange party, "was marked by the most lawless pillage, the most odious licentiousness, and detestable cruelties; so that the inhabitants of the places they passed through would far rather trust to the mercy of the invading enemy than to such allies and defenders." The prohibitions issued by the duke of York were found wholly inefficient to restrain

these excesses; and even the pensionary Van de Spiegel [1] himself began to doubt whether it were not preferable to make a separate peace with France upon such conditions as they could obtain, than await an issue dependent upon the assistance of such coadjutors.

The severities exercised by the Orange party after the revolution of 1787 had effectually awed the patriots into silence; but the progress of the French was hailed by them as the approaching era of the realisation of their cherished dreams of liberty; and they were inclined rather to welcome them as deliverers than repel them as invaders. The policy of the court of England, moreover, in forcing upon the stadholder measures calculated to provoke the hostility of the convention, had unconsciously forwarded their views; since, the declaration of war being issued against him personally, the patriots readily persuaded themselves that they might, without incurring the imputation of treason against their country, unite with the invaders, not as her enemies but as auxiliaries in the overthrow of her tyrant.

Accordingly they had for some time begun to assemble in small meetings, held under the name of "reading societies." As these in a short time became numerous, there being no less than sixty in Haarlem alone, it was thought advisable to organise two central committees, the one to keep up a correspondence with their representatives in the French camp, with the revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and with the different societies in the provinces; while the other undertook to thwart all such plans and measures as might contribute to the efficiency of the present government, and to adopt every suitable and prudent means of arousing the enthusiasm of the people in favour of liberty. The efforts of the first attracted, for a considerable interval, but little notice. The results of the agency of the other were soon perceived, though the cause as yet lay hidden, in the opposition offered to all levies of money voted by the states, in the mistrust inspired of the government, and the denunciation of its measures as injurious to the commonwealth.

While their deputies were at the French camp, the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam continued in full activity. Magazines of arms were collected in different places; a small naval force was raised to protect the harbours, especially that of Amsterdam; the Jews to the number of forty thousand were bought off with heavy sums from the party of the stadholder, with the view of embarrassing the money transactions of the government; and the troops in the garrisons were tampered with, not altogether without success.

The government already entertained suspicions of some lurking mischief, and had ceased to quarter any garrisons in the more doubtful places; all assemblies, under whatever pretext, were forbidden unless by permission previously obtained, and were then to be held with open doors. The arrest of some of the members of the revolutionary committee spread consternation and dismay through the whole party. They sent pressing invitations to the French army to hasten their march, though the communication was now become extremely difficult, the states of Holland having issued an edict prohibiting any person under penalty of death from passing the boundaries without a passport from themselves, the council of state, or the stadholder. Ere long, nature herself declared as a champion of the invaders.

[1] Writing to the registrar Fagel, in London, Van de Spiegel, in a letter quoted by Wagenaer,[h] observes that "the prince is enraged at what he had witnessed, which surpassed the bounds of imagination; that the English were accustomed to answer to the complaints of the inhabitants, that they would be sure to be plundered by the Carmagnoles, and it was better they should forestall them." In a subsequent letter to the ambassadors sent to Paris with proposals of peace, he says, "Be assured that no English influence governs here; and that the nation has obtained in this country so bad a reputation that a century will not efface the impression."

THE FLIGHT OF THE STADHOLDER (1794)

In the month of December, harbingers began to appear of the severity of the winter emphatically called by the people of the United Provinces "the French winter." With anguish and despair, the inhabitants (such at least as were not in league with the enemy) beheld the daily increase of ice in the rivers and land waters, which soon, instead of a formidable and almost insurmountable barrier, offered to the French, as to the barbarian Franks above twelve centuries before, an easy passage into the heart of the country, and firm fields of battle for the evolutions of their troops. On this eventful change of circumstances Pichegru immediately formed the plan of a general attack. Daendels was commanded to resume under new and favouring auspices his twice foiled attempt to penetrate into Holland by way of the Bommel. The result was now proportionably different. The attacks of the other division of the invading army were equally successful.

The province of Utrecht was abandoned as untenable; since the inundated line of the Greb, before an impenetrable barrier, opposed since the frost not the slightest obstacle to the advance of the enemy. The ice, also, afforded a smooth and easy passage to Dordrecht, the ancient capital of Holland, which was filled with fugitives from different parts of the country; in vain were incessant efforts used to keep it broken, the intense cold of the night as constantly destroying the labours of the day. Terror, confusion, and despair took possession of the city and the whole province.

The announcement by the stadholder to the states-general and the states of Holland of his intention to quit the Hague followed; and, having taken a melancholy leave of the states, he set out, accompanied by his sons, for Scheveningen, whence the princess and her daughter had already sailed some hours before. The fishing smack in which he was to embark being at some distance from the shore, he was about to wade into the water, when, Bentinck exclaiming to the people, "Will you allow your prince to leave you thus?" they immediately hoisted him on their shoulders and bore him to the vessel. The next day he landed at Harwich. His departure from the Hague was immediately followed by that of the ambassadors from the courts of London, Berlin, Madrid, Turin, and Hanover.

Meanwhile, the general Daendels, impatient at the delay of the long-promised and expected revolution at Amsterdam, had, on the day of his arrival at Utrecht, sent to admonish the revolutionary committee to all possible speed in the accomplishment of that work, in order that they might, on his approach, be in a condition to treat with the French as friends and brothers, instead of conquerors. Early on the following morning the tree of liberty was planted on the Dam; and while the people were performing their dance around it, the council were summoned to the guildhall for the last time. They were then informed that, "the sun of freedom having now dawned upon the Batavian horizon," the former government of the city was superseded by the revolutionary committee, which would conduct the administration of affairs till a regular constitution was established, and commanded to return to their homes in the quality of simple burghers.

On the 22nd of January, 1795, generals Pichegru and Moreau made their entry into the Hague, already revolutionised.[1] The patriot party every-

[1] On Pichegru's quitting the Hague, in the month of March ensuing, to take the command of the army of the Rhine, an annuity of 10,000 guilders was, according to Wagenaar,[h] settled on him by the states-general as the reward of his services.

where received the invaders with open arms as friends and deliverers, "fraternising," as it was called in the jargon of the day, with the French soldiers; public feasts and rejoicings were held to celebrate the event; the tree of liberty was planted in nearly every town.

THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

Immediately on the completion of the revolution in the towns of Holland, they, in obedience to the summons of the central revolutionary committee, sent deputies to the Hague for the purpose of framing a new constitution. At this assembly,[1] the sovereignty of the people and the "rights of man" were formally acknowledged; and the ancient representative constitution of Holland, which had now subsisted with but slight alteration for six hundred years, and had withstood the successive shocks of the revolt from Spain, of long wars, and of civil dissensions, was annihilated at one stroke.

It was decreed that every individual of the male sex, and of mature age, should have a vote in the election of representatives, the states, as formerly constituted, being forever abolished; as were likewise the dignities of stadholder and captain and admiral-general. The villages of the open country, which had formerly been considered as represented in the states by the nobles, now obtained the right of sending representatives of their own. Thus composed, the assembly took the name of the "provisional representatives of the people of Holland." The council and chamber of finance were also abolished, and three committees, of "military affairs," of "general welfare," and of "finance," were formed in their stead. The pensionary Van de Spiegel was deprived of his offices, and a few days after he and William van Bentinck were arrested, their papers were seized, and they were condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Woerden.

The first business of the new assembly of representatives of Holland was to bring forward a proposal in the states-general that they should acknowledge the rights and sovereignty of the people; release the inhabitants of the United Provinces from their oath to the stadholder and the old constitution; and send ministers to Paris to offer to the convention an alliance on reasonable conditions, as between two equal and independent nations. The states-general complied with all these demands; they did not, however, change their title of "high and mighty lords"; the reformers being content to indulge "that whim and prejudice" on account of their relations with foreign states; neither did the constitution of the body itself undergo any other alteration than that their votes were sometimes taken individually instead of by provinces, and that the date of their edicts bore, in addition to the year of Christ, that of "Batavian liberty," and were headed with the watch-cry of the revolutionists, "equality, liberty, and fraternity."

With respect to all the other parts of the constitution of the United Provinces, however, the patriots, under the guidance, or rather coercion, of the representatives of the French Republic at the Hague, proceeded rapidly and unsparingly in the work of demolition. The beneficial provisions, the essential principles, and the most valued privileges fell equally with the most antiquated abuses and mischievous corruptions beneath the scythe.

The hereditary nobility was abolished, and their domains were applied to the public service; the use of escutcheons and other ornaments of heraldry was prohibited, together with the wearing of liveries; all remnants of feudal

[1] The president was Peter Paulus, who, on the revolution of 1787, had been deprived of his office of fiscal advocate to the admiralty of the Maas.

customs, where any such remained, were abolished; and county tolls, staple rights, and special commercial privileges were abrogated. The penal laws existing against the marriage of political and military officers with Catholics were revoked; and the religious ceremony of marriage was declared unnecessary. The synods were no longer to be held at the public expense; the hatchments were removed from the churches; and even the pews were not permitted to remain, as being inconsistent with the present notions of equality.

All the gallows and whipping-posts in the country were destroyed, on the ground that they were derogatory to the dignity of mankind, and monuments of ancient barbarism. Happily, the punishment of torture, which still subsisted in some parts of Gelderland, shared in the general annihilation.

This sudden sweeping away of every relic of their constitution, of every trace of their nationality, excited grief and dismay among all but the more zealous and hot-headed of the patriot party; of whom the great majority had never contemplated more than the reformation of the constitution in such a manner as might render it suitable, as they thought, to the improved condition of society and the more extended and varied necessities of the body politic. The entire and fearful awakening from the dream in which their own reckless frenzy had steeped their senses rapidly followed. They found that those whom they had hailed as deliverers were become their oppressors, with a tyranny of which the barbarous times they so severely reprobated had given them no idea.

They dared not make the slightest political movement except at the impulse of their new masters, the French representatives; at their bidding they were forced to lay an embargo on all the vessels of England in their ports, an act of which the consequence was a declaration of war by that country, and the loss of all their most valuable colonies, which fell an easy prey to her arms; their commerce, and more especially their fisheries, were laid under such restrictions as it pleased the invaders to impose; who took possession, moreover, of all their harbours, their strong towns and magazines, and exacted an oath from the military and naval forces to undertake nothing against the republic of France.

To other vexations was added the burden of the French troops quartered in the towns, often of the smallest and poorest provinces, and whose inhabitants were, by the severity of the winter, the floods which followed it, and the consequent scarcity, left with hardly the means of subsistence. The demands of the army for provisions, clothing, horses, forage, and fuel were absolutely insatiable[1]; nor did the consideration that the unhappy provinces of Gelderland and Overyssel were already reduced to the extremity of misery by the above causes and the pillage of the English army on its retreat, produce any mitigation of their treatment.

But a grievance far more deeply felt than these was the constraint the Dutch were under to receive as current the worthless paper money which the convention had issued under the name of "assignats," in the beginning of the war. This measure, enforced amidst professions of the most profound veneration for the rights of property, was accompanied by the seizure and appropriation by the French representatives of the effects of the stadholder (which, as the states justly remonstrated, he possessed not in the quality of stadholder but that of citizen), and, among the rest, his valuable museum

[1] The states-general were required, according to Wagenaer,[h] to deliver in one month 200,000 quintals of wheat; 75,000,000 lbs. of hay; 2,000,000 lbs. of straw; 50,000,000 lbs. of oats; 150,000 pairs of shoes; 20,000 pairs of stockings; 20,000 cloth coats and vests; 40,000 pairs of breeches; 150,000 shirts; and 50,000 caps, and, within two months, 12,000 oxen.

and gallery of paintings.[1] His demesnes were sequestrated by the representative assemblies of the provinces where they were situated, in order to preserve them from the hands of the French.

Acts of such a nature inspired the Dutch with no unreasonable doubts as to the intention of the national convention really to respect that independence which, on the entrance of the French army into the United Provinces, they had solemnly promised to uphold. In order to satisfy themselves on this point, the ambassadors (Jacob Blauw and Caspar Meyer) they sent to Paris for the purpose of concluding the treaty of amity and commerce were provided with instructions to obtain, if possible, an express acknowledgment of the independence of the Dutch Republic. The ambassadors, on their arrival, were refused admittance in that quality, and informed by the abbé Sieyès, member of the "committee of public safety," that the question of indemnity to France, for the expenses she had incurred in liberating the United Provinces, must precede that of the acknowledgment of their independence. This indemnity, as it was termed, amounted to no less than a subsidy of 100,000,000 guilders, with the like sum by way of loan at 2½ or 3 per cent. The provinces were in no condition to yield any such subsidies. Holland had, since the revolution of 1787, furnished 80,000,000 guilders in extraordinary expenses only, and, precisely at this juncture, was obliged to have recourse to the expedient of requiring all the inhabitants to deliver their gold and silver plate to be melted into money. The navigation of the Rhine, Maas, and Schelde was to be declared free to both nations.

In the treaty which the abbé Sieyès now repaired to the Hague for the purpose of concluding (May 16th, 1795), France engaged to restore to the United Provinces all their territories except Dutch Flanders as far as the Hond, Maestricht, and Venlo, with the land south of the latter town. The republic was also reinstated in the possession of her naval force and arsenals.

The Dutch received, with festivals and acclamations of joy, a peace which, while it recognised in imposing terms the independence and sovereignty of the "Batavian Republic," rendered the sovereignty a jest and the independence an illusion. Deprived of the power of making foreign alliances, of the authority over their own troops—since the government was obliged to consult the French general on every movement, and the army itself, composed of more than half French soldiers, was remodelled in a manner analogous to that of the invaders—with a military force ready to punish or crush the slightest attempt at opposition to the behests (or "admonitions," as they were termed) of the representatives of the French people, who still continued at the Hague, the Dutch Republic was now become virtually a province of France.

The nominal government of the states-general was superseded in the following year by the equally shadowy authority of a national convention. This again gave place in 1798 to the so-called "constituent assembly of the Batavian people," and an executive directory. After a struggling existence of scarce four months, the constituent assembly was violently dissolved, and substituted by "chambers of representatives." This government proving as

[1] They restored to the states-general, according to Wagenaar,[a] with much pomp of circumstance and self-gratulation on their own magnanimity and generosity, the sword of De Ruyter, Admiral Tromp's baton of command, the wooden cup in which the "gueux" pledged the first health to each other, with the wooden bowl into which each of the confederate nobility had, on that occasion, driven a nail as a token of their union and firmness in the cause; and a piece of ordnance given by a Javanese sovereign as an acknowledgment of fealty to the states. The states, as though they could rise from the degradation of the present on the memory of the past, received these glorious relics with a transport of joy and gratitude.

utterly inefficient as its predecessors, it was at length found necessary to recur in some measure to the traces of the ancient constitution, by instituting new legislative bodies, termed the eight provincial and one central commissions, bearing a resemblance to the states of the provinces and states-general.

These different and quickly succeeding governments agreed but in one point, that of laying merciless imposts on the people. Commerce, navigation, trade, and manufactures fell into rapid decay. Flood, famine, disease, and the invasion of their territory by the hostile troops of England and Russia filled up the measure of their woes. The Peace of Amiens afforded them but a short respite. Not content with forcing the Dutch to take part in the renewed war against England, Napoleon, now the first consul of France, manifested at the same time his insolent contempt towards them, by investing their own ambassador at his court, Schimmelpennick (1805), with the sole government of their state, and a power scarcely less than monarchical, under the title of pensionary — a suitable preliminary to the species of mock royalty he, in the next year, conferred on his brother Louis.[c]

LOUIS BONAPARTE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ACCESSION

A deputation from Holland arrived in Paris towards the spring of 1806. Couriers were despatched and instructions commanded, and after four months of negotiation a treaty was concluded, by which royalty was established in Holland, and founded on constitutional laws. Louis[1] was not invited to these negotiations. From observations without any character of authenticity, which were made to him, he learned that the conferences had reference to himself.

The members of the deputation at length waited on him, informed him of all that had taken place, and endeavoured to induce him to accept the dignity. They assured him that the nation gave him the preference. He did what he could to avoid expatriation; his brother answered that he took the alarm too soon; but the Dutch deputies themselves informed him of the progress of the negotiations. Seeing the decisive hour approach, he determined on an obstinate refusal, when they came to announce to him the death of the old stadholder. His brother explained himself more openly, and gave him to understand that, if he were not consulted in this affair, it was because a subject could not refuse to obey. Louis reflected that he might be constrained by force; that, as the emperor was absolutely determined on the subject, what had happened to Joseph would in all probability happen to himself. Joseph, on account of his having refused the kingdom of Italy, was then at Naples. However, Louis made a last attempt. He wrote to his brother that he felt the necessity of the removal of the brothers of the emperor from France, but begged he would grant him the government of Genoa or Piedmont. His brother refused, and in a few days Prince Talleyrand, then minister for foreign affairs, repaired to St. Leu, and read aloud to Louis and Hortense the treaty and constitution which had just been adopted. This interview took place on Tuesday, the 3rd of June, 1806. Prince Talleyrand announced that on the Thursday following the king of Holland would be proclaimed.

The existence of Louis in France became every day more insupportable. Without domestic comfort; without tranquillity; mute in the council; having no military occupation; seeing his functions in this respect confined to the

[1] This book, by Louis Bonaparte, is written in the third person.]

introduction of officers, for the purpose of administering the oath to them, and visiting the military school from time to time; leaving evident marks of disfavour, and few persons daring to visit him — he felt himself in a state of constraint and moral excitement which he could not have any longer supported if events had not torn him from his position. "In Holland," he said to himself, "interests of various kinds, matters of necessity, and public affairs will wholly occupy me. I shall bestow on my country all the affection which I cannot display in my own family. I shall thus perhaps gradually recover from my physical and moral depression."

The 5th of June, 1806, was the day fixed for the proclamation of Louis as king of Holland.[1]

REIGN OF LOUIS BONAPARTE

The character of Louis Bonaparte was gentle and amiable, his manners easy and affable. He entered on his new rank with the best intentions towards the country which he was sent to reign over; and though he felt acutely when the people refused him marks of respect and applause, which was frequently the case, his temper was not soured, and he conceived no resentment. He endeavoured to merit popularity; and though his power was scanty, his efforts were not wholly unsuccessful. He laboured to revive the ruined trade which he knew to be the staple of Dutch prosperity: but the measures springing from this praiseworthy motive were totally opposed to the policy of Napoleon; and in proportion as Louis made friends and partisans among his subjects, he excited bitter enmity in his imperial brother.

Louis was so averse to the continental system, or exclusion of British manufactures, that during his short reign every facility was given to his subjects to elude it, even in defiance of the orders conveyed to him from Paris through the medium of the French ambassador at the Hague. He imposed no restraints on public opinion, nor would he establish the odious system of espionage cherished by the French police: but he was fickle in his purposes, and prodigal in his expenses. The profuseness of his expenditure was very offensive to the Dutch notions of respectability in matters of private finance, and injurious to the existing state of the public means.

The tyranny of Napoleon became soon quite insupportable to him; so much so that it is believed that, had the ill-fated English expedition to Walcheren in 1809 succeeded, and the army advanced into the country, he would have declared war against France. After an ineffectual struggle of more than three years, he chose rather to abdicate his throne than retain it under the degrading conditions of proconsulate subserviency. This measure excited considerable regret, and much esteem for the man who preferred the retirement of private life to the meanness of regal slavery. But Louis left a galling memento of misplaced magnificence, in an increase of 90,000,000 florins (about £9,000,000) to the already oppressive amount of the national debt of the country.

ABSORPTION OF HOLLAND IN THE FRENCH EMPIRE

The annexation of Holland to the French Empire was immediately pronounced by Napoleon. Two thirds of the national debt were abolished, the conscription law was introduced, and the Berlin and Milan decrees against the introduction of British manufactures were rigidly enforced.

The nature of the evils inflicted on the Dutch people by this annexation

and its consequences demands a somewhat minute examination. Previous to it all that part of the territory of the former United Provinces had been ceded to France. The kingdom of Holland consisted of the departments of the Zuyder Zee, the mouths of the Maas, the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, Friesland, and the Western and Eastern Ems; and the population of the whole did not exceed 1,800,000 souls. When Louis abdicated his throne, he left a military and naval force of 18,000 men, who were immediately taken into the service of France; and in three years and a half after that event this number was increased to 50,000, by the operation of the French naval and military code: thus about a thirty-sixth part of the whole population was employed in arms.

The conscription laws now began to be executed with the greatest of rigour; and though the strictest justice and impartiality were observed in the ballot and other details of this most oppressive measure, yet it has been calculated that, on an average, nearly one half of the male population of the age of twenty years was annually taken off. The conscripts were told that their service was not to extend beyond the term of five years; but as few instances occurred of a French soldier being discharged without his being declared unfit for service, it was always considered in Holland that the service of a conscript was tantamount to an obligation during life.

The various taxes were laid on and levied in the most oppressive manner: those on land usually amounting to 25, and those on houses to 30 per cent. of the clear annual rent. Other direct taxes were levied on persons and movable property, and all were regulated on a scale of almost intolerable severity. The whole sum annually obtained from Holland by these means amounted to about 30,000,000 florins (or 3,000,000 pounds sterling), being at the rate of about £1 13s 4d from every soul inhabiting the country.

The Continental System

The operation of what was called the continental system created an excess of misery in Holland only to be understood by those who witnessed its lamentable results. In other countries, Belgium for instance, where great manufactories existed, the loss of maritime communication was compensated by the exclusion of English goods.

The few licenses granted to the Dutch were clogged with duties so exorbitant as to make them useless; the duties on one ship which entered the Maas, loaded with sugar and coffee, amounting to about £50,000. At the same time every means was used to crush the remnant of Dutch commerce and sacrifice the country to France. The Dutch troops were clothed and armed from French manufactories; the frontiers were opened to the introduction of French commodities duty free; and the Dutch manufacturer undersold in his own market.

The population of Amsterdam was reduced from 220,000 souls to 190,000, of which a fourth part derived their whole subsistence from charitable institutions, whilst another fourth part received partial succour from the same sources. At Haarlem, where the population had been chiefly employed in bleaching and preparing linen made in Brabant, whole streets were levelled with the ground, and more than five hundred houses destroyed. At the Hague, at Delft, and in other towns, many inhabitants had been induced to pull down their houses, from inability to keep them in repair or pay the taxes. The preservation of the dikes, requiring an annual expense of £600,000, was everywhere neglected. The sea inundated the country, and threatened to resume

its ancient dominion. No object of ambition, no source of professional wealth or distinction, remained to which a Hollander could aspire. None could voluntarily enter the army or navy to fight for the worst enemy of Holland. The clergy were not provided with a decent competency. The ancient laws of the country, so dear to its pride and its prejudices, were replaced by the *Code Napoléon;* so that old practitioners had to recommence their studies, and young men were disgusted with the drudgery of learning a system which was universally pronounced unfit for a commercial country.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1813

Those who have considered the events noted in this history for the last two hundred years, and followed the fluctuations of public opinion depending on prosperity or misfortune, will have anticipated that, in the present calamitous state of the country, all eyes were turned towards the family whose memory was revived by every pang of slavery, and associated with every throb for freedom. The presence of the prince of Orange, William VI, who had, on the death of his father in 1806, succeeded to the title, though he had lost the revenues of his ancient house, and the re-establishment of the connection with England were now the general desire.

The empire was attacked at all points after 1812. The French troops in Holland were drawn off to reinforce the armies in distant directions; and the whole military force in that country scarcely exceeded 10,000 men. The advance of the combined armies towards the frontiers became generally known.

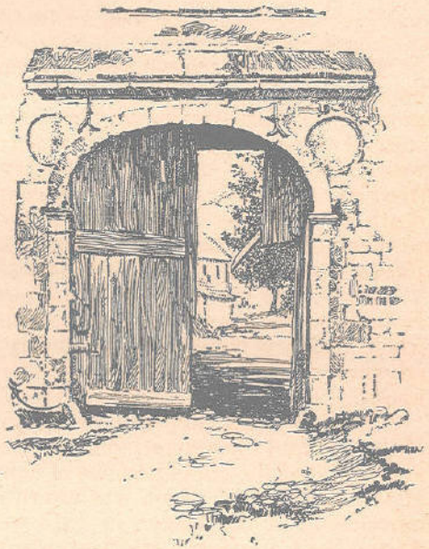
Count Styrum, Repelaer de Jonge, Van Hogendorp, Vander Duyn van Maasdam, and Changuion, were the chiefs of the intrepid junta which planned and executed the bold measures of enfranchisement, and drew up the outlines of the constitution which was afterwards enlarged and ratified. Their first movements at the Hague in 1813 were totally unsupported by foreign aid. At the head of a force, which courtesy and policy called an army, of three hundred national guards badly armed, fifty citizens carrying fowling-pieces, fifty soldiers of the old Dutch guard, four hundred auxiliary citizens armed with pikes, and a cavalry force of twenty young men, the confederates boldly proclaimed the prince of Orange, on the 17th of November, 1813, in their open village of the Hague and in the teeth of a French force of full ten thousand men, occupying every fortress in the country.

The only hope of the confederates was from the British government, and the combined armies then acting in the north of Europe. But many days were to be lingered through before troops could be embarked, and make their way from England in the teeth of the easterly winds then prevailing; while a few Cossacks, hovering on the confines of Holland, gave the only evidence of the proximity of the allied forces.

In this crisis it was most fortunate that the French prefect at the Hague, Stassart, had stolen away on the earliest alarm; and the French garrison, of four hundred chasseurs, aided by one hundred well-armed custom-house officers under the command of General Bouvier des Eclats, caught the contagious fears of the civil functionary. This force had retired to the old palace — a building in the centre of the town, the dépôt of all the arms and ammunition then at the Hague, and, from its position, capable of some defence. But the general and his garrison soon felt a complete panic from the bold attitude of Count Styrum, who made the most of his little means, and kept up, during the

night, a prodigious clatter by his twenty horsemen; sentinels challenging, amidst incessant singing and shouting; cries of "*Oranje boven! Vivat Oranje!*" and clamorous patrols of the excited citizens. At an early hour on the 18th, the French general demanded terms, and obtained permission to retire on Gorkum, his garrison being escorted as far as the village of Ryswick by the twenty cavaliers who composed the whole mounted force of the patriots.

Unceasing efforts were now made to remedy the want of arms and men. A quantity of pikes were rudely made and distributed to the volunteers who crowded in; and numerous fishing boats were despatched in different directions to inform the British cruisers of the passing events. An individual named Pronck, an inhabitant of Schevening, a village of the coast, rendered great services in this way, from his influence among the sailors and fishermen in the neighbourhood.



GATE OF HOUGOMONT CHÂTEAU, CENTRE OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, DEFENDED BY DUTCH AND HANOVERIANS

The confederates spared no exertion to increase the confidence of the people, under many contradictory and disheartening contingencies. An officer who had been despatched for advice and information to Baron Bentinck, at Zwolle, who was in communication with the allies, returned with the discouraging news that General Bülow had orders not to pass the Yssel, the allies having decided not to advance into Holland beyond the line of that river. A meeting of the ancient regents of the Hague was convoked by the proclamation of the confederates, and took place at the house of Van Hogendorp, the ancient residence of the De Witts. The wary magistrates absolutely refused all co-operation in the daring measures of the confederates, who had now the whole responsibility on their heads, with little to cheer them on in their perilous career but their own resolute hearts.

Some days of intense anxiety now elapsed, and various incidents occurred to keep up the general excitement.

The appearance of three hundred Cossacks, detached from the Russian armies beyond the Yssel, prevailed over the hesitation of Amsterdam and the other towns, and they at length declared for the prince of Orange.

The Dutch displayed great ability in the transmission of false intelligence to the enemy. November 27th, 1813, Fagel arrived from England with a letter from the prince of Orange, announcing his immediate coming; and, finally, the disembarkation of two hundred English marines, on the 29th, was followed the next day by the landing of the prince, whose impatience to throw himself into the open arms of his country made him spurn every notion of risk and every reproach for rashness. He was received with indescribable enthusiasm. As the people everywhere proclaimed William I sovereign prince, it was proposed that he should everywhere assume that title.

The 2nd of December, the prince made his entry into Amsterdam. He

went forward borne on the enthusiastic greetings of his fellow-countrymen, and meeting their confidence by a full measure of magnanimity.

Within four months, an army of twenty-five thousand men was raised; and in the midst of financial, judicial, and commercial arrangements, the grand object of the constitution was calmly and seriously debated. A committee, consisting of fourteen persons of the first importance in the several provinces, furnished the result of three months' labours in the plan of a political code, which was immediately printed and published for the consideration of the people at large. Twelve hundred names were next chosen from among the most respectable householders in the different towns and provinces, including persons of every religious persuasion, whether Jews or Christians. A special commission was then formed, who selected from this number six hundred names; and every housekeeper was called on to give his vote for or against their election. A large majority of the six hundred notables thus chosen met at Amsterdam, on the 28th of March, 1814. The following day they assembled with an immense concourse of people, in the great church, which was splendidly fitted up for the occasion; and then and there the prince, in an impressive speech, solemnly offered the constitution for acceptance or rejection.

Only one day more elapsed before the new sovereign was solemnly inaugurated, and took the oath prescribed by the constitution — "I swear that first and above all things I will maintain the constitution of the United Netherlands, and that I will promote, to the utmost of my power, the independence of the state, and the liberty and prosperity of its inhabitants." In the eloquent simplicity of this pledge, the Dutch nation found an ample guarantee for their freedom and happiness.

While Holland thus resumed its place among free nations, and France was restored to the Bourbons by the abdication of Napoleon, the allied armies had taken possession of and occupied the remainder of the Low Countries, or those provinces distinguished by the name of Belgium (but then still forming departments of the French empire).

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM UNITED (1814)

The Treaty of Paris (May 30th, 1814) stipulated by its sixth article that "Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, should receive an increase of territory." In this was explained the primitive notion of the creation of the kingdom of the Netherlands, based on the necessity of augmenting the power of a nation which was destined to turn the balance between France and Germany. The following month witnessed the execution of the Treaty of London, which prescribed the precise nature of the projected increase.

It was wholly decided, without subjecting the question to the approbation of Belgium, that that country and Holland should form one united state; and the rules of government in the chief branches of its administration were completely fixed.

The inhabitants of Belgium, accustomed to foreign domination, were little shocked by the fact of the allied powers having disposed of their fate without consulting their wishes. But they were not so indifferent to the double discovery of finding themselves the subjects of a Dutch and a Protestant king. The countries had hitherto had but little community of interests with each other; and they formed elements so utterly discordant as to afford but slight hope that they would speedily coalesce.

The prince of Orange arrived at Brussels in the month of August, 1814,

and his first effort was to gain the hearts and the confidence of the people, though he saw the nobles and the higher orders of the inferior classes (with the exception of the merchants) intriguing all around him for the re-establishment of the Austrian power. Petitions on this subject were printed and distributed.

As soon as the moment came for promulgating the decision of the sovereign powers as to the actual extent of the new kingdom — that is to say, in the month of February, 1815 — the whole plan was made public; and a commission, consisting of twenty-seven members, Dutch and Belgian, was formed, to consider the modifications necessary in the fundamental law of Holland, in pursuance of the stipulation of the Treaty of London. After due deliberation these modifications were formed, and the great political pact was completed for the final acceptance of the king and people.

The news of the elevation of William I to the throne was received in the Dutch provinces with great joy, in as far as it concerned him personally; but a joy considerably tempered by doubt and jealousy, as regarded their junction with a country sufficiently large to counterbalance Holland, oppose interests to interests, and people to people.

In Belgium the formation of the new monarchy excited the most lively sensation. The manufacturers, great and small, saw the ruin of monopoly staring them in the face. The whole people took fright at the weight of the Dutch debt, which was considerably greater than that of Belgium.

It was in this state of public feeling that intelligence was received, in March, 1815, of the reappearance in France of the emperor Napoleon.

HOLLAND'S PART IN THE GREAT ALLIANCE

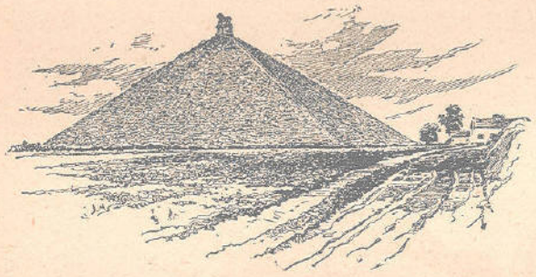
The flight of Louis XVIII from Paris was the sure signal to the kingdom of the Netherlands, in which he took refuge, that it was about to become the scene of another contest for the life or death of despotism. The national force was soon in the field, under the command of the prince of Orange, the king's eldest son, and heir apparent to the throne for which he now prepared to fight. His brother, Prince Frederick, commanded a division under him. The English army, under the duke of Wellington, occupied Brussels and the various cantonments in its neighbourhood; and the Prussians, commanded by Prince Blücher, were in readiness to co-operate with their allies on the first movements of the invaders.

Napoleon, hurrying from Paris to strike some rapid and decisive blow, passed the Sambre on the 15th of June, at the head of the French army 150,000 strong, driving the Prussians before him beyond Charleroi and back on the plain of Fleurus with some loss. On the 16th was fought the bloody battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians sustained a decided defeat. On the same day the British advanced position at Quatre-Bras, and the *corps d'armée* commanded by the prince of Orange, were fiercely attacked by Marshal Ney; a battalion of Belgian infantry and a brigade of horse artillery having been engaged in a skirmish the preceding evening at Frasnes with the French advanced troops.

The affair of Quatre-Bras was sustained with admirable firmness by the allied English and Netherland forces, against an enemy superior in numbers, and commanded by one of the best generals in France. The prince of Orange, with only nine thousand men, maintained his position till three o'clock in the afternoon, despite the continual attacks of Marshal Ney, who commanded the left of the French army, consisting of 43,000 men.

We abstain from entering on details of the battle of Waterloo [already described in the history of France, Vol. XII]. Various opinions have gone forth as to the conduct of the Belgian troops on this memorable occasion. Isolated instances were possibly found, among a mass of several thousands, of that nervous weakness which neither the noblest incitements nor the finest examples can conquer. Raw troops might here and there have shrunk from attacks the most desperate on record;[1] but the official reports of its loss, 2,058 men killed and 1,936 wounded, prove indelibly that the troops of the Netherlands had share in the honour of the day.

The victory was cemented by the blood of the prince of Orange, who stood the brunt of the fight with his soldiers. His conduct was conformable to the character of his whole race, and to his own reputation during a long series of service with the British army in the Spanish peninsula. He stood bravely at the head of his troops during the murderous conflict; or, like Wellington, in whose school he was formed and whose example was beside him, rode from rank to rank and column to column, inspiring his men by the proofs of his untiring courage.



THE MOUND OF THE LION, RAISED ON THE BATTLE-FIELD OF WATERLOO

On the occasion of one peculiarly desperate charge, the prince, hurried on by his ardour, was actually in the midst of the French, and was in the greatest danger; when a Belgian battalion rushed forward, and, after a fierce struggle, repulsed the enemy and disengaged the prince. In the impulse of his admiration and gratitude, he tore from his breast one of those decorations gained by his own conduct on some preceding occasion, and flung it among the battalion, calling out, "Take it, take it, my lads! you have all earned it!" This decoration was immediately grappled for, and tied to the regimental standard, amidst loud shouts of "Long live the prince!"

A short time afterwards, and just half an hour before that terrible charge of the whole line which decided the victory, the prince was struck by a musket-ball in the left shoulder. He was carried from the field, and conveyed that evening to Brussels, in the same cart with one of his wounded aides-de-camp, supported by another, and displaying throughout as much indifference to pain as he had previously shown contempt of danger.

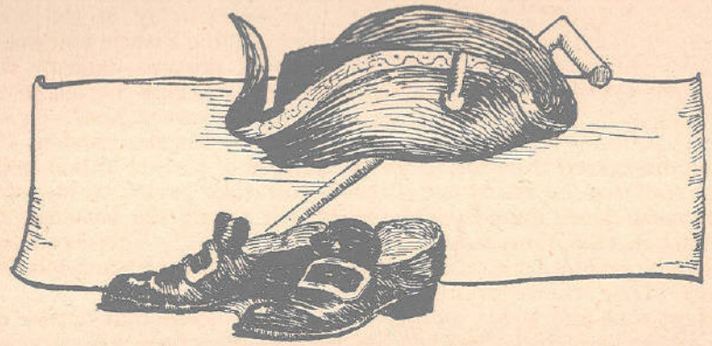
CONSOLIDATION OF THE NETHERLANDS

The battle of Waterloo consolidated the kingdom of the Netherlands. The wound of the prince of Orange was, perhaps, one of the most fortunate

[1 Alison gives various instances of this unsteadiness, especially the following incident: "The brigade of Belgians of Perponcher's division formed the first line of infantry; they, however, speedily gave way before the enemy were within half musket-shot, at the mere sight of the formidable mass of the French columns. Such was the indignation felt in the British ranks at this conduct of the Belgians, that they could with difficulty be prevented from giving them a volley as they hurried through to the rear." The total Belgian loss, however, of the five days, June 15th–19th, he puts at 4,038 men (not including officers) killed and wounded.]

that was ever received by an individual, or sympathised in by a nation. To a warlike people, wavering in their allegiance, this evidence of the prince's valour acted like a talisman against disaffection. The organisation of the kingdom was immediately proceeded on. The commission, charged with the revision of the fundamental law, and the modification required by the increase of territory, presented its report on the 31st of July, 1815. The inauguration of the king took place at Brussels on the 21st of September, in presence of the states-general; and the ceremony received additional interest from the appearance of the sovereign, supported by his two sons, who had so valiantly fought for the rights he now swore to maintain — the heir to the crown yet bearing his wounded arm in a scarf, and showing in his countenance the marks of recent suffering.[b]

At this point of the short-lived union of the Low Countries into one state under one monarch, it will be well to pause for a brief review of the history of the southern provinces, which we have thus far somewhat neglected for the sake of the more independent struggles of Holland and the other northern provinces.[a]



CHAPTER XVII

BELGIUM FROM 1648 TO 1815

THE treaty concluded between Spain and Holland at the end of the Eighty Years' War, in 1648, left Belgium no other enemy than France; and the struggle seemed less unequal, thanks to the assistance brought by the archduke Leopold. Besides a regular army, raised in Germany, he had with him a numerous body of Croats who proved themselves as daring as they were fierce. Duke Charles of Lorraine, driven out of his estates by France, had led into Belgium and sold to the king the experienced troops formerly in his service. Fresh soldiers had just arrived over sea from Spain at the same time with cavalry from Brandenburg. It was with this imposing force that the archduke obtained several advantages over the French in the year 1647. He recaptured several towns from them and was already threatening the frontier when the famous prince of Condé gave him battle at Lens and completely defeated him (1648). Ypres had fallen into the hands of the French a few months before; Lens and Furnes met the same fate. In the following year Leopold retook Ypres, but his troops experienced a fresh reverse in the vicinity of Valenciennes. Condé and Leuze were lost.

Richelieu's government had raised France to a degree of strength and unity that must make her arms in the future almost irresistible, and there was only too much reason for the United Provinces to become alarmed at the rapid progress of that power. From that moment even the existence of the Spanish Netherlands was constantly endangered by the growth of the French monarchy, until the whole of Europe took up arms against the conquering nation.

Thus the successes of the archduke did not respond to the expectations he had aroused. All of his foreign force raised with great difficulty for the protection of Belgium was powerless to defend the country, while its pillaging nearly ruined it. The Lorrainers, who had long subsisted on rapine, and the Croats, whom Europe regarded as brigands, inspired less terror in the enemy than they did in the unhappy country folk. The Spaniards, although subject to severe discipline, displayed no less lawlessness when they could escape the surveillance of their officers. The Walloon regiments alone, braver than they were numerous, were anything but a scourge to the country.

The troubles, however, that overtook France in the war of the Fronde

permitted Leopold for a time to regain the upper hand. He made himself master of nearly all the places the enemy had captured during the last few years. But in 1655 Cardinal Mazarin, who was directing French affairs, secured an alliance with England — then under Cromwell's rule. This put an end to the archduke's career and he returned to Germany a short time after (1656). His successor was Don John of Austria, the king of Spain's natural son.

Don John, young and without experience in war, might have had a guide in the prince of Condé, who had taken up arms against his country rather than bow the knee to Mazarin. But although this great captain might have saved Valenciennes and Cambray, the Spanish generals could not bring themselves to take his orders and dissuaded the governor from following his advice. They succeeded only too well. The Anglo-French army, having arrived under the celebrated Turenne to besiege Dunkirk (1658), the young prince marched against them when it was too late, gave battle at an inopportune moment, and was completely defeated in spite of Condé's heroic efforts. Dunkirk, Gravelines, Oudenarde, Menin, and Ypres fell in succession into the power of the conqueror, whose soldiers ravaged almost the whole of Flanders.

FRANCE IN CONTROL (1659)

Don John left for Madrid in discouragement the following year, while Philip IV made overtures of peace to Mazarin. A treaty was signed November 7th, 1659, between France and Spain. The young king Louis XIV married the Spanish infanta and received, as dowry and indemnity for the rights which this princess renounced, almost the entire county of Artois, Gravelines, Bourbourg, and St. Venant in Flanders, Landrecies, Avesnes, and Le Quesnoi in Hainault, Philippeville and Mariembourg in the province of Namur, and Montmédy in Luxemburg. Dunkirk remained in the hands of the English, to whom Turenne had turned it over. Such were the conditions of the Peace of the Pyrenees, whose consequences were destined to be almost as grave as those of the Peace of Münster.

BELGIUM THE BATTLE-GROUND OF EUROPE

From this moment Belgium, regarded by France as a prey and feebly supported by ruined Spain, became the arena of the campaigns of Louis XIV. A detailed account of these campaigns belongs more to the history of Europe than to that of Belgium, since the Belgians, governed by foreigners, and not even having a flag to call their own, seemed only to be spectators of their country's invasion and the struggles of neighbouring powers. Political life had ceased for the suffering nation. The towns shut themselves up in the interests of internal peace and domestic affairs; but, far from making efforts for their defence, they bent under the storm and it might be said that they sought now only inaction and immobility.

Philip IV having died in 1666, Louis XIV claimed that Brabant now belonged to him by right of "devolution" (by this name was called a custom established in some parts of the province by virtue of which the children of a first marriage could not be disinherited in favour of those of a second union). Armed with this slight pretext, but having collected sufficient forces to inspire terror, Louis caused Hainault and Flanders to be invaded, and occupied almost the whole of the latter province (1667). Nor did he stop until he saw England, Holland, and Sweden leagued against him (1668). The Treaty

of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he then arranged, gave him Charleroi, Binche, Ath, Douai, Tournay, Lille, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Furnes, and Bergues.

This haughty prince was nevertheless wounded by the boldness and success with which Holland had opposed his plans of conquest. He worked to win over England and Sweden, and when he felt sure of their alliance he marched against the United Provinces, this time attacked on all sides. The invaders encountered scarcely any obstacle but that of the elements. The Dutch, seeing themselves too weak, threw open the dikes and inundated a portion of their country (1672). But the empire and Spain became uneasy at the progress of France; Louis XIV, violating Belgian territory, had covered it with troops which had already fallen upon Maestricht (1673). The count of Monterey, the governor-general, declared war upon France in the name of Charles II of Spain on the 16th of October, and put himself in communication with the Dutch and imperial forces, which were collected opposite Venlo and Bonn. Thereupon Louis XIV quitted the offensive for a moment. He had just been abandoned by England and Sweden, but he had in his power almost all the strongholds which commanded the Maas, the Sambre, and the Schelde. It was in this direction that he established his army, and the unhappy Belgian provinces once more became for a long time a theatre of battles.

William III, prince of Orange, was in command of the allied troops; those of France had Condé for a leader. After a battle at Seneffe (in the north of Hainault), the result of which was uncertain, the French took up positions on both sides of the Sambre, covering their own frontier while they occupied that of Belgium(1674). False rumours soon spread among the allies and paralysed their strength. The enemy took advantage of this to seize Huy and Dinant, and Tirlemont and St. Trond shortly afterward (1675). Condé, Bouchain, and Aire met the same fate a year later. In 1677 Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer surrendered one after the other; the prince of Orange was defeated at the battle of Cassel by the duke of Orleans, and compelled later on to raise the siege of Charleroi. Finally, in the following year, the French monarch himself took part in the campaign, and besieged and took Ghent and Ypres. By this time England, Denmark, and all the German princes were preparing to unite their forces against the conqueror, whose progress had become too alarming; Louis, as well served by his diplomats as by his generals, evaded the storm by treating with Spain and Holland.

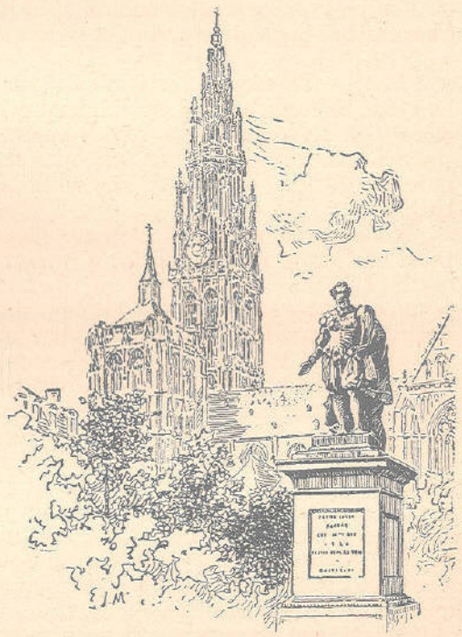
He laid easy terms before these two powers, and peace was finally concluded at Nimeguen on September 17th, 1678 ; but it was rather an armistice than a true peace, and the king's ambition was far from being satisfied, although he had torn a few more shreds from Hainault and Flanders.

In truth, as soon as the allies had separated, Louis established at Metz a *chambre des réunions* which declared, in defiance of the preceding treaty, the town of Virton, the county of Chiny in Luxemburg, and some seigniorial estates in the province of Namur escheated to the crown of France. These harmful decisions were tolerated, in order to avoid a fresh rupture. The *chambre des réunions* also advanced some pretended claim to the ancient county of Alost and imperial Flanders; and French troops, suddenly descending upon Belgium, occupied West Flanders, bombarded Oudenarde, invaded the whole of the southern frontier and besieged Luxemburg, which was compelled to surrender (1684). Such was the weakness of the Spanish cabinet that it gave in again and purchased a twenty years' truce at the price of Luxemburg, Beaumont, Bouvines, and Chimay (Treaty of Ratisbon). The emperor Leopold, attacked himself by the Turks who were besieging

Vienna, could not think of lending the Belgians assistance, and Holland was still suffering from the disasters of the invasion.

However, the course of events was changed when William III ascended the throne of England, from which he had driven his father-in-law James II (1688–89). All the smothered hatred against Louis XIV was kindled almost at once, and the French monarch saw Germany, Holland, England, Savoy, and Spain united against him. It was in Brabant that the main army, composed of the Germans, Dutch, English, and some Spanish and Walloon regiments, assembled.

The prince of Waldeck, who commanded it, drove the enemy out of the Flemish provinces, but Hainault and the valley of the Sambre underwent all the horrors of war. France's prodigious efforts still assured her the superiority in arms. William, who had come himself to take the general command, was beaten at Fleurus and later at Steenkerke (near Halle) by Marshal Luxemburg, and could relieve neither Mons nor Namur, which Louis besieged and captured almost before his eyes (1691–92). But finally the resources of France commenced to be exhausted, while her adversaries made new sacrifices.



STATUE OF RUBENS, PLACE VERTE, ANTWERP: THE CATHEDRAL, NOTRE DAME, IN THE DISTANCE

Maximilian, the elector of Bavaria, was appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands in 1692. More fortunate than his predecessors, he drew large sums of money from the royal treasury and the Belgian provinces. William obtained an army of fifty-six thousand men from the English parliament (Maximilian had only twenty-eight thousand in all), and the Dutch increased their forces in like manner. Luxemburg began to lose his advantage, and although the victory of Neerwinden (near Landen) and the capture of Charleroi still assured him the honours of the campaign, the allies were enabled a little later to capture Huy and Namur (1694–95), and Louis felt the necessity of making peace. It was at Ryswick near the Hague that the negotiators met, and the treaty which they finally signed in 1697 gave Luxemburg back to Belgium, together with the county of Chiny, and Charleroi, Ath, Mons, and Courtrai.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

It was almost a triumph, but it had cost very dear. More than two hundred thousand foreign soldiers had swarmed over Belgium for the past eight years, and with the exception of a portion of Brabant all the provinces

had been despoiled from year to year by the enemy. The besieged and captured cities were not the only ones that had suffered. All had been threatened and had had to put themselves in a state of defence. In West Flanders the country had been flooded; elsewhere the peasants took refuge in the fortified towns. The genius of the famous Vauban for multiplying methods of destruction had made the war more dreadful than ever for these cities hitherto impregnable. His artillery laid them low under a storm of shot and shell which nothing could resist. It was thus, in order to force the allies to raise the siege of Namur, in 1695, that Marshal de Villeroi went to Brussels, and turning his batteries upon the town destroyed four thousand houses in two days. They were riddled with cannon ball, burned by red-hot bullets, or enveloped in the burning of adjacent buildings.

The Army

The bad administration of the Spanish governors paralysed what strength and resources still were left to the country. A contemporary writer, Field-marshal Mérode,[b] whose testimony is incontestable, paints the condition of the Belgian troops in these words: "We had in the Low Countries eighteen wretched infantry regiments and fourteen of cavalry and dragoons, which all together did not amount to six thousand beggars or robbers, who had never been properly clothed and for whom pay could not be found. These troops were very fortunate if in a year they received four months' pay. Under the administration of the elector of Bavaria they secured scarcely two. The cavalrymen existed only by acting as highwaymen in bands on the roads, stopping coaches, public and private vehicles, and foot travellers, to rob them, or at least to demand alms, pistol in hand. No one could go from one town to another without meeting them."

However, these soldiers, so neglected, and reduced to so deplorable a condition, performed miracles when brought face to face with the enemy. Numerical weakness was the sole cause of their reverses and the small honour maintained by their flag. Whatever may have been the impoverishment of the country, more able management would still have found the means necessary for its defence. For indeed did not the French administration, a few years later, raise thirty-nine thousand infantrymen and five thousand cavalrymen "well clothed, armed, mounted and equipped" in Belgium? But the Spanish government, lacking in energy and intelligence, did not know how to make use of the people's money any more than it knew how to turn their courage to account.

Besides this, it was due to the incapacity and jealousy of the foreign governors that the best Belgian officers were not given any commands. Indeed they scarcely deigned to entrust the native noblemen with a few of the subordinate posts, and if Belgium may still cite glorious names for this period, it is because her children found more appreciation abroad than at home. Among those who distinguished themselves in the wars of Germany the famous Tserclaes, count of Tilly, who became generalissimo of the imperial forces (1630), and for a moment counterbalanced the fortune of Gustavus Adolphus, must be mentioned. After him, history still makes mention of the celebrated but unfortunate General Ernst von Mansfeld, and especially Johann von Werth (Jean de Weert) who from a simple soldier raised himself to the command of armies (1640). Thus did Belgian genius and valour show themselves outside the country's limits, while within all energy seemed crushed under a restless and oppressive dominion.

THE ARTS

The fine arts themselves were extinguished in the midst of public suffering. The great school of Rubens had disappeared. Some genre painters after the style of Adrian Brouwer and Teniers the Elder were still sharing their masters' renown, but they left no disciples. Antoine van der Meulen, who excelled as a painter of battle scenes, had placed himself at the service of Louis XIV, together with the engravers Edelinck and Warin. A host of other artists carried their talent to Italy and Germany, for there was no longer any career for them in Belgium.

The elector, Maximilian of Bavaria, invested with the government of the Netherlands since 1692, made every attempt after the Peace of Ryswick to give to the country a measure of prosperity and to his court a show of magnificence. He was a prince of generous character, who loved splendour and the arts, and who understood the necessity for reviving trade and industry. But scarcely had the nation begun to breathe again after all its woes, when a new quarrel between Europe and Louis XIV sprang up.

The eighteenth century opened gloomily for Belgium. The war had dealt a final blow to the country's prosperity — to her very existence even; but the future threatened to develop greater evils. It was not without a sort of sinister presentiment that the provincial estates recognised the young heir to Charles II. "We have sacrificed to the late king our lives and our property," said those of Brabant and Flanders; "we shall sacrifice them again to his successor." The general government remained with the elector of Bavaria, who placed French garrisons in all the towns, while the Dutch soldiers, who had remained, up to the present, as allies in the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtrai, and Nieuport, withdrew to their frontier (February, 1701). But in the following month England and Holland advanced claim to occupy eleven fortresses in Belgium to serve as a barrier to the second of those powers. (They were Nieuport, Ostend, Damme, Dendermonde, Mons, Charleroi, Namur, Luxemburg, Stevensweert, Venlo, and Roermond.) Thus the country's strongholds were destined to protect a foreign nation.

The refusal of Louis XIV armed Germany, Savoy, and Portugal against him as well as the two states mentioned above. All these powers united to drive Philip of Anjou from the Spanish throne and replace him with a prince of the Austrian house.

William III, who had been the prime mover of this league, died before war was declared; but the celebrated John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, took the command of the allied forces in the Netherlands, and this great soldier's genius obtained the mastery over the French monarch's fortune. He was able to hold in check the marquis de Boufflers, to whom Louis had assigned the defence of the Belgian provinces; and the Dutch obtained possession, one after the other, of Venlo, Roermond, and the well-fortified Stevensweert, while the English army, which covered the operations of the Dutch, made its way into the country around Liège, seized that town, and took its citadel by assault (1702). Joseph Clement of Bavaria, who then occupied the episcopal see, had taken sides with France. He now found himself deprived of his estates for the whole course of the war, when an imperial commission directed the affairs of the principality.

In the succeeding years the chances of war seemed more equal. The French had received fresh recruits, and Marshal de Villeroi was following

Marlborough's movements step by step. The latter thereupon turned abruptly towards Germany, where the imperial troops were being worsted, and joining them on the banks of the Danube he gained a decisive victory near Höchstädt (battle of Blenheim) in 1704. Returning to Belgium after this great success, he could not, for a long time, entice Villeroi into giving him battle; but finally obtained a new triumph on the day of Ramillies (May 26th, 1706).

BELGIUM BECOMES "THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS" (1706)

The battle of Ramillies placed Flanders and Brabant in the hands of the allies. These two provinces ceased to recognise Philip of Anjou as sovereign and took oath of fidelity to his rival Charles of Austria (called Charles III as king of Spain and afterwards Charles VI as emperor). Ostend, Dendermonde, Menin, and Ath, which the French garrisons tried to defend, were besieged and captured. The Walloons and other Belgians in the service of Spain abandoned the army of Louis XIV almost to a man, and passed over to the standard of the new king. The government of the Belgian provinces was committed to a state council composed of native-born citizens. Belgium was lost to the house of France.

The war, however, continued with great fury. Marlborough was joined by Prince Eugene of Savoy at the head of a large body of imperial troops, while the French army also received substantial reinforcement. But fortune remained faithful to the allies; they took Lille, Tournay, and Mons, and when Marshal Villars tried to regain the latter place they won a bloody battle from him at Malplaquet, near St. Guilain (September 11th, 1709). In spite of the courage still shown by the French soldiers, each day found them more at a disadvantage.

Louis XIV sued for peace. His propositions were at first rejected, but in 1711 there was a change in the English ministry and the new administration, actuated by pacific intentions, accepted the monarch's proposals. In this way England detached herself from the alliance and at the same time Villars repulsed Prince Eugene, abandoned by Marlborough's successor. On the other hand Charles of Austria had just been called to the imperial throne by the death of his elder brother, and after this event the occupation of the Spanish throne by this prince would have seriously deranged the balance of power in Europe. Negotiations were thereupon entered into, and the congress of Utrecht finally re-established general peace for a long time (1713). The emperor alone refused at first to agree to the conditions devised in the congress, but he did not delay to adopt them himself in the Treaty of Rastatt (1714).

The articles of the Peace of Utrecht had for their basis the partition of the Spanish monarchy. Philip V (duke of Anjou) retained Spain and her colonies. Charles VI (the emperor) received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and Belgium. It was an arrangement that lacked neither wisdom nor advantage, but as far as Belgium was concerned the articles were particularly iniquitous. The Spanish Netherlands had been given to the house of Austria only on odious conditions. Of all the conquests of Louis XIV only Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Dixmude, and Ypres were restored; while in the north, Venlo and a part of Gelderland, of which they had always remained in possession, were taken away from them. The stipulation of the Treaty of Münster in regard to the closing of the Schelde was renewed. An annual tax of 1,250,000 florins for the benefit of the United Provinces was imposed by means of

subsidies and under penalty of exaction by military force. But worst of all was the obligation to turn over the most important fortresses of the country to the Dutch, to serve them as a barrier. England and Holland were to remain in possession of the Belgian provinces until the emperor had settled this point to their satisfaction. They asked for Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, and Ypres. Half the garrison of Dendermonde was to be composed of troops in the pay of the United Provinces (1715).

Such was this Barrier Treaty — a work of tyranny and spoliation hitherto unexampled. The whole of Belgium was roused to indignation on learning to what a state of vassalage she was destined; but her resentment was powerless. The fatal decree had been pronounced by Europe; and blame could be imputed neither to Spain, which was destitute, nor to the emperor, who had obtained the provinces only upon these severe conditions, nor to the powers who had sacrificed in their own interests those of a foreign nation. Complaints were made to Charles VI; he recognised the justice of them and declared that he himself had foreseen "the difficulties" of the treaty, but that the "very delicate conjunctures and the situation of affairs" had compelled him to subscribe to them. The tone of his reply was affectionate and his intentions were truly paternal; but his efforts to obtain some concession from the Dutch had but indifferent success, and the Barrier Treaty was modified only in its less important points.

SPOLIATION AND RUIN OF BELGIUM

In the interior, hardships and suffering were extreme. To be sure, there existed some trade between Belgium and Spain, and the latter power with its vast colonies still obtained from Belgian workshops the cloth and arms for the rich inhabitants of the New World; the manufacture of linens, of which the country produced both the raw material and the workmen, still held its own, and the laces which the large towns supplied to the whole of Europe were also a means of livelihood for a numerous class of the population. But herewith ended industrial activity. After the Peace of Ryswick the governor-general (Maximilian of Bavaria), alarmed at the utter ruin of the other branches of commerce, thought that he ought to consult the states of all the provinces as to the means of remedy (1699).

Two only were found: the exclusion of foreign merchandise; and the re-establishment of marine navigation, "by means of a canal to float vessels of large tonnage," putting Ostend in communication with Brussels, Maestricht, and Antwerp, and replacing, so to speak, the Schelde, lost to Belgian commerce. Maximilian forbade the importation of cloth and spun wool, as well as cotton and silk material, and seriously studied the project of the great canal. But war soon broke out, and the entry of the allies into Belgium put an end to these tardy measures.

The English and Dutch, who had practical control of almost the entire country for ten years, used their power in the interest of their own trade and manufactures to the detriment of those of the Belgians. They flooded the towns with foreign merchants, while the difficulty of existing conditions completed the ruin of the Belgian workshops and factories. This last blow was so keenly felt that, in spite of the old national antipathies, there was formed in the country a large party in favour of France. The harm that Louis XIV had done to Belgium, the scorn that his grandson's ministers had exhibited for the rights of the provinces during their short administration by levying arbitrary taxes and banishing whomsoever they pleased, the inevitable

loss of all political independence — none of these wrongs prevented numbers of the inhabitants from believing that French dominion would at least put an end to the invasions of foreign armies, reopen perhaps the avenues of trade, and protect them against odious rivalries.

In the majority of the large towns the people showed themselves disposed to tumult and riot. This was the result of poverty and humiliation. The very splendour of the traditions of the past made the present degradation seem more bitter. The absence of a regular system of government, during the occupation of the country by troops of the maritime powers, had also relaxed all the ties of statehood; for the council assembled at Brussels had but a shadow of temporary power, and as a general thing each locality had, so to speak, to govern itself. Considering all these causes of disorder and social dissolution, all the scourges that war brought in its train, it is perhaps astonishing that the national character could have survived this melancholy epoch without corruption and disgrace.[c]

Troubles were excited in the Austrian Netherlands in the year 1716 by the exactions of the marquis of Prié, a Piedmontese who represented Prince Eugene of Savoy, the governor-general, during his defence of Hungary against the Turks. His exactions occasioned tumults in Brussels, Mechlin, and other cities, but the inexorable Prié, favoured by the support of the emperor Charles VI, crushed the defenders of municipal liberty.[d]

In 1722 a commercial company was formed at Ostend by Charles VI, but this was sacrificed in 1731 to the jealousy of the Dutch, who contended that by the treaty of Münster the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were specifically forbidden to engage in the trade with the Indies. Answer was made that the Belgians were no longer Spanish and that the restriction was contrary to the law of nature and of nations. But England also feared the Belgian invasion of the Indian trade, and the disbandment of the company was agreed on in a treaty between the emperor and Great Britain signed at Vienna 1731, Holland taking no part in the treaty.[a]

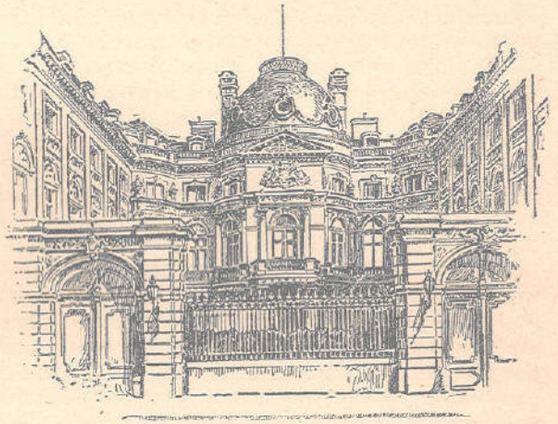
THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1731–1748)

The marquis of Prié had been recalled by the emperor, and the archduchess Maria Elizabeth, Charles' sister, had come to take up the reins of government (1725). She was a princess of sweet and benevolent character, who succeeded in making the Belgians love her but whose administration was entirely lacking in vigour. She collected few taxes, but the finances remained in disorder, the towns in debt, and trade in a languishing condition. Agriculture alone, thanks to the return of peace, was able to reassume its former prosperity. All traces of past misfortune were so well effaced in the rural districts, by the labour and intelligence of the farmers, that there at least was witnessed the renascence of Belgium's old-time opulence. But Charles VI, who had no son, saw the succession ill-assured to his daughter Maria Theresa.

In vain did he try to forestall all dispute on the subject by a special regulation which was called the Pragmatic Sanction. The majority of the European powers did indeed consent to recognise the princess's rights to her father's possessions; but no sooner had the latter breathed his last than the storm broke, and the young empress saw herself attacked by the king of Prussia (Frederick II), who took Silesia from her; by the elector of Bavaria, who claimed the empire; and by France, which upheld the elector, in the hope of weakening the Austrian house. Nevertheless the war did not yet extend

to the Belgian provinces, whose neutrality France from the first respected in order not to offend the maritime powers. It seemed moreover that a single campaign would suffice to overwhelm Maria Theresa, who was lacking in troops, generals, and money. But the daughter of Charles VI was not to be discouraged by her first reverses; and, putting her confidence in the justice of her cause and the love of her subjects, she succeeded in arming the war-like population of Hungary in her behalf.

England and Holland had become interested in the empress' danger. In the Belgian fortresses sixteen thousand English replaced the Dutch troops, which were sent to Germany. Thereupon the French changed their careful tactics in the Low Countries. Louis XV, at the head of a formidable army, entered West Flanders and took Menin and Ypres (1744); but he was obliged to hasten to the help of Alsace, attacked by the Austrians, and an Anglo-Dutch army reinforced by some Belgian troops invaded in its turn the frontiers of France. Nevertheless, the campaigns that followed were all to the advantage of France, whose armies were under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe. In 1745 they took Tournay and defeated the entire allied forces at Fontenoy (near Antoing). A portion of Hainault and the whole of Flanders was the price of the victory. In 1746 the remainder of the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburg, fell into the power of France.



PALACE OF THE COUNT OF FLANDERS, BRUSSELS

The diocese of Liège now became the principal theatre of war. An imperial army which had hastened to the support of the Dutch was beaten at Rocoux (near Liège), and the year after the victory of Lawfeld near Tongres maintained the French in possession of all their conquests. Bergen-op-Zoom was taken and the same fate befell Maestricht in 1748. Abusing the rights the strength of their arms had given them, Marshal Saxe and the intendant of Séchelles crushed the invaded provinces under heavy contributions; they went so far as to demand of the clergy, at one single time, one sixth of the value of all their property.

This accounts for the spontaneous expression of keen joy when, in 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Belgium to Maria Theresa. The French withdrew the following year, and Duke Charles of Lorraine, the empress' brother-in-law, arrived to take control of the government.

This prince had been appointed governor-general upon the death of Maria Elizabeth (1741), but the war detained him a long time in Germany, where he distinguished himself in fighting against Frederick II. His noble and loyal character, his affability, his frankness, his inexhaustible goodness endeared him to the Belgians, among whom he had since resided. The affairs of the country were in the greatest disorder, the revenues of the state

insufficient for its needs, the provinces in debt; the whole government was paralysed. But the skill of the count of Cobenzl, appointed minister plenipotentiary and directory of internal affairs, raised resources little by little, while the affection of the people levelled the obstacles against which the sovereign's power had broken itself. If the minister's efforts to reorganise the government and reform abuses appeared sometimes to exceed the just limits of his authority, and struck at times at honoured customs, the empress' moderation and duke Charles' conservative spirit impressed a character of moderation and slowness upon the execution of his plans. Thus the gradual change that took place in the administration from this time on was free from all agitation and perturbation, and it was likewise by degrees that the young sovereign learned to understand the importance of this part of her possessions.

BENEFICIAL RESULT OF MARIA THERESA'S REIGN

Maria Theresa had thought for a moment of ceding the Netherlands to a prince of the Spanish house, the infante-duke of Parma; and there was nothing extraordinary in this idea, since up to the present time the possession of these provinces had been nothing but a burden to Austria. But a new war broke out between the empress and the king of Prussia (1757), and the Belgians came forward at once with twelve thousand soldiers and 16,000,000 florins, independent of the immense sums which the Antwerp capitalists lent to the imperial treasury. Sacrifices of every kind were made up to the very close of the war (1763), and brought the German ministers to realise the great value of a possession which hitherto had not been half appreciated. The empress was touched by the marks of devotion which the Belgian provinces showered upon her, and from that moment she displayed the liveliest solicitude for their prosperity.

There was much to be done to raise Belgium from the state of depression and inertia into which the disasters of the past had plunged her. The nation had ceased to be rich; and, while it remained hard-working, while it endeavoured to make up by economy for the loss of opulence, it must be admitted that the energy that accomplishes great ends seemed extinguished together with the intellectual progress that prepares them. Arts and letters had almost disappeared. Continued depression had brought about a sort of indifference — a lifelessness under the influence of which the nobility and vigour of the national character were to some degree effaced. Nations pass through phases of torpor that, like moments of sleep, succeed excessive fatigue.

The renascence of Belgium began under Maria Theresa. Not content with re-establishing order in the government, with doubling the revenues of the country, which soon reached 16,000,000 florins, with encouraging every effort in agriculture and industry, she attempted to assure the progress of civilisation, established colleges in the principal cities, a military school at Antwerp, and an academy at Brussels. She honoured the fine arts, and applauded the zeal of Charles of Lorraine in their protection. Severe towards some abuses which would have harmed the church and religion, she set an example of respect for sacred things and exercised as much influence over her subjects by her virtues as by her great wisdom. Thus she became the object of veneration and boundless love, and the last twenty years of her reign have been regarded, with truth, as the happiest period in the memory of the Belgians.

Although separated from the rest of Belgium, the diocese of Liège enjoyed the same tranquillity after having experienced the same agitation. John

Theodore of Bavaria, who had governed that province from 1744 to 1763, was the brother of Maria Theresa's rival for the empire, to whose party ties of blood had bound him; but he proved himself in his internal administration a wise and peaceful prince. It was the same with his successors, under whom the commerce and industry of the Liégeois regained their activity, while the nation rejoiced untroubled in a liberty henceforth exempt from all peril.

Thus the different provinces of the Catholic Low Countries simultaneously regained a part of their old-time prosperity. This state of things was prolonged during the whole of the reign of the empress, who was able to maintain peace in Europe and to make foreign powers respect the sceptre which protected her subjects. She attained an advanced age without ceasing to hold the reins of her vast empire, and preserved to her last day her zeal for the well-being of her people, and an authority founded on the union of power and virtue. This great princess and Charles of Lorraine expired the same year (1780), both mourned for by the Belgians, to whom this double loss seemed to presage the end of their happiness.

JOSEPH II AND HIS ATTEMPTS AT REFORM (1780)

The child that Maria Theresa had brought in her arms before the Hungarian diet, in 1741, had become a man; he had been associated with her in the government since 1765, and succeeded his mother under the title of Joseph II. He visited Belgium in 1781, but he only remained there a short time. He appeared to carry away a false idea of the national character, yet he nevertheless at that time made projects favourable to the independence of the provinces. The Barrier Treaty was still in force, although it had not been confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, but the United Provinces, being engaged in a naval war with England, were not in condition to support another struggle. The emperor ordered the demolition of all the Belgian fortresses, and those occupied by foreign garrisons were the first to suffer; the garrisons retired without resistance. He next proclaimed the freedom of the Schelde, and by his command a brig, fitted out at Antwerp, sailed down to the sea, braving the forts and the Dutch cruisers. But scarcely had the ship, which was flying the imperial flag, arrived before Saftingen, when it was stopped by the batteries and fell into the hands of those who were guarding the channel (1783).

Joseph thereupon made mighty threats, which alarmed the whole of Europe. A war between the Empire and Holland was anticipated; for the United Provinces would have braved everything rather than free Antwerp and let Belgian commerce revive. They had already seen in the preceding years (1781–1784) the port of Ostend suddenly attain a flourishing condition on account of the neutrality and freedom it enjoyed during the naval war. The right to use the Schelde might revive Antwerp, and that city's natural advantages excited the jealousy and uneasiness of a trading people. But Joseph II, as inconstant as he was precipitate, soon ceased to maintain his righteous claims and contented himself with the sum of 6,000,000 florins which Holland sacrificed in order to retain its privilege.

After having thus given up the completion of Belgium's liberation, the emperor thought for a time of exchanging the country for the electorate of Bavaria, which bordered upon his German possessions. But when the project fell through, he directed the impatient activity of his mind to a plan of general reorganisation of the countries subject to his sway.

Disgusted by the despotism exercised by the clergy of Belgium, Joseph commenced his reign by measures that at once roused a desperate spirit of

hostility in the priesthood, and soon spread among the bigoted mass of the people. Miscalculating his own power, and undervaluing that of the priests, the emperor issued decrees and edicts with a sweeping violence that shocked every prejudice and roused every passion perilous to the country. Toleration to the Protestants, emancipation of the clergy from the papal yoke, reformation in the system of theological instruction were among the wholesale measures of the emperor's enthusiasm, so imprudently attempted and so virulently opposed.[e]

The minds of the people had scarcely recovered from the first sensations of surprise when new edicts appeared (January, 1787). One abolished the existing tribunals and the seigniorial, ecclesiastical, and academic judges, and substituted a judicial organisation based on the principle of unity; the other united in one body the various councils connected with the government, and submitted to the imperial approval the choice of permanent deputations (the colleges of the estates-deputies). Two months afterwards a final decree divided the country into nine districts, whose administration was confided to intendants who were to replace all the old provincial authorities. This was a complete upheaval, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel unless we go back to the most violent revolutionary crises.

The Brabantine Revolution of 1787–1789

The estates complained; the people did more: they armed themselves. If the edicts had been put into execution the struggle would have begun at once.

Maria Christina of Austria, sister of Joseph II, and Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, whom she had married, had been living in Brussels, in the quality of governors-general, since 1781. The popular excitement terrified them, and they provisionally suspended the execution of the decrees. The emperor at first blamed them for this condescension, but when a deputation of the estates presented itself, in obedience to his command, and he realised the degree of firmness exhibited by the Belgians, he yielded in the majority of the disputed points, and persisted only in the edict relating to the clergy (August, 1787). The people rejoiced in this partial victory, and preparations for resistance disappeared; but the opening of the general seminary at Louvain still kept alive a little flame of discontent.

This last germ of irritation could not but grow when the diocesan seminaries were closed in spite of the bishops, and the University of Louvain suspended on account of its opposition to the new institution whose doctrines it condemned. In 1788 the Hainault estates refused all subsidies; the emperor broke them, declared their privileges forfeited, and caused the arrest of some of the members. In Brabant, the third estate alone had made the same refusal; the monarch demanded the provisional suppression of the order, the concession of a perpetual subsidy, and the establishment of the new judicial organisation. Upon the Assembly's negative response, an imperial diploma broke and annulled the "joyeuse-entrée," that is to say, the fundamental pact which bound the people to the sovereign (June, 1789).

Joseph declared that he could rule the country by force and as a conquest; later he wrote to the general who was directing the movements of the military, "that the more or less of blood shed to settle matters was not a matter for consideration and that the soldiers would be recompensed the same as if they had fought against the Turks." Strange blindness in a prince who made no scruple of violating the most sacred ideas of justice and humanity, not through

violence and barbarism, but because he believed himself more enlightened than his subjects.

Resistance was not long in coming. There had been formed at Breda a colony of Belgian émigrés tolerated by the Dutch government, and still full of resentment towards Joseph II. This colony soon collected two or three thousand volunteers whose command was confided to Colonel van der Mersch of Menia, an old officer of proven valour. He entered Brabant with his feeble troops, encountered the Austrian division charged with guarding the frontier, was able to allure it to the little town of Turnhout, where he placed himself advantageously, and seconded by the efforts of the burghers he achieved a complete victory (October 26th, 1789).

This was the signal for insurrection throughout the whole of Belgium. A column of volunteers arrived at Ghent, and supported by the people, attacked the garrison of the town and soon made themselves masters of the citadel. The whole of Flanders drove the Austrians out. The people of Brussels attacked them in the streets and forced them to flee. Mons fell into the hands of its citizens in the same manner. On the 11th of January, 1789, the deputies of all the provinces situated north of the Maas, assembled at Brussels, proclaimed the independence of the United Belgian States.

Joseph II, already ill, did not long survive the news (February 20th). "It is your country that has killed me," he said to the prince de Ligne; "what a humiliation for me!" The unhappy sovereign had forgotten how he himself had wounded the people whose institutions he hoped by one word to overthrow.

Nevertheless the Brabantine Revolution (such is the name that history has given it) was not to enjoy a long existence. It was a flash of enthusiasm in a nation faithful to its old laws and to the spirit of its ancestors; but in following this impulse they returned to a past already become impossible. The march of time changes the social order; and, half a century after Joseph's death, the Belgians possessed none of the old institutions for which their fathers had fought. Their memory commands respect, but their day has passed.

The movement could not continue, in the sense in which it had been conceived. The man whose opinions best represented those of the country — Henry van der Noot, formerly an advocate of Brussels, who had put himself at the head of the committee at Breda — had been all-powerful in overthrowing the emperor; but when he became the chief of the government he did nothing. An already powerful party turned its glance towards the future, desiring certain innovations, the majority of which are in operation to-day. But the advocate Vonck, who was its leader, and the brave Van der Mersch, who supported him, were powerless to overcome the profound antipathy inspired in the nation by the principles and example of the French Revolution which, then in progress, had already shaken the old social order to its very foundations. The house of Austria also had its partisans, in whom the memory of Maria Theresa's virtues inspired a sincere attachment to her sons. These adherents did not succeed in getting the people to listen, even when their much-regretted flag was raised.

The Austrians withdrew to the right bank of the Maas. Van der Mersch took up his position opposite to them at Namur, and in the neighbouring townships. But his troops, although numerous, had but an imperfect organisation. Instead of occupying himself exclusively with instructing and disciplining them, Van der Mersch wished to make his army a support to Vonck's party, and his officers soon showed themselves disposed to lay down the law

to the estates. The latter thereupon gave the command of the force to a Prussian officer, General Schönfeld, while Van der Mersch was arrested and sent to the citadel at Antwerp.

But Schönfeld, who seems to have been the agent of a foreign power, made no use whatever of the forces under his orders, and moreover he chilled their enthusiasm by his coldness. The Maas continued to separate the troops of the two nations. The Belgians did not even try to unite with the Liégeois, at that moment in revolt against their bishop (1789), because on the occasion of the games established at Spa he had refused to extend to the new establishments the privilege of taking part in them.

The congress had flattered itself that it would be able to obtain the support of Prussia, of England, and, above all, of Holland. It was a vain hope; but Van der Noot and the majority of the estates could not seek elsewhere the salvation of their cause: they were unwilling to place their country's fate in the hands of a warlike people, and, on the other hand, they had committed the mistake of rejecting the peace propositions of the emperor Leopold II, Joseph's brother. The courts with which they solicited an alliance left them in their delusion up to the very moment when an imperial army was on the march. Then the congress was advised to submit.

In the spring of the following year the Austrians, under the leadership of Bender, re-entered the provinces from which they had been driven. Schönfeld abandoned his soldiers, who managed their retreat towards Flanders with less disorder than might have been expected; the members of the congress dispersed — some leaving the country, the others returning to their houses. The imperial troops re-established, in passing, the bishop of Liège in the principality. Of all the great movements which had agitated Belgium, nothing remained but disaffection for the imperial house and indifference to threatened dangers.

BELGIUM DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1792)

In fact, while Counts Mercy, Argenteau, and Metternich, named one after the other minister plenipotentiary to the Austrian Netherlands, were struggling to revive in the provinces their old-time spirit of obedience and devotion, the French Revolution reached its height, and prepared Europe for a more bloody upheaval than any that had preceded. Leopold, although he had foreseen the war, was not to witness it, death having removed him at the age of forty-five, in 1792; but Francis II, who succeeded him, had scarcely mounted the throne when hostilities commenced. Spectators in the fight which was to decide their fate, the Belgians took scarcely any part in it; and perhaps this neutrality of a people formerly so devoted to Austria was a great weight in the balance. For Belgium became the field upon which the hostile powers long fought, with chances so nearly equal that the support and concurrence of a faithful people might have changed the outcome of the war.

The first actions were of little consequence, and the imperial troops gained some advantage. Two divisions of the enemy left Lille and Valenciennes at the same time and advanced upon Tournay and Mons (April, 1792). The plan of the French was to prevent the union of the Austrian troops, and suddenly overpower them; but a panic of terror seized upon their soldiers at the sight of the German outposts, and the two columns dispersed without fighting. An attempt of General Luckner upon Courtrai was likewise repulsed with ease. In the month of October Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, who had

reassumed the government of Belgium, marched upon Lille with fifteen thousand men and bombarded the town during six days. But shortly after this empty demonstration the French attacked, on their side, the troops which were covering Hainault. Two brave Belgian generals, Clerfayt and Beaulieu, commanded this corps, twenty thousand strong. Forty thousand of the enemy under Dumouriez attacked them at Jemmapes, near Mons, (November 6th,) and forced them to retire after a stubborn fight.

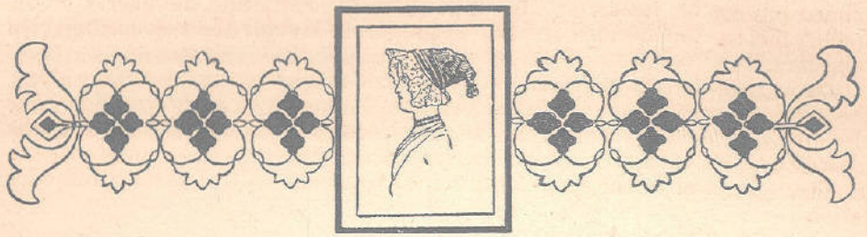
Then the French army penetrated into the heart of Belgium, while the Austrians retired behind the Maas. Dumouriez entered Brussels the 14th, and Liège on the 28th of the same month. He was received in the first of these cities without opposition; in the second, amid the acclamations of the people.

The Austrian army, which had retreated to the right bank of the Maas, soon received large reinforcements there; and, commanded by the prince of Coburg, took the offensive in the ensuing campaign, drove the French from Limburg and the country around Liège, defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden (near Landen), reconquered the whole of Belgium, and took Valenciennes (March–July, 1793). Nothing now stopped the victorious march of the allied troops (for the English and Dutch had joined the imperial forces), until the duke of York was detached with a considerable army to besiege the town of Dunkirk, which England was desirous of possessing. This mistake, in separating the two wings of the army, gave superiority to the enemy, who was able to make them give way one after the other. They might have been cut off by a bold attack of the French upon Menin, had not the brave Beaulieu won a decided advantage before the town (September 15th).

Nevertheless, the duke of York was forced to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and the prince of Coburg that of Maubeuge. Thus the career of the victors was arrested. The neutrality of the Prussians finally permitted France to place new forces on the banks of the Sambre. Charleroi was taken, June 26th, 1794, and the prince of Coburg, who marched to the assistance of that place, was at some disadvantage in a general battle fought the next day on the famous plain of Fleurus. Thereupon the allies abandoned Belgium again, and it was occupied by the French as a conquered country.[e]

The Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797) and the subsequent Treaty of Lunéville (1801) confirmed the conquerors in the possession of the country, and Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing, receiving the *Code Napoléon*, and sharing in the fortunes of the republic and the empire, as described in an earlier volume.

After the fall of Napoleon and the conclusion of the first Peace of Paris (30th of May, 1814), Belgium was for some months ruled by an Austrian governor-general, after which, as we have seen in the last chapter, it was united with Holland under Prince William Frederick of Nassau, who took the title of king of the Netherlands (March 23rd, 1815). The congress of Vienna (May 31st, 1815) determined the relations and fixed the boundaries of the new kingdom; and the new constitution was promulgated on the 24th of August following, the king taking the oath (September 27th) at Brussels.[f]



CHAPTER XVIII

BELGIUM SINCE 1815

THE influences of the French Revolution of 1830 were first felt in the adjoining country of Belgium. For the last decade no little inflammable material had collected there, and an explosion had long been prophesied. In order to have a stronger bulwark against the encroachments of France in the north, the congress of Vienna had decreed that southern Belgium should be united with northern Holland as an increase of territory under the house of Orange. In this way the hegemony of Holland was recognised, while Belgium was viewed as a sort of tributary province and treated accordingly; this, in spite of the fact that two-thirds of the population belonged to Belgium and only one-third to Holland. For more than two centuries each of these two countries had been independent of the other, with the exception of a few years under the Napoleonic rule. Belgium remained first under Spanish, later under Austrian dominion; Holland, while yet a young republic, rose to a maritime power of the first rank and ruled over an enormous colonial territory. In the humanities and the art of painting she had been the rival of Germany and Italy.

Added to these differences of their past career were other antagonistic principles, of religion as well as language. Belgium is Roman Catholic, and the language of cultured society as well as of business is French, although two-thirds of the population of the north speak Flemish, which is closely related to the Dutch language; in Holland, however, Calvinism took root very early and the language of the country is a Germanic dialect. In his hatred of everything French, King William strove to restrict the use of the French language more and more, which was very inconvenient in the southern provinces, especially in the law courts and in the army.

The Belgian clergy was very reluctant to submit to a Protestant government and felt its very existence menaced when the king wished to place the whole school system, this domain of hierarchy, under the supervision of the government. The curriculums of the Belgian schools, colleges, and universities were greatly advanced, and in 1825 a college of philosophy was established at Louvain, which everyone was obliged to attend who wished to enter an episcopal seminary. It was expected that this seasonable institution would act as a barrier to the excesses of ultramontanism. The challenge was accepted. Although ultramontanism had a great influence over the people, the government had nothing to fear if the liberal elements were in its favour. But these also were antagonised by abolishment of trial by jury, by disci-

[1825–1829 A.D.]

plining officers of justice of the opposition, by restricting the liberty of the press,[1] and by the decided refusal to propose a law for the responsibility of ministers.

As neither the clericals nor the liberals could achieve any advantage alone, the result was the unnatural combination of these two great parties. The clericals assisted the liberals in the agitations for freedom of the press; the liberals worked with the clericals in their efforts to obtain freedom of instruction, by means of which the clergy hoped to regain control of all public education.

BELGIAN DISCONTENT

These grievances might have been settled in the states-general. But here also the Belgians were at a disadvantage; for, in spite of their large majority of population, they had no more delegates than the Hollanders — fifty-five for each state. While the Dutch delegates stood like a solid phalanx, the Belgians, not being so united, and some of them having been drawn to the side of the government, could accomplish nothing.

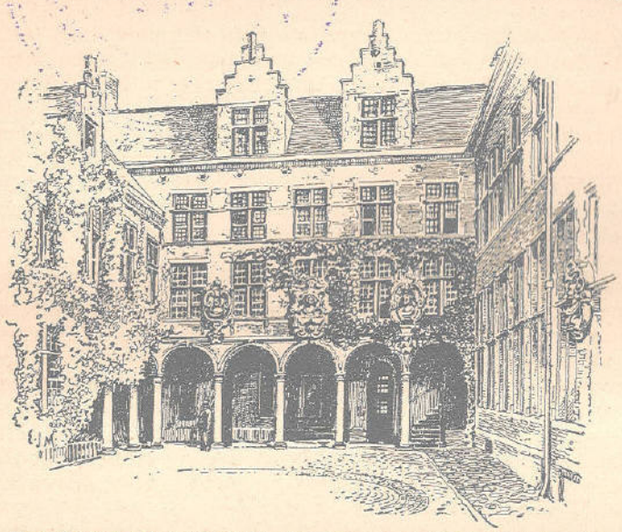
Another cause for disagreement between the two states was their material interests, although the king from self-interest did all he could to further industrial enterprises.[2] Belgium was made to share the enormous debt of Holland, and was burdened with unaccustomed taxes (for instance on bread and meat) in order to discharge it. This last-named tax exasperated the populace in the highest degree, and in consequence the opposition succeeded in 1829 in electing delegates to the states-general, who were nearly all liberals. The king on his journey through the Belgian cities, where he was joyfully welcomed, allowed himself to be deceived as to the real sentiment of the country, just as Charles X did in Alsace. At the reception of the civic authorities in Liège he declared that he knew now what to think of the ostensible grievances, and that he saw in them only the designs of a few who had their own separate interests to advance — "such behaviour was simply infamous!" At once an order was formed in Flanders, the home of the clericals, whose members wore a medal with the inscription "Fidèles jusqu'à l'infamie" — alluding to the motto of the Genevese of 1566: "Faithful unto beggary!" The excitement was heightened by a message to the states-general of December 11th, 1829, which clearly betrayed the absolutism of the king, and by a circular of the minister of justice, Van Maanen, and the minister of the interior to all their subordinates, ordering them to give at once a formal declaration of their assent to the principles of the message. The Dutch were jubilant over the blow which had been struck against the Belgians. The latter in the press protested against the manifesto of despotism against liberty, and placed Van

[1 The newspapers, having reopened their attacks against Dutch supremacy, were pitilessly prosecuted in all the provinces at Brussels, Liège, Ghent, Tournay, etc. Nothing was spoken of but the lawsuits against the opposition papers, both Catholic and liberal. On the other hand, the ministerial papers also continued with renewed rage their insults and calumnies against the members of the opposition in the states-general and against the unionists. — JUSTE.[b]]

[1 If the political situation was an anxious one, the material prosperity of the country on the contrary bore witness to the immense progress made in the reign of William I. One might be proud of calling oneself a citizen of this truly flourishing kingdom, which was so rich and inspired such noble sympathy abroad. The population had increased in 1829 to the number of more than six millions of inhabitants (Holland, 2,314,087; Belgium, 3,921,082). When he opened the session of the states-general of 1827–28, the king had remarked the flourishing condition of commerce and industry: "Our commerce," he said, "is increasing prosperously. Our naval constructions are developing favourably. Agriculture continues to improve. The exploitation of mines is beginning actively. Manufactures achieve continual progress and make a successful stand against foreign competition both in European markets and in other parts of the world." — JUSTE.[b]]

Maanen, the soul of the ministry, on a par with Polignac. There were even then hints of a separation of Belgium from Holland and a separate constitution and administration of the country.

What did it avail that the government, in order to curry favour with the Belgian opposition, now made a few concessions in regard to the grievances of the language and the press, and abolished the college of Louvain! Its true character had been only too clearly shown and been made more unpopular than before by its dismissal of officials and punishment of authors; among the latter was De Potter, who had suggested the formation of a confederacy in order that all the members thereof might be secure from all violent measures. He was arrested and sentenced, in April, 1830, to eight years of exile. Hardly arrived in Aix-la-Chapelle on his journey to Lausanne, he was informed of the events of the July week in Paris, went to France, and, settling in Paris, put himself into communication with his friends in Brussels.



THE PLANTIN-MORET MUSÉE, ANTWERP, A FAMOUS PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT DATING FROM 1549, NOW A MUSEUM

IMITATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830

The desire to rid Belgium of an anti-national government, after the example of France, was very obvious, and it was hoped that the July monarchy and the enthusiasm of the French people[1] might be depended upon. De Potter's most intimate friend, Gendebien, went to Paris, in order to arrange for a union of his native country with France and to offer a Belgian contingent in the contest for the Rhine boundaries. But Louis Philippe had no desire to risk the throne he had just mounted by a war of conquest, and refused the offer. Thereupon Gendebien and his friends tried to arouse popular demonstration in order to force France to occupy Belgium, in case Prussia should aid Holland. They were quite open in their undertaking, even going so far as to advertise by posters: "Monday, fireworks; Tuesday, illumination; Wednesday, revolution!"

Meanwhile what course did the officials pursue in order to calm the excite-

[1 The duke of Wellington said too truly to M. Decazes in 1819: "Sad experience has shown you that no nation in the world can be tranquil if France is not so!" From the authentic testimony of a contemporary, an eye-witness, we learn that the news of the revolution against Charles X had been received in Brussels with the greatest interest.—JUSTE.[b]]

ment? On August 25th, 1830, they permitted the presentation at Brussels of the opera La Muette de Portici — which glorifies the rebellion of the Neapolitans against Spanish rule, led by the fisherman Masaniello. Every allusion to domestic affairs was applauded to the echo; and in the streets outside, crowds of the lower classes shouted, "Hurrah for De Potter, down with Van Maanen!"

At the close of the opera the crowds [crying "Imitons les Parisiens!"] attacked the residences of the ministerial editor Libri and of Van Maanen. One was totally wrecked, the other burned to the ground. During the night all shops where weapons were for sale were plundered; the work of destruction was continued on the 26th, the tricolour of Brabant raised on the city hall, and the royal arms demolished. On the increase of this rioting among the lowest classes the citizens arose, formed a civic guard, suppressed the anarchy, arranged for a meeting of the most prominent men on the 28th of August, and decided to send a deputation to the king asking him to change the prevailing system of government, to dismiss his cabinet, and to call at once a meeting of the states-general.

The uprising spread quickly over the whole country, was successful everywhere, and only a very few fortresses were able to withstand it. But the king, like Charles and Polignac, had no idea of making concessions, until Belgium should be subdued once more. He sent his eldest son, the prince of Orange, to Brussels, to study the real state of affairs; and his second son, Prince Frederick, to Antwerp, to raise troops. At the same time he called the states-general to the Hague for an extraordinary session on September 13th. His plan was to prolong the situation in this way and occupy Brussels in the meantime. He declared to the deputation that he could not be driven by force to dismiss Van Maanen.

On August 31st the two princes, arriving with the troops at Vilvorde, two hours' distance from Brussels, summoned Baron Hoogvorst, commander of the citizen guard, to their headquarters, in order to confer with him on the restoration of the royal authority. Hoogvorst invited Orange to come to Brussels without troops; the latter, however, insisted on the entry of the troops and the restoration of the regal emblems. When Hoogvorst brought back this answer to Brussels it caused tremendous excitement: a universal clamour for weapons arose, women and children took part in the work, cartridges were manufactured, missiles placed in the houses, and more than fifty barricades erected in the streets. At the same time the prince was notified by a second deputation that the acceptance of his terms was out of the question. The prince finally yielded, and rode alone on September 1st through the densely crowded streets of the city, while the cry of "Long live liberty! Down with Van Maanen!" saluted his ears.

He appointed a committee to discuss the best methods as to an arrangement for an understanding between the government and the citizens, and this committee informed him that the only means was the legislative and administrative separation of Belgium from Holland, the establishment of a Belgian special ministry, and a personal union of the two countries similar to that of Sweden and Norway.

The prince promised to lay their wishes before his father and to support them, and returned to the Hague. The garrison of Brussels also left and joined the troops of Prince Frederick. But the king, deluded by the idea that the great powers would certainly not allow their own creation to be overthrown, and that England above all could not refuse to aid him, would not accede to the representations of his son and a few of his ministers; he did, to

be sure, dismiss Van Maanen, but he tried to pacify the impatient ones by a proclamation regarding the probable decisions of the states-general, and emphasised again the maintenance of the real union and the continuance of legitimate methods.

The situation was made worse by the attitude of the Dutch. They were more royal than the king himself, and thus urged on the quarrel between the two nationalities. In the Dutch papers it was said that rebel blood was not fraternal blood; the time for negotiations had passed: therefore, "War to rebels and assassins!"

FLEMISH VILLAGE GIRL (1820)

The states-general opened on September 13th. The speech from the throne was very indefinite about the separation of Belgium and Holland. The Dutch delegates had nothing but force of arms to suggest.

Although it had been possible before the opening of the states-general to establish on September 11th a committee of safety, "for the preservation of the dynasty and public order," totally different forces assumed control on receipt of the news from the Hague. Hordes of revolutionists and unemployed labourers came from the other cities of Belgium and from Paris, resolved to fight out the old quarrel in the streets of Brussels. On the 20th of September they took possession of the city hall, disarmed the citizen guard, drove out the committee of safety, and restored to the populace the power which had passed from them to the citizens on August 27th.

Even the Belgian representatives now implored the king to employ force of arms against this dominion of the working class. Prince Frederick was commanded to advance from Vilvorde against Brussels. He issued a proclamation in which he promised general amnesty, but threatened "the ringleaders of these much too criminal actions" with heavy punishment. He appeared on September 23rd before Brussels with 10,300 troops and twenty-six cannon, achieved a few trifling advantages in the beginning, entered the city, but encountered such serious obstacles in the barricades and the firing from the houses that he withdrew to the park. On the 26th, as his greatly fatigued troops were being surrounded and attacked on all sides, and as ammunition was giving out also, he was forced to retreat to Vilvorde. Among those who led the arrangements for defence in these strenuous days may be especially mentioned the brave sub-lieutenant Pletinckx and the Spaniard Juan van Halen.

The object of the revolution was decided with this battle, at the cost of much bloodshed. The idea of a personal union did not suffice, the dynasty of Orange was no longer possible; only a complete severance of Belgium from Holland, only the establishment of an independent state could now satisfy

the Belgian people, whether of high or low degree. The provisional government, in which a seat was given to De Potter, who returned on September 20th, laboured with this end in view. With the news of the victory, victory itself spread all over Belgium; the Dutch garrisons and officials were driven out. The Belgian troops, relieved of their oath by the provisional government, went over to the people, only the cities of Luxemburg, Venlo, Maestricht, and Antwerp remaining in the power of the Dutch.

The Dutch government now yielded at last. The states-general on September 28th declared in favour of a separate administration of Belgium; the king gave his sanction on October 4th, and sent the prince of Orange to Antwerp. The latter announced the separation of the two countries, proclaimed liberty of education and unconditional amnesty, and even offered to place himself at the head of the movement and acknowledge the resolutions of the Belgian congress. As his father, however, disapproved of these arbitrary measures, at the same time seeking to arouse civil war in Belgium, the son was also regarded with suspicion, and his proposals were rejected; whereupon he went to London, where the delegates of the great powers were just then assembling for a conference.

Not long after this, about eight thousand volunteers under the French general Mellinet advanced upon Antwerp. Two officers who had distinguished themselves in the park combats, Niellon and Kessels, were assigned to him as commanders; the former had lately been the director of a children's theatre, the latter had travelled about the country exhibiting the skeleton of a whale. Fortune favoured them in the theatre of war also. The Dutch troops were driven out of the city of Antwerp, and General Chassé was obliged to withdraw into the citadel. From here, when the Belgians were preparing to attack him, he bombarded the city with all his batteries for several hours, destroying more than two hundred houses and setting fire to merchandise to the value of several millions. Venlo also fell into the hands of the Belgians; so that now only Maestricht, Luxemburg, and the citadel of Antwerp were in the power of the Dutch.

THE BELGIANS SECURE INDEPENDENCE

The independence of Belgium was already an established fact. The truce proposed by the London conference[1] and the boundary line as it existed before the union of the two states were accepted by the provisional government and the national congress convened on November 10th decreed the perpetual exclusion of the house of Orange. The political constellations were favourable to the Belgians; since, of the Eastern powers usually so eager to intervene, Russia was wholly occupied with the suppression of the Polish revolution, and Austria had to keep watch on Italy. From the Western powers, moreover, there was nothing to fear; a more liberal tendency prevailed in

[1 Talleyrand said, in reference to this treaty, that "England and France were two gendarmes who forcibly intervened to prevent a duel"; political consequences, also, of the strangest and most unexpected kind, followed the alliance, and the prodigy was presented to the astonished world of an English fleet and a French army combining to wrest the great fortress of Antwerp, which Napoleon had erected for the subjugation of England, from its lawful sovereign, and to restore it to revolutionary influence and the sway of the tricolour flag. Antwerp was the point whence, for centuries, the independence of Great Britain had been most seriously menaced. It is one of the most extraordinary circumstances recorded in history that, after having twice over, as the fruit of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, wrested this great and menacing fortress from France, and after having been fully taught by her inveterate enemy its paramount importance, England should have entered into a compact with France for its restoration to the dependant of that power, and rendered it again the advanced work of the tricolour flag! — ALISON.c]

England since the fall of Wellington, and Louis Philippe was so little able to proceed against Belgium that he declared, on the contrary, that he would brook no intervention there.

Thus the Belgians became masters in their own house. On the question of the future form of government, De Potter, who had republican views, withdrew from the majority and retired into private life. The congress declared itself in favour of a constitutional monarchy by 174 votes; only thirteen were in favour of a republic. On February 13th the constitution, based on the sovereignty of the people, and establishing a senate and house of representatives, was unanimously adopted by the congress. More difficulty was encountered on the question of boundaries, which the London conference decided against Belgium in its protocol of January 20th, after having already, on December 20th, 1830, decided in favour of the separation between Belgium and Holland. The grand duchy of Luxemburg, which King William had received on relinquishing his hereditary domains, was to be left to Holland. Against this decision the Belgians protested, on the plea that the people of Luxemburg had risen with them against King William, and desired union with Belgium, not Holland. The outcome of this dispute depended in a large measure on the selection of the new king.

The crown was first offered to the second son of Louis Philippe, the count of Nemours. His father, rightly foreseeing that the other powers would never consent to such an aggrandisement of French influence, declined the offer, and now the duke of Leuchtenberg, a son of the former viceroy Eugène seemed to have the best prospects. But this grandson of Napoleon was such an unwelcome neighbour to Louis Philippe that he strained every nerve to defeat his election, and withdrew his objections to the choice of his son. On February 13th, the duke de Nemours was elected king by a small majority. But Louis Philippe for the second time declined the Belgian crown. His principal object had been attained by the defeat of the Leuchtenberg prince, and he knew that the London conference had decided against his son.

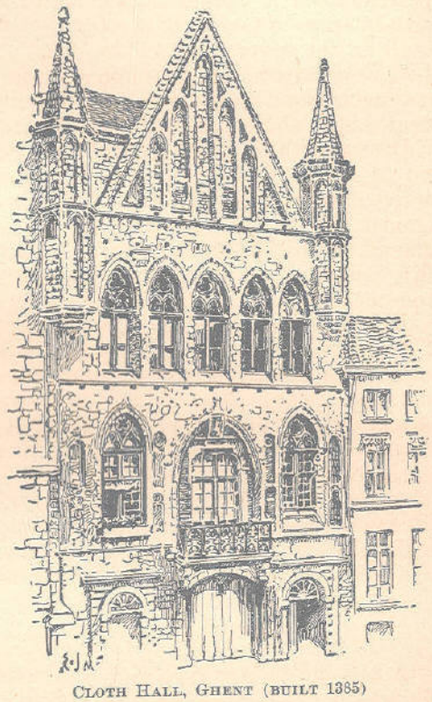
LEOPOLD I, KING OF THE BELGIANS (1831–1865)

A new choice was necessary, and it could not have been a better one. It fell, on June 4th, upon Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had brilliantly distinguished himself in the wars for freedom. In 1816 he had married the daughter of the prince regent of England; she died the following year, but he continued to reside in England.[1] Through the marriage of his sister with the duke of Kent, he was the uncle of Princess Victoria, the future queen of England. He had refused the crown of Greece in 1830, but now accepted that of Belgium, after the congress had accepted the new decision of the London conference of June 26th (the eighteen articles), that the Luxemburg question should remain *in statu quo* for the present, to be definitely decided at some future time. He made his entry into Brussels on July 21st, took the oath of fealty to the constitution, and was proclaimed king of the Belgians.

Hardly had the new king begun a tour of the country when the Dutch troops, more than seventy thousand men, entered Belgium on August 2nd, defeated the Belgian army at Hasselt and Louvain, and threatened Brussels. Leopold called upon England and France for aid. A French army came into Belgium, and an English fleet took position on the coast of Holland. The Dutch were obliged to retreat; but with the assistance of the Eastern pow-

[1 August 9th, 1831, he married Princess Louise Marie, the daughter of Louis Philippe of France.]

ers, which had remembered the Holy Alliance after the suppression of the Polish rebellion, they obtained a revision of the London protocol (October 6th) according to which (in the protocol of the twenty-four articles) not the whole of Luxemburg was to fall to Belgium; though the western portion with 165,000 inhabitants, mostly Walloons, was to be united with Belgium, the eastern or German part, with 170,000 inhabitants, was to be restored to the king of Holland, who had always retained possession of the fortress of Luxemburg. As a compensation he was also to have several districts of Limburg, to be taken from Belgium, and also 8,400,000 gulden, which Belgium was to pay annually to Holland as her share of the national debt of the Netherlands.



CLOTH HALL, GHENT (BUILT 1385)

When King William was not yet satisfied and refused to sign his acceptance of the terms, an Anglo-French fleet blockaded the Dutch coast, and a French army under Marshal Gérard crossed the Belgian frontier, on November 15th, 1832, to seize the citadel of Antwerp. It was still occupied by the gallant General Chassé with the Dutch garrison. After holding out one month, he was obliged to surrender the citadel on December 23rd; it was at once occupied by Belgian troops.[1] Chassé and the garrison were taken to France as prisoners-of-war, and not released until the following year, when King William consented at least to the preliminary treaty of May 21st, 1833. The unedifying quarrel was decided, finally, only by the London treaty of April 19th, 1839, when William at last accepted the twenty-four articles, and permitted the free navigation of the Schelde.

Belgium was able to develop materially as well as intellectually under the government of Leopold I, who married in 1832 Princess Louise of Orleans, the oldest daughter of Louis Philippe. The union of the clericals and the liberals, having served its purpose, soon changed into decided disunion and was dissolved. Both parties sought for the majority in the house of representatives, hoping thus to retain control of the ministry. Leopold, the model constitutional king, under whom, rather than under his father-in-law, the constitution was a reality, left them free to act. He was at the helm always, in the most difficult times, even after the February revolution and under the Napoleonism so eager for annexation, and guided the ship of state with prudence and discretion. On his death, on December 10th, 1865, the whole country mourned him truly and deeply.[d]

[1 The siege of the citadel of Antwerp, in a military point of view, is one of the most memorable of which the annals of Europe make mention.—ALISON.[c]]

LEOPOLD II AND THE SOCIALIST ADVANCE (1865)

A glorious reign was ended; Leopold had not only consolidated the independence of Belgium, but he had been the active promoter of her prosperity. The country had not attained perfection, but under the reign of this, the first national king, enormous and unhoped-for progress had been made.

The inauguration of Leopold II took place December 17th. The representatives of the powers were present, and the proceedings were marked with a solemnity which took its significance more from the patriotic enthusiasm of the people than from the pomp of a court. Saluting the assembly, the king pronounced with clear and steady voice the constitutional oath: "I swear to observe the constitution and the laws of the Belgians, to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the national territory."[c]

LEOPOLD II (1835–)

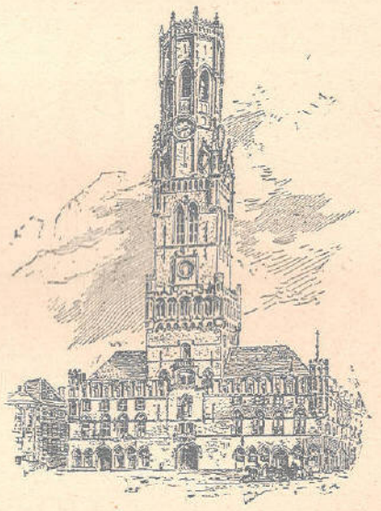
DIVISION IN LIBERAL PARTY — ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 caused alarm in both Holland and Belgium. Belgium feared again becoming a battle-ground for contending nations. This fear was not realised, however, as the powers recognised her as neutral, thus leaving Belgium at liberty to resume her internal political disputes.

Müller[d] in speaking of this period sums up the condition of Belgium in these words: "The principal interest of Belgian history during the years 1876–81 lies in the battle there waged between liberal ideas and ultramontane bigotry." Constant disputes occurred, and when the liberals, after a victory in the two houses, proceeded to introduce measures for free education and the exclusion of religious teaching in the schools, the bitterness of the Catholic party became so great that the life of the king was threatened. Now began again that ever-recurring struggle between conservatism and progress. In a country dominated as Belgium had been by the clergy, this struggle was necessarily a severe one. For a long time the supremacy of the clergy over the masses made the number of scholars in the Catholic schools exceed that of the state schools by some two hundred thousand. A definite issue to this question was prevented by a division of the liberal party; this division was caused by the franchise reform. The period from 1884–94 is known as "the bourgeois régime," one of the most disturbed periods of the nineteenth century. The socialist element now comes forward and the next few years are characterised by strikes and discord everywhere. March 18th, 1886, a socialist uprising at Liège on the anniversary of the Paris commune spread swiftly; and thousands of workmen went on strike, demanding higher wages and the power

to vote. The insurrection was suppressed by force, but the result was increased determination to revise the constitution.

Years of debate were embittered by inability to construct a majority among those agreeing upon enlarged suffrage, but disagreeing as to whether it should be qualified or universal. At length, in 1890, an unfavourable vote having quashed various reform bills, fifty thousand workmen struck and violence reigned at Brussels and elsewhere. Quiet was restored by promise of compromise in 1893. The right to vote for representatives to the chamber was granted to every man of twenty-five years, and the right to vote for senators to every man of thirty, while the Catholics secured the privilege of two, sometimes three votes to an individual possessing certain educational or property qualifications. This brought the number of votes for representatives up from 140,000 to 2,085,000. In 1894 the Catholics secured an increased majority over the liberals, though the socialists obtained a solid representation; the conditions of the suffrage being most vividly shown by the fact that while the Catholics received 900,000 votes, the socialists 350,000, and the liberals 450,000, yet their respective representations were: in the senate, 71 Catholics, 29 liberals, and two socialists; in the chamber, 104 Catholics, 28 socialists, and 20 liberal progressists. Opposition to such disproportion led to constant efforts at reform, culminating in riots in 1899, on the occasion of an act still further strengthening the Catholic hold.



BELFRY OF BRUGES, COMMENCED 1282 AND COMPLETED A CENTURY LATER

The riots led to the government's withdrawal of this measure, and a substitution by which the Catholics in 1900 elected to the senate 58 members, the liberals and radicals 39, and the socialists 5; while in the chamber there were 85 Catholics, 33 liberals, and 33 socialists. In 1901 the liberals, radicals, and socialists combined against the system of "plural universal suffrage," which gives to some citizens more than one vote, and which, in the words of a radical leader, "enables the clerical party to crush the *bourgeoise* in towns and industrial centres and places in an unfair minority the bulk of the working classes." In the following year violent demonstrations were made against the system and were only put down after considerable blood had been shed. As yet the agitation has not accomplished its object, nor have the opposition succeeded in forcing the government to do away with the practice of allowing men of wealth to evade military service by the payment of money; but in the election of 1904 the clericals lost some seats, and their downfall appears to be only a question of time. The chief leaders of the clericals have been Malou, whose ministry was last in power in 1884, and the conservative Beernaert, who has of late years found a rival in the strongly clerical Woeste. The socialists find their greatest strength among the working classes.

Like others of the European powers, Belgium is interested in the development of Africa, particularly of that part which is known as the Congo Free State. The beginnings of this state date back to the formation in 1876 by

Leopold II., with the coöperation of leading African explorers and the approval of European governments, of an association for promoting exploration and colonisation in the Congo basin. Under the auspices of the association much exploring work was done by Henry M. Stanley and others, and treaties were made with native chiefs through which territorial rights were acquired over a vast area. After some years the Congo International Association, as the society was then called, sought and received recognition as an independent state. In 1884–85 an international conference, summoned for the purpose, constituted and defined the new state, and in consideration of his interest and activity conferred the sovereignty upon Leopold II. The state was also declared perpetually neutral, freedom of trade was established, and rules were laid down for the protection of the natives and for the suppression of the slave-trade. By a later convention made in 1890 Belgium, to which Leopold had willed all his sovereign rights in the state, was authorized to annex the state at any time after June 3, 1901. When the time for annexation came, however, the Belgian government, after considerable discussion, instead of annexing the Free State at once, merely reaffirmed the optional right of annexation at some future time. Two years later charges of selfish extortion and of terrible cruelty toward the natives on the part of the Belgian officials attracted widespread attention, and it appears that some of the charges were true. At the same time it is unquestionably true that the condition of the people has been greatly improved since 1885 and that much has been done toward stamping out the horrors of the slave-trade. The state will no doubt in time be annexed to Belgium, and, as its trade, particularly in rubber, is of large dimensions, it bids fair to be a valuable possession.

At home the Flemish language and influence have been greatly revived. Of the 6,693,548 inhabitants in 1900, 2,882,005 spoke Flemish only, and 2,574,805 spoke French only; while 54 per cent. could speak Flemish, and 52 per cent. could speak French. In 1873 Flemish obtained recognition in the law courts, and has since taken a place of equal official usage with French, which had been the official language since the fifteenth century.

In 1900 the king presented his private estates to the Belgian nation to be preserved and used as public parks. The queen's death occurred in 1902. Shortly after that event King Leopold was shot at by an Italian anarchist while driving through Brussels. The present king having three daughters, the inheritance devolves on Prince Albert, second son of the count of Flanders, brother of the king. The heir presumptive married the duchess Elizabeth of Bavaria, on October 2nd, 1900, and in November, 1901, a son was born.[a]

Of the present state of the country its historian Leclère has written: Belgium of the present day affords a picture of a rapid and general transformation. Politically it is becoming a democracy, economically, thanks to the development without, it is one of the wealthiest and most energetic nations of Europe. Its economic progress has determined its political transformation. Situated at the meeting-point of three great civilisations, whose influence it at once feels and assimilates, Belgium is becoming more and more a microcosm of Europe, an active laboratory of political, economic, and social experiences.[b]

CHAPTER XIX

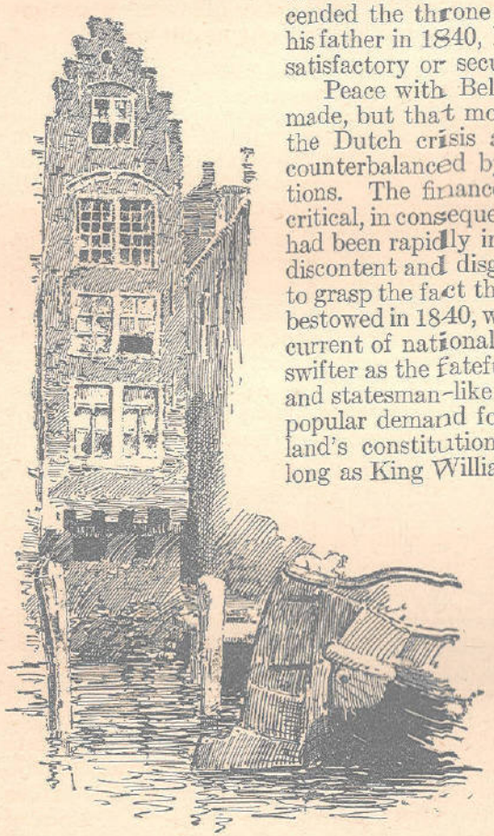
HOLLAND SINCE 1815

The final separation of the kingdom of the Netherlands into the kingdoms of Holland and of Belgium has already been described. It was not formally and entirely consummated until 1839. The next year William I abdicated in favour of his eldest son, and three years later his death occurred in Berlin, where he had retired. His abdication was not a matter of regret to the Dutch people, as, during the nine years pending the treaty of separation, his actions, totally lacking as they were in dignity, had put him in disfavour both with the Dutch and the Belgians. The accession of his son, who was inaugurated as William II, was therefore a happy change for the people. This prince, cosmopolitan in his education and having a soldier's record, won the love of his people. He made a decided change for the better in the finances of the country, improved the commerce and added to its freedom, by his concessions to the revolutionary fever which in 1848 spread from France throughout Europe.[a]

When King William II died at Breda, in March, 1849, a remarkable prince of Orange had passed away — a man of singular purpose and force of character. A born soldier, he had developed, upon Wellington's battle-fields in the peninsula, in the Pyrenees, and around Waterloo, some rare tactical gifts, and a personal valour which commanded the admiration and the lifelong friendship of the Iron Duke himself; and he enjoyed a popularity, both in Holland and in Belgium, which survived even after the Belgians had risen against the unwise and intolerant rule of King William I, which the narrow-minded congress of Vienna had imposed upon them.

But the second King William of Holland was not a politician. He showed his lack of political wisdom in acting diametrically against the positive instructions of his royal father, who had sent him to the south with a mission which he openly ignored by issuing a manifesto to the Belgians in which he professed to recognise their independence. The king immediately repudiated that manifesto, which, without adding to his son's popularity in the southern Netherlands, seriously jeopardised his prestige and prospects in the north. Indeed, the wrath of the Dutch people, then highly incensed at what they

branded as Belgian treason, became so violent that it was publicly proposed to exclude him from the throne. Nor was his conduct in London, whither his father sent him on another political mission, which proved as futile as his previous errand to obtain the hand of Princess Charlotte had been, calculated to regain for him the hold he had lost upon his future Dutch subjects. Not even the brilliant military campaign which he undertook in Belgium at the head of the Dutch army could, fruitless as it turned out to be, entirely restore confidence in him. So when King William II ascended the throne of Holland on the abdication of his father in 1840, his position could hardly be called satisfactory or secure.



OLD HOUSE, DORT

Peace with Belgium had, it is true, at last been made, but that more or less beneficial settlement of the Dutch crisis abroad was perhaps more than counterbalanced by threatening internal complications. The finances had become disordered, if not critical, in consequence of the Belgian troubles; taxes had been rapidly increasing, and with them popular discontent and disgust against a régime which failed to grasp the fact that the flimsy reforms, grudgingly bestowed in 1840, were wholly unavailing to stem the current of national feeling which set in stronger and swifter as the fateful year 1848 approached. A wise and statesman-like ruler would not have resisted the popular demand for a thorough remodelling of Holland's constitution upon an enlightened basis so long as King William II did. But he was a soldier, not a statesman. Married to Anna Paulovna, a Russian grand-duchess, he seemed to have abandoned the liberal traditions of his predecessors and of his people for the autocratic tendencies of Muscovite rule.

For eight years the king withstood the efforts of the Dutch reform party, who in Jan Rudolf Thorbecke, the foremost statesman of Holland in the nineteenth century — and "too great a man for so small a country" (as a British statesman is said to have characterised him) — had found a leader and a soul. Already in 1844 Thorbecke, with eight other members of the Dutch chamber, had elaborated a reform bill. Thorbecke, a student, afterwards a professor in the law faculty of Leyden University, was strongly supported by the vast mass of his educated and enlightened countrymen, then mostly unrepresented in the legislature. Yet for a time all his endeavours were baffled by the powerful court party, and Thorbecke even failed to obtain re-election as a member of the second chamber in 1846. His time, however, was coming rapidly. In 1847 serious riots occurred at various places, even at the Hague, and notably at Groningen. The king at last saw the danger of further delay, and, prompted maybe by the warnings of coming

crisis all over Europe, he promised reforms when opening the states-general in the autumn of the same year.

There is no doubt that this timely resolve warded off from Holland the threatening revolution which had broken out in neighbouring states. In March, 1848, a royal commission was appointed to elaborate a new constitution.[1] Of that royal commission Thorbecke was much more than a member. The commission was virtually his commission, and the project it presented to the king, his life-work. Its main features having been fully discussed and accepted beforehand, its progress was swift. In October following it became law, and an interim cabinet was appointed to carry out its provisions.

THE MINISTRIES OF THORBECKE

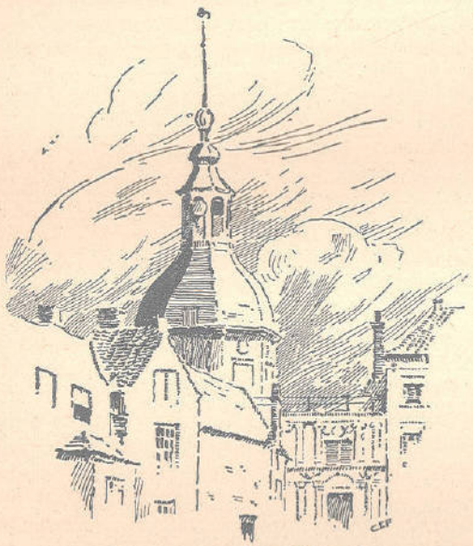
The preponderance of Thorbecke in Dutch political life during the latter half of the nineteenth century was such that the modern history of the Netherlands may be safely divided into two periods—the Thorbecke period, and the period after Thorbecke's death. The first Thorbecke ministry, formed as the natural outcome of the triumph of his efforts and principles, lasted only till 1853, but was marked by extraordinary activity. During that, comparatively speaking, brief period many fundamental laws were passed for which the constitution had already provided: such as a new electoral law; a law to regulate the responsibility of ministers; another, to settle the rights and duties of provincial governments and councils, and of communal governments and councils, together establishing, in large measure, a complete system of decentralisation—thus practically introducing a kind of local government in Holland half a century before it was attempted in Great Britain, but within well-defined limits and safeguards; an act to regulate the rights and duties of Dutch citizenship; another, to settle the parliamentary prerogative of inquiry; etc.

In Van Bosse, Thorbecke had secured the services of an able and energetic minister of finance, who raised the state credit, abolished several irksome and oppressive taxes, and established free trade, Holland being the only continental state that afterwards remained faithful in the main to free-trade principles. The postal and telegraph services were reorganised, and the great work of draining the Haarlem Lake was completed. The first Thorbecke cabinet came to an untimely end in 1853, in consequence of what was called "the April movement," because it had originated in that month. Article 165 of the constitution had recognised, in a country where there was no state church, the equality of all religious bodies, subject to governmental control. The pope and the militant clerical party in Holland perceived in that article an opportunity to re-establish in the Low Countries the ancient bishoprics of Utrecht, Haarlem, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Roermond, the bishop of Utrecht becoming an archbishop. This measure — coupled, it must be confessed, with some unfortunate reflections on Dutch Protestantism by the pope, in his decree on that occasion — revived all the anti-Catholic prejudices of former days. Some political enemies of Thorbecke, who could not forgive him his triumphs, were not loth to fan the flames, and a veritable no-popery storm

[1 By it Holland received all the immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the king's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. The provisions contained all the elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence. — ALISON.]

swept over the country, which Thorbecke resisted but could not withstand, he himself being accused of treasonable "papism." For several years to come Thorbecke was compelled to relinquish the active duties of leadership, and not until 1862 did he regain it. The intervening years form a sort of interregnum in modern Dutch history.

Four cabinets followed each other at about equal intervals, the most important among them being the ministry of Dr. Justinus van der Brugghen. It was during his premiership in 1857 that the Primary Education Law was passed, which established neutral (non-sectarian) state schools, and afterwards largely became the pattern of similar legislation in foreign countries, notably of the Education Act of 1870 in England. The Dutch law, however, did not as yet provide for compulsory education.



DOME OF THE DORT MUSEUM

The subsequent cabinet of Dr. van Hall carried, in 1860, a most important law, directing the construction of a vast system of state railways, connecting the already existing private lines, and involving the building of very costly bridges over the broad rivers in the south. That the Dutch chambers adopted the principle of state railways in 1860 was largely due to Thorbecke's influential advocacy. By 1872 the whole first network of Dutch state railways was at last completed. It is noteworthy that the cost of building them was almost entirely furnished by the surplus funds accruing annually (up to the year 1877) from the administration of the Dutch East Indies under the "culture system." Consequently the Dutch state railways are the only ones in existence not burdened with debt. The state, however, did not undertake their working. This was entrusted to a private company, the state merely receiving a share in the net profits.

Thorbecke came back to power in January, 1862. His second term of office was marked by the same reforming energy as the first. In the four years that it lasted Thorbecke had the Secondary Education Act passed (1863), completing the work of 1857; contributed to the legislation by virtue of which the great canalisation works at Amsterdam and Rotterdam were sanctioned (1863); carried his bill emancipating upwards of thirty thousand slaves in the Dutch West Indies, at the cost of 10,000,000 guilders in compensation, paid by the state.

Heemskerk, the leader of the conservative party, was Thorbecke's great antagonist, the two Dutch statesmen playing in the political arena parts somewhat resembling those of Gladstone and Disraeli in England. Heemskerk, who died in 1880, and who stood three times at the head of affairs, was a politician of talent, though of less calibre and moral fibre than Dr. van Hall, his greater predecessor, and his reactionary tendencies and views found favour at court. There is little doubt that the king's proposal, in 1867, to

transfer Luxemburg to France, if it did not emanate from Heemskerk, had his warm approval. It was none the less dangerous, especially as it came after Königgrätz, which had settled the German question in a manner not at all favourable to Napoleonic ambitions.

Queen Sophie belonged to the most unflinching and ablest opponents of Bismarck's policy. She corresponded much with Napoleon III, and wrote articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* against it. In 1871, after the sacking of the Tuileries, among many documents discovered were a large number of the queen's letters to Napoleon. Some were subsequently published, and demonstrate that she repeatedly warned him against the designs and armaments of Prussia. Says Lord Malmesbury[b]: "The queen was a very clever woman, and knew all the affairs of Europe better than most ministers."[d]

A picturesque view of court life and relations is given by De Amicis, who visited Holland in 1874.

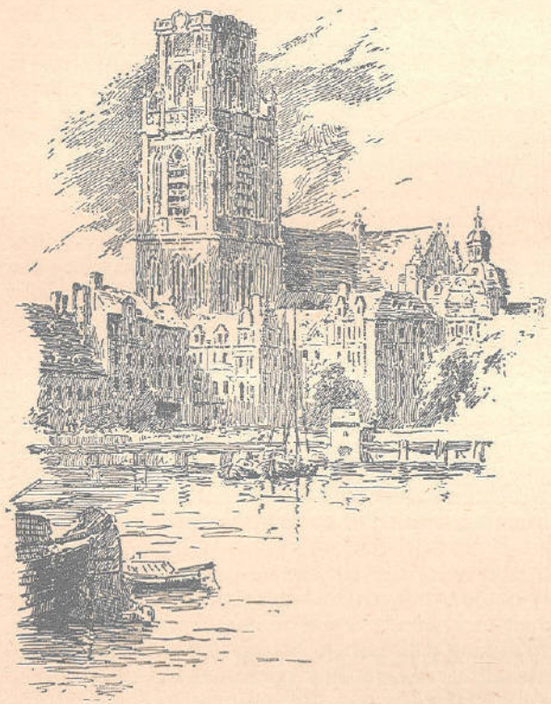
DE AMICIS ON COURT LIFE IN HOLLAND

A picturesque and sympathetic view of court life and relations is given by De Amicis,[c] who visited Holland in 1874. It seems to De Amicis that the king of Holland is regarded by his subjects rather in the light of a stadholder, representing "the smallest possible quantity of kingship," as the duke of Aosta is said to have remarked. The Dutch are devoted to the royal family, but largely because the house of Orange is regarded as having for centuries represented the best type of Netherlandic life. In spirit the country is still republican, and its monarchy does not depart widely from a presidency except in its hereditary character. The king mingles much with the people; he appears at public banquets and festivals, frequently as an orator; on which occasions he improvises fluently. The royal princes were students at the University of Leyden, the elder, William of Orange, having earned the degree of doctor of law. Like their father, the princes are very democratic in spirit. The queen may be seen on occasions seated on a bench in a public park beside one of her poorest subjects. It is owing to this display of democratic spirit on the part of the rulers, in the opinion of De Amicis, that the whole attitude of the people is that of loyalty. Having the advantages of a republic in all but name, the people have no desire to change their form of government. Their personal loyalty to the king sometimes takes an exaggerated form, as when at festivals in his honour, they insist on drawing his carriage. On all state occasions the wearing of the orange cockade is universal. De Amicis completes his pleasing picture by declaring that under ordinary circumstances the people concern themselves but little with any other affairs than those of their business and domestic lives.[a]

LAST YEARS OF WILLIAM III

The dangers foreshadowed or undergone in 1866–67 were accentuated four years later, during the Franco-German complications, ending in the downfall of the French empire. The Fock cabinet succeeded in keeping the Netherlands outside the war arena. The king sent for Thorbecke again in January, 1871, in this instance for the third and last time. He succeeded in forming another ministry, but he was no longer the Thorbecke of yore. At any rate, before Thorbecke died, in June, 1872, he must have been conscious that his death might mean the partial disruption of the party he had created, as well as the shattering of the edifice he had been instrumental in building up. His cabinet did not survive for long under the leadership of his successor, Dr. Geertsema, and finally disappeared in August, 1874, after having had its

Income Tax Bill rejected. Its most important measures had been the further extension of state railways in Holland (1873) and her colonies, the abolition of differential import duties in the Dutch East Indies, and the transference of the remaining Dutch portion of the Gold Coast to the British government for a sum of money and certain British "concessions" in the Eastern Archipelago. This transaction, which shortly afterwards resulted, on the one hand, in the Ashanti expedition, and on the other in the disastrous war of the Dutch against the Achinese,[1] had been one of the many weapons used by the opposition against Thorbecke.



THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, OR GROOTE KERK, ROTTERDAM, CONSECRATED IN 1477

Queen Sophie died at the Hague in June, 1877. As far as the Dutch royal family were concerned, the effect of Queen Sophie's decease was absolutely disastrous. The quarrels between the king and the prince of Orange, who had inherited the wit and the mind of his royal mother, and who if he had lived might have proved one of the most distinguished of his race, became aggravated when the wife and the mother was no longer there to conciliate and pacify. Father and son parted, never to see each other again.

It is at least probable that the departure of the prince of Orange for Paris, and the unlikelihood of his return to Holland during the lifetime of his father, may have had as much bearing on the king's decision to remarry as the circumstance that his second son Alexander, who succeeded to the title and presumptive rights of the prince of Orange after the decease of his elder brother, but who died in 1884, was then in very bad health. The direct Nassau line was threatened unless King William were to marry again and had further issue. His bride was Princess Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont, and by the

[1 Holland had assumed a protectorate over the whole of Sumatra, and taken over England's claims as well. War was now declared against the sultan of the Malayan state of Achin, situated at the northwest extremity of the island of Sumatra, under the pretext of putting an end to piracy and the slave trade. General van Swieten took command of an expedition of about twelve thousand men, landed in Achin in December, 1873, defeating the enemy in several encounters, surrounded the fortified palace of the sultan, called the Kraton, and opened a bombardment. The sultan fled from the palace and withdrew into the interior of the country; Van Swieten took possession of the palace on January 24th, 1874. He forced the tributary states of Achin to submit to Dutch supremacy. The state of Achin was incorporated with the Dutch colonial possessions, and a strong garrison left behind when the expedition returned home. — MÜLLER.]

marriage King William consolidated his popularity. Popular rejoicings greeted the birth, on the last day of August, 1880, of a princess who received the name of Wilhelmina Sophia Frederika and the title "princess of Orange."

A NEW CONSTITUTION; AND A REGENCY

The revision of the old constitution, which had been prepared by a royal commission, proved an even more arduous and more laborious task than that of the penal code. The new *Grondwet*, or Fundamental Law, came into force in 1887. The oath to be taken by each king or queen on ascending the throne is given in the Fundamental Law, and shows that the regal rights in Holland are conferred by special contract between the people and the crown, and not inherited of divine right. According to the third chapter, the states-general represent the whole people, being divided into a first and second chamber, the former consisting of fifty, the latter of one hundred members — Amsterdam returning nine, Rotterdam five, the Hague three, Groningen and Utrecht two each. This was an important addition of strength, the old second chamber having had at most eighty members, one for every forty-five thousand of the inhabitants. The basis of the franchise was at the same time materially altered and much enlarged, the effect being to add some two hundred thousand male voters of the age of twenty-three to the electorate, the rights of the latter being afterwards settled in a special statute.

The necessity of the new constitution had already been demonstrated early in 1889, when the king's alarming condition, physical and mental, had compelled the appointment of a regent. The king growing steadily worse, and the end, to all appearances, rapidly approaching, a further bill was introduced and passed, appointing Queen Emma regent of the Netherlands during the minority of the princess of Orange, a council of guardians for the latter being also nominated. On the 23rd of November, 1890, King William died.

Van Houten's bill, which abolished the *scrutin de liste*, introduced the lodger franchise, and virtually made every male citizen capable of supporting himself and family a qualified voter, passed the second chamber in June, 1896, and the first chamber in the following September. It was the most far-reaching electoral reform yet attempted in the Low Countries, as it not only largely increased the number of voters, but extended the suffrage to social strata hitherto deprived of all franchise rights.

In the concluding years of the nineteenth century the ministerial efforts in Holland, under the influence of Dr. N. G. Pierson, formerly president of the Netherlands Bank, and a distinguished professor of political economy, mainly consisted of financial and labour legislation.

So far as foreign relations since 1880 are concerned, these have been cordial with Germany, neither the opinions of some Germans that Holland ought to be annexed or acquired, nor the efforts of isolated Dutchmen to bring about a federation with Germany, finding much favour. The scheme, however, of many enthusiasts for a Zollverein, or even for a political federation, between Holland and Belgium has not yet taken practical shape. With England relations were not always of an entirely amicable nature.[1]

The policy of Holland in support of the policy of the United States, which proposed great reforms in maritime law, has always tended towards minimis-

[1 This was due particularly to the attitude of the Netherlands toward the South African War. Early in 1902 Dr. Kuyper visited London, and subsequently it was announced that the offer of the Dutch government to facilitate the cessation of hostilities had been rejected by Great Britain.]

ing the risks of international strife by substituting the pacific adjustment of disputes for the arbitrament of the sword. That policy culminated in 1899 in the peace conference of the Hague and the formation of a permanent international court of arbitration, Holland taking a prominent part in both.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN WILHELMINA (1898)

The young queen attained her majority in 1898, and was solemnly enthroned in the so-called New Church in Amsterdam, taking her oath of fidelity to the constitution in the presence of the states-general on September 6th. In October, 1900, the announcement that the young sovereign was betrothed to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a Prussian officer of the guard, four years her senior, was well received. The approval of the states-general, prescribed by the constitution, was therefore readily obtained, and the marriage was solemnised with great pomp in the Great Church at the Hague on the 7th of February, 1901, Duke Henry having been created a prince and a general in the Dutch army for the occasion, under the title of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, thus reviving the popular title of a popular prince, King William's brother, which threatened to be extinguished with his demise in 1879. The prince consort proved, however, a great disappointment; by his misbehaviour and by his ill treatment of his young wife he quickly gained for himself the hatred and contempt of the whole Dutch people.

WILHELMINA (1880–)

Amongst the last achievements of the Pierson cabinet were the enactment of compulsory education (1900) and the introduction of obligatory military service consequent upon the reorganisation of the Dutch army (1901).

The June elections of 1901 resulted in the overthrow of the liberal party, which had held almost uninterrupted control of the government for over two decades. For some time all the conservative anti-liberal parties, the ultra-Protestants (or anti-revolutionists), the Catholics, and the historical Christians had been drawing together. In Dr. Abraham Kuyper, the recognised head of the ultra-Protestants, they found a leader who could unite all factions. At the same time a serious split in the liberal ranks made their success possible. The liberal democrats advocated a revision of the constitution with a view to the early adoption of universal suffrage. To this programme the moderate liberals objected, refusing all revision on the ground that the time for electoral reform was inopportune. The socialists, hitherto supporters of the liberal candidates and programme, determined for the first time to act by themselves. After a heated campaign, the elections both to the second chamber and to the provincial estates, which chose the members of the first chamber of the states-general, were carried by the conservative coalition. The second chamber was

found to be composed of 58 conservatives and 42 liberals, including with the latter 7 socialist members—a clear anti-liberal majority of 16 votes. After the provincial estates had chosen the new members of the upper chamber, it was found, however, that the liberals retained a small majority. The liberal ministry of Pierson forthwith resigned, and Kuyper with some difficulty succeeded in organising a ministry from the various groups of the anti-liberal coalition. The liberal majority in the upper chamber refrained for a long time from opposing the new government, but in 1904 they ventured to do so; the upper chamber was then dissolved, and a new one was chosen in which the ministerialists had a decided majority. In June of the following year, however, the elections for the second chamber resulted in an anti-ministerialistic victory, and on July 3rd the Kuyper ministry resigned. Party divisions among the victors prevented any successful combination for some weeks, but in August Demeester managed to form a new ministry.

Since 1850 much progress has been made in material development. The population, which stood at only three millions in 1849, had advanced to almost five and one-half millions by January, 1904. In the provinces of North and South Holland the population had indeed almost doubled in half a century. The population of Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht more than doubled, whilst that of Rotterdam shot up from 90,000 to 357,000 in 1903. The imports for home consumption, which were valued at £15,052,012 in 1849, had grown to £189,000,000 in 1903; the exports of home produce having increased in the same period from £10,634,128 to £162,500,000.

This commendable progress is in part due to the fact that during this long period the kingdom has, with the exception of troublesome native revolts in some of the colonies, been at peace with the world; in part to the fact that it alone among all the countries of continental Europe has consistently upheld the principles of free trade.[a]

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Petrus Johannes Blok, was born in Helder in 1855. After studying in Leyden he became professor of history at Groningen in 1884; was afterwards appointed professor of Dutch history in the University of Leyden and instructor in history to Queen Wilhelmina. His writings are principally studies of the social and political history of the Netherlands during the Middle Ages. He is professedly a pupil of Fruin, but his style bears no comparison with that of the master, being too frequently colorless, hasty, and oblivious of the niceties of the national language. On the other hand his conscientious fairness is particularly refreshing after the deluge of partisan literature poured hot from *Orange-Klaut*, Calvinistic, and "liberal" sources.

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Robert Fruin, one of the most eminent historical writers of the Netherlands and professor of Dutch history at the university of Leyden, was born in Rotterdam, November 14th, 1823, and died in January, 1899, after a brief illness. Unfortunately none of his works has been translated: this places him beyond the reach of the student unfamiliar with the Dutch language; and yet a thorough treatment of Dutch history is impossible without some knowledge of the 250 monographs left by Fruin on history in all its branches — military, political, social, financial, economical, ecclesiastical, and religious. "It is true Professor Fruin founded no school," says one of his biographers; "he never tried to make others adopt his line. His one aim was to arouse love for his subject and to give a worthy example of devotion and unselfish performance of the duty in hand. He never urged his own opinions, never made propaganda for certain principles of instruction. His aim was to present the pros and cons, to collect data whereby we might give judgment; and to this watchword he remained true."

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Hugo de Groot (Grotius so called), jurisconsult, diplomat, and Dutch historian, was born at Delft, April 10th, 1583, and died at Rostock, August 28th, 1645. At the age of eight he composed meritorious Latin verses; at twelve he was a student at the university of Leyden. He took the degree of doctor of law and entered upon a career as advocate, quitting it in 1603 when the United Provinces appointed him historiographer. In 1613 he formed one of a deputation to the court of England, where his name became widely esteemed. During the religious wrangles in which Olden-Barneveld forfeited his life, Grotius was condemned to life imprisonment but was enabled by the ingenuity of his wife to escape to Paris, where he put forth the remarkable *De jure belli et pacis*, which established his reputation throughout Europe. He was offered the post of Swedish ambassador to France, but Richelieu's ill will prevented his succeeding there, and he obtained his recall. After taking leave of the Swedish court he was shipwrecked near Dantzic. He never recovered from the exposure, dying upon his arrival at Rostock.

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Théodore Juste, Belgian historian, was born at Brussels, January 11th, 1818; died at the same place in 1888. In 1859 he was appointed instructor in general history to the military schools. He was the most prolific among the historians of his country, but his work, both in matter and manner, is very unequal. Here he gives himself up entirely to generalities, there he gets lost in infinite details. He makes laudable endeavours to remain impartial, but frequently succeeds only in being impassive. Yet it must not be forgotten that Juste, more than any other Netherlandish writer, has given enormous impetus to the national taste for history in the Netherlands.

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John Lothrop Motley was born April 15th, 1814, at Dorchester, Mass.; was graduated at Harvard, and after a period of European travel returned to study law in America, where he was ultimately admitted to the bar. In 1841 he was made secretary of legation to the Russian mission; but resigned in a few months, having definitely resolved on a literary career. He spent years in the laborious investigation of the archives preserved at Berlin, Dresden, Brussels, and the Hague, and his historical works are everywhere recognised as painstaking and scholarly; embodying an enormous amount of original research, with full attention to the character of the actors and strict fidelity to the details of the stirring scenes which he depicts. From a literary point of view Motley is perhaps the most brilliant of American historical writers; but while all acknowledge his superiority as a stylist, and his influence in instigating the Dutch scholars to the development of their own resources, a number of modern historians consider him more brilliant than trustworthy, declaring that he was not without partisanship, and that he cultivated his imagination to the detriment of his historical perception. But such criticism is made of every great chronicler, and on the whole America has no historian of superior dignity. The last volumes of the *History of the United Netherlands* were published in 1868, at which time the author held the post of United States minister at Vienna. Ill health interfered seriously with the continuation of his literary labors towards the close of his career, and on the 29th of May, 1877, he died at Kingston Russell House near Dorchester, England.

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Melis Stoke, a Dutch writer of rhymed chronicles, lived at Utrecht during the latter years of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. He was a scribe and attaché to Count Floris V. Little is known of his history. He published a rhymed chronicle treating of events in Holland from 885 to 1305, which was printed for the first time at Amsterdam, in 1591. Small confidence can be placed in the actuality of events recorded in this chronicle, and the commentaries added by Huydecoper to his edition of 1772 are equally open to doubt. The versification, well sustained throughout, is musical but devoid of rhetorical ornament, adhering to simple narrative. The early part is brief, often obscure; but with the beginning of the reign of Floris V, the details become fuller, and the description graphic and vigorous.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS

PERIOD OF ROMAN, FRANKISH, AND SAXON INVASIONS

(28 B.C.–843 A.D.)

B.C. 15 Gallia Belgica becomes a separate province under an imperial governor.
A.D. 28–47 Roman conquest of Frisians.
70 Claudius Civilis, the "Mithridates of the West," unites Celts and Teutons in a vain effort to expel the Romans from Gaul.
280 The Franks (Ripuarians) occupy the country.
358 The Franks are given Toxandria.
406 The Franks aid Rome to defeat the barbarians.
429 The Salians from Dispargum (or Disiburg) win at Cambray.
451 The Franks take part in the battle of Châlons against the Huns.
481–511 Clovis in power. The Saxons move in.
622–32 Dagobert I founds the first Christian church.
692 Pepin of Heristal conquers King Radbod.
695 Willibrod the first bishop.
700 Independent dukedoms arise, Brabant the chief.
719 Radbod dies.
754 Charles Martel conquers Radbod's son Poppo.
755 St. Boniface killed by the Frisians.
785 Charlemagne crushes Frisians and Saxons.
843 Treaty of Verdun divides up the Netherlands.

EARLY HISTORY OF HAINAULT

During Cæsar's time this county is inhabited by the Nervii, and does not get its name until the seventh century. In the eleventh the Baldwins of Flanders are its rulers under the title "Count of Flanders and Hainault." Hainault continues with Flanders until it falls to the house of Burgundy in 1436.

EARLY HISTORY OF BRABANT

Godfrey the Bearded, first count of Brabant, flourishes in the early part of the twelfth century. His great-grandson, **Henry (I) the Warrior,**
1190 changes the title of count for that of duke.
1235 **Henry (II) the Magnanimous** succeeds.
1248 **Henry (III) the Debonair.**
1261 His heir is set aside by **John (I) the Victorious,** his brother.
1288 Henry of Luxemburg killed at the battle of Woeringen.
1404 Brabant is united with Flanders.
1430 The duchy passes to the house of Burgundy.

EARLY HISTORY OF GELDERLAND

Batavians and Chamavians, Saxons and Franks, mingle in the original population of Gelderland. There seems to be no logical connection between the line of counts governing under the Carlovingian kings and that of which Count Otto (end of the tenth century) is a representative.

1096 A charter signed by **Gerhard of Gelderland. Gerhard II** took to wife Ermgard of Zutphen.
1131 Their son **Henry** becomes ruler over both inheritances.
1182 **Otto I,** his son, succeeds.
1207 Death of Otto; succession of **Gerhard III.**
1229 Death of Gerhard; succession of **Otto II.**
1271 **Reinald I** succeeds, and during his reign Limburg is seized by Brabant.
1326 **Reinald II** follows and is made "duke" of Gelderland.
1339 **Reinald III** succeeds; quarrels with his brother Edward.
1371 Death of Reinald. Contest between rival factions.
1378 A decision in favour of **William,** nephew of the late duke.
1402 He dies and is succeeded by his son **Reinald IV,** who dies childless.
1423 **Arnold,** his grand-nephew, succeeds. Civil war between him and his son Adolphus. Charles the Bold of Burgundy, purchases the duchy from Arnold.
1473 Arnold dies and **Charles of Burgundy** is established as duke of Gelderland.

EARLY HISTORY OF FRIESLAND

The history of the Frisians is largely legendary, until A.D. 28, when we hear of them as at strife with the Romans.

689 Battle of Dorstadt. **Radbod** is driven from West Friesland; but returns to defeat Charles Martel. He is succeeded by **Aldegild II,** who is also driven out of West Friesland by the Franks.
754 **Poppo,** last independent prince of the Frisians, defeated by Charles Martel. Charlemagne grants the Frisians many concessions. During his reign their country is divided into West, Middle, and East Frisia.
843 Treaty of Verdun again changes the boundaries.
880 The whole country is reunited with Germany.
911 Frisia adheres to **Conrad,** king of the East, while Lorraine follows Charles king of the West. The history of West Frisia is gradually merged with that of Holland, **Dirk I,** first count of Holland, being the son of Gerulf, count of Frisia.

EARLY HISTORY OF FLANDERS

864 **Baldwin Forester** or **Iron Arm,** marries the daughter of Charles the Bald, and is acknowledged by him as governor of the countship of Flanders; he dies in
878 and is succeeded by his son **Baldwin the Bald.**
918 Death of Baldwin and succession of his son **Arnold,** during whose reign the first weavers and fullers of Ghent are established.
989 **Baldwin IV,** son of Arnold, succeeds and adds to his realm Valenciennes, Walcheren, and the islands of Zealand.
1036 His son, **Baldwin V,** succeeds.
1067 **Baldwin VI** succeeds and brings Hainault into the control of Flanders.
1093 Succession of **Robert II,** the crusader. His death and the death of his son, **Baldwin VII,** in
1119 end the old line of Flemish counts, and the power falls to **Charles the Good** of Denmark.
1127 He is assassinated by the merchants of Bruges, who are in revenge tortured to death by the people. Six claimants dispute the throne, the nobility electing **William of Normandy.** He is opposed by **Count Thierry** of Alsace, who overthrows and kills him and who in
1128 is acknowledged legitimate ruler. Rise of the Belgium communes.
1168 Thierry dies, leaving his crown to his son **Philip of Alsace.**
1191 His brother-in-law, **Baldwin of Hainault,** succeeds and yields extensive territories to France.
1195 Succession of **Baldwin IX,** who leaves the government to his brother Philip and goes to found the Latin Empire at Constantinople.
1214 Battle of Bouvines.
1279 In default of heirs, Hainault goes to John of Avennes, and Flanders to **Guy de Dampierre.**

1288 Battle of Woeringen.
1297 Pope Boniface VIII called to arbitrate between Guy and the French king.
1300 Guy and his sons imprisoned by Philip of France.
1301 Philip confiscates Flanders.
1302 The "Bruges Matins," during which three thousand two hundred French are massacred. Battle of Courtrai (battle of the Spurs).
1305 Death of Guy in prison and release of his son **Robert of Béthune** upon his signing a contract detrimental to Flanders.
1328 Death of the old count at the age of eighty-two. He is succeeded by his grandson, **Louis of Nevers** or **of Crécy.** The communes defeated at Cassel.
1335 The peace between France and England broken and the Flemish provinces dragged anew into a European war. Jacob van Artevelde puts himself at the head of the people.
1345 He is beset and murdered upon his return from a journey to Bruges.
1346 Death of Count Louis on the field of Crécy. His sixteen-year-old son **Louis of Male** succeeds.
1357 The duke of Brabant cedes Antwerp and Mechlin to Louis.
1369 Lille, Douai, Béthune, Hesdin, and Orchies ceded by France.
1382 Battle of Roosebeke.
1384 Death of Louis, last of the house of Dampierre. With **Philip of Burgundy,** his son-in-law, was to begin a new order of things.
1404 Death of Philip. Succession of **John of Burgundy** (the Fearless).
1431 Assassination of John. Accession of **Philip,** his son.

THE COUNTS OF HOLLAND (843–1299)

Charles the Simple bestows Egmond and its dependencies on **Dirk I,** who dies in or about
923 and is succeeded by his son **Dirk II,** who is in turn succeeded in
988 by his son **Arnold.** Arnold is killed in battle in
993 and is succeeded by his twelve-year-old son **Dirk III,** with Luitgarde as regent.
1010 Last Norman invasion of the Netherlands.
1015 Dirk builds and fortifies Dordrecht.
1039 Death of Dirk III and succession of **Dirk IV,** who in
1049 is assassinated. He is succeeded by his brother, **Floris I.**
1061 Death of Floris. Succeeded by his infant son under guardianship of Gertrude of Saxony, who in
1063 marries Robert of Flanders and confers on him the government of the country during her son's minority.
1091 Death of **Dirk V;** succession of **Floris II,** the Fat.
1121 Death of Floris; succession of **Dirk VI,** a child under the guardianship of his mother Petronella, who continues the struggle against Germany.
1125 End of the enmity between the emperors of Germany and the counts of Holland, upon the election of Lothair to the throne of Germany.
1157 Death of Dirk VI; succession of **Floris III.**
1165 Philip of Flanders defeats and captures Count Floris.
1167 He is released and reinstated.
1170 Holland swept by a great flood.
1187 Floris departs for the Crusades and dies of a pestilence.
1191 **Dirk VII** succeeds. He engages in disastrous wars.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1203 Death of Dirk. His daughter **Ada** succeeds; **William,** the dead count's brother, succeeds in replacing Ada.
1214 William participates in the defeat at Bouvines.
1217 He sets sail for the Holy Land, but goes to the assistance of Portugal, besieges Damietta, and returns to Holland, dying
1224 **Floris IV,** aged twelve years, succeeds his father.
1235 He is slain by the count de Clermont. His son, **William II,** under the governorship of his brother Otto III, bishop of Utrecht, succeeds.
1248 William is crowned king of Germany.
1256 He is killed in battle against the Frieslanders; and **Floris V,** then an infant, succeeds under the governorship of his uncle Floris.
1296 Floris is murdered, and his son **John I,** a minor, succeeds under a divided regency.
1299 Death of the last of the counts of Holland. The count of Hainault recognised as the heir under the title of **John II.**

THE HOUSE OF HAINAULT (1299–1356)

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

1303 Zealand ceded to Flanders.
1304 The count abdicates in favour of his son William, and dies. His son succeeds as **William III.**
1323 Flanders releases Holland from homage for the Zealand islands.
1337 Succession of **William IV.**
1345 He declares war against Utrecht, and later against the Frieslanders, by whom he is defeated and killed. His sister **Margaret** succeeds. She is recalled to Bavaria and leaves the administration to her second son William.
1349 Dissensions arising between mother and son, two parties are formed, that of William being known as the "cods," that of Margaret as the "hooks." The struggle ends
1354 with an agreement by which William retains Holland, Zealand, and Friesland under the title of **William V,** while Margaret receives a pension and the possession of Hainault.
1359 **Albert,** the count's younger brother, assumes the government upon evidence of William's hopeless insanity.
1379 Death of the mad count.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1404 Death of Count Albert; succession of his son **William VI;** violent altercations between the cod and the hook parties. Hollanders lose Friesland.
1417 Death of William, and succession of his daughter **Jacqueline,** whose claim is disputed by her paternal uncle John of Bavaria until his death by poison.
1425 He having named Philip of Burgundy as rightful successor, the latter keeps up the war against the countess, and succeeds in wresting from her, by the Reconciliation of Delft,
1428 the administration of all her states.
1434 Complete abdication and
1436 death of Jacqueline, leaving her territories to the undisputed possession of **Philip** duke of Burgundy.

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY (1436–1493)

Philip of Burgundy, after purchasing the title of the duchess of Luxemburg to her estate, now governs over an area about equal to that of the existing kingdoms of Holland and Belgium.
1436 Philip declares war against England.
1440 The Dutch and Flemings capture Hanseatic fleet; twelve years' truce declared.
1467 Succession of **Charles the Bold,** who has already held for some time the office of stadholder-general of Holland.
1468 Alliance with Edward IV of England against France.
1476 Charles defeated by the Swiss at the battle of Morat.
1477 Battle of Nancy. Charles loses both the battle and his life, leaving all his powers to his eighteen-year-old daughter **Mary.** The congress meets at Ghent, February 3rd, and the result of its deliberations is the formal grant, on February 11th, by the duchess Mary, of the "Great Privilege." August 18th of the same year she marries **Maximilian,** son of the emperor of Germany, and dies.
1482 Maximilian is imprisoned at Bruges.

THE NETHERLANDS UNDER THE EMPIRE (1493–1609)

1493 Maximilian succeeds to the imperial throne, and in
1494 appoints his son **Philip the Fair** to the governorship of the Netherlands.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1506 Death of Philip. Maximilian names his daughter **Margaret** governante.
1510 War with the Hanseatic towns.

1515 **Charles,** having attained his fifteenth year, is inaugurated duke of Brabant and count of Flanders and Holland.
1519 Election of Charles V to the empire.
1527 The bishop of Utrecht cedes to the emperor the whole of his temporal power.
1528 The duke of Gelderland lays down his arms.
1529 Peace of Cambray.
1540 Ghent severely punished for rebellion.
1543 Acquisition of Friesland and Gelderland by Charles.
1555 Charles abdicates at Brussels; **Philip II** succeeds.
1559 Philip sails for Spain. Margaret, duchess of Parma, a regent.
1562 Conspiracy for the overthrow of Granvella, the king's overseer in the Netherlands. The regent joins her voice to the protests sent to Philip. Granvella removed.
1564 Wigele is appointed in his stead. Fresh indignities are perpetrated and Philip proclaims the furious decree of the council of Trent.
1566 Establishment of the Inquisition in the Netherlands. Certain dissenting noblemen meet at the baths of Spa, and the foundations for the Compromise of February are laid. The image-breaking riot and the sack of the Antwerp cathedral follow.

ALVA'S REIGN OF TERROR (1567–1573)

1567 The prince of Orange retires into Germany, and the confederacy is dispersed. Alva sets out to conquer by force of arms. Arrest of Egmont and Horn. Philip establishes the bloody "council of Troubles."
1568 Philip signs the death-warrant of all the Netherlanders as heretics. Execution of Egmont and Horn. The prince of Orange opens his campaign.
1572 The Sea Beggars take Briel. Nearly all the important cities raise the standard of the deliverer. Louis of Nassau takes Mons, which is later recovered by the Spaniards. The states-general assemble at Dordrecht July 15th.
1573 The siege of Haarlem. Decline of Alva's fortunes. He is recalled December 15th and Requesens takes his place.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE TRIUMPHANT (1574–1584)

1574 Spanish fleet is defeated off Middelburg by Boisot. Middelburg after two years' siege yields to the patriots. Spaniards leave off siege of Leyden. Avila defeats and kills Louis of Nassau at Mooker Heath. His soldiers mutiny and take Antwerp as security for three years' back pay. Spaniards resume siege of Leyden. Boisot defeats Spanish fleet near Antwerp. Orange has the dikes broken to let the sea round Leyden. Boisot appears before Leyden with a fleet. Spaniards besiege Zieriksee. Leyden relieved. The dikes are rebuilt. The university of Leyden founded in commemoration.
1575 Holland and Zealand form an alliance.
1576 Requesens dies. Zieriksee surrenders. Spanish mutineers seize Alost; seize council. The patriots hold a congress at Ghent. Spaniards by using women as shields take Maestricht. Spanish mutineers sack and destroy Antwerp. "The Spanish Fury," November 4th. Don John of Austria replaces Requesens. The congress signs the "Pacification of Ghent," an alliance against Spain; all the provinces accept it.
1577 Union of Brussels signed. Don John signs "the Perpetual Edict." William of Orange enters Brussels and is made governor or ruward.
1578 The states make an alliance with England. Alessandro of Parma crushes patriot army at Gembloux. Don John dies and is succeeded by Alessandro of Parma.
1579 Patriots sign the Union of Utrecht. Parma besieges Maestricht.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC

1579 Egmont's son taken as a traitor. Parma sacks Maestricht. Hembyze seizes the government of Ghent. Orange restores order. Renneberg sells Mechlin to Spain.
1580 The provinces declare independence. The states of Holland offer sovereignty to Orange. Patriots routed at Hardenberg Heath. Philip offers a reward for the assassination of William of Orange.
1581 **William of Orange** accepts temporarily the sovereignty of the provinces. Renneberg's troops defeated. He dies. The act of Abjuration and Declaration of Independence published. Five of the provinces elect the duke of Alençon and Anjou; two elect

Orange. The seven unite against Spain. Anjou forces Parma to retire from Cambray. Parma takes Tournay.
1582 Anjou is inaugurated at Antwerp. Orange wounded by an assassin. Parma takes Oudenarde. Orange accepts full sovereignty of Holland under a constitution, "The Great Privilege of the Lady Mary."
1583 Anjou's plot to seize Antwerp fails.
1584 Two attempts made on Orange's life. Anjou dies. William of Orange killed by an assassin.

Partial Independence (1584–1609)

1584 **Maurice of Orange** succeeds his father.
1585 Parma takes Antwerp after a year of siege. Deputies offer sovereignty to France and England. Elizabeth declines, but sends troops under Leicester.
1586 Spaniards beaten near Zutphen. Sir Philip Sidney killed.
1587 Leicester recalled because of his unpopularity.
1588 The Dutch greatly hamper the Spanish armada.
1589 English garrison surrenders Gertruydenberg to Parma.
1591 Maurice takes Breda, Zutphen, Nimeguen, etc.
1592 Parma dies.
1593 Maurice takes Gertruydenberg.
1594 Maurice takes Groningen, last Spanish stronghold. Archduke Ernest succeeds Parma. Two attempts on Maurice's life fail.
1595 Archduke Ernest dies; succeeded by Fuentes, who takes Cambray and is replaced by Archduke Albert, who wins battles against France. The Dutch make explorations and colonise.
1596 Dutch and English fleet sacks Cadiz. Dutch form the India Company.
1597 Maurice defeats Spaniards at Turnhout and takes many cities.
1598 French and Spanish war ended by Treaty of Vervins. Philip II cedes the Netherlands and Burgundy to Albert and Isabella. Albert crowned at Brussels. Philip II dies.
1599 Maurice takes Bommel. Spanish troops mutiny.
1600 Maurice defeats Albert and Mendoza near Nieuport.

The Seventeenth Century

1601 Maurice takes Rheinberg, but fails before Bois-le-Duc. Albert begins a three years' siege of Ostend.
1604 Maurice takes Sluys.
1605 A Dutch fleet defeats the Spanish and pursues them into Dover. Spinola takes towns in Overyssel and defeats Maurice at Ruhrort. The Dutch defeat a Spanish fleet off Malabar.
1606 Dutch fleet routed off Cape St. Vincent.
1607 Dutch fleet under Heemskerk defeat Spaniards at Gibraltar. Spaniards make proposals of peace.
1608 Congress at the Hague.
1609 Twelve years Treaty of Antwerp signed. Spain recognises Holland's independence.

Complete Independence (1609–1648)

1610 War between Cleves and Jülich. Maurice takes Jülich and ends the war. Arminius dies, leaving fierce religious dissensions, taking shape of two parties, Remonstrants and Counter-remonstrants.
1616 The towns held as security by England bought back.
1617 Riots at Amsterdam and the Hague. Maurice seizes Briel and overthrows
1618 government of Nimeguen, arrests Barneveld, Grotius, etc.; deposes many town-governments. Synod of Dordrecht meets.
1619 Expels remonstrants; tries and condemns Barneveld, who is executed. Grotius imprisoned for life. Thirty Years' War begins.
1620 Persecution of remonstrants.
1621 Grotius escapes from prison. Twelve-years truce ends. War with Spain begins.
1622 Spinola takes Jülich by siege, but is repulsed at Bergen-op-Zoom.
1623 Plot to assassinate Maurice fails.

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA. LIBRARY

1624 Treaty with France and England. Dutch build New Amsterdam (N. York) in America.
1625 Maurice dies and is succeeded by his brother **Frederick Henry**. The Spaniards take Breda.
1627 Frederick Henry takes Groenlo. Piet Heyn defeats Spanish fleet.
1628 Piet Heyn takes Spanish treasure fleet near Havana.
1629 Piet Heyn killed while capturing Dunkirk pirates. Frederick besieges Bois-le-Duc, and takes it. Part of Holland flooded to frustrate the Spaniards.
1630 Dutch victories in the West Indies.
1631 Frederick Henry besieges Dunkirk, but is recalled. Dutch fleet wins near Tholen. Frederick's three-year-old son declared his successor as stadholder. Grotius returns and is rebanished.
1632 Frederick besieges Maestricht, and beats off Pappenheim at Meerssen; Maestricht and Limburg surrender. Spain makes overtures of peace.
1634 Dutch found colony at Curaçao. Alliance made with France.
1635 French allies win at Avein.
1637 Spaniards take Venlo and Roermond. Frederick takes Breda. Dutch defeat Portuguese in Brazil. The era of tulipo-mania.
1638 Frederick takes Calloo and Verrebroek, but is defeated at Liefkenshoek and Geldern.
1639 Van Tromp defeats the Spaniards in the Downs.
1640 Dutch win at Nassau. Lose at Moervaert.
1641 Frederick's son married to princess royal of England.
1643 Dutch win a skirmish at Bergen-op-Zoom.
1647 Frederick Henry dies; succeeded by his son **William II.**
1648 Peace proclaimed with Spain, which acknowledges complete independence of the United Provinces, in the Treaty of Münster.

Entanglements in European Politics (1648–1715)

The French overrun Spanish Netherlands.
1649 English parliament's ambassador to Holland assassinated.
1650 Prince William arrests Admiral de Witt, but is forced to release him. Contest between prince and the states ends in the prince being frustrated at Amsterdam. He dies and is succeeded by his son **William III.**
1651 The "great assembly" meets. English parliament passes the Navigation Act and seizes Dutch ships.
1652 War with England begins by an encounter between Blake and Tromp off Dover. Tromp succeeded by De Ruyter, who defeats Ayscue off Plymouth, and fights Blake and Ayscue. Blake fights De Ruyter off Kent. Van Galen defeats the English near Leghorn in Mediterranean. Tromp, reinstated, defeats Blake off Goodwin Sands.
1653 Tromp in three days' battle with superior force saves his convoy. Tromp defeated by Monk off Nieuport. Tromp fights drawn battle with Monk off Scheveningen. Holland proposes peace, and forms an alliance with Denmark.
1654 Disadvantageous peace made with England and prince of Orange excluded from stadholdership. Dutch driven out of Brazil.
1655 War between Denmark and Sweden.
1656 Dutch raise siege of Dantzic. Don John of Austria governor of Spanish Netherlands. Brief naval war with French privateers.
1657 Sweden and Denmark at war. Dutch defeat Swedish fleet in the Sound.
1659 Dutch aid in capture of Nyborg. Dutch crush Algerine pirates. Treaty of the Pyrenees gives Louis XIV large parts of Spanish Netherlands.
1660 Dutch blockade Swedish fleet in Landskrona. Peace arranged. Charles II of England restored and welcomed in Holland. Act of exclusion against Orange repealed.
1662 Treaty with Brazil. Charles I's judges delivered to England.
1664 English take many Dutch possessions. De Ruyter captures English ships and forts in the West Indies. Charles II seizes one hundred and thirty Dutch vessels and lays an embargo.
1665 England declares war. Opdam defeated and killed in naval battle off Lowestoft. Tromp in command, superseded by De Ruyter. De Witt takes command. Bishop Galen of Münster declares war and invades the United Provinces. Louis XIV of France sends troops to aid the Provinces.
1666 Peace with Münster arranged. France declares war on England. De Ruyter and Tromp defeat Monk and Prince Rupert in a great naval battle off the North Foreland. Monk defeats De Ruyter near Ostend. English burn 160 Dutch merchantmen in the Vlie.
1667 Peace conference fails. De Ruyter takes Sheerness and burns it. De Ruyter burns English war-ships at Chatham. De Ruyter enters the Thames and retires. Peace with England. Louis XIV invades the Spanish Netherlands, which ask aid of the United Provinces. The Perpetual Edict passed.

1668 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1669 Charles II treacherously joins France in a plot to crush the United Provinces.
1671 Charles tries to force Holland to insult the flag.
1672 The states-general appoint William, prince of Orange, captain-general. English under Holmes attack Dutch Smyrna fleet without warning, and are repulsed. England and France declare war on the states-general. French army invades Holland and takes various cities. Amsterdam opens the dikes. De Ruyter defeats English fleet in the battle of Southwold Bay (Solebay). Perpetual Edict revoked; Orange made stadholder. The De Witts massacred by populace. Elector of Brandenburg and emperor of Germany join the United Provinces. Duke of Luxemburg aids the Provinces.
1673 Bishops of Münster and Cologne defeated at Groningen and retire. Tromp and De Ruyter defeat English and French. De Ruyter defeats English fleet. De Ruyter defeats English and French invading fleet in the Texel. The French take Maestricht. Orange recaptures Naarden.
1674 England makes peace with Holland. Bishops of Münster and Cologne make peace. The French capture cities. Orange fights a drawn battle at Seneffe with Condé; then takes Grave and Huy. De Ruyter repulsed at Martinique. Tromp lands on Belle-Ile.
1675 Condé takes Dinant, Huy, and Limburg.
1676 Orange fails to take Maestricht. De Ruyter fights two naval battles with the French and is killed in the second. Orange deposes government of Middelburg.
1677 Orange defeated at St. Omer and Cassel. Orange besieges Charleroi but is repulsed. Orange marries Mary, daughter of James duke of York (James II of England).
1678 Peace with France signed at Nimeguen. Orange, in spite of peace, attacks French at Mons.
1681 Louis XIV breaks the peace; Orange raises a confederacy against him.
1684 The French take Luxemburg.
1685 Orange aids in Monmouth's invasion of England.
1686 League of Augsburg formed against France.
1688 William of Orange lands in England.
1689 William and Mary proclaimed sovereigns of England. Louis XIV declares war.
1690 Dutch under Waldeck defeated at Fleurus. Dutch and English fleets beaten at Beachy Head.
1691 Mons taken by the French. Waldeck beaten at Leuze.
1692 Dutch and English fleets defeat French at La Hogue. Maximilian of Bavaria governor of Spanish Netherlands.
1693 French win at Furnes and Dixmude, Maestricht, Huy, Neerwinden, Charleroi; and lose at Landen. Dutch fleets defeated at Cape St. Vincent.
1694 Dutch and English fleets bombard French coast.
1695 Queen Mary dies. William takes Namur by siege.
1697 William takes Ath. French capture Dutch fleet. Treaty of Ryswick signed.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1701 Dutch garrisons made prisoners by the French. William dies.
1702 War declared against France. Duke of Marlborough commands allied troops and gains many victories.
1703 Marlborough takes Bonn. Obdam loses at Eckeren. Deputies of the states-general prevent Marlborough attacking the French in their lines between the Mehaigne and Maas.
1704 Marlborough wins many battles, including Blenheim. Dutch and English take Gibraltar.
1706 Marlborough wins at Ramillies.
1708 French defeated in many battles. Louis XIV's proposals of peace rejected.
1709 Marlborough takes Tournay, Malplaquet, Mons. Barrier treaty with England proposed.
1712 England leaves the alliance. The Dutch take Le Quesnoy. The allies are beaten at Denain, Douai, Le Quesnoy and Bouchain.
1713 Treaty of Utrecht provides against French claims on the Spanish (now Austrian) Netherlands.
1715 Satisfactory Barrier Treaty made with France.

A Republic Again (1715–1794)

1716–19 Financial panics.
1718 Mississippi and South Sea bubbles.
1720 Insurrection in Brussels secures privileges.
1732 William Charles Henry Friso of Orange-Nassau made stadholder of Gelderland.
1725–7 Treaties of Vienna and Hanover.

1731 Ostend Company abolished.
1731–32 Religious disputes. A sea-worm threatens to ruin the dikes.
1733 Prince of Orange-Nassau marries English princess-royal.
1735–39 The states involved in English-Spanish war.
1740 The Dutch massacre Batavians (in East Indies).
1742 The states involved in English-French war.
1744 The states join the Quadruple Alliance. French win at Menin and Ypres,
1745 Tournay, Fontenoy, and take many cities.
1747 French invade the states. William of Orange-Nassau made stadholder as **William IV**. French take Bergen-op-Zoom after siege. The states make the stadholdership hereditary.
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751 William IV dies. Is succeeded by his son **William V**, a minor, with Anne of England as regent.
1756 The states avow neutrality in Seven Years' War.
1757 Austrian Netherlands take part.
1765 The emperor Joseph II succeeds Maria Theresa.
1766 William V of age. Encounters with England, who claims right of search.
1779 Admiral Bylandt humiliated by English commodore.
1780 England forces war.
1781 English capture St. Eustatius; are repulsed in naval battle of Doggerbank.
1782 Holland recognises the independence of the United States of America.
1783 The "Schuttery" reorganised. Joseph II interferes and takes the barrier towns.
1784 His ship is refused the passage of the Schelde, and he threatens war. Duke Ludwig of Brunswick, commander of the troops, forced to resign and retire.
1785 Joseph II proposes peace and a treaty is made.
1786 The states of Holland remove the stadholder from various military offices.
1787 The free corps displaces members of town-governments favourable to Orange. Encounters between troops of the states of Holland and those of the stadholder. The princess of Orange arrested on her way to the Hague. Joseph II arouses opposition in Belgium by edicts. He also interferes in and invades Holland. Various cities surrender or are abandoned. The states of Holland restore the stadholder to his office. Amsterdam taken by siege. The stadholdership again made hereditary.
1789 Joseph II annuls the *Joyeuse Entrée* and produces revolution in Brabant, where he is defeated at Turnhout, Ghent, Brussels, Mons.
1790 The United States of Belgium declare independence, which they maintain for only a year.
1792 The states-general withdraw their ambassador from France on account of the arrest of Louis XVI. The French invade Belgium.

Effects of the French Revolution

1793 The French take Breda and various cities.
1794 French victory of Fleurus drives Austrians from Netherlands. Pichegru takes Sluys by siege, also Bois-le-Duc, Maestricht.
1795 The stadholder abandons Holland. The patriots welcome the French and establish a new government as the Batavian Republic.

THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC (1797–1806)

1797 English defeat Dutch fleet under De Winter off Camperdown. Treaty of Campo-Formio gives Belgium to the French.
1798 A constituent assembly organised.
1799 The Dutch fleet surrenders in the Texel. Allies endeavour to reinstate the stadholder, but are defeated near Bergen.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801 Treaty of Lunéville confirms French possession of Lunéville.
1805 Batavian Republic given a new constitution and **Schimmelpenninck** made grand pensionary.
1806 Napoleon makes Holland a kingdom under his brother **Louis**.

1809 English fail in effort to invade Walcheren.
1810 Louis abdicates. Napoleon annexes Holland to his empire. Decay of Dutch prosperity and Napoleon's fall prepare public for the plot to restore the house of Orange.
1813 Uprising against the French succeeds. The prince of Orange, son of William V, lands. William of Orange is proclaimed sovereign prince as **William I.**

THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

1814 A constitution drawn up and accepted. Orange takes the oath. The allies establish the Austrian baron Vincent, as governor of Belgium. The allies, by treaty of Paris, annex Belgium to Holland under William of Orange as governor-general.
1815 Amalgamation of Holland and Belgium completed. Napoleon returns to France. English and Dutch (under William Prince of Orange, son of William I) defeated at Quatre-Bras by Ney. Dutch under Orange take part at Waterloo. Commission to reorganise the kingdom reports. William I inaugurated at Brussels. Belgium, being Catholic, and of greater population, grows restive under Protestants' and Dutch monopoly of government and suppression of priests.
1827 The king signs a concordat with the pope. The king banishes malcontents.

Belgium Obtains Independence (1830)

1830 French Revolution excites the Belgians. Riots in Brussels spread to the other cities. The heir-apparent promises reforms. States-general at the Hague adopt delay, and troops move on Brussels. The Dutch occupy part of Brussels but retreat before the opposition. Provisional government declares Belgium independent. Congress at Brussels proclaims independence. London conference dissevers kingdom of Holland. Dutch troops shut up in Antwerp citadel.
1831 Duke de Nemours (son of French king) chosen king of Belgium ; his father declines for him. De Chokier chosen regent. Duke **Leopold** of Saxe-Coburg elected king. The Dutch defeat the Belgians at Louvain. The French send an army, and Orange consents to an armistice. Treaty proposed by the powers accepted by Belgians, but refused by the Dutch.
1832 Leopold marries daughter of the French king. England and France combine to cow Holland. French besiege and take Antwerp. French army returns to France.
1838 Convention with Holland signed.
1834 Riots in Brussels against supporters of Orange.
1839 Treaty with Holland signed.

HOLLAND (1839–1906)

1840 William I abdicates for his son **William II.**
1843 William I dies.
1848 French Revolution leads to demand for a new constitution ; granted April 17th.
1849 William II dies ; is succeeded by **William III.**
1861 Great flood.
1863 Slavery ended in Dutch West Indies.
1865 Two canals begun.
1867 Disputes with Germany over Luxemburg.
1869 International exposition at Amsterdam.
1871 Possessions in Guinea ceded to England.
1872 Thorbecke dies.
1873–79 War in Sumatra with sultan of Achin ends successfully.
1882 Disputes over commercial treaty with France. New war in Sumatra ends in victory.
1887 Revised constitution in force.
1889 During illness of the king, the queen nominated regent.
1890 The king recovers ; declared incapacitated, and the queen made regent. William III dies, and is succeeded by his daughter **Wilhelmina** under regency. Duke of Nassau made grand duke of Luxemburg.
1892 Labour riots.
1894 Insurrection in Dutch East Indies put down.
1896–98 Severe fighting in Dutch East Indies.
1898 Conscription bill passed. Queen Wilhelmina crowned.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1901 Queen Wilhelmina marries Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
1905 Fall of the Kuyper ministry. Demeester forms a new one.

BELGIUM (1842–1906)

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1842 Educational bill passed over clerical opposition.
1846 Liberal congress at Brussels.
1847 Liberals win elections and form cabinet.
1848 French Revolution causes slight uneasiness. The king's offer to resign declined. Electoral reforms passed. Attempted invasions from France fail. Financial panics.
1852–54 Liberals lose power.
1853 Army increased to one hundred thousand men.
1857 Clerical disputes over charities and Liberal gains.
1860 Octrois abolished.
1863 Schelde declared open.
1865 Leopold I dies, and is succeeded by his son **Leopold II.**
1869 Crown-prince dies. Belgium protected from France by England. Political riots force resignation of ministry.
1872–76 Religious riots against Catholics.
1874 Van de Weyer dies.
1878 Catholics lose at elections.
1880 Liberals win against Catholics. Dispute with the Vatican.
1883 Bill for parliamentary reform passed.
1884 Clerics win elections, but passing a reactionary education bill are defeated.
1885 The king declared king of the Kongo Free State. Exposition at Antwerp.
1885–87 Riots among miners.
1892 Universal suffrage rejected for household suffrage. Heavy and continued strikes and riots.
1894 Exposition at Antwerp. Electoral reform bill passed.
Treaty with England concerning Kongo Free State.
1895 Disputes over educational bills.
1897 Flemish made official language.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1901 Military bill reduces time of compulsory service. The government postpones the annexation of the Congo Free State.
1903 Charges of terrible cruelty made against Belgian officials in the Free State.

PART XVIII

THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRES

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, A. VON ARNETH, A. BEER, K. BIEDERMANN, H. BLUM, T. CARLYLE, CHRONICLES OF COLMAR, R. COMYN, W. COXE, M. CREIGHTON, H. DELBRÜCK, E. DULLER, K. FISCHER, H. T. FLATHE, FREDERICK II, B. GEBHARDT, J. K. L. GIESELER, A. GINDELEY, K. R. HAGENBACH, J. W. HEADLAM, O. KÄMMEL, F. KOHLRAUSCH, R. KOSER, F. X. VON KRONES, K. LAMPRECHT, J. MAJLÁTH, H. MARNALI, W. MENZEL, D. MÜLLER, W. ONCKEN, W. PIERSON, J. D. E. PREUSS, H. PRUTZ, L. VON RANKE, H. VON SYBEL, H. VON TREITSCHKE, G. WAITZ, A. WOLF

TOGETHER WITH A REVIEW OF

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

FRANZ X. VON KRONES

A STUDY OF

THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

H. MARCZALI

AND A CHARACTERISATION OF

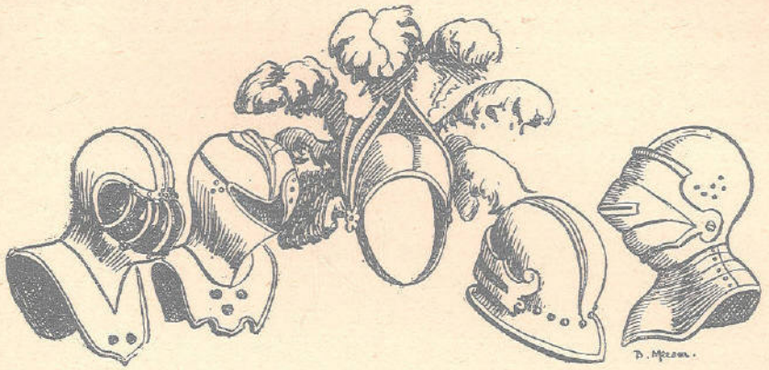
THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY FROM 1740 TO 1840

BY

REINHOLD KOSER

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

A. ALISON, E. ASHLEY, L. ASSELINE, H. BAUMGARTEN, E. BERNER, T. VON BERNHARDI, A. BISSETT, W. BLOS, A. BOSSERT, J. BRYCE, K. BULLE, R. CHÉLARD, CHRONICLE OF HEINRICH THE DEAF, CHRONICON THURINGICUM, K. VON CLAUSEWITZ, CONRADUS, E. C. CSUDAY, G. DROYSEN, J. G. DROYSEN, K. DRYANDER, S. A. DUNHAM, F. EBERTY, J. G. ECCARD, J. P. ECKERMANN, F. EHRENBERG, K. EISNER, G. ELLINGER, J. EMMER, W. ERNST, G. G. GERVINUS, F. GIEHNE, J. GRÜNBECK, C. GRÜNHAGEN, K. HAGEN, H. HALLAM, C. HARDWICK, K. HARTMANN, W. VON HASSELL, L. HÄUSSER, A. H. L. HEEREN, H. HEINE, E. F. HENDERSON, O. HENNE-AM-RHYN, J. L. A. HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, A. JÄGER, O. JÄGER, J. JANSSEN, W. KELLY, F. KEYM, F. C. KHEVENHILLER, A. KLEINSCHMIDT, F. VON KÖPPEN, B. VON KUGLER, H. LANGWERTH VON SIMMERN, F. LASSALLE, H. LAUBE, E. LAVISSE, H. C. LEA, G. V. LECHLER, L. LEGER, G. G. LEIBNITZ, C. T. LEWIS, T. LINDNER, S. MALASPINA, MARIOTTI, MATTHEW DE PARIS, MATTHIAS OF NEUENBURG, J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, H. MEYNERT, P. DE MLADENOWICH, G. I. DE MONTBEL, W. MÜLLER, B. G. NIEBUHR, F. PALACKY, C. T. PERTHES, J. S. PÜTTER, F. VON RAUMER, P. F. REICHENSPERGER, E. REIMANN, H. RESCHAUER, H. M. RICHTER, B. ROGGE, W. ROGGE, C. SABINA, A. SCHÄFER, P. SCHAFF, J. SCHERR, J. C. F. VON SCHILLER, A. W. VON SCHLEGEL, F. VON SCHLEGEL, A. SCHMIDT, K. SCHMIDT, J. SIME, A. SPRINGER, W. STRANTZ, R. G. E. (ST. RENÉ) TAILLANDIER, B. TAYLOR, D. THIEBAULT, E. ÜTTERODT ZU SCHARFFENBERG E. VEHSE, J. VON VICTRING, A. VON VIVENOT, E. W. G. WACHSMUTH, G. WEBER, J. B. WEISS, K. WERNER, E. WERTHEIMER, J. V. WIDMANN, H. WIERMANN, WILLIAM I. J. WINTER, K. VON WINTERFELD, J. G. A. WIRTH, A. WITZSCHEL, E. ZELLER



BOOK I

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE HOHENSTAUFENS[1]

[1125–1190 A.D.]

AFTER the extinction of the Franconian dynasty, a moment had again arrived when the German princes, if they were desirous of becoming independent and sovereign rulers, were not obliged to place a new emperor above themselves; but such a thought was foreign to their minds, and they preferred paying homage to one whom they had exalted to the highest step of honour, rather than behold Germany divided into numerous petty kingdoms.

Accordingly in 1125 the German tribes again encamped on the banks of the Rhine, in the vicinity of Mainz, and ten princes selected from each of the four principal families, viz., Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, assembled in Mainz for the first election. Three princes only were proposed: Duke Frederick of Swabia (the mighty and courageous Hohenstaufen), Lothair of Saxony, and Leopold of Austria. The two latter on their knees, and almost in tears, entreated that they might be spared the infliction of such a heavy burden, whilst Frederick, in his proud mind, ambitiously thought that the crown could be destined for none other but himself; and such feeling of pretension indeed was too visibly expressed in his countenance. Adalbert, the archbishop of Mainz, however, who was himself not well inclined towards the Hohenstaufens, put to all three the question: "Whether each was willing and ready to yield and swear allegiance to him that should be elected?" The two former answered in the affirmative; but Frederick hesitated and left the assembly, under the excuse that he must take counsel of his friends. The princes were all indignant at this conduct, and the archbishop persuaded them at length to make choice of Lothair of Saxony, although against his own will.

[1 We take up the story of the Holy Roman Empire where we left it in Volume VII.]

LOTHAIR II (1125–1137 A.D.)

But hostilities soon broke out between the two powerful Hohenstaufen dukes, Frederick of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia; and during nearly the entire reign of the new king, the beautiful lands of Swabia, Franconia, and Alsace were laid waste and destroyed, until at last both the dukes found themselves compelled to bow before the imperial authority. In this dispute the emperor Lothair, in order to strengthen his party, had recourse to means which produced agitation and dissension, and continued to do so for more than a hundred years afterwards. He gave his only daughter Gertrude in marriage to Henry the Proud, the powerful duke of Bavaria (of the Guelfs), and gave him, besides Bavaria, the duchy of Saxony likewise. This is the first instance of two dukedoms being governed by one person. Nay, with the acquiescence of the pope, and under the condition that after Henry's death they were to become the property of the Roman church, he even invested him with the valuable hereditary possessions of Matilda in Italy, as a fief, so that the duke's authority extended from the Elbe to far beyond the Alps, being much more powerful than even that of the emperor himself; for besides his patrimonial lands in Swabia and Bavaria, he had likewise inherited from his mother the moiety of the great ancestral possessions in Saxony, and in addition to all this his consort now brought him the entire lands of Suplinburg, Nordheim, and old Brunswick.

Thus the foundation was laid at this period for the subsequent jealousy, so destructive to Germany and Italy, between the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens — the latter being called Waiblingers from their castle Waiblingen on the Rems (styled by the Italians Ghibellini) — and the faction-names of the Guelfs and Ghibellines henceforward continued for centuries to resound from Mount Etna and Vesuvius to the coasts of the North and the Baltic seas. Lothair's reign became so shaken and troubled, partly by the dispute of the Hohenstaufens and partly by the Italian campaigns, that but very few, if any, of the great hopes he had at first excited by his chivalric, wise, and pious character were realised. [1]

During his second and rather successful campaign in Italy [against Conrad, the anti-pope Anacletus, and Roger II of Sicily, resulting in his being crowned as emperor by Pope Innocent II], Lothair was seized with an illness, and died on his return, in the village of Breitenwang, between the rivers Inn and Lech, in the wildest part of the Tyrolese mountains. His body was conveyed to and interred in the monastery of Königslutter, in Saxony, founded by himself.[b]

CONRAD III, VON HOHENSTAUFEN (1138–1152 A.D.)

The great struggle between church and state, the pope and the emperor, had now commenced, and centuries were to pass away before its termination. On the one side stood the pope, supported by France and by an un-German faction in Germany, which up to this period had been the Saxon one, but, since Saxony had fallen to the Bavarian Welf, was denominated the faction of the Welfs, or, as they were called in Italy, Guelfs. On the other side stood the emperor, who, besides defending the prerogatives of the state against the encroachments of the church, sought more especially to

[1 On one of his Italian visits he paid homage to the pope in such abject manner that the pope had a painting made of the scene, and wrote beneath it the words, "The king is made the vassal of the pope" (*Rex homo fit papæ*). Frederick Barbarossa later destroyed it.]

uphold the interests and honour of the German nation against the Italians and the French, in pursuance of which he was but too often treacherously abandoned by his own party in Germany. After the extinction of the Salic dynasty and the short reign of Lothair, the Hohenstaufens mounted the throne, on which they long sat, and, naming their race after the allod of Waiblingen in the Remsthal, which they had inherited from the last of the Salic emperors, the name of the Waiblinger, or in Italian, Ghibellini, was gradually fixed upon the imperial faction.

The election of a successor to the throne was appointed to take place at Mainz (1138 A.D.); the Waibli ger, however, anticipated the Guelfs, in the most unheard of manner, and proclaimed Conrad von Hohenstaufen emperor at Coblenz. Handsome in his person, and replete with life and vigour, of undaunted and well-tried valour, Conrad stood superior to all the princes of his time, and seemed by nature fitted for command. His election was, moreover, favoured by the decease of Adalbert of Mainz, and by the dread with which the princes of the empire beheld the rising power of the Guelfs, which it was Conrad's first aim to break. His faint-hearted opponent, staggered by his unexpected attack, delivered up the crown jewels; the Saxons, and even Lothair's widow, submitted to him; but, on his demanding from Henry the cession of Saxony, under pretence of the illegal union of two duchies under one chief, the duke rebelled, and was put under the ban of the empire, Bavaria was given to Leopold of Austria, and Saxony to Albert the Bear.

The ancient feud was instantly renewed (1139 A.D.). The Guelfs possessed numerous allods and fiefs in Swabia and Bavaria, which, supported by Welf, Henry's brother, defended the cause of their liege, whilst Henry himself carried on the struggle in Saxony. Conrad von Zähringen, at the same time, rose in favour of the Guelfs, and the emperor, sending against him his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa (the son of Frederick the One-eyed), who succeeded in getting possession of Zurich, took the field in person, and invaded the lands of the Guelfs.

It was in 1141, when besieging Welf in Weinsberg, that the Germans for the first time changed their war cry, "*Kyrie eleison*," for the party cries of "*The Welf!*" "*The Waiblinger!*" After enduring a long seige, Welf was compelled to surrender, Conrad granting free egress to the women, with whatever they were able to carry. The duchess, accordingly, took her husband, Welf, on her should rs, and all the women of the city following her example, they proceeded out of the city gates, to the great astonishment of the emperor, who, struck with admiration at this act of heroism, permitted the garrison to withdraw, exclaiming to those who attempted to dissuade him, "An emperor keeps his word!" [1] The feud was put an end to by the deaths of Henry and Leopold, who, amongst other places, had destroyed Ratisbon. The son of the former, Henry the Lion, received Saxony, which Albrecht was, consequently, compelled to cede; in return for which, Brandenburg, which had formerly, like Thuringia, been annexed to the duchy of Saxony, was declared independent. Leopold's brother, Henry Jasomirgott, a surname he derived from his motto,[2] married the widow of Henry the Proud, the mother of Henry the Lion, and became duke of Bavaria. Welf, the only malcontent, leagued with Bela, king of Hungary, and Roger of Naples, and continued to carry on a petty feud. Leopold was defeated (1146 A.D.) by the Hungarians on the Leitha. In the same year, Conrad made an unsuc-

[1] According to the oldest chroniclers, St. Panteleon (Eccard c) and the Chron. Weingart, Leibnitius,[a] Welf and his duchess were at that time not at Weinsberg.
[2] Or rather from his common oath, "Ja so mir Gott helfe."

cessful inroad into Poland, for the purpose of restoring the duke, Wladislaw, who had been expelled by his subjects on account of his German wife, who continually incited him against his brothers, and treated the Poles with contempt.

About this time the religious enthusiasm, which the Crusades had so greatly tended to rouse, rapidly spread; the German prophets, nevertheless, found a greater number of followers in France than in Germany. Ulrich of Ratisbon became the reformer of the celebrated monastery of Cluny, the pride of the monkish world, and the pattern after which all other monasteries formed, or rather reformed themselves. St. Bruno of Cologne founded the severe order of the Carthusians, who bound themselves by the strictest vow completely to renounce the world; and Norbert of Xanten,[1] the equally strict order of the Premonstrants, in the wild vale of Prémontré. Whilst these pious Germans promulgated to the mountaineers of France the doctrine of worshipping God in solitude, Count Hugo von Blankenburg, a Saxon, the abbot of the convent of St. Victor, in Paris, known as Hugh de St. Victor (1140), formed this doctrine into an ingenious philosophical system, and invented scientific mysticism, or divine mysteries, which were further amplified by Honorius of Augst near Bâle (Augustodunensis), and by Rupert, abbot of Deutz, near Cologne. With these three fathers of mysticism, who gave utterance to the spirit with which the Middle Ages were so deeply imbued, was associated Hildegard, countess von Sponheim, and abbess of Bingen, who was the oracle of the pope and of the emperor. She died at a great age (1198 A.D.). She and her sister Elisabeth had visions, during which they appeared to be influenced by a sort of poetical inspiration. Whilst the Germans were thus buried in poetical mysticism, the French and Italians constructed a new system of scholastic divinity, the result of a comparison of the doctrines of the ancient Greek philosophers, for instance, those of Aristotle, with the received tenets of the church, all whose ordinances were defended by philosophical subtleties, which the free-thinkers laboured to confute. Abelard, the freedom of whose opinions was quickly adopted by the heretics (*Ketzer*, *Katharer*, purifiers) in Germany, flourished at this period in France. He was the most celebrated among the free-thinkers of his times.

The Roman church endeavoured from the commencement to divide the heretics into different sects, and to give them different names, as if they, in opposition to the united church, could merely have confused and contradictory notions. But the heretics were, from the commencement, extremely simple, and their views aimed at nothing less than the restoration of Christianity in its original purity; they exhibited genuine piety, not merely the mock devotion of church ceremonies; real brotherly love in Christ, not the slavish subordination in which the laity was held by the despotic priesthood, whose moral corruption unfitted them for the sacred office they filled. This was the doctrine taught by Tanchelin at Antwerp and at Bonn, and for which he was put to death, his conversion having been vainly attempted by St.

[1] A knight in the army of the emperor Henry IV, who was converted by a stroke of lightning, which struck him from his horse. Other celebrated enthusiasts of this age were Eberhard, brother to Count Adolf von Altena, and Mark, who was outlawed by Lothair as a partisan of the Hohenstaufen, and being struck on the forehead with a battle-axe whilst fighting with the count of Limburg, instantly changed his opinions, and fled, disguised as a serf, to France, where he was afterwards discovered as a swineherd. In the country around Treves, Rochelin the hermit dwelt for fourteen years naked in the forest. The countess Ida von Toggenburg attained still greater celebrity in Switzerland. A raven flew away with her wedding ring, which was found and worn by a huntsman. The count, perceiving the ring, believed his wife to be unfaithful to him, and cast her from a window down a precipice. She escaped unhurt and lived long after in seclusion.

Norbert, who had been presented with the archbishopric of Magdeburg (1126).

This heresy afterwards took a political character in Italy. The Romans, who had long struggled against their chains, revolted against Innocentius II, who had entered into an offensive alliance against them with their ancient enemy, the neighbouring town of Tivoli. In the heat of the insurrection, Arnold of Brescia, a monk, the disciple of Abelard, promulgated his heretical doctrines, which threatened to hurl the tiara from the pontiff's brow. This man preached a universal reform, the reduction of the church to its primitive state of simplicity and poverty, and the restoration in the state of the freedom and equality of the ancient Grecian and Roman republics, at the same time that St. Bernard was raising a crusade, in which the religious enthusiasm of the age was carried to its highest pitch; and thus did the adverse opinions of so many centuries meet, as it were, in the persons of these two men. Arnold expelled the pope from Rome, and restored the ancient republican form of government. A Roman, Jordanus, was elected consul.

The pope, Eugenius III, after vainly entreating assistance from Conrad III, who was sufficiently acquainted with Italy to be well aware of the futility of an expedition to Rome, fled into France, to St. Bernard, in order to aid him in the more important scheme of raising a general crusade. He returned to Rome, whence he contrived to expel Arnold, in 1149. Heresy also spread throughout Switzerland. Arnold of Brescia resided for some time at Constance and Zurich. The shepherds of Schwyz carried on a long dispute with the insolent abbot of Einsiedeln, who attempted to deprive them of a pasturage, the ancient free inheritance of their fathers, in defence of which they were aided by the neighbouring herdsmen of Uri and Unterwalden, and although, in 1144, excommunicated by the abbot, by the bishop of Constance, and put under the ban of the empire by the nobility, they refused to yield (being probably infected with Arnold's free and bold opinions), and, for eleven years, asserted their independence, without the priests or nobles venturing to attack them in their mountain strongholds; a foretoken of the Swiss confederation of more modern times.

The Crusade of Conrad the Third (1147 A.D.)

The bad state of affairs in the East, meanwhile, necessitated another crusade. The crown of Jerusalem had passed from the house of Lorraine to that of Anjou. The settlers in the Holy Land chiefly consisted of French, who, merely intent upon plunder and conquest, neglected the cause of religion. They had, moreover, married Arabian and Turkish women, and their descendants, the Pullanes, devoid of their fathers' energy, and inheriting the soft effeminacy of their mothers, were educated amid the intrigues of Eastern harems.

The fall of Edessa filled the whole of Christendom with consternation, and the loss of the Holy Sepulchre was everywhere prognosticated. The pope, Eugenius III, a haughty and ambitious man, formed the scheme of assembling the emperor, the kings, and princes of Europe beneath the banner of the church, and of placing himself as a shepherd at their head. St. Bernard travelled through France, emulating his predecessor, Peter the Hermit, in the warmth of his appeal to the people. On the Rhine, a priest named Radulf again incited the people against the Jews, who were assassinated in great numbers in almost all the Rhenish cities. St. Bernard, on his arrival in Germany, opposed Radulf, whom he compelled to return to his convent, and,

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aided by St. Hildegard, the Velleda of the times, persuaded multitudes to follow the crusade. The people, in their enthusiasm, tore his clothes off, in order to sew the pieces on their shoulders in the form of a cross. At Frankfort-on-the-Main he was so closely pressed that the emperor was obliged to carry him away from his admirers like a child on his arm. At first Conrad was unwilling to visit the Holy Land, on account of the unsettled state of his authority in Germany, but he was forced to yield to circumstances, and, whilst presiding over the diet at Spires, was presented with the cross by St. Bernard, the sign of his vow.

Henry the Lion, Albert the Bear, all the Saxon nobility, and Conrad von Zähringen, who had no inclination to accompany the emperor to the Holy Land, turned their arms, aided by their Danish allies, against the pagan Wends. Henry the Lion, after making peace with the Wendish chief Niclot, contented himself with the destruction of the pagan temples at Rhetra and Oldenburg. He invested the bishop Vicelin with the latter place, bestowing it upon him in fee, as if he united in his own person the prerogatives of both the emperor and the pope. He also invested the count Henry with Ratzeburg, after compelling Pribislaw, another Wendish prince, who was less warlike than Niclot, to surrender his lands. Albert the Bear took Brandenburg, which was desperately defended by Jatzco, one of Pribislaw's nephews, by storm; and the whole of the territory beneath his jurisdiction took henceforth the name of Brandenburg.

A Twelfth Century Crusader

In the spring of 1147 Conrad III assembled an immense multitude at Ratisbon, and marched them along the Danube into Greece, where, notwithstanding the friendly reception of the emperor Manuel, many untoward events took place. On reaching Asia Minor, the army divided, Otto von Freysingen marching to the left along the sea-coast whilst the emperor led the main force inland. The scarcity of provisions caused great suffering to both armies; the Greeks on their approach fled into the fortified towns, and the starving pilgrims were merely able to procure scanty and sometimes poisoned food at an enormous price. The Greeks even confess that the emperor Manuel permitted them to sell poisoned flour. It was no unusual practice for them to take the gold offered in exchange for their provisions by the honest Germans, and to run off without giving anything in return. Conrad, nevertheless, continued to push on, but was treacherously led by the Greek guides into a Turkish ambuscade. The petty princes of Asia Minor combined against the Germans, and Conrad's army, after wandering for three days without food amid the pathless mountains around Iconium, was suddenly attacked and routed by the Turks. The horrors of this dreadful day, October 26th, 1147, were still further increased by an eclipse of the sun. Conrad, who had received two severe arrow wounds, now attempted to rescue the remainder of his army from their perilous situation by an orderly

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retreat, but the brave Count Bernard von Plötzke, who brought up the rear, was deprived of the whole of his men by the arrows of their Turkish pursuers.

Otto von Freysingen reached Antioch with the remnant of his weakened forces, whilst the Germans who marched under Conrad, and the French under Louis, merely found their way to Adalia on the sea-coast, a desolate abode, where hunger and pestilence alone awaited them. The leaders went by sea to Antioch. The common soldiery were, for the greater part, starved to death.

Edessa being irreparably lost, it was concerted in a council, held by all the princes present, that an expedition should be undertaken against Damascus, which, it was further agreed, should be bestowed upon Count Thierry of Flanders, who had just arrived; and, after paying their devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, the whole body of the pilgrims took the field, and a brilliant victory was gained at Rabna, Conrad and his Germans forcing their way through the retreating French, and falling with irresistible fury on the now panic-stricken enemy. Conrad is said to have cut a Turk so completely asunder at one blow, that his head, arms, and the upper part of his body fell to the ground. The Pullanes, jealous of the fortune of the count of Flanders, now prince of Damascus, were easily bribed by the Turks to betray the pilgrims, whom they persuaded to abandon their safe position, and then broke their plighted word; upon which the emperor Conrad, and Louis of France, justly enraged at their treachery, raised the siege of Damascus and returned to their respective dominions. And thus was another brilliant enterprise doomed to terminate in shame and dishonour.

Welf, who had hurried home before the rest of the pilgrims, had again conspired, with Roger of Naples, against Conrad; and Henry the Lion, deeming the moment favourable, on account of the recent discomfiture of the emperor, openly claimed Bavaria as his own. Conrad hastened back to Germany and Henry held a diet at Speier. His son Henry, who had already been crowned king of Germany, reduced Welf to submission, but shortly afterwards expired in the bloom of youth. The emperor did not long survive him; he died at Bamberg (according to popular report, of poison administered to him by Roger), when on the point of invading Poland for the purpose of replacing Wladislaw on the throne (1152 A.D.). The double eagle was introduced by him into the arms of the empire. It was taken from those of the Greek emperor, by whom it was borne as the symbol of the ancient Eastern and Western Roman Empires.

ACCESSION OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA (1152 A.D.)

The claim of Frederick, Conrad's nephew, to the crown, was received without opposition. The jealous vassals of the empire seemed under the influence of a charm. Even the insolent Guelfs bent in lowly submission. There was little union between the heads of this inimical and illustrious house, Welf the elder of Upper Swabia, and Henry the Lion of Saxony, the latter of whom was, moreover, at variance with his stepfather, Henry of Babenberg, who withheld from him his paternal inheritance, Bavaria. In 1152 Frederick was elected emperor at Frankfort-on-the-Main; and crowned with ancient solemnity at Aachen. This election was the first that took place in the presence of the city delegates. Frederick publicly swore to increase justice, to curb wrong, to protect and extend the empire. On quitting the cathedral, a vassal threw himself at his feet in the hope of obtaining pardon

[1152 A.D.]

on this solemn occasion for his guilt, but the emperor, mindful of his oath, refused to practise mercy instead of justice.

Frederick was remarkable for the handsome and manly appearance, and the genuine German cast of countenance, which distinguished the whole of the Hohenstaufen family, and conduced to their popularity. Shortly cropped fair hair, curling closely over a broad and massive forehead, blue eyes with a quick and penetrating glance, and well-curved lips that lent an expression of benevolence to his fine features, a fair white skin, a well-formed and muscular person, combined with perfect simplicity in dress and manners, present a pleasing portrait of this noble chevalier. His beard, that inclined to red, gained for him the Italian sobriquet of Barbarossa. Ever mindful of the greatness of his destiny, Frederick was at once firm and persevering, a deep politician and a wise statesman. To guarantee the internal unity and the external security of the state, was his preponderating idea; and regardless of the animosity with which the German princes secretly sought to undermine the imperial authority he directed his principal forces against his most dangerous enemy, the pope, and rightly concluded that he alone could overcome him in Italy. Those who charge him with having neglected the affairs of Germany, and with having devoted himself entirely to those of Italy, on the grounds that he would have acted more wisely had he confined himself to Germany, forget the times in which he lived. The pope would never have suffered him to remain at peace in Germany, he would ever have stirred up fresh enemies around him, and Frederick had no other choice than, as a good general, to carry on the war in his adversary's territory, and to direct his whole force against the enemy's centre. The peaceful government of Germany was alone to be secured by the imposition of shackles on the pope.

A Polish Nobleman, Twelfth Century

By giving the crown of Denmark in fee to Sweyn, Frederick at once terminated the strife between him and his two brothers, Canute and Valdemar, and secured the northern frontier of the empire. The allegiance of Henry the Lion being confirmed by a promise of the duchy of Bavaria in reversion, he unceremoniously dismissed the papal legates, who interfered in the election of the bishops, and assembled a powerful army, with the intention of quickly following in their footsteps. When he was encamped on the Boden-

[1152–1155 A.D.]

see, the ancient cents or cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden marched under the banner of the count of Lenzburg, their governor, to do him feudal service in the field.

Whilst the emperor was assembling his forces at Constance, ambassadors from the city of Lodi threw themselves at his feet, complaining of the oppression of their city by Milan, whose inhabitants affected the papal party. Frederick commanded the Milanese to make restitution to their neighbours, but they tore his letter in sign of contempt. He afterwards crossed the Alps, and, planting the standard of the empire in the vale of Roncaglia, near Piacenza (1154 A.D.), summoned all the Italian vassals to do their bounden service as royal bodyguard, and declared all who refused to appear to have forfeited their fiefs. The Ghibellines obeyed the summons; the Guelfs treated it with contempt. Milan sent an open defiance, but Frederick, too prudent to attempt by force the subjugation of this well-fortified and densely populated city, sought to weaken her by gradually occupying the towns with which she was in league. The importance of the cities in upper Italy had been greatly increased by the Crusades, by the consequent extension of their commercial relations with the East, and also by the absence of the ruling family since the reign of the countess Matilda; the warlike nobility of the country had, moreover, assumed the right of citizenship in the cities. The richest commercial cities were Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, whilst Milan, situated in the heart of Lombardy, was far superior to them all in military power, and had become the focus of the papal faction. The cities of Rosate, Cairo, Asti fell one after another into the hands of the victorious emperor, who, in order to strike terror into his opponents, reduced the strongly fortified city of Tortona, which had long resisted the siege, to ashes, and levelled the ground on which it had stood. At Pavia he seized the iron crown of Lombardy, and entered into a negotiation with the pope, Adrian IV, for the performance of the ceremony of coronation. Rome was still convulsed by two rival factions, one in favour of the pope, the other composed of the heretical republican disciples of Arnold of Brescia.

FREDERICK IN ROME (1155 A.D.)

The dread with which the success and popularity of Arnold impressed the pope, rendered him more docile towards the emperor, who little foresaw of what a powerful weapon he voluntarily deprived himself, by persecuting Arnold, a man as truly great as he was unfortunate, instead of aiding him to the utmost in carrying out his plans for the complete reformation of the church. When the ambassadors from the citizens of Rome entered his presence, and spoke to him of ancient Roman virtue, he replied to them contemptuously, "Ancient Rome and ancient Roman virtue no longer dwell with you, her effeminate and perfidious children, but with us, her hardy and true-hearted sons." The enthusiasm created by Arnold of Brescia appeared to him merely an Italian comedy, the contemptible shadow of a temporal republic, instead of, as in fact it was, the germ of a great ecclesiastical reform. He, consequently, permitted Arnold's execution, and this luckless reformer was hanged and then burned at sunrise before the gates of the city, to whose inhabitants he had preached religious and civil liberty (1155).

Rome trembled before the emperor. The pope solemnly placed the crown upon his brow in the church of St. Peter, and the emperor, in return, held his stirrup, an action the symbolical interpretation of which signified that spiritual power could not retain its empire without the aid of the tem-

poral. Frederick also caused the picture representing Lothair's acceptance of the crown in fee from the pope, which was publicly exhibited in the Lateran, to be burned, and expressed his displeasure at the artful method by which the church falsely sought to extend her authority, in the following remarkable words: "God has raised the church by means of the state; the church, nevertheless, will overthrow the state. She has commenced by painting, and from painting has proceeded to writing. Writing will gain the mastery over all, if we permit it. Efface your pictures and retake your documents, that peace may be preserved between the state and the church."

The Romans, in the meantime, unable to forget their long-hoped-for republic, were maddened by rage, and the ceremony of the coronation was scarcely over when an insurrection broke out, and Frederick, whose horse fell beneath him, was alone saved by the courage of Henry the Lion. A horrid tumult, in which multitudes were butchered, ensued, but was finally quelled by the Germans. In order to punish the insolence of the Normans, Frederick took the field against William, the son of Roger; but his army being wasted by pestilence, he was forced to retreat through his enemies, who in different places barricaded his path. Spoleto was reduced to ashes for refusing the customary contribution (*fodrum*). The passage of the Etsch was defended by the Veronese, whom he evaded by the rapidity of his movements, and the pass through the mountains being guarded by a fortress, it was carried by storm by Otto von Wittelsbach, his bravest adherent, who reached it over almost inaccessible rocks, and the Veronese nobles, captured within its walls, were condemned to hang each other.

On his return (1156 A.D.) the emperor held a diet at Ratisbon, in which he rewarded Henry the Lion for the succour he had afforded him during the Italian campaign with the duchy of Saxony. Henry Jasomirgott was compensated with the duchy of Austria, which remained henceforth independent of Bavaria. Welf was confirmed in the duchy of Tuscany; Frederick von Rotenburg was created duke of Swabia, the emperor disdaining the title of duke in addition to his own; Berthold von Zähringen was compelled to resign the government of Burgundy, which his father Conrad had held. This province presented a scene of the direst anarchy. Its affairs had been almost entirely neglected by the emperor, and the difference between the language spoken by the inhabitants and that of Germany, had gradually estranged them from the Germans, a circumstance of which the French monarchs took advantage in order to gain over the Burgundian nobles, whom they occasionally supported against Germany.

It was just at this conjuncture that William, count of Burgundy (Franche Comté), imprisoned Beatrice, the only child of his brother, Count Reinhold, in a tower, and deprived her of her rich inheritance. The emperor, mindful of the fidelity with which her father had served him in a time of need, hastened to procure her liberation, and to raise her as his empress to the throne, which her beauty, talents, and virtues were well fitted to adorn. The marriage was celebrated at Würzburg. Five sons were the fruit of their happy union. The whole province of Burgundy (of whose fidelity she was the pledge, and which is traversed by the Rhone) swore fealty to the emperor at Besançon.

In 1157, assisted by Henry the Lion and by Bohemia, he opened a campaign against Poland, and compelled Boleslaw, the king of that country, once more to recognise the supremacy of the German Empire, and barefoot, his naked sword hanging around his neck, to take the oath of fealty; after which, the royal dignity was bestowed by the emperor upon his obedient vassal, Wladislaw of Bohemia.

The feuds so common throughout Germany were suspended by force; as an example to deter others, he condemned the count palatine Hermann, who persisted in carrying on a feud with the archbishop of Mainz, to carry a dog, a disgrace so bitterly felt by the haughty vassal, that he withdrew into a monastery. The Palatinate was bestowed upon Conrad, the emperor's brother. The introduction of the different orders and customs of chivalry, and the warlike notions inculcated by the Crusades, had greatly tended to foster the natural predilection of the Germans, the love of arms, and there were many knights who supported themselves solely by robbery and petty feuds, or, as it was called, by the stirrup. Their castles were mere robbers' nests, whence they attacked and carried off their private enemies or wealthy travellers, the higher church dignitaries and merchants, whom they compelled to pay a ransom. Frederick destroyed a considerable number of these strongholds,

THE SECOND VISIT TO ITALY (1158 A.D.)

It is about this period that the oppression under which the peasantry groaned comes under our notice. The magnificence and luxury introduced from the East, and the formation of different orders of nobility, had multiplied the necessities of life, and consequently had increased the rent of land and feudal taxes. Numbers of the peasants claimed the right of burghership in the towns as *Ausbürger*, absentees, or *Pfahlbürger*, citizens dwelling in the suburbs; and by thus placing themselves under the protection of the cities, occasioned numerous feuds between them and the provincial nobility, who refused to give up their serfs. Some of the princes protected the peasantry, and became in consequence extremely popular. The landgraf Ludwig of Thuringia was long ignorant of the misconduct of his nobility. One day having wandered from the track when pursuing the chase, he took shelter for the night in the house of a smith at Ruhla, without discovering his rank to his host. The next morning the smith set to work at his forge, and, as he beat the iron, exclaimed, "Become hard, Luz! Become hard, Luz!" and, on being demanded his meaning by the landgraf, replied, that "he meant that the landgraf ought to become hard as iron towards the nobles." The hint was not thrown away upon his listener, Ludwig henceforward adding to his own power by freeing the peasants from the heavy yoke imposed upon them by the nobility. The nobles made a brave defence in the battle of Naumburg, but were finally defeated, and yoked in turn by fours in a plough, which the landgraf guided with his own hand, and with which he ploughed up a field, still known as the Adelacker (the nobles' acre). Ludwig received thence the sobriquet of "the Iron." His corpse was borne from Naumburg to Reinhartsbrunn, a distance of ten miles, on the shoulders of the nobility.

The policy pursued by the emperor was imitated by several of the princes, who sought to keep their vassals in check by means of the cities. Henry the Lion bestowed great privileges on his provincial towns, Lübeck, Brunswick, etc. Berthold von Zähringen, who, in 1113, founded Freiburg im-Breisgau, followed his example. Albert the Bear sought to ameliorate the condition of his Slavonic frontier, by draining and cultivating the marshes, and by bringing numerous colonists from the Netherlands, whence came the name of Fleming that is still given to the frontier tracts of country filled with dikes and marshes, more especially in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

Having thus given peace to Germany and extended his empire, the emperor was once more at leisure to form his plans upon Italy, where the pope had

again ventured to mention the empire as a gift bestowed by him upon the emperor, who no sooner menaced him than he declared that he had intended to say *bonum factum* not *feudum*. In 1158, Frederick crossed the Alps, preceded by his zealous adherent, the valiant Otto von Wittelsbach, who everywhere spread the terror of his name. The Milanese, who, in revenge, had laid the cities of Lodi and Crema in ruins, opposed the emperor at Cassano and were defeated. He, nevertheless, treated Milan with great lenity, on her surrender in the autumn.

Frederick, true to his policy of legally regulating the affairs of the country as a prince of peace, not as a powerful conqueror, convoked a diet of the native princes of Lombardy in the fields of Roncaglia, where the great feudatories of Italy appeared in person. The cities were each represented by two consuls. Frederick, in common with the rest of his contemporaries, acted upon the idea of the intimate connection of the German Empire with that of Rome, and therefore discovered no hesitation in reviving all the ancient privileges, which were, in fact, more conformable with his policy, no mention being made of hierarchical power in the old Roman law, which merely propounded the temporal and unlimited authority of the emperor, and thus provided him with a powerful weapon not only against the pope, but also against his unruly vassals, with which he willingly armed himself.

The new Italian code, delivered by the diet held at Roncaglia, was founded partly on the German, partly on the Roman legislation. It was decided that all the royal dues usurped by the dukes, markgrafs, and townships should relapse to the crown, and that the nomination of all princes and counts, as well as city consuls, was invalid unless confirmed by the emperor. This was an old German prerogative. It was further resolved that the great fiefs should be inalienable and indivisible, in order to put an end to the feuds caused by their conferment and division. The universities were endowed with additional privileges. A general tax, a most unpopular novelty, was deduced from the Roman law, and now for the first time imposed. When Otto von Wittelsbach attempted to enforce this tax on the Milanese, an insurrection ensued, and he was driven out of the city; and, at the same time, the majority of the cities declared against the deputies, their representatives at the diet, who had been chiefly induced to vote with the emperor by the hope of being confirmed by him in their consulates. Adrian IV also protested against the diet. Henry the Lion then attempted to negotiate matters; the cardinals sent to him for that purpose being seized and imprisoned in the Tyrol by the lawless counts of Eppan, Henry, in his right as duke of Bavaria, punished them by destroying their castles. On the decease of Adrian, in 1159, there was a schism among the cardinals, the Ghibellines electing Victor IV, the Guelfs, Alexander III. [The latter was a zealous and ardent prelate of very much the same character as Hildebrand. Public opinion supported him in the church, and both England and France recognised him. He laid Frederick under the ban, and assisted with every means in his power the Italian cities in their desperate struggle with the emperor.]

WAR AGAINST THE ITALIAN CITIES

Frederick's first attack was directed against the cities, his nearest and most dangerous foes. After a dreadful siege, such as no German had ever yet been doomed to stand, he took Crema, the ally of Milan (1160 A.D.). Four times without success did the enraged Milanese secretly attempt his assassination. Milan defied him, and, during the winter, when most of the

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German princes returned as usual to the other side of the Alps, the Milanese defeated him during an inroad into the province of Carnaro. In the spring of 1161, strong reinforcements arrived from Germany, and the siege began with increased fury, the emperor swearing that his head should not again wear the crown until he had rased Milan to the ground. The contest lasted a whole year without intermission, and terminated on the 6th of March, 1162, in the capitulation of the proud city, which hunger alone had forced to yield.

The starved citizens marched out of the city in sackcloth, ropes around their necks, tapers in their hands, and the nobles with their naked swords hanging around their necks. In this state they remained some time exposed to the heavy rain, until the emperor, who was at table, came forth and saw them deliver up their weapons and badges of honour, whilst their palladium, a tall tree bearing a cross, was cut down with a German axe. He then ordered a part of the city wall to be thrown down, and rode through the opening into the city. He contented himself, notwithstanding, with the total destruction of all the walls, towers, and fortifications; the city and the lives of the inhabitants were spared. A considerable booty was gained by pillage. Frederick henceforth ruled Italy with a rod of iron. He created Reinhold, the austere archbishop of Cologne and count of Dassel, archchancellor and regent of Italy, and gave him subordinate officers, who filled the country with rapine and oppression. The extortion thus practised was known as little as it had been enjoined by the emperor, the intention of whose regulations was merely the enforcement of strict justice and the maintenance of order; the unhappy results, however, fell upon his head.

During the absence of the emperor, feuds had broken out anew in Germany. These disturbances hastened his return.

The emperor's attention was now recalled to Italy. The pope, Victor, expired in 1164. The recognition of Alexander III by the emperor remained dubious. This pope, a man of energy and cunning, had withdrawn to Genoa, and thence to France, where he sought to form a league against the emperor, in which he was encouraged by the republics of Venice and Genoa, which began to view with dread the supremacy of the emperor in Italy. A reconciliation would indubitably have been proposed by Frederick, had not Henry, king of England, exactly at that juncture, declared against Alexander, with whom he was at variance concerning some ecclesiastical affairs, and Henry the Lion, being that monarch's son-in-law, and the alliance with the Guelfs being of greater moment to the emperor than the reconciliation with the pope, he recognised the new pope, Paschal III, and invited him to Germany, where, in 1165, he canonised Charlemagne at Aachen.

THE FORMATION OF THE LOMBARD LEAGUE (1167 A.D.)

This decision on the part of the emperor put the finishing stroke to Alexander's projects. The insolent behaviour of the Germans had naturally excited the hatred of the Italians. Pagano, the governor of Padua, committed violence on the beautiful Speronella Dalesmani. The governors were Italians, but the horrors they perpetrated were countenanced by the Germans. The confiscated estates were entered by these men in the Book of Pain, as it was called. The rape of the beautiful Paduan was the signal for open revolt. The Germans, although few in number, successfully defended their lives, but were unable to hinder Alexander's triumphal entry into Rome, 1165 A.D., and the interdict laid upon the emperor. Notwithstanding this, they main-

tained their ground and continued their attacks upon the pope. The Lombards in upper Italy, meanwhile, remained masters of the field. On the 7th of April, 1167, the league between the cities of Lombardy was established, and Milan was rebuilt on a handsome scale, and more strongly fortified, the women giving all their jewels to the churches that had been plundered of their decorations by the Germans.

In the same year, the emperor undertook his third expedition against Rome, and invested Paschal with the tiara [being in return crowned at Rome a second time as emperor]. But before he could attack the cities, his fine army was almost entirely swept away by a pestilence. At Pisa, the emperor threw his glove into the air as he pronounced the whole of the Lombard League under the ban of the empire. He then retreated with the remainder of his army beyond the Alps. On being closely pursued, he ordered the hostages that accompanied his retreat to be hanged on the trees on the roadside. In Susa he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Italians; the knight Hermann von Siebeneichen, who had placed himself in the emperor's bed, whilst the latter fled under cover of the night, being seized in his stead.

DEFECTION OF HENRY THE LION

As long as the good understanding between the Ghibellines and the Guelfs subsisted, Henry the Lion lent his aid to the emperor during his Italian expeditions, and was, in return, allowed the free exercise of his authority in the north of Germany, where, although already possessed of Saxony and Bavaria, he ceaselessly endeavoured to extend his dominion by the utter annihilation of the unfortunate Wends or Slavs. The aged and brave prince, Niclot, was treacherously induced to quit his castle of Werle, and assassinated. His son, Wratislaw, was granted a petty territory, but becoming suspected, was thrown into prison. His second son, Pribislaw, and his ally, Kasimir, prince of Pomerania, placed themselves at the head of the Wends, who fought with all the energy of despair, and gained a glorious victory over the Saxons at Demmin (1164 A.D.); upon which Henry the Lion invaded the country, hanged the unfortunate Wratislaw, and was on the point of laying the land waste by fire and sword, when a similar attempt was made on his northern frontier by the Danes. In order to protect himself from their attacks, he concluded peace with the Wends, deeming himself more secure in the vicinity of the petty Wendish princes than in that of the powerful Danish monarch.

In Denmark the dispute between the three brothers still continued. Henry invaded Denmark, and compelled the proud Waldemar, with whom he held a conference on the bridge of the Eider, to give up to him half of the treasures gained in the pillage of Ancona, and to accept of him as colleague in the government of Rügen.

The aged Welf died at Memmingen, where, surrounded by boon companions, he held a luxurious court, squandered his revenues, and loaded himself with debt (1169 A.D.). For weeks at a time the whole of the Swabian and Bavarian nobility would feast and dance on the Lechfeld near Augsburg, at the expense of Welf, who at length became blind. Henry the Lion had never assisted him; the emperor's treasury, on the contrary, was ever open to him, and as he left no issue, he bequeathed his Swabian allods and the lands of the countess Matilda in Italy to his benefactor. The loss of the Guelfic inheritance estranged Henry the Lion from the emperor, and he lost no opportunity of seeking for revenge.

The Italians treated the election of Calixtus III by the Ghibellines with indifference, and remained firm in their allegiance to Alexander III, in whose honour they erected the formidable fortress of Alessandria, as a bulwark against the Germans. Christian of Mainz, the only imperialist who still kept the field in Italy, again vainly besieged Ancona. The emperor, whose arrival in Italy was urgently implored, was detained in Germany by his mistrust of Henry the Lion, who, in order to furnish himself with a pretext for refusing his assistance in the intended campaign without coming to an open breach, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1171 A.D.); whence, after performing his devotions at the Holy Sepulchre, without unsheathing his sword in its defence, he returned to his native country. During his stay in the Holy Land, the papal partisans in the East, who at an earlier period had treacherously refused their assistance to Conrad, the Ghibelline, loaded Henry with attentions on account of his Guelfic origin. This crusade has been adorned in the legends of the time with manifold wonders. On his return, he caused a lion, the symbol of power, carved in stone, to be placed in the market-place at Brunswick (1172 A.D.); an occurrence that gave rise to the fable of the faithful lion, by which he is said to have been accompanied during his pilgrimage.

ITALIAN KNIGHT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

FREDERICK AGAIN IN ITALY (1174 A.D.)

At length, in 1174, Frederick Barbarossa persuaded the sullen duke to perform his duty in the field, and for the fifth time crossed the Alps. A terrible revenge was taken upon Susa, which was burned to the ground. Alessandria withstood the siege. The military science of the age, every *ruse de guerre*, was exhausted by both the besiegers and the besieged, and the whole of the winter was fruitlessly expended without any signal success on either side. The Lombard League meanwhile assembled an immense army in order to oppose Frederick in the open field, whilst treason threatened him on another side.

The Venetians also embraced the papal party, and defeated Ulrich, the patriarch of Aquileia, who held Carniola in fee of the empire. Henry also at length acted with open disloyalty, and declared to the emperor, who lay sick at Chiavenna, on the Lake of Como, his intention of abandoning him; and, unshaken by Frederick's exhortation in the name of duty and honour to renounce his perfidious plans, offered to provide him with money on condition of receiving considerable additions to his power in Germany, and the free imperial town of Goslar in gift. These unjust demands were steadily refused by Frederick, who, embracing the Guelf's knees, entreated him, as the honour of the empire was at stake, not to abandon him in the hour of

need before the eyes of the enemy, with the flower of the army. At this scene, Jordanus Truchsess, the Guelf's vassal, laughed and said, "Duke, the crown, which you now behold at your feet, will ere long shine upon your brow"; to which one of the emperor's retainers replied, "I should rather fear that the crown might gain the ascendency." The emperor was at length raised by the beautiful empress, Beatrice, who said to him, "God will help you, when at some future time you remember this day, and the Guelf's insolence." The Guelf withdrew with all his vassals.

Frederick, reduced to the alternative of either following his insolent vassal, or of exposing himself and his weakened forces to total destruction by remaining in his present position, courageously resolved to abide the hazard, and to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Germany; the Lombards, however, saw their advantage, and attacked him at Legnano, on the 29th of May, 1176. The Swabians (the southern Germans still remaining true to their allegiance) fought with all the courage of despair, but Berthold von Zähringen was taken prisoner, the emperor's horse fell in the thickest of the fight, his banner was won by the "legion of death," a chosen Lombard troop, and he was given up as dead. He escaped almost by miracle, whilst his little army was entirely overwhelmed.

In this necessity the emperor had recourse to subtlety, and ingeniously contrived to produce disunion among his opponents. Evading the Lombard League, he opened a negotiation with Venice and with the pope, to whom he offered to make atonement; nor were his proposals rejected, the pope hoping to turn the momentary distress of the emperor to advantage, by negotiating terms before the arrival of the reinforcements, which he foresaw would be sent to his assistance from Germany, and Venice being blinded by her jealousy of the rising power of the cities of Lombardy. An interview took place at Venice, when peace was concluded between Frederick and Alexander III (1177 A.D.). Guelfic historiographers relate that on the emperor's kissing the pope's feet, the latter placed his foot on Frederick's neck, uttering these words of holy writ, "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the lion"; to which Frederick replied, "Not unto thee, but unto St. Peter be this honour!" The letters of the pope that relate to these times are silent in regard to this occurrence, whilst there are many proofs, on the other hand, that several conversations took place between the pope and the emperor, each of whom treated the other with respect and esteem, as the most intelligent men of their age.

It is true, however, that the emperor sacrificed Calixtus, and that he bestowed upon the Lombard cities the privilege of electing their own consuls; but it is also true that these concessions on the emperor's part were balanced by those made by the pope, who released the emperor from the interdict, and confirmed all the powerful archbishops and bishops, the staunch adherents of the emperor, in their dignities, thus relieving him from any apprehension on the side of the church, the most dangerous rival of his temporal power. The story of the humiliation of Barbarossa by the pope has been preserved at Venice by inscriptions and paintings, and another story equally fabulous has also been handed down in Italy by means of a popular festival. It is said that Otto, the emperor's son, attacked Venice by sea, but was defeated, and brought a prisoner to the city; and that in order to perpetuate the memory of this victory, the pope, Alexander, bestowed upon the doge the privilege of making an annual excursion into the sea, in a magnificently decorated ship, the *Bucentaur*, solemnly to espouse the sea by casting a ring into her bosom, thus metaphorically asserting the rule of the city of Venice over the

waves. This festival continued for several centuries, but its historical origin is unknown.

Archbishop Wichmann, whose lands he had laid waste, besieged him, dammed up the little river Bever, and directed its waters, which had collected for several months, into the town, which was quickly flooded. The citizens took refuge beneath the roofs of the houses until the water had disappeared, and refused to surrender. Shortly before this, Bernard had set fire to the heath on which the archbishop had pitched his camp.

The death of Albert the Bear, in 1170, and the partition of Brandenburg between his sons Otto and Bernard, diminished the number of Henry's dangerous rivals in the north. The insolence with which the neighbouring bishops, who relied upon the emperor for aid, opposed him, particularly Reinhold, archbishop of Cologne, Wichmann of Magdeburg, and the bishops of Halberstadt and Münster, nevertheless, kept him fully occupied. Unintimidated by the influence and power of these "bald-pates," as he scornfully termed them, he boldly attacked them in return, and gained possession of Halberstadt, when Bishop Ulrich died in consequence of the ill-treatment he received, and a thousand persons were burned alive in the cathedral.

On the emperor's return from Italy, he summoned the Lion to appear before the supreme tribunal, and on the third public summons being unattended, pronounced him under the ban of the empire. The bald-pates triumphed. All his ancient foes, all those who hoped to rise by his fall, joined the Ghibelline faction against the last of the Guelfs, to whose cause Saxony alone adhered. The Lion, driven to bay, proved himself worthy of his name, and almost obliterated the stain upon his honour, the treason of which he had been guilty, by his valorous feats. Aided by his faithful adherents and vassals, he gained a decisive victory on the Halerfeld, 1180 A.D. He maintained the contest for three years, but his suspicion and pride at length estranged from him the vassals by whom he had been so long upheld, and he was closely besieged by the emperor in Stade, where he was abandoned by all except Bernard von der Lippe (who, after the remarkable defence of Haldersleben had been forced to quit his country and his connections), and the city of Lübeck, which refused to surrender to the emperor, until commanded to so do by its benefactor, the Lion.

Henry, seeing that all was lost, sent Ludwig, landgraf of Thuringia, whom he had restored to liberty, to sue for peace, and threw himself at the emperor's feet at Erfurt. Frederick no sooner saw his treacherous vassal at his feet, than, with a generous recollection of their former days of friendship, he raised him from his knees, and affectionately embracing him, shed tears of joy at their reconciliation; but, sensible of the danger of permitting the existence of the great duchies, he remained inflexible in his determination to crush the power of the Guelfs, by treating Bavaria and Saxony as he had formerly Franconia and Lorraine. Their partition was resolved upon, and Henry was merely permitted to retain Brunswick. Bavaria was given to the trusty Otto von Wittelsbach, in whose family it has ever since remained. And for the better security of this new order of things, Henry the Lion was exiled for three years. On his way to England, accompanied merely by a small retinue, the citizens of Bardowiek, his own town, closed the gates against him, and treated him with every mark of indignity.

Bohemia met with severe treatment at the hands of the emperor. The aged Wenceslaus had secretly intrigued with the Italians, and, without obtaining the consent of the emperor, had proclaimed his son, Frederick, his successor on the throne. Barbarossa deposed both father and son, and bestowed

[1180–1185 A.D.]

the crown on one of their relatives, whom he released for that purpose from prison; but this prince proving equally unruly and hostile, he deprived him of his crown, which he restored to Frederick on payment of a sum of money (1180 A.D.).

THE PEACE OF CONSTANCE (1183 A.D.)

Barbarossa granted the greatest privileges to the cities, with the intention of still further diminishing the power of the great vassals; and it is, consequently, to him that a number of the most considerable cities are indebted for their complete affranchisement, and for their elevation to the rank of free imperial cities under the immediate protection of the crown.

On the death of Pope Alexander, Frederick preserved good relations with his successor Urban, and concluded a fresh treaty of peace and amity at Constance with Lombardy, to which, although it still remained annexed to the empire, he granted the privilege of electing its own governors and of forming alliances.

The Whitsuntide holidays were celebrated at Mainz, in 1184, with unwonted magnificence. Forty thousand knights, the most lovely women, and the most distinguished bards in the empire here surrounded Frederick Barbarossa, who seemed now to have attained the summit of his power; and the splendour that was displayed on this occasion was long celebrated in song. The emperor's five sons, Henry his successor on the throne, Frederick duke of Swabia, Conrad duke of Franconia, Otto duke of Burgundy, and the youthful Philip were present. A violent storm that arose in the night, and overthrew the tents in this encampment of pleasure, was, however, regarded as an omen of future ill.

In the following year the emperor carried a great project into execution. The difficulty he had experienced in keeping the cities of Lombardy in check, and notwithstanding the endeavours of the archbishop Christian, in retaining the papal dominions without the possession of lower Italy, drew his attention thither, and he succeeded in obtaining the hand of Constanza, the daughter and heiress of Roger the Norman, king of Apulia, and Sicily,[1] 1185 A.D. But scarcely had he crossed the Alps, when Knud, the new king of Denmark, infringed the treaty, and, uniting his forces with those of Jarimar of Rügen, gained a naval victory over Boleslaw of Pomerania, whom he compelled to do him homage. The princess of Mecklenburg, Niclot, the son of Wratislaw, and Borwin, the son of Priczlaw, met with a similar fate. The emperor, whom the affairs of Italy fully occupied, deferred his revenge; but his son Frederick, Ludwig III of Thuringia and a Thuringian count, Siegfried, sent back their brides, the three daughters of Knud, to Denmark.

BARBAROSSA'S CRUSADE AND DEATH

The situation of the Christians in the East became gradually more perplexing. The treachery practised by the Greeks and the Pullanes during the last crusade towards the emperors, Conrad III, and Louis VII, gradually met with its fitting reward, although the disputes that arose among the Mohammedans were at first in their favour. Zenki the Great had been succeeded by his son Nurad-din, who was opposed by the Egyptian caliphs,

[1] He said, "Italy, like the eel, even when held fast by the head, the tail, and the middle, still threatens to slip from our clutches."

[1185–1188 A.D.]

and whose son was deprived of his throne by a new aspirant, named Saladin, who, uniting Syria and Egypt beneath his rule, subdued the Assassins, the most dangerous enemies of the sultans, and attacked the weak and demoralised Christians, whose strength had been spent in intestine feuds.

Henry the Lion, who visited Jerusalem in 1171, might have saved Egypt, but merely contented himself with paying his devotions at the sepulchre, and returned home without drawing his sword against the infidels. The other troops of pilgrims that arrived singly and few in number were utterly powerless. Jerusalem was for some time valiantly defended by the queen Sibylla, but finally surrendered. A German knight greatly distinguished himself during this siege, by the valour with which he resisted the Turks when storming the city. The Christians were granted a free exit; Saladin beholding them from a lofty throne, as they quitted the city in mournful procession, October 30th, 1187. All the churches, that of the Holy Sepulchre alone excepted, were reconverted into mosques. And thus was Jerusalem lost by the incapacity of her French rulers, and the whole of Palestine would inevitably have again fallen a prey to the Turks, had not Conrad of Montferrat, the son of the captive marquis, encouraged the trembling citizens of Tyre to make head against Saladin.

ARMOUR OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

William, bishop of Tyre, the most noted of the historians of his times, instantly hastened into the west for the purpose of demanding assistance. The pious emperor, then in his seventieth year, joyfully took up the cross for the second time, and with him his son, Frederick of Swabia, and the flower of German chivalry — in all, one hundred thousand men. Barbarossa, after sending a solemn declaration of war to Saladin, broke up his camp, 1188 A.D., met with a friendly reception from Bela, king of Hungary, held a magnificent tournament at Belgrade, hanged all the Servians, whose robber bands harassed him on his march, that fell into his hands, as common thieves, and advanced into the plains of Rumelia. The Greek emperor, Isaac, who was on friendly terms with him, and had promised to furnish his army with provisions, broke his word, and, besides countenancing the hostility with which the crusaders were treated by his subjects, threw the count von Diez, whom Frederick sent to him, into prison. Barbarossa, upon this, gave his soldiery license to plunder, and the beautiful country was speedily laid waste. The Cumanians, Isaac's mercenaries, fled before the Germans, who revenged the assassination of some pilgrims by destroying the city of Manicava, and

[1188–1190 A.D.]

by putting four thousand of the inhabitants to the sword. The large city of Philippopolis, where the sick and wounded Germans who had been left there had been mercilessly slaughtered by the inhabitants, shared the same fate. These acts of retributive justice performed, Barbarossa advanced against Constantinople, where Isaac, in order to secure his capital from destruction, placed his whole fleet at his disposal. The crusaders no sooner reached Asia Minor, than the Greeks recommenced their former treacherous practices, and the sultan of Iconium, who, through jealousy of Saladin's power, had entered into a friendly alliance with the emperor, also attacked him.

Barbarossa defeated all their attempts. On one occasion, he concealed the flower of his troops in a large tent, the gift of the Hungarian queen, and pretended to fly before the Turks, who no sooner commenced pillaging the abandoned camp, than the knights rushed forth and cut them down. A Turkish prisoner who was driven in chains in advance of the army, in order to serve as guide, sacrificed his life for the sake of misleading the Christians amid the pathless mountains, where, starving with hunger, tormented by thirst, foot-weary and faint, they were suddenly attacked on every side. Stones were rolled upon their heads as they advanced through the narrow gorge, and the young duke of Swabia narrowly escaped, his helmet being struck off his head. Peace was now offered by the Turks on payment of a large sum of money; to this the emperor replied by sending them a small silver coin, which they were at liberty to divide amongst themselves, and pushing boldly forward beat off the enemy.

The suffering of the army rapidly increased; water was nowhere to be discovered, and they were reduced to the necessity of drinking the blood of their horses. The aged emperor encouraged his troops by his words, and was answered by the Swabians, who raised their native war-song. His son, Frederick, hastened forwards with half of the army, again defeated the Turks, and fought his way to Iconium, entered the city with the retreating enemy, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and gained an immense booty. Barbarossa was meanwhile surrounded by the sultan's army. His soldiers were almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. The aged emperor, believing his son lost, burst into tears. All wept around him; when suddenly rising he exclaimed, "Christ still lives, Christ conquers!" and heading his chivalry in the assault, they attacked the enemy and gained a complete victory. Ten thousand Turks were slain. Several fell beneath the hand of Barbarossa himself, who emulated in his old age the deeds of his youth. Iconium, where plenty awaited them, was at length reached.

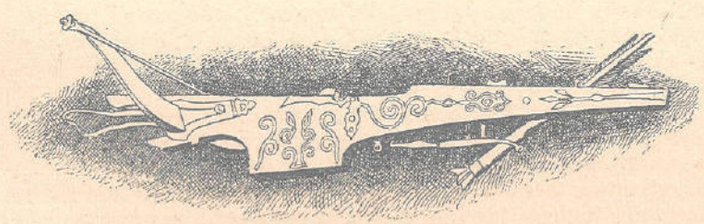
After recruiting here, they continued their march as far as the little river Calicadnus (Seleph), in Cilicia, where the road happening to be blocked up with beasts of burden, the impatient old emperor, instead of waiting, attempted to cross the stream on horseback,[1] and was carried away by the current. His body was recovered, and borne by his sorrowing army to Antioch, where it was entombed in St. Peter's church (1190).

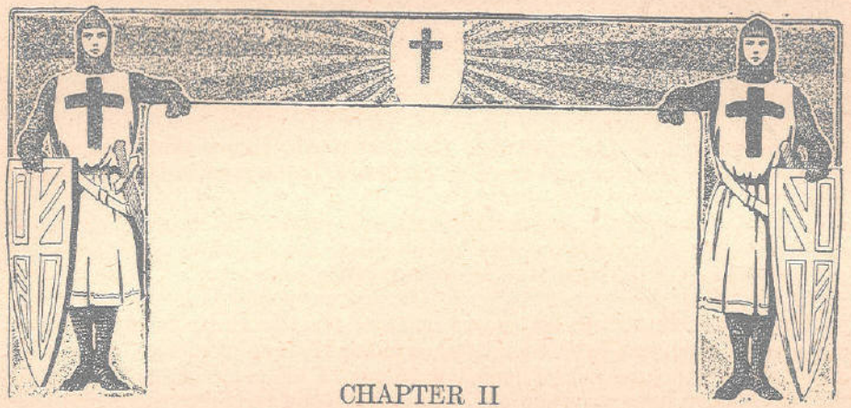
The news of the death of their great emperor was received with incredulity by the Germans, whose dreamy hope of being one day ruled by a dynasty of mighty sovereigns, who should unite a peaceful world beneath their sway, at length almost identified itself with that of Barbarossa's return and gave rise to legendary tales, which still record the popular feeling of the times. In a deep rocky cleft, in the Kyffhäuser Berg, on the golden meadow of

[1 According to some stories he was bathing in the stream.]

[1190 A.D.]

Thuringia, still sleeps this great and noble emperor: his head resting on his arm, he sits by a granite block, through which his red beard has grown in the lapse of time; but when the ravens no longer fly around the mountain, he will awake and restore the golden age to the expectant world. According to another legend, the emperor sits, wrapped in sleep, in the Untersberg, near Salzburg; and when the dead pear tree on the Walserfeld, which has been cut down three times but ever grows anew, blossoms, he will come forth, hang his shield on the tree, and commence a tremendous battle, in which the whole world will join, and the good shall overcome the wicked. The attachment which the Germans bore to this emperor is apparent in the action of one solitary individual, Conrad von Boppard, who bestowed a large estate on the monastery of Schönau, on condition of masses being read forever for the repose of the soul of his departed sovereign. The little church on the Hohenstaufen, to which it was Barbarossa's custom to descend from the castle in order to hear mass, still stands, and over the walled-up doors may be read the words, "*Hic transidat Cæsar.*" Excellent portraits of Frederick and Beatrice may still be seen to the right of the door of the church at Welzheim, which was founded by their son Philip. But the great palace, 710 feet in length, which he built at Gelnhausen, in honour of the beautiful Gela, who is said to have been the mistress of his youthful affections, and who renounced him against his will and took the veil, in order not to be an obstacle in his glorious career, lies in ruins.[e]





CHAPTER II

THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS

[1190–1273 A.D.]

HENRY VI

FREDERICK'S eldest son, Henry, who during his father's life was named his successor, and who in his absence had been invested with the government of the empire, was not dissimilar from his father in the power of his mind, in chivalric bearing, and in grand ideas and plans; but his disposition was extremely partial and severe, often cruel; and, in order to execute great ambitious projects, he betrayed feelings of a very mercenary nature. This was displayed in an occurrence which has not done him much honour. King Richard Cœur de Lion, of England, when in Palestine had at the siege of Acre a dispute with Duke Leopold of Austria; inasmuch as the Germans, after the city was taken, were encamped on one of its quarters, Duke Leopold caused the German banner to be raised upon a tower, like those of the kings of England and France. But the proud Richard of England caused it to be torn down, and it was trampled in the mud by the English.

This was an affront to the whole German army, and certainly deserved immediate and severe punishment. But the revenge which the duke and the emperor Henry took afterwards upon the king was of the most treacherous and ignoble character. Richard, upon his return from Palestine in 1192, was cast by a storm upon the Italian coast near Aquileia, and wished to continue his route through Germany; but, although he had disguised himself as a pilgrim, he was recognised in Vienna by his expensive style of living and by the imprudence of his servant. He was seized and delivered up to Duke Leopold, who had previously returned, and by whom he was surrendered to the emperor Henry. The noble, chivalric king of England, and brother-in-law of Henry the Lion, was now detained at Trifels, in close confinement, above a year, until he was formally brought before the assembly of German princes at Hagenau, as a criminal, and defended himself; nor was he liberated and allowed to return to his kingdom until the English had paid a ransom of a million of dollars — for that period an immense sum. In thus proceeding against Richard, Henry had, it is true, acted in conformity with the ancient

rights of the imperial dignity, according to which the emperor was authorised to cite before him all the kings of Christendom, and sit in judgment over them. But the manner in which he acted in this case was degrading, and unworthy of any ruling power.

The emperor concluded with Henry the Lion, who after his return from England had produced fresh wars, a permanent treaty of peace, and by the marriage which took place between the duke's son, Henry the Slender, and Agnes, princess palatine and niece of Frederick I, the reconciliation of these distinguished houses was confirmed.[b]

THE WAR IN SICILY (1193 A.D.)

The departure of the emperor Frederick for the Holy Land had been immediately followed by the death of William II, king of Sicily. Henry VI laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily, in virtue of his marriage to Constanza; but the German name was odious to the people, and the pretensions of a bastard prevailed over the right of the legitimate heiress. Tancred, count of Lecce, mounted the throne of his grandfather.

Henry crossed the Alps for the double purpose of obtaining the imperial crown and reducing the usurper of Sicily. Henry and Constanza were crowned by Pope Celestine III in St. Peter's (1191). The German forces received but little resistance until they arrived at the gates of Naples. Whilst that city held out against the invaders, Henry beheld his troops and captains swept off by disease; retreat became necessary. The death of the eldest son of King Tancred was soon afterwards followed by that of the afflicted father. To Tancred succeeded his second son, William III (1193), whose tender age invited Henry once more to attempt the reduction of Sicily. With the assistance of Pisa and Genoa, he obtained an easy conquest of the Italian provinces; and passing over to the island, became master of Messina, Palermo, and other principal cities. The widow of Tancred, with the young king and princesses, submitted to the conqueror on the promise of obtaining for herself the county of Lecce, and for her son the principality of Tarentum. The hapless William knelt before the emperor, and resigned the sceptre of the Normans to the house of Swabia (1195).

But no sooner was Henry secure of the prize than he gave way to the ferocity of his nature; and signalised the brutality of his mind by violating the repose of the dead, and inflicting the most shocking cruelties on the living. The sepulchres of Tancred and his son were broken open, their bodies stripped of the last trappings of royalty; and under pretence of a conspiracy the young William was arrested and inhumanly mutilated and blinded, and with his mother and sisters doomed to hopeless captivity in Germany. The merciless emperor appeared intent upon the destruction of the Normans; and the sympathy of Constanza was awakened by the groans of her fellow countrymen. Satiated at length with the blood and spoils of his new subjects, Henry departed for his native land; and the Sicilians beheld with grief and indignation the treasures of the realm transported from the island to Germany.[c] He not only conveyed away the gold and silver, together with all the costly ornaments of the ancient Norman kings, to such an extent that 160 animals were loaded therewith and proceeded with them to the castle of Trifels on the Rhine, but he caused the eyes of the grandees who had rebelled to be put out, and as an insult to their misfortunes and in mockery of their efforts to get possession of the throne and wear the crown, he placed them upon

seats of red-hot iron, and fastened upon their heads crowns formed also of burning iron. The rest of their accomplices were, it is true, so much terrified thereby that they vowed allegiance; but this submission did not come from their hearts, and Henry's successor paid severely for his cruelties.

He meditated the most important plans, which, had they been accomplished, would have given to the whole empire a completely different form. Among the rest he offered to render the fiefs of the German princes hereditary, promised to renounce all imperial claims to the property left by bishops and the rest of the clergy; in return for which, however, he desired the imperial throne to be made likewise hereditary in his family. He even promised to unite Naples and Sicily wholly with the empire. Many princes voluntarily agreed to these propositions, which appeared advantageous to them; some of the greater ones, however, refused, and as the pope likewise withheld his consent, Henry was obliged to defer the execution of his great projects to a more convenient time. Affairs now called him again to Sicily, and there he suddenly died in 1197, in the thirty-third year of his age, and at the moment when he contemplated the conquest of the Greek Empire, by which to prepare and secure a successful issue to the Crusades.[1]

CIVIL WARS FOR THE CROWN (1197–1212 A.D.)

His son Frederick was but just eight years old, and the two parties in Germany, the Hohenstaufens and the Guelfs, became again so strongly divided that the one side chose as emperor Philip, Henry's brother, and the other Otto, the second son of Henry the Lion, a prince distinguished for his strength and valour, and thus Germany had again two sovereigns at once.

Through this unfortunate division of parties the empire became for the space of more than ten years the scene of devastation, robbery, and murder, and both princes, who were equally endowed with good qualities, could do nothing for the country; on the contrary, in the endeavours made by each to gain over the pope to himself, they yielded to the subtle Innocent III, under whom the papacy attained its highest grade of power, many of their privileges. Otto IV even acknowledged the pope's claim of authority to bestow the empire as he might appoint, and called himself in his letters to the pope a Roman king by the grace of God and the pope. For which concession, and because he was a Guelf, Innocent protected him with all his power; and when Philip, in 1208, was assassinated at Bamberg by Otto of Wittelsbach (a nephew of him to whom Frederick I had given the duchy of Bavaria), in revenge because he would not give him his daughter in marriage as he had promised, Otto IV was universally acknowledged as emperor and solemnly crowned at Rome.[b]

But before the pope consented to bestow the imperial crown, he obtained from the emperor-elect his signature to a written capitulation, which shook his authority in ecclesiastical affairs to the foundation. Not content with extorting an oath of obedience to the holy see and the defence of its privileges, Innocent hereby bound the emperor to correct all abuses in the choice of the German prelates; to permit the elections to be conducted according to the ordinances of the church; and to throw no obstacle in the way of appeals to Rome. In this capitulation, the first of its kind, the greatest care was taken that all should be general and undefined; so that it was

[1] Henry's tomb, at Palermo, was opened after nearly six hundred years, and the body found well preserved.

admirably adapted to assist the popes in their future encroachments on the imperial prerogative. Otto moreover undertook to resign to the church an important source of revenue, the property of deceased prelates and the income of the see during a vacancy, which had hitherto been claimed by the successors of Charlemagne.

OTTO EXCOMMUNICATED (1210 A.D.)

Immediately after the coronation, the long-cherished antipathy of the Romans to the Germans broke out into open conflict; and the new emperor, after the destruction of many of his followers, withdrew in dudgeon from Rome. Between the pope and emperor all oaths were forgotten; the disturbed state of Apulia invited Otto to its invasion; and he soon became master of the greater part of the southern provinces of Italy. But whilst the German monarch was lured to these distant conquests, his own ruin was in preparation at home. The south was sacred ground to Innocent; since the empress Constanza had, in her last moments, made him the guardian of her infant son, Frederick, the heir to the crown of Sicily. He had already experienced the greatest difficulties in tranquillising the Sicilian kingdom; and finding the emperor deaf to his admonitions, Innocent sent forth his thunders, by which Otto was declared to be deposed from the empire, and all his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Otto learned with dismay that the princes and prelates of Germany were rapidly falling off from a monarch whose brow was blasted by the thunderbolt of God's vicar; and he recognised his enemy Philip of France fanning the flame in his dominions.

Frederick, the son of the emperor Henry VI and of Constanza, princess of Sicily, had barely attained his eighteenth year when he was summoned to the throne of Germany. He was cordially welcomed by the German princes who had invited him; he soon afterwards, in a conference with the dauphin, established a league with France, and was crowned with great splendour at Aachen, in 1215.

Meanwhile the affairs of Otto were fast hastening to a crisis. Supported by John, king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the count of Flanders, he met and engaged with the French army at Bouvines, 1214; and after a desperate battle received a complete overthrow. Thus oppressed by the spiritual arms of Innocent and the superior fortune of Philip, he withdrew to his castle at Hartzburg in Brunswick; where not very long afterwards he peacefully terminated his life (1218).[c]

FREDERICK II (1215 A.D.)

The emperor Frederick II, the grandson of Frederick I, by his heroism, firmness of will, and boldness of spirit, and combining with this majesty of character both mildness and grace, was worthy of his noble family, so that the impression of his personal greatness remained long after his demise. In addition to which, he was a friend of art and science, and was himself a poet, sentiment, animation, and euphony breathing in all his works. His bold and searching glance dwelt especially upon the follies of his age, and he frequently lashed them with bitter ridicule; whilst, on the contrary, he saw in everyone, whence or of whatsoever faith he might be, merely the man, and honoured him as such if he found him so worthy.

And yet this emperor executed but little that was great; his best powers were consumed in the renewed contest between the imperial and papal authority which never had more ruinous consequences than under his reign, and Germany in particular found but little reason to rejoice in its sovereign, for his views, even beyond all the other Hohenstaufens, were directed to Italy. By birth and education more an Italian than a German, he was particularly attached to his beautiful inheritance of the Two Sicilies, and in Germany, thus neglected, the irresponsible dominion of the vassals took still deeper root; whilst, on the other hand, in France the royal power, by withdrawing considerable fiefs, commenced preparing its victory over the feudal system.

There were also three grand causes which served to excite the popes against Frederick. In the first place, they could not endure that besides northern Italy he should possess Sicily and Naples, and was thus enabled to press upon their state from two sides; secondly, they were indignant because he would not yield to them unconditionally the great privileges which the weak Otto IV had ceded to them; but, thirdly, what most excited their anger was that, in the heat of their dispute, he frequently turned the sharpness of his sarcasm against them and endeavoured to make them both ridiculous and contemptible. The story of his rivalry with the popes is more fully told under the history of the papacy and of the crusades.

THE EMPEROR GAINS JERUSALEM (1230 A.D.)

The commencement of the schism, however, arose from a particular circumstance. Frederick, at his coronation in Aachen, had spontaneously engaged to undertake a crusade for the deliverance of Jerusalem, and this promise he renewed when he was crowned emperor at Rome in 1220.[1] But he now found in his Italian inheritance, as well as in the opposition shown by the Lombard cities, which, after the death of Frederick I had again become arrogant, so much to do that he was continually obliged to require from the pope renewed delays. The peaceful and just Honorius III granted them to him; and there existed between him and the emperor a friendly feeling, and even a mutual feeling of respect. But with the passionate Gregory IX the old dispute between the spiritual and temporal power soon again broke forth, and Gregory strongly urged the crusade. In the year 1227 Frederick actually sailed with a fleet, but returned after a few days, under the pretext of illness, and the whole expedition ending in nothing, Gregory became irritated, and without listening to or admitting even the emperor's excuses, excommunicated him, for he maintained his sickness was a fiction.

In order to contradict these charges by salient facts, the emperor actually went the ensuing year to Palestine. But upon this the pope censured him even more strongly than before, declaring anyone under excommunication to be an unfit instrument for the service of God. And in order that Frederick might accomplish nothing great in the Holy Land, he sent thither commands that neither the clergy there nor the orders of knighthood should have community with him; nay, he himself even caused his troops to make an incursion into Frederick's Italian lands and conquered a portion of Apulia.

[1 Two years later his son Henry was crowned king of the Romans at Aachen.]

DUKE LEOPOLD VI RETURNING TO VIENNA FROM THE CRUSADES, 1219 A.D.

But Frederick, in the meantime, speedily brought the war in Palestine to a successful termination. The sultan of Egypt, Kameel, partly through the great fame which the imperial sovereignty enjoyed in the East, and partly from personal esteem for Frederick (but weakened principally by family dissensions), concluded with him a truce for ten years, and gave up Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The emperor then entered the Holy City and visited the grave, but the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the priests, obedient to the commands of the pope, would celebrate no religious service in his presence. Notwithstanding this, he performed his devotions, and in the presence of his nobles crowned himself with the crown of the kings of Jerusalem: a right he had acquired by his marriage with Yolande, the daughter of King John of Jerusalem; after which he returned quickly to Italy. His presence speedily repaired all that was lost, and the pope saw himself obliged, in 1230, to conclude a peace and remove the ban of excommunication.

FREDERICK RETURNS TO EUROPE

A tranquil moment seemed now to present itself in Frederick's life, but fate attacked him from another side. His own son, Henry, whom he had left in Germany as imperial viceroy, rebelled against him, excited, probably, by ambition and evil counsellors. Frederick returned to Germany, and with a bleeding heart he was obliged to overpower his own son by force, take him prisoner, and place him in confinement in Apulia, where, seven years afterwards, he died.

Upon this occasion Frederick held, in 1235, a grand diet at Mainz, where sixty-four princes and about twelve thousand nobles and knights were present. Here written laws were made relative to the peace of the country, and other regulations adopted, which showed the empire the prudence of its emperor. Before the diet assembled, he celebrated at Worms his espousal with his second consort, the English princess Isabella. The imperial bride was received upon the frontiers by a splendid suite of nobles and knights; in all the cities through which she passed the clergy met her, accompanied by choirs of sacred music, and the cheerful peals of the church-bells; and in Cologne, the streets of which were superbly decorated, she was received by ten thousand citizens on horseback, in rich clothing and arms. Carriages with organs, their wheels and horses concealed by purple coverings, caused an harmonious music to resound, and throughout the whole night choirs of maidens serenaded beneath the windows of the emperor's bride. At the marriage in Worms, four kings, eleven dukes, and thirty counts and markgrafs were present. Frederick made the most costly presents to the English ambassador; and, among the rest, he sent rich gifts of curiosities from the East to the king of England, as well as three leopards, the leopards being included in the English coat of arms.[b]

The sister of Frederick II, duke of Austria, had been married to Henry, the rebellious son of the emperor, and the young duke participated in the revolt of his brother. His delinquency had hitherto remained unpunished; but his rapacious disposition and odious excesses rendered him generally obnoxious to the German princes and to his own immediate subjects. The emperor was therefore induced to visit Germany; and having vainly summoned Duke Frederick to a diet held at Augsburg, declared his estates forfeited, and immediately took possession of Austria (1237). At Speier the

emperor caused his second son, Conrad, to be elected king of the Romans; and then again returned to the reduction of Lombardy.[c]

Frederick speedily, with the assistance of his valiant leader, the knight Ezzelino da Romano, conquered several of the allied cities, and so beat the Milanese in 1237 at Cortenuova that they would willingly have humbled themselves if he had granted only moderate conditions. But, unwarned by the example of his grandfather, he required them to submit at discretion; whilst the citizens, remembering earlier times, preferred dying under their shields, rather, they said, than by the rope, famine, or fire, and from this period commenced in reality the misfortunes of Frederick's life. According to the statement made by one of our writers, "he lost the favour of many men by his implacable severity." His old enemy also, Gregory IX, again rose up against him, joined henceforth the confederation of the cities, and excommunicated him a second time. Indeed, the enmity of both parties went so far, and degenerated so much into personal animosity, that the pope, comparing the emperor, in a letter to the other princes, "to that apocalyptic monster rising from the sea, which was full of blasphemous names, and in colour chequered like a leopard," Frederick immediately replied with another passage from Scripture: "Another red horse arose from the sea, and he who sat thereon took peace from the earth, so that the living should kill each other."

A Knight in Thirteenth Century Armour

But in that age there existed one great authority which operated powerfully on the side of the pope, and fought against Frederick — this was the power of "public opinion." The pope now cast upon the emperor the heavy charge that he was a despiser of religion and of the holy church, and was inclined to the infidelity of the Saracens (the fact that Frederick had employed, in the war with the Lombards, ten thousand Saracens, appeared to justify this charge); and although the emperor several times, both verbally and in writing, solemnly declared that he was a true Christian, and as such wished to live and die: nay, although he was formally examined in religion by several bishops, and caused a testimony of his orthodoxy to be published, this accusation of the pope still found belief amongst most men. In addition to this, Frederick's rash and capricious wit had too often thoughtlessly attacked sacred subjects; whilst his life also was not pure and blameless, but stained with the excesses of sensuality. Accordingly he sank more and more in general estimation, and it was this that embittered the latter period of his life, and at length entirely consumed him with vexation.

Gregory IX, who died in 1241, at the age of nearly one hundred years, was succeeded by Innocent IV, who was a still more violent enemy of the emperor than even Gregory had been. As Frederick still continued to be powerful in Italy, and threatened him even in Rome itself, the pope retired to Genoa, and thence to Lyons, in France. There he renewed, in 1245, in a large council the ban against the emperor, although the latter offered himself in peace and friendship, and was willing to remove all points of complaint, whilst, in addition to all this, his ambassador, Thaddeus of Suessa, pleaded most powerfully for his lord. Indeed, the pope went so far as solemnly to pronounce the deposition of the emperor from all his states and dignities.

Rival Monarchs: Henry Raspe and William of Holland

When the excommunication was circulated in Germany, many of the spiritual princes took advantage of the excitement produced thereby and elected, in 1246, at Würzburg, the landgraf, Henry Raspe of Thuringia, as rival emperor. The latter, however, could gain no absolute authority and died the following year. As Frederick, however, still remained in Italy, entangled in constant wars, the ecclesiastical princes elected another sovereign, Count William of Holland, a youth twenty years of age, who, in order that he might become the head of the order of knighthood, was forthwith solemnly promoted from his inferior rank of squire to that of knight. The greatest confusion now existed in Germany as well as in Italy. "After the emperor Frederick was excommunicated," says an ancient historian, "the robbers congratulated themselves, and rejoiced at the opportunities for pillage now presented to them. The ploughshares were transformed into swords, and the scythes into lances. Everyone supplied himself with steel and flint in order to be able to produce fire and spread incendiarism instantly."

In Italy the war continued uninterruptedly and without any decisive result, especially with the Lombard cities. The imperial arms were often successful, but the spirit of the emperor was bowed down, and at last his good fortune occasionally deserted him. In the year 1249 his own son, Enzio, whom he had made king of Sardinia, and of all his sons the most chivalric and handsome, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese in an unsuccessful combat near Fossalta. The irritated citizens refused all offers of ransom for the emperor's son, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, in which he continued for two-and-twenty years, and survived all the sons and grandsons of Frederick, who perished every one by poison, the sword, or the axe of the executioner.

Exclusive of the bitter grief caused by his son's misfortune, the emperor, in his last years, was afflicted with the additional pain and mortification of finding his long-tried friend and chancellor, Petrus de Vinea, to whom he had confided the most important affairs of his empire, charged with the crime of attempting to take the life of his master by poison. Matthew of Paris,[d] at least, relates as certain that the physician De Vinea handed to the emperor a poisonous beverage as a medicine, which the latter, having had his suspicions excited, did not drink. The chancellor was thrown into prison and deprived of his eyesight, when he committed suicide by dashing his head against the wall. Whether De Vinea was guilty, or whether appearances which he could not remove, were alone against him is not to be decided,

owing to the insufficiency of the information handed down to us. The emperor, however, did not long survive this painful event; he died in 1250, in the arms of his son Manfred, at the castle of Fiorentino, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

His death produced great confusion in Italy, and still greater dissension in Germany. In the latter country two emperors again stood opposed to each other, throne against throne; the Hohenstaufen party acknowledging and upholding Conrad, Frederick's son, in opposition to William of Holland, the former having already, during his father's life, been elected king of the Romans.

But before we relate the history of these two rival emperors, it will be useful and interesting to cast our glance at the countries in the east and northeastern parts of Germany.

MINOR WARS AND THE PRUSSIAN CRUSADE

Europe was about this time threatened by a terrible enemy from the East, equally as dreadful as the Huns were in earlier times. This enemy consisted of the Mongolians, who ever since the year 1206, under Jenghiz Khan, had continued to ravage Asia, and led by him had advanced as far as Moravia and Silesia. In the year 1241 they gained a great battle near Liegnitz over the Silesians, under the command of Henry II of Liegnitz, who himself fell chivalrously fighting at the head of his troops; but by the valour with which he disputed the victory with the enemy, he destroyed the desire they had previously indulged in of penetrating further westward, as they now turned towards Hungary. Thus, by his own death, Henry the Pious saved Europe; and upon the same spot (Wahlstatt) where, on the 26th of August, 1813, the action called the battle of Katzbach was so victoriously fought.

In this emergency Frederick well felt what his duty was as first Christian prince, and very urgently pressed the other kings for their immediate assistance against the common enemy; but at this moment the general disorder was too great, and his appeal for aid remained without any effect. As regards Silesia and Hungary the incursion of the Mongolians produced this result, that many German peasants migrated to the deserted and depopulated districts, and henceforward lower Silesia became, indeed, more a German than a Slavonic country. Other neighbouring countries also were about this period occupied and populated by the Germans, consisting of the coasts of the Baltic, Prussia, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. As early as at the end of the twelfth century, Meinhard, a canon of the monastery of Legeberg, built a church at Exkälle (in the vicinity of the present Riga), where, shortly afterwards, Pope Clement III founded a bishopric, and from this central point the diffusion of Christianity extended in that district. But temporal force soon mixed itself in these spiritual and peaceful exertions; the resistance of the heathen Livonians induced Pope Celestine III to cause a crusade to be preached against them, and speedily a multitude of men from the north of Germany stormed towards these parts. A spiritual order of knighthood was formed under the name of the knights of the sword, and with the Christian doctrines the dominion of this order was by degrees extended over Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. The natives who remained after the sanguinary battles of this exterminating war were reduced to oppressive slavery, which was for the first time moderated in our own age by the emperor Alexander.

In Prussia also the sword established at the same time with Christianity the German dominion and superiority. About the year 1208 a monk of the monastery of Kolwitz, in Pomerania, of the name of Christian, crossed the Vistula, and preached Christianity to the heathen Prussians. But when the pope made him a bishop, and wished to establish a formal hierarchal government, they rose in contest against him, in which the knights of the sword, together with Duke Henry the Bearded of Breslau and many warriors of the neighbouring lands, immediately marched forth and gave warlike aid to the new bishop. But little was accomplished until the latter, upon the advice of Duke Henry, summoned to his assistance the knights of the Teutonic order, which had originated in an institution of north Germany. Accordingly, in the year 1229, their first grand master, Hermann von Salza, with not more than twenty-eight knights and one hundred squires and attendants, advanced to Prussia; he proceeded in his work cautiously by establishing fortified places, among which Thorn, on the Vistula, serving, as it were, for the entrance gate of the country, was the first; and Kulm, Marienwerder, Elbing, Braunsberg, and others speedily followed. The dominion of the Teutonic order was spread even in Livonia, as the knights of the sword, after a severe defeat by the Livonians, in 1273, were received in it; and in 1255, upon the advice of Ottocar of Bohemia, who had made a crusade against the Prussians, in which Rudolf of Habsburg joined, the present metropolis of the country was founded, and in honour of him was called Königsberg. The cities around soon flourished again, and the peasants found themselves in a happier situation than their Livonian neighbours, for their services and imposts were rendered more moderate, and absolute slavery was only experienced by a few individuals as a punishment for their defection.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR

When we add to this the various emigrations which had commenced much earlier, populating the Vandal countries as well as Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and take into consideration the many flourishing cities which were built there by German citizens, we may be inclined to style the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the epoch of the migration of the Germans towards the northeast, the same as that of the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ is called the period of migration towards the west and south. Indeed, if we reckon the hundreds of thousands which Germany at the same period sent with the Crusades to the East, together with those sent with the Hohenstaufen emperors to Italy, we must really feel astonished at the population which that vast country produced, and assuredly cannot join with many other historians in calling a period presenting, like this, so much vigour and activity of life an epoch of absolute misery, servitude, and desolation.

Had the emperor Frederick rightly known the strength of Germany, and had he understood how to avail himself of the means to render it still more powerful by union, the whole of the east and north of Europe might then have become annexed to that country. But his eyes were turned exclusively upon Italy, and there he fruitlessly sacrificed all his strength.

FREDERICK'S EXTRAORDINARY MIND

If after contemplating the stormy phases which convulsed this emperor's life, we turn our observation to his noble qualities, his acute and sensitive feeling for all that was beautiful and grand, and, above all, to what he did for science and enlightenment generally in Naples, his hereditary land, we feel penetrated with profound regret when we find that all this, like a transitory apparition, passed away without any lasting trace; but more especially are we pained to witness how he neglected to reign with affection and devotion over his German subjects. Since Charlemagne and Alfred of England no potentate had existed who loved and promoted civilisation in its broadest sense so much as Frederick II. At his court, the same as at that of Charlemagne, were assembled the noblest and most intellectual minds of that age; through them he caused a multitude of Greek works, and in particular those of Aristotle, to be translated from the Arabic into Latin.

He collected for that period a very considerable library, partly by researches made in his own states, partly during his stay in Syria, and through his alliance with the Arab princes. And he did not retain these treasures jealously and covetously for himself, but shared them with others; as, for instance, he presented the works of Aristotle to the University of Bologna, although that city was inimically disposed towards him, to which he added the following address: "Science must go hand in hand with government, legislation, and the pursuits of war, because these, otherwise subjected to the allurements of the world and to ignorance, either sink into indolence, or else, if unchecked, stray beyond all sanctioned limits. Wherefore, from youth upwards we have sought and loved science, whereby the soul of man becomes enlightened and strengthened, and without which his life is deprived of all regulation and innate freedom. Now that the noble possession of science is not diminished by being imparted, but, on the contrary, grows thereby still more fruitful, we accordingly will not conceal the produce of much exertion, but will only consider our own possessions as truly delightful when we shall have imparted so great a benefit to others. But none have a greater right to them than those great men who, from the original ancient and rich sources, have derived new streams, and thereby supply the thirsty with a sweet and healthy refreshment. Wherefore, receive these works as a present from your friend, the emperor."

A splendid monument of his noble mind and genius is presented in his code of laws for his hereditary kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and which he caused to be composed chiefly by Petrus de Vinea. According to the plan of a truly great legislator, he was not influenced by the idea of creating something entirely new, but he built upon the basis of what already existed, adapted whatsoever to him appeared good and necessary for his main object, and so formed a work which gave him as ruler the necessary power to establish a firm foundation for the welfare of his people. Unfortunately the convulsions of his later reign and the following periods never allowed this grand work fully to develop its results.

Frederick himself possessed a knowledge unusual, and acquired by few men of his time. He understood Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, and Arabic. Amongst the sciences he loved chiefly natural history, and proved himself a master in that science by a work he composed upon the art of hawking; for it not only displays the most perfect and thorough investigation into the mode of life, nourishment, diseases, and the whole nature of falcons, but dwells also upon their construction generally, both internally and externally. This desire after a fundamental knowledge in natural science had the happiest influence, especially upon the medical sciences. Physicians were obliged to study anatomy before everything else; they were referred to the enthusiastic application of Hippocrates and Galen, and not allowed to practise their profession until they had received from the faculty at Salerno or Naples a satisfactory and honourable certificate; besides which, they were obliged to pass an examination before the imperial chamber, formed of a committee of members competent in the science.

The emperor founded the University of Naples in 1224, and he considerably improved and enlarged the medical school at Salerno. At both places also, through his zeal, were formed the first collections of art, which, unfortunately, in the tumults of the following ages, were eventually destroyed.

Of Frederick II it is related, as was already stated of Charlemagne, that the eastern princes emulated each other in sending him artistic works as signs of friendship. Amongst the rest, the sultan of Egypt presented him with an extraordinary tent, in which a sun and moon revolved, moved by invisible agents, and showed the hours of the day and night in just and exact relation.

At the court of the emperor there were often contests in science and art, and victorious wreaths bestowed, in which scenes Frederick shone as a poet, and invented and practised many difficult measures of verse. His chief judge, Petrus de Vinea, the composer of the code of laws, wrote also the first sonnet extant in Italian. Minds, in fact, developed themselves, and were in full action in the vicinity and presence of the great emperor, and there they commanded full scope for all their powers.

His own personal merit was so distinguished and universally recognised, that he was enabled to collect around him the most celebrated men of the age without feeling any jealousy towards them — always a proof of true greatness. His most violent enemies even could not withhold from him their admiration of his great qualities. His exterior also was both commanding and prepossessing. Like his grandfather he was fair, but not so tall although well and strongly formed, and very skilful in all warlike and corporeal exercises. His forehead, nose, and mouth bore the impression of that delicate and yet firm character which we admire in the works of the Greeks, and name after them; and his eye generally expressed the most serene cheerfulness, but on important and serious occasions it indicated gravity and severity. Thus, in general, the happy conjunction of mildness with seriousness was, throughout his life, the distinguishing feature of this emperor.[b]

ESTIMATES OF FREDERICK

James Bryce[c] sees in Frederick "a sensualist, yet also a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet: in his youth fired by crusading fervour; in later life persecuting heretics while himself accused of blasphemy and unbelief; of winning manners and ardently beloved by his followers, but with the stain of more than one cruel deed upon his name."

Dunham's opinion is on the whole far from complimentary: "Of Frederick's character," he says, "there can scarcely be a second opinion. That he had some great qualities; that he was a munificent patron of letters, and cultivated them with success; that he founded the university of Naples, besides many schools; that he built splendid palaces, encouraged artists, commerce, and manufactures; that he was the great patron of the imperial cities, on which he conferred many new privileges, and which, in return, constantly adhered to his fortunes; that his views were extensive, his courage indomitable, his activity as a ruler incessant; that he was not merely liberal, but magnificent, both in his habits and his sentiments; that he was a poet and a legislator, an antiquary and a statesman; are incontestable, from the numerous histories of his reign. But if he was, in some respects, a great, he was in many a most pernicious, sovereign. His exploits in Palestine are not of a kind to reflect much lustre on his name; in his chimerical project of reducing the Lombards to perpetual submission, he wasted his strength and that of his empire; in his attempts to make the holy see dependent on his crown he recklessly provoked an opposition which inflicted the severest misfortunes on his country and his house; the subsidies which he exacted, and the burdens which he imposed on his people, for the prosecution, not of honourable war, but of his own ambitious or vindictive schemes, procured him their cordial hatred. 'As he cared little for Germany,' says a national historian, 'so Germany cared little for him or his house.' Nor in his private character does he deserve much respect; his amours were notorious, and his frequent debaucheries degraded his majesty." Such a view as this, however, judges Frederick by modern standards rather than by those of his own time—a natural enough method, but one that does not conduce to historical impartiality.

T. F. Henderson, who calls Frederick "the most remarkable figure of the Middle Ages," gives the following estimate of him:[a]

The general contemporary opinion regarding Frederick II is expressed in the words *stupor mundi* [the amazement of the world]; and whatever amount either of approbation or censure may be bestowed upon his career, wonder and perplexity are the predominant sentiments which its contemplation even yet awakens. It was not merely that his mental endowments were exceptionally great, but that, owing to his mingled German and Italian blood, the various influences to which he was subjected in his early years, the strange times in which he lived, and the events with which destiny had connected him, his character was exhibited in such multiform aspects and in such an individual and peculiar light that in history we look in vain for his parallel. As to the nature of his religious faith, there are no data for arriving at a certain conclusion. The theory of M. Huillard-Bréholles[g] that he wished to unite with the functions of emperor those of a spiritual pontiff, and aspired to be the founder of a new religion, is a conjecture insufficiently supported by the isolated facts and statements and the general consideration on which it is made to rest.

Indeed, the character of Frederick seems to have been widely removed from that of a religious enthusiast; and at every critical period of his life he was urged to daring and adventurous projects, rather by external circumstances than by either the promptings of ambition or the consciousness of

[1] *Quà entro è lo secondo Federico.—Inferno*, Canto X.

divine commission. On any theory his enactments in reference to religion are, however, somewhat enigmatical. His persecution of heretics may not have been entirely due to a desire to vindicate his orthodoxy before his Christian subjects; but although his ideas regarding freedom of conscience were either inconsistent or hampered in their action by a regard to expediency, his toleration of the Jews equally with the Mohammedans prevents our ascribing his toleration of the latter either to secret sympathy with that form of faith or wholly to political considerations. He was in all probability a believer in astrology, and he shared in many of the other superstitious ideas of his time. But there is no indication that he dreaded any other than temporal consequences from the ban of the church; and if certain features of the Christian system had perhaps an attraction for him, yet both from his reported jests and serious conversation it is evident that his Christian belief, if he possessed one, bore little resemblance to that current in his age.

German Woman of Quality of the Thirteenth Century

In the extravagant accusations of cruelty, perfidy, and licentiousness with which the church has assailed his memory there is some nucleus of truth; but a candid judgment will arrive at the conclusion that few exposed to such pernicious influences have shown such a decided preference for goodness and truth, and that there have been almost none who against such immense difficulties had wrought to such wise purpose in behalf of human progress and enlightenment, or have fought such a resolute and advantageous battle in behalf of spiritual freedom. In this contest he was not an immediate victor; and indeed the dissolution of the imperial power in Italy which followed his death must be chiefly traced to the fact that his policy was governed by principles too much in advance of his age. But although the beneficial results of his reign are not at a first glance so palpable and undeniable as some of its injurious results, yet so far was he from being a mere untimely precursor of the new era which dawned in Europe more than two centuries after his death, that, perhaps in a greater degree than any other, he was instrumental in hastening its arrival, both by sowing the first seeds of the Renaissance in Italy, and by giving to the old system of things a shock which was felt throughout Europe, and continued to work silently long after.

After the death of Frederick the followers of Abbot Joachim continued to assert that he was still alive, and even attempted to personate him. The

superstition that the emperor continued to haunt the castle of Kyffhäuser, at one time thought to refer to Frederick Barbarossa, has now been shown to have its origin in the tradition that Frederick II still lived after he had ceased to exercise the functions of emperor.

The news of the emperor's death was received with exultation by the pontiff: "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." With insolent triumph he wrote to the city of Naples, declaring that he took her forthwith into his possession, and that she should never again be under the control of a temporal sovereign. He also declared the Hohenstaufens to have forfeited their right upon Apulia and Sicily, and even upon Swabia. [He offered the crown first to Richard, earl of Cornwall, then to Charles of Anjou, but both declined.] The Alemannic princes made a lavish use of the freedom from all restraint granted to them by the pope. The Alpine nobles became equally lawless.

The imperial cause was sustained in upper Italy by Ezzelino, in lower Italy by Manfred. This prince, Enzio's rival in talent, valour, and beauty, was a son of the emperor by his mistress Bianca Lancia, whom he afterwards married. Born and educated in Italy, he was the idol of his countrymen, and as prince of Tarentum was by no means a despicable antagonist to the pope.

CONRAD THE FOURTH (1250–1254 A.D.)

Conrad IV, Frederick's eldest son and successor, everywhere driven from the field in Germany, took refuge in Italy, and, trusting that his father's death had conciliated the pope, offered in his necessity to submit to any conditions he might impose, if he were recognised emperor by him. His advances were treated with silent contempt. Manfred, with a truly noble and fraternal spirit, ceded the sovereignty of Italy to his brother, whom he aided by both word and deed. In 1253 the royal brothers captured Capua and Naples, where Conrad placed a bridle in the mouth of an antique colossal horse's head, the emblem of the city.

The terrible fate that pursued the imperial family was not to be averted by success. Their younger brother, Henry, the son of Isabella of England, to whom the throne of Sicily had been destined by his father, suddenly expired, and in 1254 his fate was shared by Conrad in his twenty-sixth year. Their deaths were ascribed to poison, said by the Guelfs to have been administered by Conrad to Henry, and by Manfred to Conrad. The crime was, nevertheless, indubitably committed by the papal faction, the pope and the Guelfs being solely interested in the destruction of the Hohenstaufens.

MANFRED (1254–1266 A.D.)

Manfred's rule in Italy was certainly secured to him by the death of his legitimate brothers, but on the other hand it deprived him of all hope of aid from Germany; and his total inability unaided to oppose the pope was evident immediately after Conrad's death, when he made terms with the pontiff, to whom he ceded the whole of lower Italy, Tarentum alone excepted.

He was, nevertheless, speedily necessitated again to take up arms against the lieutenant of the pope, and was driven by suspicion of a design against his life to make a last and desperate defence. The German mercenaries at Nocera under the command of the markgraf von Hochberg, and the Moors who had served under the emperor Frederick, flocked beneath his banner, and on

CAPTURE OF THE FAMILY OF KING MANFRED, AFTER THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO
(From the painting by Eduard von Engerth, in the Art Museum of Vienna)

HUZUR BABOOA LIBRARY

the death of the pontiff (1254), who expired on the anniversary of the death of Frederick II, affairs suddenly changed. The cardinals elected Alexander IV, who was powerless against Manfred's party; and the son of Conrad IV, the young duke Conradin of Swabia, whose minority was passed in obscurity at the court of his uncle of Bavaria, being unable to assert his claim to the crown of Apulia,[1] the hopes of the Ghibellines of lower Italy naturally centred in Manfred, who was unanimously proclaimed king by his faithful vassals, and crowned at Palermo (1258).

In upper Italy the affairs of the Ghibellines wore a contrary aspect. Ezzelino, after making a desperate defence at Cassano, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. He died of his wounds (1259), scornfully rejecting to the last all spiritual aid. His more gentle brother, Alberich, after seeing his wife and children cruelly butchered, was dragged to death at a horse's tail. The rest of the Ghibelline chiefs met with an equally wretched fate. These horrible scenes of bloodshed worked so forcibly upon the feelings of even the hardened Italians, that numbers arrayed themselves in sackcloth, and did penance at the grave of Alberich. This circumstance gave rise to the sect of the Flagellants, who ran through the streets lamenting, praying, preaching repentance, and wounding themselves and others with bloody stripes, in order to atone for the sins of the world.

It was in the course of this year that Manfred solemnised his second nuptials, with Helena, the daughter of Michael of Ætolia and Cyprus, who was then in her seventeenth year, and famed for her extraordinary loveliness. The uncommon beauty of the bridal pair, and the charms of their court, which, as in Frederick's time, was composed of the most distinguished bards and the most beautiful women, were such as to justify the expression used by a poet of the times, "Paradise has once more appeared upon earth." Manfred, like his father and his brother Enzio, was himself a minnesinger. His marriage with Helena had gained for him the alliance of Greece, and the union of Constanza, his daughter by a former marriage, with Pedro of Aragon, confirmed his amity with Spain. He was now enabled to send aid to the distressed Ghibellines in Lombardy (1260). They were again victorious at Montaperto, and the gallant Pallavicini became his lieutenant in upper Italy. The pope was compelled to flee from Rome to Viterbo. The city of Manfredonia, so named after its founder, Manfred, was built at this period.

The Guelfs, alarmed at Manfred's increasing power, now sought for foreign aid, and raised a Frenchman, Urban IV, to the pontifical throne. This pope induced Charles of Anjou, the brother of the French monarch, who had already "fished in troubled waters" in Flanders, to grasp at the crown of Apulia. On the death of Urban (1265), another Frenchman, Clement IV, succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and greatly contributed to hasten the projected invasion. Charles was gloomy and priest-ridden; extremely unprepossessing in his person, and of an olive complexion; invariably cold, silent, and reserved in manner, impatient of gaiety or cheerfulness, and so cold-blooded and cruel as to be viewed with horror even by his bigoted brother, St. Louis. This ill-omened prince at first fixed his residence in the Arelat, where the emperor's rights were without a champion, and then sailed with a powerful fleet to Naples (1266). France, until now a listless spectator, for the first time opposed her influence to that of Germany in Italy, and henceforward pursued the policy of taking advantage of the

[1 It was reported that he was dead, but when, after Manfred's coronation, his mother claimed the crown for the child, it was too late.]

disunited state of the German Empire in order to seize one province after another.

Manfred collected his whole strength to oppose the French invader, but the clergy tampered with his soldiery and sowed treason in his camp. Charles no sooner landed than Riccardo di Caseta abandoned the mountain pass intrusted to his defence, and allowed the French to advance unmolested as far as Benevento, where, on the 26th of February, 1266, a decisive battle was fought, in which Manfred, notwithstanding his gallant efforts, being worsted, threw himself in despair in the thickest of the fight, where he fell covered with wounds. Charles, on the score of heresy, refused him honourable burial, but the French soldiery, touched by his beauty and gallantry, cast each of them a stone upon his body, which was by this means buried beneath a hillock still known by the natives as the rock of roses.[1]

Helena, accompanied by her daughter Beatrice and her three infant sons, Henry, Frederick, and Anselino, sought safety in flight, but was betrayed to Charles, who threw her and her children into a dungeon, where she shortly languished and died. Beatrice was saved from a similar fate by Pedro of Aragon, to whom she was delivered in exchange for a son of Charles of Anjou, who had fallen into his hands. The three boys were consigned to a narrow dungeon, where, loaded with chains, half-naked, ill-fed, and untaught, they remained in perfect seclusion for a space of thirty-one years; in 1297 they were released from their chains and allowed to be visited by a priest and a physician. The eldest, Henry, died in 1309. With fanatical rage Charles destroyed every vestige of the reign of the Hohenstaufens in lower Italy.

Italy was forever torn from the empire, from which Burgundy, too long neglected for the sake of her classic sister, was also severed. Her southern provinces, Provence, Vienne, and Toulouse were annexed to France, whilst her more northern ones, the countships of Burgundy and Savoy, became an almost independent state.

Whilst the name and power of the Hohenstaufen family were being thus annihilated in Italy, Germany seemed to have forgotten her ancient fame. The princes and vassals, who mainly owed their influence to the Hohenstaufens, had ungratefully deprived the orphaned Conradin of his inheritance. Swabia was his merely in name, and he would in all probability have shared the fate of his Italian relatives had he not found an asylum in the court of Ludwig of Bavaria.

WILLIAM OF HOLLAND (1247–1256 A.D.)

William of Holland, with a view of increasing his popularity by an alliance with the Guelfs, espoused Elisabeth, the daughter of Otto of Brunswick. The faction of the Guelfs had, however, been too long broken ever to regain strength, and the circumstance of the destruction of his false crown (the genuine one being still in Italy) during a conflagration which burst out on the night of the nuptials, and almost proved fatal to him and his bride, rendered him an object of fresh ridicule. He disgraced the dignity he had assumed by his lavish sale or gift of the imperial prerogatives and lands to his adherents, whom he by these means bribed to uphold his cause, and by his

[1] *L'ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora*
In co del ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.
—DANTE, Canto III, *del Purgatorio.*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY BARODA

complete subserviency to the pope. His despicable conduct received its fitting reward; no city, none of the temporal nor even of the spiritual lords throughout the empire, tolerated his residence within their demesnes. Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, ordered the roof of the house in which he resided at Neuss to be set on fire in order to enforce his departure. At Utrecht a stone was cast at him in the church. His wife was seduced by a count von Waldeck. This wretched emperor was at length compelled to retire into Holland, where he employed himself in attempting to reduce a petty nation, the West Frisians, beneath his yoke. This expedition terminated fatally to himself alone; when crossing a frozen morass on horseback, armed *cap-à-pie*, the ice gave way beneath the weight, and whilst in this helpless situation, unable either to extricate or defend himself, he was attacked and slain by some Frisian boors, to whom he was personally unknown. On discovering his rank, they were filled with terror at their own daring, and buried him with the utmost secrecy. The regency of Holland was committed to Adelheid, the wife of John d'Avesnes, during the minority of her nephew, Floris V, the son of William. She was expelled by the Dutch, who disdained a woman's control. Floris succeeded to the government on attaining his majority. On the death of the emperor, John d'Avesnes was induced by a political motive to conciliate his mother and step-brothers, who were supported by France. The departure of Charles of Anjou was purchased with large sums of money. Guy de Dampierre obtained Flanders; John d'Avesnes, merely Hainault. Namur passed from the hands of Philip, the brother of Baldwin of Constantinople, by intermarriage, into those of the French monarch, but was sold by Louis to Guy de Dampierre, who bestowed it on one of his sons. Artois remained annexed to France.

GERMAN PIPER.

On the death of Conrad IV and of William of Holland, fresh competitors for the crown appeared, although undemanded by the German princes, each of whom strove to protract the confusion that reigned throughout the empire and utterly to annihilate the imperial power in order to increase their own. The crown was, in consequence, only claimed by two foreign princes, who rivalled each other in wealth; and the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of the sale of the shadow crown of Germany to the highest bidder. The electoral princes were even base enough to work upon the vanity of the wealthy count Hermann von Henneberg, who coveted the imperial title, in order to extract from him large sums of money, without having the slightest intention to perform their promises. Alfonso of Castile sent twenty thousand silver marks from Spain, and was in return elected emperor by Treves, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Richard, duke of Cornwall, however,

sent thirty-two tons of gold from England, which purchased for him the votes of Cologne, Mainz, and Bavaria; and, to the scandal of all true Germans, both competitors, neither of whom was present, were simultaneously elected emperor — Alfonso in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Richard outside the walls of the same city (1257). Alfonso, buried in the study of astronomy, never visited Germany. Richard claimed the throne, without regarding the superior rights of Conradin, in right of his wife, the sister of Frederick II, as the heir of the Hohenstaufens, a claim which drew upon him the suspicions of the pontiff, who, notwithstanding Richard's apparent humility, delayed his recognition of him as emperor. In Germany, where he made his first appearance on the defeat of the citizens of Treves at Boppard by his rival Conrad of Cologne, he was merely held in consideration as long as his treasury was full. Necessity ere long compelled him to return to England. In 1269 he revisited Germany, where, during his short stay, he attempted to abolish the customs levied on the Rhine. It was during this visit that he became enamoured of Göde von Falkenstein, the most beautiful woman of the day, whom he persuaded to accompany him to England, where he died in 1272.[i]

"Two kings when nobody wanted one," is the motto for that sad time when no German prince wore the depreciated crown. Once hotly disputed, it now attracted only foreigners to its purchase.[k]

CONRADIN (1267–1268 A.D.)

Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, resided sometimes in the court of Ludwig of Bavaria, at other times under his protection at the castle of Ravensburg on the Lake of Constance, an ancient allod of the Guelfs, which had formerly been bequeathed by Welf the elder to Barbarossa. In this retreat he associated with a young man of his own age, Frederick, the son of Hermann, markgraf of Baden. Frederick assumed the surname of "Austria," on account of his mother, who was a descendant of the house of Babenberg; he cherished, moreover, a hope of gaining possession of that duchy, on the restoration of the Hohenstaufens. Conrad and Frederick became inseparable companions; equally enthusiastic and imaginative, their ambitious aspirations found vent in song, and sportive fancy embellished the stern features of reality. One of Conradin's ballads is still extant.

The seclusion of Conradin's life and the neglect with which he was treated became daily more harassing to him as he grew up, and he gladly accepted a proposal on the part of the Italian Ghibellines, inviting him to place himself at their head. In the autumn of 1267 he crossed the Alps at the head of ten thousand men, and was welcomed at Verona by the Scala, the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction. The meanness of his German relatives and friends was here undisguisedly displayed. Ludwig, after persuading him to part with his remaining possessions at a low price, quitted him, and was followed by Meinhard and by the greater number of the Germans. This desertion reduced his army to three thousand men.

The Italian Ghibellines remained true to their word. Verona raised an army in Lombardy, Pisa equipped a large fleet, the Moors of Luceria took up arms, and Rome welcomed the youthful heir of the Hohenstaufens by forcing the pope once more to retreat to Viterbo. He was also joined by two brothers of Alfonso the phantom monarch, Henry and Frederick, and marched unopposed to Rome, at whose gates he was met and conducted to the capitol by

a procession of beautiful girls bearing musical instruments and flowers. The Pisans meanwhile gained a signal victory off Messina over the French fleet, and burned a great number of the enemy's ships. Conradin entered lower Italy and encountered the French army under Charles, at Tagliacozz, where his Germans, after beating the enemy back, deeming the victory their own, carelessly dispersed to seek for booty; some among them even refreshed themselves by bathing. In this condition they were suddenly attacked by the French, who had watched their movements, and were completely put to the rout, August 23rd, 1268. Conradin and Frederick owed their escape to the fleetness of their steeds, but were basely betrayed into Charles' hands at Astura when crossing the sea to Pisa by Giovanni Frangipani, whose family had been laden with benefits by the Hohenstaufens.

Conradin, whilst playing at chess with his friend in prison, calmly listened to the sentence of death pronounced upon him. On the 22nd of October, 1268, he was conducted, with Frederick and his other companions, to the scaffold erected in the market-place at Naples. The French were even roused to indignation at this spectacle, and Charles' son-in-law, Robert, count of Flanders, drawing his sword, cut down the officer commissioned to read the sentence of death in public, saying, as he dealt the blow, "Wretch! how darest thou condemn such a great and excellent knight?" Conradin, in his address to the people said, "I cite my judge before the highest tribunal. My blood, shed on this spot, shall cry to heaven for vengeance. Nor do I esteem my Swabians and Bavarians, my Germans, so low as not to trust that this stain on the honour of the German nation will be washed out by them in French blood." He then threw his glove on the ground, charging him who raised it to bear it to Pedro, king of Aragon, to whom, as his nearest relative, he bequeathed all his claims. The glove was raised by Henry, truchsess of Waldburg, who found within it the seal ring of the unfortunate prince, and henceforth bore in his arms the three black lions of the Hohenstaufens.

His last bequests thus made, Conradin knelt fearlessly before the block, and the head of the last of the Hohenstaufens rolled on the scaffold.[l] A cry of agony burst from the heart of his friend, whose head also fell; nor was Charles' revenge satiated until almost every Ghibelline had fallen by the hand of the executioner.

The Germans, nevertheless, looked on with indifference, and shortly afterwards elected an emperor, Rudolf von Habsburg, who married his daughter to the son of Charles of Anjou, and who was the tool of the pope and of the French monarch. The German muse alone mourned the fall of the great Swabian dynasty. Conradin and Frederick were buried side by side to the right of the altar, beneath the marble pavement of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the market-place of Naples, where the execution took place. At the end of the seventeenth century the pavement of the church was renewed, and Conradin was found with his head resting on his folded hands. The remains were left in their original state. The (modern) inscription on the tomb runs thus: "*Qui giacciono Corradino di Stooffen, ultimo de' duchi dell' imperiale casa di Suevia, e Frederico d' Asburgh, ultimo de' duchi di' Austria, Anno 1269.*" The raiser of this monument must have possessed

[l] Malaspina,[k] although a Guelf and a papal writer, sublimely describes Conrad's wretched fate, his courage and his beauty. "*Non voce querula, sed ad cœlum jungebat palmas. Suum Domino spiritum commendabat, nec divertebat caput sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cæsoris truces ictus in patientia exspectabat. Madet terra pulchro cruore diffuso, tabetque juvenili sanguine cruentata. Jacet veluti flos purpureus improvida falce succisus.*"

more piety than knowledge when he made the luckless Frederick the last of the Habsburgs.

Conradin's unhappy mother, who had vainly offered a large ransom for his life, devoted the money to the erection of the monastery of Stams, in a wild valley of the Tyrol. Charles' next work was the destruction of Luceria, where every Moor was put to the sword. Conrad, a son of Frederick of Antioch, a natural descendant of Frederick II, alone escaped death. A contrary fate awaited Henry, the youthful son of the emperor Richard, the kinsman and heir of the Hohenstaufens, who, when tarrying by chance at Viterbo on his way to the Holy Land, was, by Charles' command, assassinated (1274). The unfortunate king Enzio was also implicated in Conradin's fate.

Thus terminated the royal race of the Hohenstaufens, in which the highest earthly dignity and power, the most brilliant achievements in arms, extraordinary personal beauty, and rich poetical genius were combined, and beneath whose rule the Middle Age and its creations, the church, the empire, the states, religion, and art, attained a height whence they necessarily sank as the Hohenstaufens fell, like flowers that fade at parting day.

Charles of Anjou retained Apulia, but was deprived of Sicily. In the night of the 30th of March, 1282, a general conspiracy among the Ghibellines in this island broke out, and in this night, known as the Sicilian Vespers, all the French were assassinated, and Manfred's daughter, Constanza, and her husband, Pedro of Aragon, were proclaimed the sovereigns of Sicily.

It is remarkable that about this time the Crusades ended, and all the European conquests in the East were lost. Constantinople was delivered in 1261 by the Greeks from the bad government of the French Pullanes, and in 1262 Antioch was retaken by the Turks. The last crusade was undertaken in 1269 by Louis of France, Charles of Anjou, and Edward, prince of Wales, who were joined by a Frisian fleet which ought to have been equipped instead in Conrad's aid. After besieging Tunis and enforcing a tribute, the French returned home. The English reached the Holy Land (1272), but met with such ill success that Tripolis was lost in 1288, and Acre in 1291. On the reduction of these cities, the last strongholds of the Christians, Tyre voluntarily surrendered and Palestine was entirely deserted by the Franks.

DISINTEGRATION OF IMPERIAL POWER

The triumph of the pope over the emperor was complete; but the temporal power of which the emperor had been deprived, instead of falling wholly into the hands of his antagonist, was scattered among the princes and cities of the empire; and, although the loss of the emperor had deprived the empire of her head, vitality still remained in her different members.

The power of the Guelfs had ceased a century before the fall of the Hohenstaufens. The princes that remained possessed but mediocre authority, no ambition beyond the concentration of their petty states and the attainment of individual independence. The limited nature of this policy attracted little attention and ensured its success. Equally indifferent to the downfall of the Hohenstaufens and to the creation of the mock sovereigns placed over them by the pope, they merely sought the advancement of their petty interests by the usurpation of every prerogative hitherto enjoyed by the crown within their states, and thus transformed the empire, which had up to this period been an elective monarchy, into a ducal aristocracy. Unsatisfied with releasing themselves from their allegiance to their sovereign, they also

strove, aided by their feudal vassals and by the clergy, to crush civil liberty by carrying on, as will hereafter be seen, a disastrous warfare against the cities, in which they were warmly supported by the pope, whom they had assisted in exterminating the imperial house. The power they individually possessed was, moreover, too insignificant to rouse the jealousy of the pontiff, whom they basely courted and implicitly obeyed. The people, meanwhile (at least those among the citizens and knights who still ventured freely to express their opinions), bitterly lamented the dissolution of the empire, its internal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the princes, their utter disregard of order, public security, and national right, and loudly demanded the election of a successor to the imperial throne.[i]

Thus expired the Hohenstaufen family. In lordliness and grace, in personal greatness and renown, it stands, perhaps, alone in history. Even the Saxon and the Salic emperors fall short of it in these respects. But its ruin was only the more frightful; a fall without a parallel, in which this dynasty, and with it the glory of the empire, fell from the highest earthly greatness within a generation. In spite of all its splendour, the internal decomposition of the empire had become complete under this house. When the Saxon dynasty expired, the great fiefs or duchies were hereditary; when the Franconian dynasty expired, all fiefs, even the small ones, had become so; but at the end of the Hohenstaufens these fiefs had become independent principalities. The emperors had been diligent in splitting up the great duchies, which endangered the imperial supremacy, into small districts, under both clerical and lay lords. Now this disintegration was general, and as yet without immediate evil consequences. In extreme need, as at the Mongol invasion, the neighbours likely to be next attacked freely rendered their aid; and the valour of its members still protected the union. But the collective strength of the German nation no longer existed; and six hundred years were to pass before it should again meditate common enterprises, and renew the ancient empire.[i]

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE

[1125–1273 A.D.]

THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION

THE period over which we have passed affords ample materials for tracing the progress of the Germanic constitution. The first peculiarity regards the alarming decline of the imperial authority. (1) From the time of Frederick II, the crown no longer possessed the right of deciding even in litigated ecclesiastical elections. The popes had found that this privilege, exacted from them by the concordat of 1122, had uniformly led to abuse; that it enabled the sovereign to exercise his influence as effectually as if he possessed the undisputed right of nomination. But to remonstrate with princes so powerful as those of the Hohenstaufen dynasty was vain, and they were compelled to await a more favourable opportunity of vindicating the independence of elections. It was presented by the fall of the second Frederick; they refused to favour any candidate who hesitated to surrender the obnoxious privilege; and they accordingly succeeded in transferring from the crown to themselves the right of deciding whenever there was a division among the electors. (2) Again, even Frederick II was compelled to publish two pragmatic sanctions, by one of which he renounced, for himself and successors, the right of inheriting the movable effects of deceased ecclesiastics, and of demanding other subsidies than those fixed by feudal custom; by another he extended a similar indulg nce to the secular princes, in renouncing all claim to purveyance. (3) The imperial jurisdiction was still further circumscribed for the aggrandisement of the states. By the ancient laws of Germany, the sovereign was forbidden to revoke any cause to a tribunal held beyond the confines of the province where the defendant resided. If, therefore, he would exercise his judicial prerogative, he was compelled to travel from province to province to hear and decide causes. So long as the institution of counts palatine was in its full vigour, much of this laborious duty devolved on these deputies; but these offices gradually fell into insignificance, probably because they were too dependent on the local dukes to have any power of their own. It is certain that they ceased to be the slightest check on those great feudatories; so that in 1231, when Frederick abolished

the jurisdiction of the royal judges over the vassals of those princes, he merely abolished a vain formality.

Owing to the anarchy of the times, however, it was found that, if the public tranquillity were to be maintained, there must be some tribunal to take cognisance of the endless private wars and other disorders which rendered individual and even social security a mere name. Hence, in 1235, the same emperor was authorised to create a new judge, who should sit daily, but who, however, should hold no tribunal beyond the precincts of the court, and in no degree interfere with the local jurisdiction of the dukes. Yet he took cognisance throughout the empire of all cases which, by the Roman law, now spreading its roots widely in the Teutonic soil, were the peculiar province of the monarch. Still a vast majority of cases lay within the competency of the ducal tribunals, who thus exercised a jurisdiction in other countries inherent in the crown, or delegated to royal judges. (4) The imperial revenues were diminished. Of these, the reception of mortuary and purveyance fines, considerable in amount, ceased; but the loss was small in comparison with the usurpations of most fiscal and regalian rights by the states. The exercise of the judicial functions placed at the disposal of the dukes all such fines as were levied by their courts. During three centuries they had possessed the privilege — originally a concession from the crown, — of coining and fixing the value of money; now, by means which no contemporary historian condescends to explain, they obtained two thirds of the returns from all gold and silver mines. Anciently the Jews were the exclusive serfs of the emperor; and as the price of protection they paid him a capitation tax: now, though on the imperial domain they still stood in the same relation to him, within the jurisdiction of the dukes they began to be regarded as subject to the local treasury.

Again, several of the imperial cities, which had hitherto paid some annual revenue to the emperor, procured, probably in consequence of express stipulations to that effect — as the express condition of joining the imperial cause — exemptions from the obligation, and were henceforth styled free as well as imperial. We may add that the Germanic domain, which extended on both banks of the Rhine from Cologne to Bâle, was invaded by the four electors of Franconia, *viz.*, by the three archbishops and the count palatine of the Rhine. It is, indeed, manifest that, had not the late emperors possessed immense patrimonial domains, they could not have sustained the dignity of the station. William of Holland had little patrimony: he was consequently so poor as to be compelled to borrow money for his ordinary expenses; a necessity which virtually annihilated what little influence the constitution had left him.

At this period, however, neither the jurisdiction nor the revenues of the crown were well defined. There was evidently a struggle between it and the great dukes — the former to retain, the latter to usurp the rights which had hitherto been inherent in the sovereignty. In some cases, too, there appears to have been a compromise between the two parties. Thus, though the civil and criminal jurisdiction was engrossed and valued by the states, on account of the advantage they derived from pecuniary compositions or fines, there were some cases in which appeals to him were permitted, and some of which he took cognisance even in the first instance. These cases, however, were generally decided by the new judge of the court; when the parties implicated were of high dignity, the sovereign was expected to preside; but even then he was compelled to act with seven assessors of equal or higher rank than the parties themselves. It has been contended by some

writers that the Swabian emperors conferred vacant duchies and other princely fiefs on their own authority. To us this appears a rash assertion; for though the chroniclers intimate the mere fact, unaccompanied by any observation, the instruments which remain of that period distinctly express the consent of the nobles, or of the states.

In some other respects the dignity rather than the authority of the sovereign remained unimpaired. He convoked and presided over the diets; he rendered bastards legitimate; he conferred nobility by letters patent. It has been also asserted that he could declare war or make peace at his own pleasure. This is very partially true. As king of Lombardy, which was his *regnum proprium*, he could certainly commence hostilities against any potentate; but he could not force his ducal and princely vassals to take part in them. On such occasions he could summon to his standard the vassals who immediately held of him, those who were dispersed over his still considerable domains; but he could undertake no war for the general interests of the empire without the consent of his states. Thus, though Frederick I urged them to join him in declaring war against the Hungarians, they refused, and no campaign took place. The wars which that monarch undertook were conducted at his own expense. Frederick II had the gold of the two Sicilies to assist him.

Nothing, indeed, was so difficult as to prevail on the states to sanction any war: they often regarded the irruptions of the Danes with an apathy which seems irreconcilable with patriotism; they left all to the frontier markgrafs, and the military authorities of the particular district invaded; they saw Poland gradually emancipate itself from fealty to the empire, Arles become virtually independent, Friesland choose, as its sovereign head, William of Holland, the imperial dignity decline so as to become degraded in the eyes even of second-rate princes, and the house of Hohenstaufen gradually perish in attempting to preserve the connection of Italy with the empire. All were eager to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their chief. So jealous were they of imperial influence, that the duke whom they elected to that dignity they always forced to surrender his hereditary fief to some member of his family. In this there was good policy; for had such powerful princes as the dukes of Saxony or Bavaria been allowed to retain those provinces, in time despotism would assuredly have been established.

Yet still there was a family interest which was sometimes dangerous, always umbrageous, to the states. Thus the Swabian emperors, through their connections and their personal qualities, obtained a preponderance which we should not have expected to find under such a constitution. To guard against the possible consequences of the system, the electors began to select as candidates such princes only as, having no considerable domains — at least in Germany — could not give rise to apprehension; but yet who should have gold enough to pay dearly for so sterile an honour. Hence the landgraf of Thuringia, William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso of Castile allowed themselves to become the tools of their contemporaries, the pity of posterity.

One privilege, however, the emperors had, which we should not omit. In the imperial cities they could marry the children of the chief citizens according to their pleasure. When the parties were provided, a herald paraded the public places of the city, proclaiming that the kaiser had betrothed the daughter of such a citizen to the son of such a one; and the marriage always followed that day twelve months. In 1232, however, the citizens of Frankfort obtained an exemption from it.

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THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The most remarkable peculiarity during the period before us is the conversion of the privilege of pretaxation into the right of election. That privilege had existed for many reigns; this right does not appear to have been fully established before the reign of Frederick.

From this right of pretaxation, or of deciding which of the candidates should be proposed for the crown, the transition to that of absolute nomination was natural and easy; hence we now find them denominated the electoral college. Soon after the time of Lothair II these great dignitaries were seven, three ecclesiastical and four secular princes: the former being the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves; the latter, the dukes of Franconia, Bavaria, Saxony and Swabia. It is certain that Conrad IV was elected by these dignitaries, and that the rest of the princes had no other privilege than that of consenting — of suffrage not one word is said. A fifth secular prince is said to have been added to the electoral college. Other changes followed, the knowledge of which is necessary towards a clear conception of the Franconian constitution. The count palatine soon succeeded to the duchy of Bavaria; but as in these days no elector was allowed to possess two votes, the suffragan privilege of Bavaria was transferred to the crown of Bohemia. Again, when one of the great dukes was elected to the throne of Germany, he was compelled to confide the right of voting inherent in his duchy to some markgraf not already an elector. Thus, when Frederick of Hohenstaufen assumed the reins of empire, he entrusted the suffragan right of Swabia to the markgraf of Brandenburg, the only markgraf not an elector who was not dependent on some one of the four duchies.

German Priest of the Thirteenth Century

By this arrangement, which appears to have been the growth of accident, Bavaria and Swabia lost the electoral right — the former being united with the palatinate; the latter being lent, never to be revoked, to the aspiring house of Brandenburg. The former, indeed, might be consoled with the reflection that its suffrage was virtually retained, since it continued to rest in its hereditary duke, as count palatine; but the latter was unjustly deprived of it, if the term injustice can be applied in a case where the original privilege was an usurpation. There is reason enough for this exclusion of the Hohenstaufens: they were at once obnoxious to the church and the empire; and by both it was agreed that they should never again be permitted to obtain their ancient preponderance.

Nor is this period much less remarkable for another college — that of princes. Its formation and history is one of the most interesting circumstances relating to Germany during the Middle Ages. The result of the

proscription of Henry the Lion was the dismemberment of the great duchies of Saxony and Bavaria. This called into existence a number of feudatories, who, with domains from portions of those great fiefs, assumed the designation of princes of the empire, and obtained jurisdictions independent of the electors and of each other. Among these were the dukes of Austria, Styria, and Pomerania; the markgraf of Meissen; the landgraf of Meiningen; and the counts of Mecklenburg and Holstein. The political existence of the duchy of Swabia expired on the execution of Conradin, the last male of the Hohenstaufen dynasty; and the counts of Würtemberg, Fürstenberg, Hohenzollern, with several others, made their appearance on the scene of German history. By this deprivation of one man of the power of withstanding the emperor or diet, the dissolution of these great duchies was certainly a good. But not content with the divisions of territory already made, these newly created princes, at their deaths, subdivided their dominions among their sons, by which means the number of the order was much increased.

The college of princes, thus called into existence, made a thorough revolution in the territorial jurisdiction of the country. Before the dismemberment of the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, and the annihilation of the imperial influence, the chief princes, though next in rank to the sovereign dukes, had exercised a very limited feudal jurisdiction. They were themselves vassals of the emperor; and they had no authority over either the allodial proprietors, or the inferior vassals who held immediately from the same source. But now that the only bulwark which could defend the great body of the untitled nobility was thrown down; now that the number of princes was augmented so as to form an imposing body in the state, they began to usurp the privileges formerly possessed by the dukes, and aim at more. We must not forget that the ancient duchies were dissolved, some wholly, others, if not nominally, virtually. With the Hohenstaufen dynasty, both Swabia and Franconia fell as ducal states; never afterwards could they boast of a single chief; they were divided among many princes, who aimed at the jurisdiction formerly held by the dukes.

It might, indeed, be expected that the great body of the nobles in each of the new states, whether by the disruption of the ties which formerly bound them to the dukes, transferred from vassals to allodial proprietors, or allodial proprietors as many were from time immemorial, would resist the efforts of the princes for their subjugation. In many cases, no doubt, such resistance was offered and was successful; but in more the degradation was complete. The nobles and abbots not invested with the princely dignity now constituted an equestrian body, ranking among the provincial orders, which were retained by the princes as a sort of shadow of the ancient local states. This subjection of a numerous class to the will of the princes confirmed, in process of time, a maxim exceedingly useful to their views — that whatever lands are situated in a territory, belong to that territory; that whatever lies within a given boundary of jurisdiction, is necessarily subject to that jurisdiction. The consolidation of the territorial government in each state caused the princes soon to regard it almost as patrimonial; and in their last dispositions, acting on an ancient maxim of Germanic law, they divided it equally among their sons, and the sons themselves, in the order of things, effected similar partitions among their heirs: thus prodigiously increasing the number of territorial lords; for we must bear in mind that the individual who succeeded to the smallest portion of domain, succeeded also to all the rights attached to that domain. He sat in the provincial diets, and

exercised all the feudal privileges of his caste. Nor was this custom confined to the inferior princes and nobles: it was adopted by the most powerful of the reigning houses.

In time, however, the sovereign houses themselves took the alarm, and agreed that principalities should no longer be divided, whatever appanage might be awarded to the younger sons. Still the good was to a certain extent effected; the great duchies and principalities were considerably lessened in magnitude, and were no longer dangerous to the rest. In all cases, this policy of partition had been approved by the emperors; and though it was soon disused in reference to the greater states, it continued to flourish among the secondary and still inferior houses. It inevitably reduced the greatest families to insignificance; for insignificant and powerless every one became, whose members by interminable subdivision were thus reduced to poverty. Had the agnates of each family combined in aid of individual interests, they would still have been numerically strong; but the separate views and the passions of human nature rendered such combination impossible — and well for Germany that it was so.

German Noble, Thirteenth Century

But in tracing the progress of territorial usurpation, we have omitted to mention one important fact, which facilitated the success of the princes more than the anarchy of the times or the feebleness of the emperors — on the dismemberment of the duchies, the domains which those princes acquired were held by the feudal tenure, subject to the usual obligations towards the empire and its head; but many of them had also patrimonial lands, over which their influence was not circumscribed by law or custom. Their object was eventually to place the two descriptions of land on the same footing. In fact, a few generations, perhaps even a few years, in such times of anarchy, sufficed utterly to confound the distinction between feudal and patrimonial possessions. Of the unbounded power which was usurped over all, we need no other proof than the fact that, when there was a family in danger of extinction, females were allowed to inherit: a custom derived from France and Italy, and foreign to Germanic jurisprudence. We know that the Palatinate of the Rhine passed successively by marriage into the house of Saxony and into that of Wittelsbach.

The condition of the nobles immediately inferior to the princes no less deserves attention. On the extinction of the great duchies of Swabia and

Franconia, the nobles of those duchies who had hitherto been vassals of the house of Hohenstaufen became allodial proprietors, and succeeded to a territorial jurisdiction within their respective domains. But the ascendency of the princes in Bavaria, Austria, Saxony, Brandenburg, Meissen, and other provinces was the grave of freedom to the vast body of nobles.

THE CITIES

Equally interesting is the progress of the Germanic municipalities, the existence of which we have noticed from their origin under Henry the Fowler to the extinction of the Franconian dynasty. While the electors and the princes not electors were extending and consolidating their power under the shade of anarchy, the cities were not idle.

Originally, in each city there was a wide distinction in the condition of the inhabitants. The nobles were those to defend the walls, the free citizens to assist them, and the slaves to supply the wants of both. By the first two classes all the offices of magistracy were filled, even after the enfranchisement of the last by Henry V. But as the last class was by far the most numerous; as their establishment into corporations, subject to their heads, gave them organisation, union, and strength, they began to complain of the wall of separation between them. That wall was demolished, not, indeed, at once, but by degrees; the burgesses gained privilege after privilege, access to the highest municipal dignities, until marriages between their daughters and the nobles were no longer stigmatised as ill-assorted or unequal. The number of imperial cities — of those which, in accordance with imperial charters, were governed either by a lieutenant of the emperor or by their own chief magistrate — was greatly augmented after the death of Conradin; those in the two escheated duchies of Franconia and Swabia lost no time in securing their exemption from feudal jurisdiction. The next step in the progress of these imperial cities was confederation, which was formed, not only for the protection of each other's rights against either feudal or imperial encroachments, but for the attainment of other privileges, which they considered necessary to their prosperity. The league of the Rhine, which was inspired by William of Holland, appears to have been the first; it was soon followed by that of the Hanse towns. The latter confederation, which ultimately consisted of above fourscore cities, the most flourishing in Germany, had no other object beyond the enjoyment of a commercial monopoly — of their own advantage, to the prejudice of all Europe.

Of this confederation, or copartnership, Lübeck set the example before the middle of the thirteenth century: her first allies were the towns on the Baltic, then infested by pirates; and to trade without fear of these pirates was the chief motive to the association. So rapidly did the example succeed that, on the death of Richard of Cornwall, all the cities between the Rhine and the Vistula were thus connected. The association had four chief emporia — London, Bruges, Novgorod, and Bergen; and the direction of its affairs was entrusted to four great cities, Lübeck, Cologne, Dantzic, and Brunswick. The consequence was, not only a degree of commercial glory unrivalled in the annals of the world, but a height of power which no commercial emporium, not even Tyre, ever reached. The Hanse towns were able, on emergency, not only to equip a considerable number of ships, but to hire mercenaries, who, added to their own troops, constituted a

formidable army. They were powerful enough to place their royal allies — and their alliance might well be sought by kings — on the thrones of Sweden and Denmark.

By degrees many of these communities not merely refused to undertake any war for their superior's sake, but openly struck off his authority, expelled his deputies, and elected magistrates of their own. Even in the imperial cities which were situated on the domains of the crown, and during the glory of the Swabian dynasty, one magistrate only, the *advocatus* or *bailli*, was nominated by the crown; the rest were chosen by the people; and without their concurrence he could undertake nothing of moment. In the other cities, those submitted to the bishops appear first to have won their enfranchisement. Gradually they withheld all the feudal obligations, and annihilated all the vassalitic rights to which they had been subject. In vain did the ecclesiastics apply to Frederick II for the suppression of all the magistracies created by the people; that emperor knew his own interests too well to transform his best friends into enemies. In many cases, however, perhaps even in a majority, these municipalities, whether subject to temporal or ecclesiastical princes, procured their exemption from feudal obligations by purchase rather than by open force. Innumerable are the charters in the archives of the German cities, placing this fact beyond dispute.

The increasing dignity of these places, and the encouragement they held out to military adventurers, naturally allured the more indigent rural nobles within the walls. The members thus admitted knew that the confraternity contained names as noble as their own; and the prospect of civic dignities, those which regarded the administration of the law and the police, was always a powerful inducement. Others, again, instead of entering the municipality, were contented with obtaining the privileges of citizenship, still remaining on their former lands, and connected with their former lords. But this custom of the noble vassals of princes, dukes, or counts, so eagerly claiming the privileges in question, would have been fatal to those magnates, had not authority intervened to limit it. The men thus received as members of the municipalities contended that they were no longer subject to the jurisdiction of their lords; and if the latter chose to enforce it, the former speedily summoned the aid of their brethren. If one single member was in peril, or insulted, it was the duty of the rest to fly to his assistance; and formidable bands might often be seen issuing from the gates to resist some local baron. On the other hand, these *Pfahlbürger*, or external burgesses, were bound to lend their service to the municipality whenever it was at war with another power. The territorial lords themselves were compelled to combine for the maintenance of their rights, frequently defeated their municipal enemies, intercepted their merchandise, and laid waste their domains to the very gates of the city.

Yet, on the whole, the progress of events was exceedingly favourable to the corporations. If the nobles could combine, so could they; and leagues were formed capable of bidding defiance not merely to an elector, but to the whole empire. Thus, in 1256, about seventy cities, great and small, entered into a league to resist the newly enfranchised nobles of Franconia and Swabia, who were so many banditti, and whose attacks were peculiarly directed against the carriers of merchandise. As, in a degree almost equal, the rural churches suffered, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots were induced to join the confederation. After the death of Richard, king of the Romans, another was formed, for supporting the electors in the choice of an emperor.

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CONDITION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Descending in the social chain we come to the cultivators of the ground, the serfs or peasantry, whose condition, though sufficiently onerous, was yet considerably ameliorated. Corporeal servitude had ceased throughout a great part of the empire. This was, doubtless, owing to a variety of causes, of which many are apt to elude our observation. Assuredly one of these was not the increased humanity of the lords: the German mind has not been favourable to abstract notions of right, whenever that right has opposed aristocratic preponderancy.

In the view of a German noble, liberty meant no more than an emancipation from the despotism of the territorial princes; in that of citizen, exemption from the jurisdiction of emperor or prince; in that of a prince, perfect independence of the emperor. The grades of society below the rank of freemen were not thought worth the trouble of legislation; or if their condition was noticed, it was only to secure their continued dependence on their superiors. But human circumstances are more powerful than conventional forms, or the pride of man. Policy and interest demanded that the relation of the serfs should undergo considerable modification; that they should be placed in situations where their industry should be most productive

GERMAN PEASANTS

to their masters. But the same industry benefited themselves: it could not be provoked without some allurement; for the galley-slave will drop the oar when his taskmaster is not present. The encouragement thus afforded completely answered its purpose; and as the serfs gained property of their own, they became half enfranchised, not by conventional formalities, but by tacit consent, and by the influence of custom.

The inevitable effect of this system was the rapid increase of the population; and this increase, in its turn, tended to the support and prosperity of the whole order. To such consideration indeed did they arrive, that they were sometimes furnished with arms to defend the cause of their master. This innovation tended more than all other causes to the enfranchisement of the rural population; for whoever is taught to use, and allowed to possess, weapons, will soon make himself respected. The class thus favoured was certainly not that of the mere cultivators of the ground; but of the mechanics, the tradesmen, the manufacturers, and the chief villeins, who, holding land on the condition of a certain return in produce as rental, were little below free tenants. The agricultural districts had many gradations of society; and in respect to those over whom the generic appellation was the same, much would depend on the disposition of the proprietor,— on the nature of the obligations which he introduced into the verbal contract between him and his vassal. Nor must it be forgotten that, though the great aristocratic body,

whether ecclesiastic or secular, were, as a body, indifferent to the welfare of their dependents, though they preferred slaves to tenants half free, or peasants, or *liberti*, the benign influence of Christianity on individuals was not wholly without effect. The doctrine, that by nature all men are equal, and equally entitled to the expectations of another world; that the only distinction in a future state will be between those who have exercised, and those who have neglected, works of mercy and other social duties — could not fail to influence the hearts of some, and dispose them to ameliorate the evils of their dependents. We must not, however, omit to state that in certain provinces there was no amelioration whatever in the condition of the serfs.

The progress of the territorial jurisdiction in Germany is one of the most remarkable features of its history. Much of the supreme jurisdiction was wrested from the emperors; their frequent decease enabled the princes, with some show of reason, to arrogate to themselves the cognisance of causes within their respective domains; the royal assizes gradually declined in proportion as the imperial domains were circumscribed by grant or usurpation; the abolition of the provincial palatinian authority left these princes undisturbed chiefs of the tribunals within their territorial boundaries; and, of all his ancient authority in this respect, the emperor retained only a court judge to take cognisance of certain defined cases in the first instance.

This transfer of the judicial power from the emperor to the princes was attended with two evils — the one necessary and invariable, the other accidental. In the first place, the prince might be tyrannical or corrupt, without much fear of punishment; virtually he was subject to no responsibility; and we know that the best men, to say nothing of the lawless, will transgress the bounds of their authority. But even if the reigning prince were disposed to enforce the laws against the everlasting turbulence, the bloody strife of the nobles, where was the power by which he was to affect the formidable territorial nobles, who, having once been vassals of the emperor, were now transferred into allodial proprietors, and who scorned submission to the mandates of the dukes and markgrafs? And there were many nobles whose possessions, lying beyond the range of the electoral or even princely domination, were as much sovereigns as any monarch in Europe. These men recognised no authority beyond the general diets; and even from them little good was to be expected.

Violence took the place of order; arms were used both to commit injustice and to revenge it; one crime produced retaliation, and retaliation, which in reality was seldom, and, in the excited feelings of men, never, confined to the due measure, gave birth to new aggressions, until the original subject of offence was lost under a mass of injuries. Private wars, which were regarded as justifiable in theory, were thus sanctioned by practice, until, in certain districts, there was no such thing as social security.

BARBARISM OF THE PERIOD

The condition of society, indeed, was so horrible, that states were obliged to confederate — to form a league for mutual aid in repressing domestic disturbances. Where two states were at variance, the rest were constituted arbiters; and if the award were disregarded, an armed force from the different states of the confederation was ordered to enforce it. This conventional tribunal must, one would suppose, have fallen with the cessation of the circumstances which created it; but though it was merely intended to meet the

anarchy of the period following the death of Frederick II, it continued to modern times. The interruption to the ordinary course of justice, involved in the irresponsibility of so many princes and nobles, produced another innovation well worthy of our attention, since it casts so clear a light on the barbarism of the times — we mean that of hostages.

The word "hostage" seems, for want of a more precise term, to designate two usages essentially distinct from each other. The first usage was founded on the right of reprisals; it consisted in arresting, whenever there were the right and the power to arrest, any countrymen, or subjects of the adverse party, and of retaining them in prison until satisfaction was received. Hence, by this whimsical species of jurisprudence, a Swabian — a citizen of Ulm, for instance — who had an action against a citizen of Liège, did not give himself the trouble to prosecute the cause before the tribunals of Liège; he summarily laid his hands on the first citizen he could find, and led him away captive to Ulm: in Ulm the cause was tried; nor was the hostage, thus involuntarily made, released until the sentence was executed. What strikes us as more singular is, that the man who in everything else would have derided his own promises, never failed to surrender himself as a hostage; nor would he, on any consideration, have quitted the place designed him for a prison.

Much as the Swabian emperors were occupied in the affairs of Italy, in the Crusades, and other chimerical projects, we must not be so unjust to their memory as to leave on the reader's mind an impression that they were wholly negligent of their imperial duties. In regard to private war, for instance, they, as well as their predecessors of the Franconian and Saxon dynasties, endeavoured to extirpate the abuse. Thus Frederick I renewed, against all disturbances of the public peace, the ancient penalty of the *harnessar* — by which any one convicted was compelled to carry in public some badge of ignominy for a few hours or miles; generally in the very place where his crime had been committed. Sometimes the badge was a saddle, sometimes a dog. Thus, in 1156, the count palatine, with eleven other counts and many other nobles, were condemned to the same punishment: he and they were compelled to carry, the distance of two leagues, in presence of the assembled princes and nobles, a dog on their shoulders; but, through consideration for his age and character, the archbishop of Mainz, who was equally implicated, escaped the ignominy of the exposure.

Unfortunately, Frederick did not persevere in this salutary severity; for so engrossed was he by other objects, that the internal tranquillity was perpetually disturbed. In a subsequent instrument, he himself so far recognises duels, as to decree that no man should make war on another without a previous warning, and defiance of three days. To circumscribe, however, the distractions that prevailed on every side, he published another decree, in which all incendiaries were placed under the ban of the empire; and the power of imposing that ban he delegated to the territorial princes. Thus if, in conformity with ancient custom, blood might be shed with impunity, as stone houses were yet uncommon, incendiarism, which might prove fatal to a whole district, was a capital offence. These provisions were perfectly in accordance with the spirit of ancient Germanic jurisprudence; which, while it was satisfied with a pecuniary composition for homicide, exacted the last penalty for wilful burning. The same punishment was decreed against all who laid waste orchards and vineyards; but not against the destroyers of corn; because, in the latter case, the damage could be repaired in a few months; in the former, not for years.

Under Frederick II, another decree was passed which gives us the most

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unfavourable impression of the times. It establishes penalties against the son who made war on his father, who wasted that father's lands, or put him in prison. But what, indeed, could be hoped in an age when all restraint was removed? The chronicle of Bishop Conrad[b] informs us that, after the excommunication of Frederick by Gregory IX, the bandits rejoiced; that ploughshares were turned into swords, and pruning-hooks into lances; that everybody carried flint and steel about him for the purpose of setting fire to the property of his enemy. Under William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall the public safety was not likely to be much regarded. In the expressive language of the chronicle of Thuringia,[c] everybody wished to domineer over his followers. During this melancholy period, fortresses arose on every side — some for the habitation of bandits, others for resistance; the former, however, in greater proportion. And, as in former times, though undoubtedly in a degree more fatal, the fortresses which had been erected for the defence of the country were converted to its desolation. Frederick II had promulgated severe penalties against all who, whether advocates or others, should, on any pretext, build fortresses on the domain of any church or community; and had ordered the demolition of such as were already standing. This is a remarkable illustration of a fact which meets us in almost every page — that no estimate whatever is to be formed from the imperial edicts, concerning the administration of law, though such edicts afford the most incontestable evidence of the state of society.

COSTUME OF A GERMAN EMPEROR, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The number of castellated ruins which now frown from the summits of the German mountains, and the construction of which may be satisfactorily referred to the former half of the thirteenth century, prove how little the decrees of Frederick were regarded. Nor were the towns themselves without such fortresses. Ostensibly to guard against the turbulence of the inhabitants, but really to plunder them with impunity, the princes and counts fortified their own houses within the walls. Nothing, at this day, can seem more extraordinary than the eagerness with which the bishops, for instance, erected such castles. But though many of them were wolves instead of shepherds, we have evidence enough to show that the flocks were often to be feared. In fact, no authority, temporal or spiritual, moral or religious, was respected, unless it had the means necessary to enforce respect. Simple knights often united their means for the same purpose, and rendered the structure their common abode: they became co-partners in the honourable profession of bandits. Such a state of society as that just exhibited could scarcely be expected from the institutions of chivalry.[d]

THE ART AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

The climax of the empire coincided with the greatest age of German literature until the time of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. The splendid display of Barbarossa's knightly assemblies, or the magnificence of Frederick II's solemn entry into Mainz are but examples of a growing love of pageantry and artistic awakening that permeated every princely court. The spirit of the Renaissance was already touching the perception of men, and chivalry replaced monastic ideals with the worship not of women but of love. Then, too, the narrow confines of feudal society were broken up, and the courts of the north were thrilled with stories of the far-off sunny land of their emperor. Cosmopolitanism shows itself in architecture as well as in the subjects of song. The influence of the crusades and of that strange court of Frederick II, where Moslem culture was favoured to a suspicious degree, and the verses of Provençal or Italian poets beguiled the hours that were stolen from affairs — these worked to open up a new era in German culture.[a]

The architecture of the time abandons the Roman and the Byzantine style of the period of the Ottos and the Franconian emperors, to borrow from the Norman, the French, the oriental, and sometimes from the Moorish. The round arch gives way to the ogive; and, in place of solid columns or heavy square pillars, there are clusters of slender columns which, with their interlacing branches, sustain the arches and galleries. The church of St. Gereon at Cologne, with its great ten-sided hall, opening by a stairway into the elongated rectangular chancel, terminated by a Romanesque apse, flanked by two square towers and its dome where the Byzantine, the Moorish, and the Gothic mingle, was almost finished in 1227. About that time (1238–1264), in the same town, arose the basilica of Saint Kunibert, whose enormous square belfry surmounts the façade and whose choir shows a gallery of raised arcades after the Saracen manner. At Treves was built the Liebfrauenkirche (about 1227–1242), where a Moorish decoration adorns a Byzantine dome. A conflagration destroyed the old cathedral of Cologne in 1248, with its Romanesque and Byzantine treasures, and the church was replaced by the prodigious Gothic monument whose choir was not consecrated until 1322, and whose towers with their spires were not finished until the present day.

The subjects and the rhythm, brought by the poets who flocked from every part of Germany — even from Italy, Provence, and England — to take part in that solemnisation of marriage and the imperial diet under the eyes of Frederick II and Isabella, bore witness to quite another sort of inspiration and temperament. He who in Italy made amorous verses in the Italian idiom, the *favola volgare*, which soon became the *lingua cortigiana* of Dante, had brought from England a copy of the romance of *Palamedes*, or even more certainly that of *Giron le Courtois*. Although he took pains that his son should speak Latin and German equally well, he preferred, like the Frederick II of the eighteenth century, the poetry of the Italians, of the French, and even of the English to that of his own country.

It is at this period that various poetical themes of foreigners, of the poets of the north and south of France or the bards of England, crossed the German frontier. Hartmann von Aue and Wirnt von Grafenberg retold in the German tongue the tales of the Round Table — *Erec and Ivain*, *Wigamur and Wigalois*, the knights of the Lion and the Eagle — echoes of Breton poetry which passed with the English alliance from Guelfs to Ghibellines. The translator

of the *Erec* of Chrétien de Troyes, Hartmann von Aue, shows more originality and lightness in the poem of *Ivain*, that knight of the Round Table, escaped from the forest of Brochelande, who condemns himself to the most romantic inadventures and the most terrible trials for having merely forgotten, not broken, his promise to the lady of the fountain of Baranton. German inspiration in its imitations must be given its due, although it is everywhere exaggerated, contradictory, and sometimes even mocked by poetry itself.

The singer of the *War of Troy*, Konrad von Würzburg, had already held, according to his original way of expressing himself, "a forge of gold and diamonds from which issued thousands of joyous and precious poesies in honour of the Virgin Mary," who had never been so highly honoured as in that country where, since the time of Tacitus, men had recognised in women a kind of prophetic and divine quality.

Meanwhile appears the legend of *Alexis*, who abandons his earthly bride Adriatica to woo the bride of Heaven by his pilgrimages, his austerities, his sorrows, and who, bent by age and weariness, and without making himself known beneath the rags of the mendicant, comes back to die at the door of the nuptial chamber which he had quitted young and filled with hope. The story which Hartmann von Aue makes of the Poor Henry, that Job of German poetry, in his misery and patience, who was abandoned, afflicted with leprosy, until a young girl sacrificed herself to marry him and bring him back to health, is worthy of a place beside the religious jewel casket of Mary. However, in the face of all this poetry of adoration and renunciation, satire, already spreading in Germany through the verse of Prêtre Amis, showed forcibly the influence of the metrical tales of the earliest poetry, and of the neighbourhood of those heretics, the patarins of Italy, whom Frederick occasionally burned at the stake, without, however, particularly detesting them; and of those satirical poems which Frederick and his friends readily composed. The same struggle went on between the lyric and erotic poetry of the minnesingers.

Walther von der Vogelweide (Walter of the Bird Meadow) has still the naïve love of nature and discreet adoration for his lady. He is interested in spring, which adorns the earth with verdure; he dares only once to name his Hildegonde: his last thought is for the nightingales in whose rhythm he has sung. He orders that four cavities shall be cut in his tombstone in the convent of St. Laurence in Würzburg, and he leaves to the monks a bequest providing that nourishment for the winged singers, his friends, may always be placed therein; a request which was not long carried out and which has given him his sobriquet. But after him the knightly poet Ulrich von Liechtenstein, while putting into verse his warlike and gallant adventures, in his poem on the *Service of Ladies* [*Frauendienst*], already mocks the theme of gallantry. It is not a completely disinterested love which he bears for his duchess of Austria, wife of Frederick; and she, by no means an ideal personage, plays singular tricks upon her knight: one day she punishes him for his timidity by cutting off a lock of his hair; another, chastises him for his boldness by letting him drop from a rope hanging from her window. It is true that the knightly poet gives her a singular proof of his devotion by having a painful operation performed on his mouth, in order that this feature may please her better.

FAMOUS TALES

In the heroic style and in narrative Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strasburg have left the most notable works — the first with his *Titurel* and his *Parzival*, the second with his *Tristan und Isolde*. But despite

an original bias each worked on themes borrowed from French poems. It is thanks to the good knight of Thuringia, Wolfram, the trusty servant of the landgraf, that the poem of the *Holy Grail*, born in the monasteries of Wales, treating of that sacred chalice made of most precious stones, in which Joseph of Arimathea caught the blood of the Saviour, received in Germany its entirely mystical and sacerdotal form. Wolfram tells us himself that he has borrowed it from a Provençal poet. But he certainly accentuates the religious inspiration and the sentiment of nature. He could say with reason: "He who reads it, or hears it, or copies it — his soul will be raised heavenward." He almost rivals the originals in his picturing of this mystic temple of Montsalvat, with its seventy chapels, its thirty-six openwork belfries, and its dome spangled with emeralds, carbuncles, and sapphires, symbolising as many virtues, but whose splendour pales before the carved stone of the Holy Grail — before perfection itself. As for Parzival, the pure knight who, without having sought for it, becomes the king of the Holy Grail — his is a heart of the German Middle Ages beating beneath the breast-plate, and it is a kindred spirit that dreams under his helmet, although he was born in the forest of Brochelande and put on his spurs at the Round Table of King Arthur. Introduced for the first time into the symbolic temple, for the conquest of which he abandons his mother and his lady, he forgets to pronounce the sacred words which might relieve the king Amfortas of his protracted vigil. He now doubts; he wanders with that painful wound in his heart, until a hermit cures him and replaces him on the road to the infinite.

Let us not forget that the poem of the Holy Grail arrived at its perfection in Germany when the enthusiasm of the crusade, at least for the Orient, had died out. The gay and wayward Gottfried von Strasburg, a former scholar, who takes us from the epic to the romantic tale, from the ideal to the sensual, gave animation to the poem which he borrowed from Thomas of Brittany. It tells of Tristan and of Isolde the blonde, those two culpable lovers, whose peculiar humour, half tender, half playful, half weeping and half jesting, corresponded with the manners of those who read of them. These two lovers, buried in the solitudes, neither ate nor drank; love, preserved with sweet spices, was their food in the depths of the forest. In their lovers' grotto, hollowed out of the mountain-side, whence flowed a pure and limpid stream, where no wind but the balmy breath of the zephyrs penetrated, they listened to the songs of the birds, they told long tales of the unfortunates slain by love; for the benefit of prying eyes, when they slept upon their couch of green boughs, the blade of a sword lay between them, as when the valiant Siegfried and the chaste Grimilda dwelt in the enchanted castle of the Niebelungen.

Germany has, moreover, interpreters of her poetry as well as of her national sentiment. A minnesinger of the period — paying for German faith and poetry a veritable heart-debt to the landgraf of Thuringia, Louis, and to his holy wife Elizabeth — established at that enlightened and loyal court of the fortress of Wartburg, ornamented with brave knights and fair ladies, a sort of fantastic concourse of poetry, where figured all the German poets of the different epochs and various countries; and he gave the victory to the most pious among them over the devil himself, who had entered in the lists. The cosmopolitan and politic Frederick II, the friend of the Arabs and the enemy of the popes, who himself presided at the removal of the remains of the canonised St. Elizabeth, would not have contradicted this judgment at Mainz, if he had not had a reward to bestow in the midst of

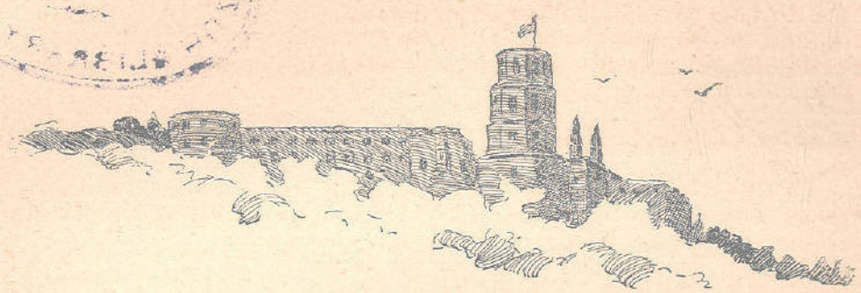
these diverse tendencies. He laid the first stone of that exquisite little funeral monument whose harmonious whole, whose graceful columns, and whose imposing arches seemed to uplift the faithful to the love of God.

But it is Walther von der Vogelweide — who had seen so many changes, before whom had passed in review Henry VI, Otto IV, Philip of Swabia, the young Henry, Frederick II — who best represents his period when he draws his inspiration from the spectacle of disorders which, in the mask of a false greatness, testify to the peril of the country and announce that decadence of the holy empire, against which the mighty Frederick II waged a losing battle. In the midst of the quarrels of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, he stigmatised the corruption of the clergy and the avarice of those princes who, while at the service of the highest bidder, remained faithful to themselves through their hatred for the pope and for Rome, whom they accused of being the cause of all these wars.

He often repeated that "justice, honour, and the fear of God no longer reign over their hearts," and regretted the sight of "felony behind the walls of the fortresses, violence stalking the highways — war everywhere." He lifted his feeble poet voice against the strife of sovereigns and of popes, who compromised the empire and the house of God, "because a pope had crowned two Cæsars with the same crown to the ruin of the empire. All nature is at war," said he — "the wild beasts of the forest, the fowls of the air, the human beings upon the earth. What wretchedness is thine, O Germany — what wild disorder!"

During his latter days, seeing all changed about him, he fell a prey to melancholy religious reveries: "Where are they fled," sang this last of the minnesingers, "whither have they vanished — those beautiful departed years? Has my life been a dream or a reality? Was it a slumber or an awakening? That which yesterday was as familiar as my own right hand is to-day become a world unknown. Were ye then but lies — people and fatherland of my infancy? The companions of my youth are old and bent, the sands of the desert have overflowed the fields, and scattered clumps alone remain where stood the splendid forest. Only the streams flow on forever; and my life will leave no more trace than an oar-stroke in the great sea."

This poet, however, did not live to witness the greatest event of the period — the downfall of Frederick II and of the German empire, which did not long survive the brilliant diet of the most powerful among the German emperors at Mainz in 1235.[e] In the anarchy which followed the fall of the great Hohenstaufen, the imperial power was all but extinguished.[a]



CHAPTER IV

THE READJUSTMENT OF GERMANY

[1273–1347 A.D.]

> The inner history of Germany during the next two centuries is essentially a struggle of the greater nobility among themselves for power, and of the lesser nobility and dependents against them, for what they called their freedom. —LEWIS.[a]

THE fall of the Hohenstaufens marks the end of the mediæval empire. The Alps again become the frontier of Germany, and, amid the uncertainty of a disputed sovereignty at home, the German monarchs turn from the high dream of world empire to the more substantial practice of using the emperor's office for personal and territorial aggrandisement. Opposed in this by their brother princes, to whom their elections were due, they spent the energies of the country in countless petty wars, and upon the misfortunes of a land of anarchy, laid the basis for their hereditary states. The story is not only intricate but it is dreary, and yields no contribution to the history of Europe beyond the tumult of its wars and the development of one or two great princely houses. For a while there was a veritable interregnum, when neither the presence of Richard of Cornwall nor the distant schemes of Alfonso of Spain could win for the rival claimants even the shadow of power. But this cheerless period past, we come upon more national and direct lines of history. Two houses especially rose to prominence above the rest and established themselves as natural leaders. If, after the interregnum, one keeps an eye upon the two houses of Habsburg and Luxemburg, a line of history can be traced through the tangled web of civil wars and feuds of rival claimants. With but a slight exception, after the great interregnum the imperial dignity alternated between the house of Habsburg and the party of Luxemburg.[1] The first Habsburg was scarcely more than owner of a single castle, but he gave his family the splendid duchy of Austria and the surrounding states. The first Luxemburg came from old Lorraine by the borders of France, but through him Bohemia became his family's hereditary possession, and while the Habsburgs took in the lands to the south — Styria and Carniola — the Luxemburgs extended their power in the north by the addition of the Mark of Brandenburg. Thus, almost from

[1] Ludwig of Bavaria, although a Wittelsbach, owed his throne to the Luxemburgs, who had no strong candidate of their own at the time.

[1218–1273 A.D.]

the Baltic to the Adriatic, the eastern frontier of the empire lay in the hands of these two imperial families.

It will be for us now to trace the details of this territorial development, and in some measure show its effect upon the empire.[a]

RUDOLF OF HABSBURG

In that corner of the kingdom of Burgundy comprehended between the rivers Aar and Reuss, stood the castle of Habsburg, built early in the eleventh century by Werner, bishop of Strasburg; which imparted a domicile and a title to the ancient counts of Upper Alsace. Here Rudolf, destined to become the founder of the greatness of the Habsburg house, was born on the first of May, 1218, and was presented at the baptismal font by the emperor Frederick II. On the death of his father Albert in 1240, Rudolf succeeded to his estates; but the greater portion of these were in the hands of his paternal uncle, Rudolf of Laufenburg; and all he could call his own lay within sight of the great hall of his castle.

BUFFOON OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The early youth of Rudolf of Habsburg was devoted to martial and athletic exercises; he was distinguished by his skill in horsemanship, and his great strength and activity; and was knighted by Frederick II, whose train he joined, and who admired his gallantry and dexterity. But his disposition was wayward and restless and drew him into repeated contests with his neighbours and relations. After his father's death he attacked his uncle Rudolf of Laufenburg, under colour of his having appropriated an undue share of the family estates; but his attack was vigorously resisted by Godfrey, son of the old count, who carried the war into Rudolf's own possessions, and burnt his principal town of Brugg. A similar aggression upon his maternal uncle Hartmann, count of Kyburg, induced that nobleman to disinherit his refractory nephew, and to make a grant of his possessions to the bishop of Strasburg. He then entered the service of Ottocar II, king of Bohemia, under whom he served in company with the Teutonic Knights, in his wars against the Prussian pagans; and afterwards against Bela IV, king of Hungary. He next turned his arms against the bishop of Strasburg, who refused to surrender the grant of the Kyburg estates; and after the bishop's death, so intimidated his successor that he purchased peace from Rudolf by surrendering the disputed lands. The deaths of his cousin Hartmann, son of Werner, and of his uncle Hartmann, soon afterwards, put him in possession of the county of Kyburg; and he received the homage of many nobles and cities who admired his valour and courted his protection. Even the confederate mountaineers of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden chose him as their advocate; and the imperial citizens of Zurich elected him their prefect.

The count of Habsburg had extended his power and spread wide the fame of his valour by these and other exploits, which belong rather to his biography

than to the imperial history. But now the greatest of all his successes awaited him. At the urgent request of the newly elected Pope Gregory X, an electoral diet was convened at Frankfort for the election of a Roman king. The names of Alfonso X, king of Castile, and Ottocar II, king of Bohemia, stood foremost as competitors for the imperial crown. But a new and unexpected candidate was proposed by Werner, elector of Mainz. In the year 1259 Werner had been invested with that archbishopric, and on his way to Rome to receive the pallium was escorted across the Alps by Rudolf of Habsburg, and under his protection secured from the robbers who beset the passes. Charmed with the affability and frankness of his protector, the archbishop conceived a strong regard for Rudolf, and now proposed him as a person eminently fitted for the great office in debate. The electors are described by a contemporary as desiring an emperor but detesting his power. The comparative lowliness of the count of Habsburg recommended him as one from whom their authority stood in little jeopardy; but the claims of the king of Bohemia were vigorously urged; and it was at length agreed to decide the election by the voice of the duke of Bavaria. Ludwig without hesitation nominated Rudolf.

At the moment of his election Rudolf was encamped before Bâle, whither he had returned to punish the refractory bishop and citizens. The good tidings were announced to him by his nephew Frederick of Hohenzollern, burggraf of Nuremberg, but were at first indignantly received by the incredulous Rudolf. Being at length satisfied of the reality of his good fortune, he made peace with his enemies of Bâle, who readily yielded that submission to the sovereign of Germany which they had denied to the count of Habsburg. He proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where, with his countess, he received the royal crown; and his two daughters Matilda and Agnes were immediately afterwards married, the first to Ludwig II, duke of Bavaria, and the other to Albert II, duke of Saxony.[b] But his coronation did not secure for Rudolf the undisputed control. His disappointed competitor was still far more powerful than he. Ottocar of Bohemia had built up a realm alone in the east of the empire which was threatening the integrity of the empire itself. To Bohemia he had added by marriage Austria, Styria, and Carniola — the very possessions destined to be associated through modern history with the name of the Habsburgs. Ottocar was a restless and vigorous ruler. The chronicler describes him as "a fine youth, dark in colour, of middle stature, strong-hearted, of comely countenance; brave, wise, superior to wise men and philosophers in eloquence." He had been oppressive, however, to the German element and especially to the lesser nobility, and the jealousy of the German princes soon found in Ottocar's seizure of Austria pretext for the war which Rudolf was anxious to wage upon this defiant vassal. It was this war which gave Austria to the Habsburgs. Let the naïve chronicle of the monks of Kolmar tell the story in detail.[a]

THE CHRONICLE OF KOLMAR

In the year of the Lord 1273, Count Rudolf called "of Habsburg" was chosen Roman emperor. The cities accepted him immediately and peace spread over all German lands. When the nobles who lived under the sovereignty, or tyranny, of the Bohemian king heard this they were much rejoiced, for they hoped now to get free of the sovereignty of the Bohemian king. Therefore they sent messengers and letters to the Roman king with the humble petition that he would come into their territory; they would submit to his

sovereignty those lands pertaining to the empire which the king of Bohemia had acquired by violence.

When the king of Bohemia heard this he was sore troubled and called together an assembly of the learned powers, that is of the archbishops, the bishops, the provosts, the abbots and friars. When they had come into his presence he spake as follows: "We have just heard that the count Rudolf of Habsburg calls himself a Roman king, and says he will bring under dominion our lands which we hold according to manifold legal titles. As we are not willing to suffer this, for we hold these lands on a variety of legal grounds, moreover the thing would involve us in most grievous damage, I ask of your loving favour that you will strengthen your allegiance to us by an oath and that you will drive all my enemies forcibly from the land." Then all spoke with one accord: "Whatever is the pleasure of the lord king — that we will do." Then the king said: "Swear allegiance to me." And they all swore it. Moreover the burghers of all his cities swore allegiance to him and furthermore gave their children as hostages. When King Rudolf had seen the letters of the Bohemian nobles he would fain at once have come to their aid, if he had been able to leave the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

RUDOLF I OF HABSBURG (1218–1291)
(From the probably unauthentic woodcut by Burgkmair in the *Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I*, 1512–1515)

But as at the moment it was impossible for him to betake himself in person to Bohemia, certain of the nobility came themselves into Alsace to urge their request to the king that he would waste no time before hastening into the lands of the king of Bohemia. Moved by the requests of these lords the Roman king Rudolf at last summoned in person all the knights whom he could approach and commanded all his peoples not to tarry but to put on their armour and go with him, for that he must suddenly hasten to another quarter. Many promised him good support but were unable to fulfil their promises.

So the king left his country with few followers, yet from day to day he gathered about him more and more knights. But when he came to Mainz the lord of Klingen spake to him, "Sire, who is your treasurer?" To whom the king replied, "I have no treasures, and no money except five shillings in small coin." Then answered the lord of Klingen, "How then will you

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[1273 A.D.]

provide for your army?" And the king answered him back, "As the army has always provided for me, so will it be able to provide for me on this campaign also." Then the king moved forward with a light heart though with the greatest lack of money. He advanced unresisted, and everything pertaining to the empire gave itself up to him freely and fairly. Castles, fortresses, lands — it mattered not to whom they belonged — surrendered of their own free will, for they could not defend themselves.

But the king of Bohemia did not think that King Rudolf would seek or would be able to devastate the lands of Austria without opposition. For had he truly feared the approach of the Roman king he might very easily have barricaded the bridges across the rivers and the narrow passes with a few people and so have impeded for long, the advance of the king. But when the Roman king came to his son-in-law the king of Bavaria, he was received by him with reverence, and his followers as well as himself were abundantly and willingly supplied with all that was necessary. The king also made agreements with different lords that they would suffer him to pass through their territories unmolested. When this reached the ears of the king of Bohemia he was sore vexed; he collected an army and confronted the German king in the neighbourhood of Rennes to force him out of his territory. But this he was unable to do because the people of the king of Bohemia were encamped on one side of the Danube and the army of the Roman king on the other. The king of Bohemia had placed all his hopes in the city of Klosterneuburg, which seemed to him impregnable. This city is situate on a mountain and is surrounded with a strong wall and many towers. As a garrison he had placed in it a powerful contingent of Bohemians whom he had furnished on the most liberal scale with provisions. At the same time he had arranged that in case Vienna was attacked by the Roman king, the city of Klosterneuburg should lend its close support with everything necessary: in the event of the citizens of Vienna surrendering to the Roman king he would harry them mercilessly from Klosterneuburg. For the king of Bohemia had hoped by this fortress to be able to hold all Austria in check.

The king of Bohemia had occupied the countries of Bavaria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria for many years in undisputed possession. When now Count Rudolf of Habsburg was elected king of the Romans, the king of Bohemia made most diligent inquiries of the Dominican friars, the Minorites, and others, of whom it was believed that they were informed of his circumstances. A brother of the order of the Dominican friars by the name of Ruediger, a pleasant preacher, who knew Count Rudolf intimately, said what follows to the Bohemian king: "My lord the king, if you will grant me freedom and will not be angry I will indeed inform you of the condition of his country and of his person." Then said the king of Bohemia: "Say what thou wilt; never from me shalt thou suffer enmity on account of thy speech." Brother Ruediger then observed: "My lord the king, Count Rudolf of Habsburg is a lean, tall man, with long aquiline nose, moderate in eating, already in years, but not yet sixty. He has many, that is to say nine, children; exposed to the direst need from his youth upwards, he has yet been faithful to all his own; from his boyhood he has passed a life of agitation in arms, wars, feuds, endless labours and needs. By cleverness more frequently than by force he has been victorious and in all he is favoured by good fortune. They say of him that in his awe for the holy Virgin Mary he has never done evil on a Saturday nor suffered it to be done by his people." Then the king of Bavaria said: "Good and evil hast thou told me of this count, but above all every enemy of his must fear his good fortune."

[1276 A.D.]

Then the king of Bohemia began to strengthen by further protections the four works which were round the walls of the city. Also he forced the burgher-knights, nobles, and barons to give him their children as hostages and to deliver up to him their strongest castles besides their arms. Moreover he sent many Bohemian knights armed into the cities of Austria and sent them provisions in rich abundance, so that in case the Roman king Rudolf should attack separate cities, the burghers might have no excuse but could if they were willing defend their cities against the attackers. But above all he furnished the city of Klosterneuburg with rich stores, because he wanted to supply Vienna and the other cities from this centre. Also he forbade anyone in his supreme presence to speak of the Roman king Rudolf as sovereign or king. And he ordered the Dominican friars not to keep their provincial capital in his territory.

But in the year of the Lord 1276 the Roman king Rudolf with two thousand armed horse betook himself to Bavaria and allied himself with the duke of Bavaria on condition that the son of the duke should marry a daughter of the king. When this had taken place the vast district was given over to the king, and a thousand knights on caparisoned horses joined his side. From this time his army began to increase in knights. Then the Roman king advanced with the said army against Vienna and laid siege to it. So narrowly is he supposed to have shut it in that on one side of the city no one without his permission could come in or go out without damage.

But the king of Bohemia collected twenty thousand knights and sent his army on the other side of the Danube to confront the Roman king's and forcibly eject the latter from the country. The knights of the king of Bohemia, however, would not follow a single command of their king, unduly alarmed as they were at the prospect of the battle with the Germans. And the king of Bohemia too, did not dare to trust his own men, because for a long time he had partly murdered and partly exiled from the land fathers, brothers, blood relations and relatives by marriage among the nobility, sometimes by mere force, sometimes by cunning. The army of the Roman king on the other hand would have been very glad to have fought with the army of the Bohemian king if it could have engaged it upon a suitable battle-field.[c]

The Bavarians, by a ruse, succeeded in getting possession of Klosterneuburg.[a] After its capture King Rudolf betook himself thither with his army, divided the booty, and for fourteen days gave abundant sustenance to his army out of what the king of Bohemia had introduced into the city.

Through this town the city of Vienna was so held in check that neither could the burghers well come to the help of the king of Bohemia nor could the latter liberate the Viennese from their circumvention by the king of the Romans. In their despair the Viennese knew not what to do. So they held a council, concluded a treaty with the king of the Romans and handed over the city to his dominion; also he was honoured by them with large and splendid presents. When the Viennese then had abandoned their old sovereign and recognised as sovereign the king of the Romans, they at once requested the king of Bohemia to restore their children whom they had placed with him as hostages. But the king refused to restore the children. Then the Viennese collected an army, fell upon the territory of the king of Bohemia, overcame several castles and cities, and so returned home. When, however, the king of the Bohemians saw that he could not withstand the king of the Romans, he humbled himself, and surrendered himself to his mercy. Under the following conditions peace was restored between the kingly sovereigns by the princes. The Bohemian king was to give his daughter in marriage to

King Rudolf's son, was to receive the regalia from King Rudolf as was befitting, and was to place three hundred knights with caparisoned horses at the disposition of the army of the king if it should so please the latter.

The king of Bohemia, with a numerous company of knights and horses, glittering in robes decked out with gold and precious stones, prepared at once to receive the regalia from the Roman king. When the princes of King Rudolf heard of this they told the king of it with joy, saying: "My lord, make yourself ready with precious vestments as becomes a king." Then the king spoke, "The king of Bohemia has more than once made merry over my grey jerkin; but now shall my grey jerkin make merry over him." Then he spoke to his notary: "Give me thy cloak, so that the king of Bohemia may deride my poverty." When the king of Bohemia arrived, the Roman king said to his knights, "Don your armour, arm your chargers, and, thus prepared for war as well as you may be, place yourselves in order on both sides of the way along which the king is coming, and show the barbarian peoples the splendour of the German arms." When all this had been made ready according to the will of the king, the Bohemian king appeared with gold-decked robes and in royal splendour; he fell at the feet of the Roman king and prayed him humbly for his regalia. Moreover he renounced a hundred marks income, as well as forty thousand marks which the duke had had from Austria, and the king of Bohemia had owned through the queen Margareta. Then the Roman king gave the kingdom and the regalia to the king of Bohemia, and before all those present declared him his worthy friend. While the Roman king did thus he appeared lowly and ordinary in his grey jerkin and he sat on a stool.

German Trumpeter of the Thirteenth Century

After a few weeks the king of Bohemia repented of having submitted to the Roman king. The king of Bohemia saw that King Rudolf had many possessions, it was true, but for all that, was always in the greatest need. On these and other grounds he made a nun of his daughter whom he had given in marriage to King Rudolf's son, and caused her solemnly to take the veil in a convent of the order of the Minorites.[c]

The external appearances of reconciliation and friendship had been preserved between the rival sovereigns during their residence in Vienna. But Rudolf must have been strangely unacquainted with mankind, if he expected a peace thus dictated at the head of an army to be of long duration. The degraded Ottocar withdrew to Prague, and strained every nerve to gather such a force as might retrieve his late losses of honour and territory. Henry of Bavaria again joined his standard; and he was soon provided with an army drawn from Bohemia, Moravia, Thuringia, and Poland, which promised him complete success over the king of the Romans. Meanwhile the levies of Rudolf were slow and scanty; he attempted a new negotiation with his

antagonist, but Ottocar resumed his haughty tone, and threw the adherents of Rudolf into the utmost consternation by a rapid march upon Vienna. Nothing, therefore, was left but to hazard a conflict; and Rudolf, being joined by a timely reinforcement from Alsace and Swabia, marched out to meet the enemy. A desperate battle took place on the Austrian frontier.[b]

THE BATTLE OF MARCHFELD (1278 A.D.)

Now when the king of Bohemia saw King Rudolf advance towards him [says the Chronicle of Kolmar] he plunged recklessly all alone into the enemy's ranks, and wounded many men with his mighty strokes. Thirty knights, however, his body-guard, helped him with all their might. At last however the king of Bohemia grew weary; he was captured by a man of low origin and robbed of his arms. Thus he was led forth without his armour. But a knight followed him crying out: "There is the king who foully murdered my brother; now shall he atone for the deed." So he spake, and drawing his sword, gave the king a violent thrust in the face. But another knight who followed this one, pierced the king's body with his sword. But the man who had captured the king of Bohemia was sore vexed and would fain have protected him if his strength had availed for the purpose.

So fought King Rudolf against his enemies in the bravest fashion. At last came a strong man and harried the king with his blows and as he could not overcome him, he pierced the king's charger with his lance. The king and the charger fell together; the king lay on the ground destitute of help; he placed his shield over himself so as not to meet with a terrible death without further ado beneath the hoofs of the horses. When the horses had passed by, a man who wished to relieve him of his mortal danger raised him from the ground as well as he might. Then said the king: "Quick! equip me a horse!" As soon as this was done, he mounted and shouted to his men with lusty voice. About fifty of them gathered about him. With these the king fell on the Bohemian army in its flank, cut it almost in two, and threw himself vigorously upon the rear. The advance section of the Bohemian army cried "They flee, they flee" in order thus to mislead King Rudolf. But the more they shouted, the more the Germans bore down on them with their blows. But King Rudolf fought the rear of the host of the king of Bohemia with stubborn audacity, and urged by fear they took to flight. No sooner had they turned their backs than the Hungarians pursued them; they fought, these still resisting, pursued the fugitives, brought in prisoners, did murder and slew. It is generally said that in this battle fourteen thousand men sacrificed their lives.

King Rudolf remained with his men on the battle-field until all had hailed him an undoubted victor. The king of Bohemia died on the same day; after the bowels had been removed, his body was salted and brought into a monastery of the Minorite brothers. He had, to say truth, died under the ban of the pope; therefore he could not be buried in the churchyard. In the army of the king of the Romans there were a few people feckless in battle, clerks, monks, lay brothers of different orders. These had withdrawn to a hillock to await the end of the battle and to intercede with the Lord for their people. These men observed that over the army of the Bohemian king lay a glittering brilliance and unmitigated heat, while the army of King Rudolf, wherever it turned, was always covered by a cooling cloud. Therefore they concluded that the army of King Rudolf with God's help must be victorious. This battle was fought over against the city of Vienna on the plain called Gänser-

feld in the year of the Lord 1278, about the sixth hour on the day before St. Bartholomew, the apostle's day.[c]

THE ADMINISTRATION OF RUDOLF

In the first moments of his triumph, Rudolf designed to appropriate the dominions of his deceased enemy. But his avidity was restrained by the princes of the empire, who interposed on behalf of the son of Ottocar; and Wenceslaus was permitted to retain Bohemia and Moravia. The projected union of the two families was now renewed: Judith of Habsburg was affianced to the young king of Bohemia, whose sister Agnes was married to Rudolf, youngest son of the king of the Romans. For Albert and Rudolf, his eldest and youngest surviving sons, he designed the duchies of Austria and Styria; but his second son Hartmann was his best-beloved, and for this darling youth a richer dominion was to be provided. It was the design of the king to revive the ancient kingdom of Burgundy in favour of Hartmann, whom he had already affianced to a daughter of Edward I king of England; and to bestow upon him that rich territory, which comprehended the possessions of his ancestors. A melancholy catastrophe frustrated the fond father's design: the best-beloved, whose valour and goodness justified all his father's affection, embarked upon the Rhine at Breisach, with a train of noble dependents; but darkness overtaking them, their bark became entangled amidst shoals and islets; and being overset, its precious freight were all consigned to an untimely death. The lifeless body of Hartmann was discovered near the abbey of Rhinau, and buried at Bâle beside his mother, Anna of Hohenberg.

Rudolf was more fortunate in the realisation of his views with respect to his Austrian conquests. After satisfying the several claimants to those territories by various cessions of lands, he obtained the consent of a diet held at Augsburg to the settlement of Austria, Styria, and Carniola upon his two surviving sons, who were accordingly jointly invested with those duchies with great pomp and solemnity; they are at this hour enjoyed by the descendants of Rudolf of Habsburg.

The remaining exploits of this celebrated prince are comparatively insignificant. [He was uniformly successful in a series of petty wars and kept in check the arrogant nobility. In this he was at least unhampered by the distraction of foreign affairs. Italy did not draw him, even for the splendour of a coronation.] He had now attained the age of seventy-three, and as his increasing infirmities admonished him of the approach of death, he grew anxious to secure to his son Albert the succession to the throne, and his nomination by the electors ere the grave closed upon himself. The example of Charlemagne, the Ottos, the Henrys, and of most of his predecessors, warranted his expectations of compliance; and as no less than four of the electors were his sons-in-law, a rejection of his desire was scarcely to be anticipated. Accordingly he assembled a diet at Frankfort, and proposed to the electors with the utmost earnestness the election of his son as king of the Romans. But all his entreaties were unavailing; he was coldly reminded that he himself was still the king, and that the empire was too poor to support two kings. Rudolf might now repent his neglect to assume the imperial crown; but the character of Albert seems to have been the real obstacle to his elevation. With many of the great qualities of his father, this prince was deficient in his milder virtues; and his personal bravery and perseverance were tainted with pride, haughtiness, and avarice. This last disappointment hastened the operations of nature; and Rudolf, perceiving the hand of death

upon him, desired to be carried to Speier, that he might visit the kings his predecessors. But his increasing weakness compelled him to halt at Germersheim on the Rhine, where he expired on the 15th of July, 1291, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His corpse was conveyed to Speier, and deposited amidst the mouldering remains of the kings of the Romans.

PERSONAL TRAITS OF RUDOLF

That the character of a prince, who from a petty count of a narrow territory became the sovereign of a mighty empire, should have been the subject of lofty panegyrics by historians, who wrote whilst his descendants reigned, is not wonderful; yet his elevation appears rather the result of a combination of fortunate events than of any overwhelming merit of his own. That he possessed many good and great qualities we may be assured, not merely by the voice of his contemporaries, but by the more certain proof of the good order which he restored in Germany, and the submission which he enforced from the naughty and refractory nobles. He was brave, frank, and affable; temperate in his enjoyments, and sincere in his piety. But his eagerness for conquest may create a doubt as to his strict love of justice and moderation; and his failure in obtaining the dearest object of his desire is at variance with the report of his irresistible powers of persuasion. Bred up amidst war and tumult, he affected no literary propensities; but he supplied the defect of his education by strong practical sense and a vigorous understanding; nor does the rustic romance of his life lose any of its charm by his want of scholastic learning. "He was glorious," says Muratori, "for his many virtues; but still more glorious for the many emperors who have descended from him"; — a shrewd distinction, which may furnish a palliative to the excessive encomiums lavished upon him. He must, however, be esteemed a wise and politic prince; unshaken by adversity, and bearing his good fortune without insolence; and perhaps no man of his age was so well qualified to organise the distracted empire he was called to govern.

In stature Rudolf was tall and slender, his head small, his hair scanty, his nose long and aquiline, his countenance pale, his expression animated, his temper gay, his manner simple, his dress homely.[b] This last trait is shown in the well-known story of the baker's wife, which we may let the monks of Kolmar tell in their own words:[a]

When King Rudolf was in Mainz, on a day came a frost at sunrise and the cold did outrageously hurt him. Then he looked across from the house in which he lay, and saw a bakery which had a superabundance of glowing coals. The king now donned his clothing and quickly ran to the glowing coals. But the housewife, who knew not the king, rebuked him roundly in strong language; it was not right that knights should invade the homes of poor women. Then the king spoke humbly to the woman: "Dear lady, be not disturbed by my presence; I am an old soldier who has devoted all he has to the service of the miserable king Rudolf; in spite of all his fair promises, he now lets me starve." Then spoke the woman: "So you follow King Rudolf — the miserable, blind old man, who has made the country desert and has swallowed up all the poor? Rightly do these and other ills befall you." Then the king said to the woman, "What evil then has he done you?" But she answered him with great bitterness, blaming and ridiculing the king with high abuse: "I and all the bakers of the city, with the exception of two, have been made poor by him, so that we can no longer

enjoy our former well-being in these days." Then the woman proceeded. "Sir, get you gone, you disturb us here in our business." But the king refused to go at the bidding of the woman. Then the woman lost her temper and raising a glass of water poured it over the coals and did woefully spoil the dress of the old soldier — or rather of the king. Then the king got him gone, betaking himself in all haste to his quarters.

When now the king was seated at his table, the high steward placed before him a pigshead. Then the king thought of the kindness that the baker woman had shown him and wished to pay her his thanks. So he called his house-keeper and said to her: "Take this dish with meat and a quart of wine, and bear it to your neighbour from the 'old soldier.' He sends his thanks for the warmth which he had from her coals this morning." This done, the king told how the baker woman had abused and cursed him and provoked in all great merriment. But the baker woman perceived that it was the king whom she had abused. Then she was sore troubled, came to the king, and earnestly besought him to forgive her for the injury she had done him. But the king refused to forgive her except on one condition — that she should now publicly repeat to him the abuse which she had uttered upon him in private. This the woman did: she obeyed the will of the sovereign and thus provoked laughter from many.[c]

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU

Two consequences of the policy of Rudolf I in Germany remained in operation for centuries and continued substantially to affect the destinies of that country. The first was the founding of a great Habsburg dominion; the second, the supremacy of the prince electors in the affairs of the empire. Rudolf did not venture upon the laborious and hazardous attempt to restore the splendours of the ancient empire; he set himself the easier and more profitable task of keeping the kingdom of Germany on the hither side of the Alps and making use of it to increase the power of his dynasty. In return he let other local sovereigns do as they pleased; and the empire broke up more and more into isolated segments, which developed an independent existence, and bore many a fair flower of strength and culture.

So it remained thenceforward. Moreover, at Rudolf's death his house and the prince electors were on a hostile footing. The prince electors would not have the too powerful Habsburger for their lord. They elected in preference (on May 5th, 1292) a prince of inconsiderable fortune, Count Adolphus of Nassau, a valiant knight of noble descent, but scantily supplied with this world's goods, and a vassal of the elector of Treves and of the Rhenish count palatine into the bargain. The insignificance of his private property was the strongest point in his favour in the eyes of the prince electors, as it relieved them of all apprehension that the new king might become formidable to them. For the rest, he was elected chiefly at the instigation of Gerhard von Eppenstein, archbishop of Mainz, who was his uncle. The chosen candidate was compelled to purchase the crown by the sacrifice of certain important prerogatives.

Thus Adolphus of Nassau was invested with the royal dignity; the authority of a king he had yet to win for himself. To achieve this end he chose the same course that his predecessors had taken; he too was minded to exploit the kingship for the aggrandisement of his own house. To procure money for his immediate needs he concluded an alliance with King Edward I of England against Philip the Fair, king of France, who had seized upon many

districts in imperial territory on the western frontier of Germany. For the sum of £100,000 Adolphus undertook to furnish the king of England with soldiers for the war against France. He did actually levy a large army of mercenaries with the money from England, but used it — as he used another large sum which he took from Matteo Visconti, as payment for appointing him imperial governor of Milan and several other cities in Lombardy — for the conquest of Thuringia. The wretched quarrel between Albert, the unjust landgraf of that province, and his two sons, Frederick and Dietzmann, had broken out again, and Landgraf Albert, enraged at the success of his sons, was ready to sell Meissen and Thuringia to King Adolphus (reserving the usufruct of the latter for himself during his lifetime) for 12,000 silver marks, rather than let them enjoy their good fortune.

King Adolphus closed with this dishonourable bargain. He added wrong to wrong, for when the two young princes gallantly defended their dominions he invaded Thuringia with the brutal mercenary soldiery he had enlisted from the lowest of the people. By this means he added fuel to the civil war that was raging there, while his soldiers perpetrated such outrages as had hardly been laid to the charges of the barbarous Mongols. Most of the Thuringian vassals fought with unswerving loyalty for their rightful sovereigns, but Adolphus succeeded nevertheless in subduing Osterland and the fortified town of Freiburg. There he put to death forty vassals of rank, who had shown themselves bravest in the defence, although he had pledged his word as a king to spare them.

By this violent and unjust method of increasing his territory, the king incurred the vehement displeasure of the German princes. They were also angry that Adolphus entered into close relations with the cities, hoping by their assistance to strengthen himself against the higher aristocracy. A conspiracy was formed among the princes with the archbishop of Mainz and the duke of Austria at its head. The former had raised his nephew to the throne that he might use him as an instrument for the increase of his own power, and it was with great displeasure that he presently became aware of his aspirations after independence. Duke Albert had dissembled but never laid aside the grudge he bore against the king, and had zealously laboured to augment his own power both by forcible means and by alliances. So greatly did he covet the crown of Germany that after the death of Rudolf, his father, he had believed that it could not elude his grasp, and had confidently awaited at Hanau the news of his election.

Gerhard of Mainz and Albert now joined hands for Adolphus' overthrow, and won over the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, as well as King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, Albert's brother-in-law, to their side. Albert was lavish of promises, which he had no intention of keeping. He then raised the standard of rebellion (1298) and marched at the head of a splendid army to the Rhine, while the electors of Mainz, Cologne, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bohemia assembled at Frankfort and summoned the king to appear before them and answer for his misgovernment and for crimes of all sorts, of which they accused him. When he did not appear, they formally deposed him and elected Albert of Austria king, under the false and worthless pretext that the pope had empowered them to do so. Soon afterwards (on July 2nd, 1298) Adolphus and Albert met for the decisive battle at the Hasenbühl near Göllheim, not far from Worms. Adolphus had only his knights with him, but, eager for the fray, he would not wait for the arrival of his troops from the Rhenish cities, which strongly supported him. Splendid in his royal armour (Albert meanwhile being unrecognisable under a shield not his

own) he dashed upon the foe and fought in knightly fashion for his crown. In falling from his saddle he lost his helmet, but promptly sprang on a fresh charger, recognised his enemy, and dashed forward to meet him. He sank to the ground, however, severely wounded, and was slain under Albert's eyes, many say by Albert's own hand. His death gave his rival the victory and the crown, and his mournful end atoned for many evil deeds into which, as king, he had allowed himself to be hurried by the force of circumstances.[1]

ALBERT I

To secure a semblance of right for his claim, Albert now referred the question of the succession to a fresh election, and he was in fact unanimously elected king of Germany, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) on the 24th of August, 1298. To gain his end he had bestowed great privileges on the king of Bohemia, to the prejudice of the crown, and no less upon the three spiritual electors, especially the archbishop of Mainz, who thereby became an almost independent sovereign. The other electors also obtained great concessions from him; in particular, he confirmed their exclusive jurisdiction over their subjects, and thus strengthened their sovereign power in their own dominions.

Having achieved his purpose, however, he desired to wrest from the electors the prerogatives which imposed restrictions on his own authority; for he was passionately ambitious of being an absolute ruler. His will was more to him than justice or law, and it was his pride to be feared. At first he concealed his designs, fearing the opposition of Pope Boniface VIII, a dauntless man who was trying to restore the world-dominion of the papacy. Boniface refused to acknowledge Albert as king and summoned him to Rome to answer for himself. For Albert was unworthy of the throne because through his wife, who was Conradin's step-sister, he was akin to the accursed race of Hohenstaufen. When the king's ambassadors, who had been sent to request the pope to confirm the election, brought this message back, Albert flew into a violent rage, and forthwith allied himself with King Philip of France, ratifying the alliance by the marriage of his son Rudolf with Philip's daughter Blanche, and by lavish promises made to the French king at the expense of the German frontier.

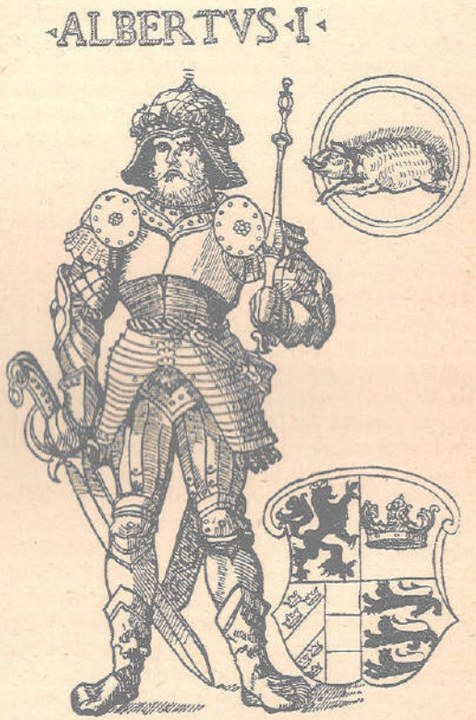
As in this case, so in others, he proceeded remorselessly to violate the law, in the interest of his dynastic power. When the count of Holland and Zealand died, he tried to seize upon these provinces as a fief that had reverted to the empire, although according to Flemish feudal law they devolved upon the female line of Hainault. But Count John of Hainault resisted the king, and Count Reinhold of Gelderland, to whom Albert had behaved with perfidy

[1] Johann von Victring[i] gives the following dramatic account of the death of Adolphus: "In tempestuous course the chief banners were borne before the armies, that of Albert by the count of Leningen, that of Adolphus by the lord of Rechberg, a man of good but not free lineage. Everywhere you could see brave men making good their strength and their skill as warriors and swinging sword and lance in the heat of battle. Adolphus' progress is brave but reckless; his helmet is torn from his head, he hacks about him like a mad she-bear in the mountain forest, who has been robbed of her young. His swift charger brings him into the neighbourhood of Albert and he challenges him to the fray; but Albert, seeing his adversary's uncovered head from which the helmet has gone, wounds him straightway at the first blow of the sword above the eyebrows. The blood gushes forth and the wounded man's eyes grow dim; he plunges from his battle-horse to earth. Meanwhile both armies show the bravest fight as if a whirlwind agitated one against the other. But when Duke Otto of Bavaria and the count palatine Rudolf saw the evil fate that had overtaken their king, then they turned and fled."

HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA LIBRARY

even attempted to assassinate him. Albert narrowly escaped and was finally constrained to bestow Holland in fief upon John of Hainault.

He had better fortune in another feud with the princes. The Rhenish archbishops, who since the Interregnum had directed the election to the throne to their own great profit and held it almost entirely in their own hands, insisted upon maintaining the elective character of the German monarchy, while Albert was desirous of making the crown hereditary in his own house. Hence enmity arose between the two parties. Gerhard of Mainz, who had made both Adolphus and Albert king, is said one day while he was hunting, to have exclaimed in haughty menace, "I can blow other kings out of my hunting horn."



ALBERT I (1250–1308)
(After the sixteenth-century woodcut by Burgkmair)

But Albert knew how to deal with this enemy. He entered into alliance with the cities on the Rhine against the archbishops and demanded that the latter should give up the Rhine tolls, which he had promised them in order to secure the crown, and which he had afterwards granted to them. By this demand he won over to his side all the Rhenish cities, whose trade was grievously hampered by these tolls, and to gain and cement their affection he pretended that he was joining issue with the princes from no selfish motives but merely for the protection of the cities, of the lesser nobles, and of all others who were oppressed by them. The exasperated electors summoned him before the tribunal of the count palatine, and prepared to institute a second inquiry into the legality of his election, but Albert, the man of violence, promptly took up the sword, to decide the question by force. The citizens and lesser nobles of the Rhine joyfully flocked to his standard to fight against their oppressors, and presently the strong castles on the Rhine and the cities of the count palatine and the electors of Cologne and Treves were compelled to surrender. Navigation and commerce became free, and the haughty princes were obliged to suppress their rage and submit (1302).

At the same time Pope Boniface VIII found himself so hard pressed by the might of King Philip of France that he resolved to reconcile himself with Albert and acknowledge him as king; and having done this he called upon him to protect the church from Philip of France. Albert's demeanour towards the pope now underwent a sudden change; he humbled himself before him and sacrificed to the church of Rome nearly all the real and presumptive rights which the empire had hitherto claimed in opposition to the papacy.

This he did to induce the pope to lend the support of the church's blessing to his arbitrary measures for the extension of the power of the Habsburgs. But the hopes which he built on Rome were not fulfilled. Boniface VIII was taken prisoner by order of the king of France, and died of rage at his fall (1303). His successor in the highest of ecclesiastical offices was under French influence, and even transferred the papal court from Rome to Avignon.

Imperial Aggressions

Albert was at that time at feud with his brother-in-law, Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, who had received many promises and scant performance from him, and who being deeply incensed on that account, had allied himself with the king's enemies. But this was not the only motive for the war. Albert, always greedy of territory, was wroth that the young son of Wenceslaus, who bore his father's name, had been chosen king of Hungary by a party in that country; he could not endure that the race of Ottocar should flourish and enlarge its borders side by side with that of Habsburg. There was another party in Hungary which desired to have Prince Charles Robert of Naples, Albert's nephew, for their king, and to this candidature Albert gave active support, commanded the king of Bohemia to abandon his pretensions to Hungary, and, when he refused to do so, pronounced the sentence of outlawry upon him and invaded his dominions. Wenceslaus died in the following year (1305), and his youthful son, Wenceslaus III, renounced his claim to the Hungarian crown. He was murdered at Olmutz in 1306, and by his death the male line of Ottocar became extinct. Albert then seized upon Bohemia as a fief, lapsed to the crown, in order to bestow it upon his son Rudolf; and as the Bohemian estates asserted their right of election he contrived by force and fraud to get Rudolf elected king, though in the teeth of a strong opposition.

Albert was also desirous of gaining possession of Thuringia and Meissen on the pretext that King Adolphus had not conquered those provinces for himself but for the empire. To preserve the semblance of impartiality he invited all those who put forward claims to them to appear before him at Fulda and have them decided (1306). The two brothers, Frederick and Dietzmann, did not come thither, and Albert therefore laid them under the ban of the empire and sent a large body of soldiers into Thuringia from Swabia and the Rhine. But at Lucka (in Altenburg) his forces were so thoroughly beaten (1307) as to give rise to the Thuringian saying: "You will prosper like the Swabians at Lucka." This took place in May. Soon afterwards Albert's son, King Rudolf of Bohemia, died (July, 1307), and the crown of that confederacy was lost to the Habsburgs. The Bohemians would not have Rudolf's brother for their king, and for a money consideration he abandoned his claims in favour of Duke Henry of Carinthia, brother-in-law to Wenceslaus III, who was preferred by the Bohemian estates. Thus both here and in Thuringia Albert's endeavours to aggrandise the power of his house had come to naught, but in another quarter his greed was destined to redound to his own perdition.

When he reconciled himself with Pope Boniface the latter had absolved him from all engagements into which he had entered with other princes. Thus confirmed in his disregard of the obligations he had undertaken, the king soon proceeded to violate those which he owed to his own kindred. His nephew John, who had grown to manhood at his court, begged him in vain to give him the portion of the Habsburg hereditary possessions in Swabia that had belonged to his father Rudolf, or at least the county of Kyburg which his

mother had bequeathed to him. To all the entreaties of the young man, who was by this time nineteen years of age, Albert returned evasive answers; at one time — he was still too young; at another — let him wait until Meissen was conquered, then he should have that.

Hence John conceived a feeling of sullen resentment against his greedy uncle. He conspired with his friends, Walter von Eschenbach, Ulrich von Palm, Rudolf von der Wart, and Conrad von Tegernfeld, and watched for an opportunity of wreaking sanguinary vengeance for the wrong that had been done him. It was soon found.

Cherishing thoughts of his revenge upon the Bohemians and Thuringians who had so stubbornly resisted his greed of territory, King Albert departed in the spring of 1308 for Swabia and Switzerland. He had considerably augmented the dominions of his family, he had acquired the patronage of many churches and abbeys for his house — not without great wrong done to the rights and liberties of others. Only the three valleys of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which he would gladly have incorporated with his dominions in Aargau, manfully defended their ancient freedom and would not become subject to the house of Austria. Albert was now preparing to compass the downfall of their liberty by force. But vengeance was already dogging his own footsteps.[d]

The Chronicle concerning John the Parricide

John, the son of the king's brother, whom he kept with his own sons at his court, maintained that the strongholds of the lordship of Kyburg belonged to him, for that in the past King Rudolf had given them as a dower to his mother, and as it was a matter of much import with him to possess them, he begged with much insistence that at least some of them should be yielded up to him. But because the king was not moved to this, and furthermore curtailed many barons in their properties and privileges, while the queen often and often besought him to provide well for her children, accusing John of wastefulness, therefore the latter finally decided with the barons Rudolf von der Wart, Walter von Eschenbach, and Ulrich von Palm to murder the king.

But when the queen drove to Rheinfelden and had reached Little Bâle, the bishop went out to her, and, stepping near her carriage, implored her favour and that she would reconcile him with the king. Conrad Mönch, however, a knight of Bâle, said to the drivers that they would do well to urge forward their horses; and when they did so, the bishop was bespattered with mud. Another day the bishop of Strasburg begged the king, who happened to be in his palace at Baden, to yield one of his castles to the aforementioned duke, but the king replied that he would entrust the duke with a hundred helmeted men on the expedition of the king of Bohemia, and on his return he would give him one of the castles. This was told by the bishop to the duke, whereupon the latter observed that he was a poor man and that the commission to equip the men would be a heavy charge on him; death and deprivation of what was his seemed a hard lot to him.

Also Walter von Eschenbach demanded of the king to have back what was taken from him, saying he was a blood relation of the king, that his father had fallen in the royal service, and it would do the king no benefit to oppress him also. Now when they were taking a meal with the king, he placed a crown of roses on the heads of the sons of each and all, including Duke John. But with tears in his eyes the duke set his down upon the table and refused to remain with his people any longer at the board.

Now when the king after his meal decided to ride to the queen at Rheinfelden and had come to the river Reuss, John and his men were the first to sail over in the sole ship that was there. Thereupon the king also crossed over and rode through the meadows as was his wont in parley with Walter von Castelen; the duke and his men drew nigh to him. First of all Rudolf von der Wart cried out: "How much longer shall we suffer this carrion crow to ride on?" His servant Rulassingen caught the king's bridle, Duke John plunged a knife into his neck, Rudolf von der Wart pierced him with a sword, and Ulrich von Palm cleft his head open; but Walter von Eschenbach, though he stood by while the deed was done, did him no despite. Thus was murdered in his own land the mighty Roman king Albert, the son of King Rudolf, after a reign of ten years, in the year of the Lord 1308 on the 1st of May at noon. On the spot was built the monastery of Königsfelden of the order of the Minorites, and at first the king was placed in it, but was afterwards transported to Speier. In the same monastery several of his sons also were buried; here, too, later on, the daughter of the king, the former queen of Hungary, spent a holy life of forty years' duration.

The murderers escaped and came first to the castle of Fribourg; but, betrayed by the count of Nidau the lord of the castle, with whom they had taken refuge, they dispersed. Von Palm, a brave knight, was for long at Bâle, concealed in the house of the lay sisters, where he died. While he was still living, his castle Altbüren was taken by Duke Leopold, the king's son, and fifty of the castellans were beheaded. The castle of Schnabelburg and other possessions of Walter von Eschenbach were destroyed; he himself became a herdsman in the territory of the graf of Würtemberg. Thirty-five years later he revealed his identity on his deathbed and was honourably buried. Von der Wart was fain to make a pilgrimage to the apostolic chair after that he had for somewhile lain perdu in his castle of Falkenstein. When he came to Yla, a city of the count Theobald de Blamont, the court fool betrayed him to the count and his lady, who was of the house of Veringen; and with tears in her eyes she said: "Far be it from my thoughts that he should escape who murdered my sovereign, and blood relation." Together with his servant Rulassingen he was taken captive by the count and ransomed for gold to Duke Leopold. Hence this count is called "the bargainer."

Rulassingen was broken on the wheel at Ensisheim, but Von der Wart was conducted to the scene of the king's murder to be there awarded judgment. As he was given no legal support, he made his own defence, denied at first that he had murdered the king, and offered a challenge to single combat; then he added, no crime had been committed against the man who himself had incurred the guilt of high treason by killing his sovereign, the Roman king.[1] But after the murder had been condemned by the proclamation of the emperor Henry, it was decided that a further verdict was no longer necessary. So he was bound to a horse's tail, dragged to the place of execution, and here, after his limbs had been broken, tied to a wheel. His wife, a Von Palm before her marriage, came in the night and threw herself upon the ground under the wheel, like the crucified man, and remained fixed in prayer. But when he was asked if he desired the presence of his wife, he replied that he did not want this, for that her compassion was as painful to him as his own suffering. As a widow this woman passed a holy life for many years at Bâle. But Duke John, after he had concealed himself in many places, came at last to Pisa disguised as a Beguin, was taken prisoner by the emperor Henry, and remained many

[1 The Strasburg manuscript adds: "Since Albert himself had undone Adolphus, his sovereign."]

years after the emperor's death in prison; at last he too died and was honourably buried.[1]

But after the death of the king there came a messenger in the twilight, when the besieged on the Fürstenstein were fain to surrender and he cried up to the summit of the mountain: "Lord of Raperg, the king is murdered."[e]

KING HENRY VII, THE LUXEMBURGER

After the murder of King Albert some time elapsed before the crown of Germany again fell to his line, for the memory of his imperious rule and the dread of the overpowering might of the Habsburgs held the princes in fear; moreover many of them aspired to the same splendid position. Least of all were the spiritual electors disposed to let the monarchy become hereditary in one family; for, as matters stood, every fresh election was a chance of bargaining for fresh prizes for themselves.

Among the candidates who now came forward, Philip the Fair, king of France, appeared to urge the claims of his brother, Charles of Valois. The danger that Germany would thus fall under the dominion of a foreign ruler was by no means chimerical, for two German princes, the archbishop of Cologne and the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, were prepared to vote for Charles, and the German nation had no voice in the choice of its king. Fortunately for Germany, the pope realised that the dignity and independence of the church would be hopelessly forfeited if he unconditionally obeyed the king of France in this matter, and that his best protection against French omnipotence would be a German king.

He therefore secretly and urgently admonished the electors of Mainz and Treves to hurry on the election, and their country profited by the self-interested motives of the two prelates. They both proposed Count Henry of Luxemburg; the elector Baldwin of Treves urged his candidature because he was his brother, and the elector of Mainz, whose name was Peter Aichspalter, because such a choice would exclude the Habsburgs he hated, and because, having been intimately connected with the Luxemburgers in earlier days, he hoped for great future benefits from Henry. In fact Henry had to promise him the confirmation of all the privileges and liberties of the archiepiscopal see of Mainz, together with continual support and large sums of money. Peter Aichspalter then put forth all his craft and restless energy, and so contrived to have his protégé elected king of Germany under the title of Henry VII, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, on November 27th, 1308. The votes were given by ballot, and were therefore secret, a complete departure from previous usage. This method of election was due to the influence of the archbishop of Mainz, because by its means he could be more certain of the successful issue of his wiles.

King Henry VII's private dominions were small, but his reputation for

[1 This corresponds with the account given by Heinrich the Deaf.[f] "The wandering fugitive, Duke John, murderer of King Albert, wrapped in the robes of an Augustine monk, threw himself before his (the emperor's) feet and begged for mercy. He explained that he was sent by the pope who had decided that his crime must be punished according to civil law, but not according to the regulations of the church. The emperor was no little moved and knew not what to do. He felt it hard to refuse to listen to the weeping man, but to permit a crime so unheard of to go unpunished seemed to him unjust and godless. Struggling between mercy and uprightness he at last found a third way out of his difficulty: the criminal should not lose his life, but should be severely punished. So the emperor gave orders to put him in a tower and keep him in strict confinement there till his death, so that thus he might at least repent and obtain God's pardon." [The account of Ferreto di Vicenza is very similar to this; only he makes Genoa the scene of the interview between the emperor and John.]

courage, wisdom, and justice stood high — and for good reason. To be saved from a French king was unquestionably a boon for Germany; if only Henry VII had not been infected with so many un-German qualities! In education and tastes he was half French, he loved splendour and pomp, there was something of the adventurer in his temperament, which was chivalrous but over-fantastic. His first appearance as king was both gorgeous and significant, for he caused pompous funeral rites to be celebrated at the first great diet which he held at Speier. He had the bodies of his two predecessors, Adolphus and Albert, carried thither and interred with great honour beside the empress, in the cathedral. There those two enemies lay side by side in the peace of the grave, while he comforted their sorrowing widows (1309). At the same time he laid Albert's murderers under the ban of the empire and abandoned them to the vengeance of the Habsburgs. Thus he secured the gratitude of that great princely house.

On the other hand, he intimidated them by confirming the immediacy of the free communes of Switzerland and postponing the enfeofment of Frederick the Handsome of Austria, the eldest son of Albert I. Thus he succeeded in procuring the assent of the Habsburgs to a project which greatly augmented the family dominions of the new king.

Bohemia, which King Albert had taken much trouble to procure for his own house, and for his eldest son Rudolf, had been given up after the death of the latter, as has already been mentioned, to Duke Henry of Carinthia. He, however, had made himself so unpopular among the Bohemians by the preference he exhibited for his countrymen the Carinthians, that one party in the country determined to offer the crown to John, son of Henry VII, on condition that he should marry Elizabeth, the youngest sister of their former king, Wenceslaus III. In return for many concessions, made in part at the expense of the empire, the Habsburgs consented that Bohemia should not revert to them but pass in the manner aforesaid to the house of Luxemburg. The princes of the empire then deposed Henry of Carinthia on the ground that he had neglected to do homage for Bohemia as a fief of the German Empire, and declared that the country had lapsed to the crown. Thereupon Henry bestowed it on his son John and married him to Elizabeth. This took place at a general diet of the empire (*parlamentum generale*, as the assembly was styled), held at Frankfort in 1310. Here the king's peace was once more enjoined; for it had been disturbed by many unruly nobles, and especially by Eberhard, the haughty count of Würtemburg, who had driven the Swabian cities of the empire into revolt by his oppressions. The king laid him under the ban. On the other hand, Landgraf Frederick (who was nicknamed Frederick with the Bitten Cheek [1]) was once more acknowledged sovereign of Meissen and Thuringia, where his rights had been contested by Albert I.

Henry is Crowned Emperor, and Dies in Italy (1312–1313 A.D.)

The most urgent affairs of state were hardly disposed of, and Henry had only just succeeded in acquiring a considerable extent of territory for his

[1 In Meissen and Thuringia, Albert the Degenerate had persecuted his wife, Margarete, of the noble house of Hohenstaufen, and his children, with the most rancorous hatred, on account of the disappointment of the hopes of aggrandisement which had formed the sole motive of his alliance with that family. He even despatched one of his servants to the Wartburg for the purpose of assassinating her; but the countess, warned by him of his lord's intention, fled secretly (after biting her eldest son, Frederick, in the cheek, in token of the vengeance she intended to take) to Frankfort, where she shortly afterwards died of grief.—MENZEL.[2]]

house (a matter which all kings felt imperative, and with good reason, in view of the power of other princely families), before he brought forward the idea which most strongly stirred his ambitious spirit. He longed to set the imperial crown upon his head, to revive the ancient greatness and glory of the shattered empire, to add Rome and Italy once more to the imperial dominions; and so he turned into the abandoned paths which the Hohenstaufens had trodden, and which had led them, in spite of power far greater than his, to such an unfortunate end.

It is true that things in Italy seemed at that time extremely favourable to the restoration of the ancient empire. It had been conquered by the papacy, but the credit of the papacy itself had suffered a severe shock in the struggle, and had soon afterwards succumbed before the French king, who had brought it under his own ascendency in the Babylonian Captivity.[d]

The story of Henry's triumphal entry into Italy has already been told in volume IX of our history. It will be recalled that Henry received the imperial crown at Rome on the 29th of June, 1312, and that he died suddenly at the convent of Buon Convento on August 24th of the following year.[a] The circumstance that he received the sacrament shortly before his death gave rise to the [probably unfounded] assertion that a Dominican friar had administered poison to him in the consecrated elements.

Thus speedily perished this chivalrous emperor and his high-flown projects. Rapid and splendid as a meteor, he pursued his course over the ruins of the past, and like a meteor vanished suddenly into the night of time, leaving no trace behind. He pursued a phantom; therefore he lived and strove in vain. That which he had founded in Germany — the power of the house of Luxemburg — survived him for a while; but it brought no blessing to the nation and kingdom of Germany.

CIVIL BROILS

Henry VII, unmindful of his nearest duties and interests, had gone to Italy to restore the ancient glories of the empire. And yet Germany was in dire need of a zealous defender, a careful organiser. The empire was filled with tumults and feuds waged by the greedy princes, sometimes against their own kin, more often against their weaker neighbours. Ever since the Interregnum the various members of the empire had looked in vain for effective and lasting support from the king; they had been driven to learn how to protect themselves, and among the weak the expedient of confederacy had proved its value. The cities, above all, had become effective guardians of the public peace by means of firm alliances; and it was mainly to their aid that the kings owed the victories they sometimes gained over the great troublers of the peace.

Thus it was mainly by the substantial assistance of the Swabian cities of the empire that the sentence of outlawry which Henry VII had pronounced upon Count Eberhard of Würtemberg before his expedition to Rome could be carried into effect.

It was a harder task to impose tranquillity upon the great princes, whose self-interested ambition was perpetually fanning the flame of war to a blaze. The families of Anhalt and Wettin in the north, and of Wittelsbach and Habsburg in the south were seldom at peace among themselves or with their neighbours.

In Brandenburg the conquests and institutions of Albert the Bear had been continued with skill and success by his descendants, the Anhalt princes.

During the thirteenth century they had greatly extended their territory up the Havel and Spree and across the Oder, had acquired Barnim, Teltow, Lebus, Ukermark, and Neumark by purchase or conquest, and made the country German by colonisation. The settlements were usually made in the following way: The markgraf sold a *Mark*, or district, to a German who cleared the land and planted a village on it, and then gave it back to the markgraf, the lord of the country, receiving in return certain privileges, such as a share of the proceeds of the law-courts, toll from millers and gardeners, four hides of land and the office of village-magistrate (*Schulz*), which remained attached to his farm as a feudal privilege (*Lehensschulzen*). Besides the *Lehensschulz* the village was inhabited by peasant settlers, who paid moderate dues to the lord of the manor and followed the markgraf in war; the local jurisdiction was exercised by the markgraf's bailiff, who was assisted by the Schulz in the capacity of sheriff. The cottars (*Kossäten*) held a lower position than the land-owning peasants. The larger landowners in the new marks soon constituted a kind of aristocracy (consisting largely of the military vassals of the markgraf) which imitated the character of the German knightly class. Cities were likewise founded in the new marks by the Anhalt line, one of them being Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Like the villages, they came into being by German colonisation, all the citizens (*Ackerbürger* — an inhabitant of a town who practises agriculture) were German, and were divided into four principal guilds (shoemakers, tailors, butchers, and bakers) and applied themselves to husbandry as well as to their trades. The Slavonic aborigines had no citizen rights and lived outside the walls in the *vici slavicales* (*Kietzen*); they were for the most part fishermen and gardeners. The older cities of the mark, especially Stendal, drove a brisk trade, and some of them joined the Hanseatic League.

Thus fresh German blood was poured into the marks, and its vigour enhanced the consequence of the markgraf. He was the military over-lord and ruled his marks as his private property, as to the government of which the nobles and clergy had little to say, and the king hardly anything at all. Good fighters and good managers all, the Anhalt princes created a considerable domain in these parts, and strove to augment it by every means in their power. They divided their territory in 1266 between the two branches of Stendal and Salzwedel, but they nevertheless continued to live together in harmony. Markgraf Otto with the Arrow was famous among them as a knight and minnesinger (died 1309); but the most famous of them all was Markgraf Waldemar, who was the head of the family at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was the bravest and most powerful prince of his day in north Germany, a successful conqueror and a sagacious statesman. He divided Pomerellen (the country between the Stolpe and Vistula) with the knights of the Teutonic order, and won large portions of Lusatia and Meissen to the south of his dominions. This brought him into conflict with the Wettin princes, whose chief representative, Landgraf Frederick of Thuringia was as warlike as he himself. Waldemar defeated him at Grossenhain in 1312 and took him prisoner.

In the north Waldemar's reputation steadily rose; all the princes in those parts looked on him with envy, and when he presently went to war with Witzlaf, prince of Rügen, who had attempted to bring Stralsund under his authority, most of the princes of north Germany, together with Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, entered into a league against him. Waldemar, however, made head against his enemies valiantly at the battle of Gransee in 1316, and the league was dissolved. He died in the year 1319,

leaving no issue, and was soon followed to the grave by Landgraf Frederick with the Bitten Cheek, whose long life had been an uninterrupted series of conflicts and adventures.

RIVALRY OF HABSBURG AND WITTELSBACH (1314 A.D.)

Meanwhile in south Germany the two great families of Habsburg and Wittelsbach were vying with one another in importance, the one strongly established in the Austrian provinces and Switzerland, and ever covetous of fresh possessions; the other in Bavaria and the palatinate. The strength of the Habsburgs was their unity; five brothers, sons of King Albert, ruled the hereditary dominions of their house conjointly, under the superintendence of Frederick the Handsome and Leopold — the eldest two. Wittelsbach, on the contrary, exhausted its own strength by territorial divisions and family quarrels.[d]

Nevertheless Duke Ludwig of Upper Bavaria, of the house of Wittelsbach, was able to make headway against Frederick the Handsome of Austria, in a petty war which had resulted from a domestic quarrel, and at the death of Henry VII he already stood out as the most likely leader of the party that opposed the Habsburgs.[a]

The choice of the electoral princes was certain not to fall upon Henry VII's son, the young king John of Bohemia, because they were anxious, from motives of self-interest, that the monarchy should not become hereditary. Some of them favoured Frederick the Handsome: he himself cherished confident hopes of obtaining the crown; the Habsburg power was great; he had friends in high places, such as the archbishop of Cologne, Rudolf the count palatine, and the dukes of Saxe-Wittenberg and Carinthia; above all he had strong support in his able brother, Duke Leopold.[1]

The latter, "the flower of chivalry" as he was styled, laboured indefatigably and with passionate zeal to procure his brother's elevation. But the Luxemburgers, with John of Bohemia and the elector of Treves at their head, were firmly resolved that the crown should not fall to the Habsburgs. They turned their eyes to Ludwig the Bavarian, who had just defeated Frederick the Handsome at Gammelsdorf, and made him an offer of the crown. He had scruples about accepting it at first, but ultimately did so, when the Luxemburgers gave him assurances of the strongest support against Frederick. They brought some other princes over to their side, mainly by the exertions of Peter Aichspalter, archbishop of Mainz, the chief of whom were the electors of Brandenburg and Saxe-Lauenburg. Like his immediate predecessors, Ludwig the Bavarian was obliged to promise the electors great privileges and large sums of money in return for their votes.

LUDWIG OF BAVARIA AND FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA

When the day of election was at length come the two parties of Habsburg and Luxemburg encamped on the Main outside Frankfort. On the 19th of October the first named elected Frederick the Handsome by four votes,

[1 This Leopold, the son of Albert I, supported the Habsburg party, and his brother, Frederick the Handsome, against Ludwig. He should be remembered in connection with the Swiss victory of Morgarten in 1315, at which he was beaten in the endeavour to punish the Waldstätte for siding with Ludwig. He is to be distinguished from his nephew Leopold; who attacked the Swiss with equal violence and with an effect even more disastrous to Austria later on at Sempach in 1386.[a]]

and the following day their opponents elected Ludwig the Bavarian by five. The city of Frankfort readily opened its gates to the latter and did him homage as the rightful sovereign of the empire, while it refused to admit Frederick the Handsome. The latter tried to get to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) with all speed and be crowned there; but Ludwig the Bavarian was the first to arrive, and Frederick consequently had himself crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne on November 25th. Ludwig received the crown at Aix-la-Chapelle on the following day from the hands of the archbishop of Mainz. Thus each of the rivals had something of traditional usage in his favour — Frederick that he had been crowned by the archbishop who had been wont to perform the ceremony from ancient times, Ludwig that his coronation had taken place on the spot which tradition had assigned for it. Moreover the elections had hitherto been made by a unanimous vote, and the law of election did not provide for the case of a mere majority.

Thus each of the two adduced precedent for the lawfulness of his election, and the decision was referred to the judgment of God in battle. Germany was divided into hostile camps, and a civil war broke out which lasted for years. All noble families and cities took sides, the latter holding mainly with Ludwig the Bavarian, the friend of the people. The four cantons likewise declared for him. They had been at feud with the abbot of Einsiedeln, who was protected by the house of Habsburg, and having attacked the abbey had been interdicted and laid under the ban of the empire in consequence; Ludwig released them from the ban, and caused the archbishop of Mainz to absolve them from the interdict also.

Meanwhile the contest between the two rival kings lasted for eight years without coming to a decisive issue, for the might of the Habsburgs was great enough to counterbalance that of any other German prince, and as Ludwig the Bavarian gained little substantial support from the Luxemburgers, who had elevated him to the throne, he was unable to make himself master of the empire. The worst of the suffering fell upon the country itself. The electors were not sorry to witness the general confusion, as it left them freer to rule as they pleased within their own dominions.

To the pope, John XXII, the chaotic state of the empire was even more welcome. Instead of taking the side of either of the disputants in the name of the church, he called them both "his beloved sons and chosen kings of Rome," at the same time making the quarrel a pretext for declaring himself the rightful regent (vicar) of the empire. His motive for this step was self-interest, for under this title he purposed to win upper Italy for himself. With the same object he used his revenues (which he had enormously increased by the institution of a fresh ecclesiastical tax, the *annates*, *i.e.* the first year's income of every vacant benefice) to keep an army in his pay, and commanded the chiefs of the Lombard cities to resign the imperial governorships conferred upon them by the emperor Henry VII.

On this point his will was most stubbornly withstood by Milan, where the family of the Visconti had acquired the supreme power. In vain did the papal mercenaries besiege the city; it appealed for aid to King Ludwig, and obtained from him a body of auxiliaries who put the papal troops to flight. John XXII now openly took his stand against Ludwig, who in the meantime had grown too strong for him in Germany. Thus the decision between the two rival kings was at length brought about. To put an end to the uncertain strife Frederick the Handsome, in the autumn of 1322, made an incursion into Bavaria, where his soldiers wrought frightful havoc, while his brother Leopold invaded the country from Swabia.

The Battle of Mühldorf (1322 A.D.)

Frederick, with a large and well-equipped army, reinforced by auxiliary troops from Hungary, was camped at Mühldorf on the Inn, and from thence sent couriers to his brother Leopold to join him with all speed. If the brothers succeeded in effecting a junction Ludwig was lost, but Leopold inopportunely lingered by the way, and, to Ludwig's great good fortune, the messengers who went to and fro between the brothers were caught by the Bavarian peasants, so that neither learned anything of the other's movements. Ludwig advanced rapidly to meet the enemy and ranged his army in order of battle on Ampfing Heath (not far from Mühldorf). The men of the cities formed the main body of his force (as the nobles, of Frederick's), and he had with him the troops supplied by the elector of Treves and King John of Bohemia. He placed the burggraf of Nuremberg, Frederick III of Zollern, in ambush with four hundred knights who assumed Austrian colours and carried Austrian banners to delude the enemy. King Ludwig, probably for prudential reasons, wore a plain coat of mail; Frederick, on the contrary, rode proudly in the van of his host in royal armour, the imperial eagle on his glittering golden mail, the crown upon his helmet — never had he been handsomer than on that day.

The battle began in the early morning of the 22nd of September, 1322. The trumpets blared, the drums rattled, and with wild outcries Frederick's Hungarian auxiliaries, the savage Cumanians and Bulgarians, charged the left wing of Ludwig's line. That position was held by the Bohemians under King John, and they gave ground before the onslaught; the Bavarian horsemen were presently driven back in places. Ludwig himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but the bakers of Munich forced their way to him through the press and cut him a way out with sturdy blows; the rest of the citizen foot-soldiers also bore themselves bravely. For hours the fight surged to and fro. The Bohemians rallied again, and then the burggraf of Nuremberg decided the fortune of the day.

From a wooded valley on the river Isen the Austrians suddenly saw fresh troops advancing with their own banners and colours, and thought Duke Leopold had come. The new arrivals pressed close upon the flanks and rear of the Austrians, they were eye to eye before the stratagem was discovered; this was no Duke Leopold, but their enemy the burggraf of Nuremberg with fresh succours. Terror ran through the Austrian ranks. Surrounded on all sides, they took flight to the Isen and across it; Frederick with three noble comrades still fought madly in a meadow. At length his horse fell and he was taken prisoner. Ludwig greeted him kindly, but profound grief kept Frederick silent. According to one legend Schweppermann's brother-in-law, Ritter Albrecht von Rindsmaul, was the man to whom Frederick yielded himself prisoner. Schweppermann himself, so the story goes, had greatly distinguished himself that day, and at the meal on the evening of the battle, where the scanty fare consisted of a number of eggs, one for each and one over, King Ludwig honoured him by giving him the last, with the words: "One egg to every man, two to honest Schweppermann" (*Jedem ein Ei, dem frommen Schweppermann zwei*). The old hero had these words inscribed upon his tombstone. In the days immediately following, Ludwig sent his captive rival in honourable custody to the castle of Trausnitz on the Pfreimdt, near Nabburg.

By this great victory Ludwig the Bavarian set the crown securely on his head and gained power and prestige enough to come forward openly as

sovereign of the whole empire. He used his good fortune with prudence and courage. The first thing he did was to try and increase his hereditary dominions. In the same year, 1323, he held a diet at Nuremberg, commanded that the king's peace should be maintained, and put an end to a long quarrel about the mark of Brandenburg, the sovereignty of which had fallen vacant by the death of the elector Waldemar (1319) and of his sole heir, Henry of Landsberg (1320). He adjudged it to be a fief that had lapsed to the empire, and bestowed it upon his son Ludwig, then eighteen years of age. Thus the rule of the Wittelsbach line followed upon that of the Anhalts in the mark.

New Dissensions

But in spite of the momentary advantage he had gained, King Ludwig had by no means entered into peaceful possession of the throne. Duke Leopold of Austria had not given up his brother's cause as lost, but was moving heaven and earth to oppose his victorious enemy. Moreover two fresh and mighty adversaries arose, the Luxemburgs and the pope; the former because they feared and envied the overweening might of the Wittelsbach prince and thought their own services insufficiently rewarded; the latter because Ludwig had kept him from conquering Lombardy and had not conferred the imperial governorship of that province upon him. The pope had a document affixed to the doors of the cathedral at Avignon, the purport of which was that Ludwig should refrain from all government functions and cancel all that he had hitherto done as king, because he had not applied for the pope's sanction to his election. No man was to acknowledge him king on pain of excommunication.

When Ludwig heard of this proceeding he wrote at Nuremberg a solemn and indignant defence of the rights of the empire and of the independence of the German crown, and appealed to a general council of the church. The pope carried his arrogant pretensions a step farther, and made secret preparations for depriving Ludwig of the crown and procuring it for King Charles IV of France. He excommunicated Ludwig (1324) for failing to obey his commands, and laid Germany under an interdict. Substantial weight was added to these curses by the fact that King Ludwig's numerous political opponents, especially the Luxemburgers and the Habsburgers, made common cause with the pope.

Ludwig and Germany, however, found weighty supporters in an unexpected quarter — the order of Minorites (Franciscans). This brotherhood stubbornly upheld the vow of unconditional poverty, according to which they might not possess the slenderest share of this world's goods, and because the pope repudiated this doctrine they boldly opposed him and impugned his authority. By sermons and in the confessional they strove zealously to open the eyes of the populace to the usurpations of the Roman see, to the abuses and vices of the Roman court, and thus tore asunder the veil of illusion behind which, in the minds of the people, the pope had appeared not merely as the vice regent of God upon earth but almost as divine omnipotence itself, in the glory of inconceivable holiness and majesty. By this means the dreaded weapon of the interdict was shorn of much of its terror even amongst the lower classes of the population.

The burgher class likewise remained loyal to the king and was no less wroth than he at the arrogant pretensions of the papacy, and hence the superior clergy, the Dominicans, and many of the bishops gained little by their attempts to stir up rebellion against the excommunicated sovereign.

The pope endeavoured all the more fiercely to compass his overthrow by temporal means. He induced the king of Poland to invade Brandenburg (1325) and prompted Duke Leopold of Austria to offer the crown of Germany to King Charles IV of France. This the Habsburg prince did, and received from the French king in return a promise of the gift of many free German cities and counties in the event of the business coming to a successful issue. But the other German princes were more conscientious, and the election of Charles came to nothing. Count Berthold von Bucheck, commander of the order of Teutonic knights at Coblenz, distinguished himself by his manful protest against such an ignominious act.

None the less King Ludwig's position was insecure enough, in view of the enmity or lukewarm friendship of all the electors. Moreover (in 1325) he was defeated in the field by Duke Leopold. With a heavy heart he reviewed the perils which were gathering about him on every side, and ultimately resolved to propose a friendly agreement to his captive rival. He rode secretly from Munich to the castle of Trausnitz, and offered Frederick the Handsome his liberty. Frederick's confessor Gottfried, the pious prior of the Carthusian monastery of Mauerbach, lent his aid in the work of reconciliation. Frederick was willing to come to terms; he abdicated the crown and promised on his own behalf and on that of his brother to do homage to the king and to aid him against all his enemies, undertaking that, if he could not accomplish this reconciliation, he would surrender himself prisoner again at the solstice on the feast of St. John. The reconciled friends devoutly heard mass and received the holy sacrament together. They then embraced and kissed one another with profound emotion. This took place on the 13th of March, 1325.

Frederick returned to Vienna and did his utmost to induce his family to recognise the compact. He even tried to bring about a reconciliation between Ludwig and the pope. But John XXII would not hear of peace; he declared that the oath which Frederick had sworn to the king was void and that he was liable to excommunication if he kept it. Even his brother Leopold was not to be moved by his arguments, but loaded him with taunts for his weak complaisance and would have nothing to say to the agreement. The pope encouraged Leopold in his vehement opposition; he went so far as to call upon the kings of France and Poland to take up arms against Germany, and absolved the people of Brandenburg from the oath they had sworn to Ludwig's son.

When Frederick found that he could not keep the compact he resolved nevertheless to keep his word. At the solstice he came back to Munich and voluntarily gave himself into custody. Ludwig clasped him to his heart with profound emotion and received him as a friend. For a long while the pope could not believe that such loyalty was possible to German nature, but Ludwig placed firm reliance upon it. When he was forced to go to his son's assistance in Brandenburg he left Bavaria under the faithful guardianship of Frederick. On the 5th of September, 1325, they entered into a compact to rule the empire conjointly, which was opposed by the pope and the electors as soon as it became known to them, but was maintained by the two kings in spite of opposition. Fortunately Duke Leopold died soon after at Strasburg; and Frederick, full of grief and yearning for repose, retired into the Carthusian monastery of Mauerbach. He did not long survive his brother, but died in 1330.

THE REIGN OF LUDWIG THE BAVARIAN

After the death of Leopold, Ludwig's irreconcilable foe, the energy of his opponents in Germany began to flag; the pope alone did not cease from setting

snares and difficulties in his way. Ludwig, for his part, resolved to clutch at his adversary's crown, to put an end to the scandal of Avignon, and, as defender of the church, to set up a pope at Rome once more. With this object he went to Italy in the year 1327, there to assume the imperial crown, and so acquire a higher and more authoritative standing in ecclesiastical matters. He met with a favourable reception at Milan, and also at Rome, where the Ghibelline party was for the time in the ascendant; in the former place he had himself crowned with the iron crown of Lombardy, in the latter with the crown of the empire (1328). The imperial coronation ceremony was not performed in the name of the pope as heretofore, but in that of the city of Rome, the ancient mistress of the world. A Roman noble of the great house of the Colonna opened the gates of the city to the king and handed over the diadem to him in St. Peter's. Ludwig then deposed the pope, on the charge of having profaned his high office by simony and heresy, and caused the Romans to elect a Minorite monk, who assumed the name of Nicholas V, to be pope in his stead. The emperor himself invested him with the papal mantle and placed on his finger the ring which was the symbol of papal authority.

For the moment it seemed as though, after its long struggle, the empire had won a final victory over the papacy; but the victory was a mere illusion and this journey to Rome proved no less futile than many before it. For the German princes who had accompanied Ludwig returned home soon after the coronation, and his powerful supporter Castruccio, a Ghibelline soldier who had risen to be master of the city of Lucca, and whom Ludwig had elevated to the rank of duke of Lucca, likewise left Rome.

The soldiers of King Robert of Naples made raids right up to the gates of the city; Ludwig could no longer pay his own men, and he was compelled by sheer need of money to impose taxes on the Romans. His popularity rapidly declined; rebellion and treason grew rife about him; John XXII summoned all Italy to arms against him. Ludwig was obliged to leave Rome on the 6th of August; the fickle Romans followed him with shouts of "Long live the holy church!" "Death to the heretics!" and made their peace with Pope John. Dogged at every step by want and danger, the emperor marched through Italy back to Germany, after having brought about a family compact at Pavia to ensure the hereditary dominions of the house of Wittelsbach against partition.

It was the king's constant endeavour to increase and consolidate the power of his house by every possible means, and in this matter he went prudently and zealously to work. The fear of the Luxemburgs, who were perpetually striving to forestall the Wittelsbachs in the race for territory, withheld him from arbitrary measures, for which, indeed, he had neither sufficient audacity nor substantial might. For although the death of Frederick the Handsome, in 1330, left him sole king of Germany, he gained little by it in the way of revenue or property; and other great princely families, such as the Luxemburgs and Habsburgs, matched, if they did not surpass him in the extent of their dynastic possessions. In fact, these two houses soon afterwards enriched themselves by a great heritage which they snatched from the king's grasp. The latter would gladly have seized upon at least a portion of the lands of old Duke Henry of Carinthia, but was outwitted by King John of Bohemia, who married his younger son, John Henry, to the duke's daughter Margarete Maultasch (so called from her birth-place, the castle of Maultasch in the Tyrol), and then came to an agreement with the Habsburgs, who were collateral relations of the duke of Carinthia, by which he took the Tyrol and they Carinthia and Carniola after the death of the reigning sovereign (1335).

Meanwhile the pope continued ceaselessly to stir up strife against the

emperor until, for the sake of peace, the latter made a great effort to come to terms with the adversary he had failed to conquer. The pope demanded that he should sacrifice the hated Minorites, and Ludwig was weak enough to profess his willingness to do so. The pope then went a step farther in his demands and required the emperor to abdicate. Ludwig, weary of perpetual commotions, was almost inclined to accede even to this, when the murmurs of the patriotic party in Germany, and of the cities in particular, gave him courage to assume a more dignified attitude. He continued to negotiate with the papal court at Avignon, all the more readily since John XXII was dead and had been succeeded by Benedict XII. But the new pope, an upright but weak man, was completely under the influence of Philip, king of France, who hoped to win the imperial crown for himself.

The Electoral League

At length the emperor and all the princes of Germany arrived at the conclusion that the honour and independence of the whole German nation were at stake, and combined to safeguard their native land for evermore from the arrogant pretensions of foreigners in general and of the pope in particular. Learned men came forward as champions in the great struggle. Bonagratia, a Minorite friar, addressed a letter upon the unlawfulness of the interdicts of John XXII to all cathedral chapters and seminaries of learning; William of Occam, another Minorite, and an Englishman, wrote upon the limits of the temporal and spiritual power, adducing proofs from Roman and canon law; and a German, Canon Leopold von Babenberg, deduced from history the rights of the Roman Empire and the imperial prerogative.[1] They all loudly asserted the principle, which had unhappily been forgotten for so long, "that in Germany the sovereignty of a king comes of the election of the people, whose rights are delegated to the prince-electors, and that the validity of the election depends upon the assent of the people alone and not upon the pope; that the coronation has fallen into the hands of the pope by accident, and gives him no right to examine, still less to reject the kings and emperors; and that, moreover, the authority of the papacy is not superior to that of the empire, for God hath committed the supreme power in temporal affairs to the emperor alone, and in spiritual affairs to all bishops; that, consequently, the pope is not superior, but inferior to a general council of the church; and hence it is an abuse that he should excommunicate those who do not recognise his authority in all things as supreme and infallible."

The emperor proceeded to act in conformity with these principles. In July of the year 1338 he held a great diet at Frankfort-on-the-Main, to which he summoned the nobles and freemen of the empire, the cathedral chapters, and delegates from the cities, as well as the temporal and spiritual princes and lords, so that the greater part of the nation was represented by deputies. Ludwig first gave proof of his orthodoxy and rebutted the false charge of heresy, and then showed how he had employed every imaginable means consistent with the honour of Germany to make his peace with the church. Hereupon the estates of the empire declared that "the unjust interdict of John XXII is null and void and is to be abrogated by the emperor." On the 15th

[1 Greater than these, one of the greatest thinkers of all time, was Marsiglio of Padua, whose *Defensor Pacis* had perhaps less direct effect in its day because it was so far beyond it. Marsiglio laid down in this work a theory of the state which is distinctly modern. He foresaw democracy and analysed the basis of sovereignty with the keenness of one of the greatest and most prophetic men of genius in the history of human thought. But centuries were to elapse before his greatness was discovered.]

of July, Ludwig, accompanied by all the electors, except King John of Bohemia, proceeded to Rhense on the Rhine, where the "king's chair" stood. There they bound themselves by oath that they would protect and maintain the Holy Roman Empire with all its rights and liberties against all foreign domination or usurpation, by unanimous resolution, or, should discord arise, by the votes of the majority; and that he whom they all, or the majority of them, should elect king or emperor should so remain, in virtue of that election without the sanction of the pope. Ludwig caused this resolution of the confederation of electors at Rhense to be openly promulgated as a fundamental law of the empire. Thus the majesty of the empire was solemnly restored.

The arrogant claims of the papacy to the disposal of the German crown were in this way finally decided and rejected for all time. They had struck upon a two-fold obstacle, the national sentiment of the German nation, which would endure no foreign interference in German affairs, and the pride of the electors, who regarded the choice of a king and the highest affairs of state in general as their peculiar province, and did, as a matter of fact, govern them thenceforward. They were the first to profit by the defeat of the papacy. Their claims to be the pillars of the empire, to have the sole choice of the emperor and to be his associates in the government, were incontrovertibly established by the confederation of electors (*Kurverein*) as against the pope or any other authority. But the assurance of its independence abroad at least, and the barrier now erected against the baneful influence of a foreign pope upon the government of the empire, was a boon to Germany. Papal aggression was by no means at an end, however, and Ludwig had only a brief season to enjoy his victory and the advantage which his successful appeal to the nation had given him. The princes had taken his part from self-interested motives, and the same motives soon led them to side with his enemy. They were incited to do so by the emperor's successful pursuit of his plans for increasing the Wittelsbach possessions. He not only united the whole of Bavaria under his sway on the extinction of the lower Bavarian branch of the family, but gained considerable accessions of territory by dissolving, in virtue of his imperial authority, the marriage of the heiress of the Tyrol, Margarete Maultasch, who had repudiated her impotent husband, and marrying her to his son, Ludwig of Brandenburg.

The acquisition of the Tyrol was of vast importance to him on account of its situation between Bavaria and Italy; but by this proceeding he not only enraged the new pope, Clement VI, who was inspired by the spirit of John XXII, but lowered himself in general esteem, since popular opinion still assigned the jurisdiction in matrimonial causes to the papal authority. Worse still, he roused afresh the opposition of the whole Luxemburg party. And when, after the death of his brother-in-law, Count William of Holland (1346), he further took possession of the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Hainault for his own family, by declaring them lapsed fiefs and bestowing them upon his wife, the German princes, envious and apprehensive of this expansion of the Wittelsbach dominions, rose in open revolt against him. The king of France, greedy to gain possession of the west German frontier, the pope, instigated by the king and wroth with Ludwig, and the Luxemburgs, all combined to compass the emperor's overthrow.

On the 13th of April, 1346, Clement VI pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon him in the following words: "Smite him to the dust, Lord God Almighty! Hurl thy lightnings upon his head that the earth may open beneath his feet and the abyss swallow him up! Cursed be he in this world and the next and cursed be all his race!" Thereupon he absolved the people

from all their oaths of fealty to the king, deposed Ludwig's steadfast old friend Archbishop Henry of Mainz, directed the electors to proceed to a new election without delay, and designated the markgraf of Moravia (a son of King John of Bohemia and therefore a Luxemburger), who had made him the most disgraceful promises, as the worthiest candidate. Several of the princes stooped to be won over by gifts of money, and on July 11th the electors — with the exception of Brandenburg and the count palatine — met at Rhense, where, eight years before, they had sworn to maintain their freedom of election against the pope; there in all haste they elected Markgraf Charles king of Germany. When the banner of the empire was waved at that election it fell into the Rhine and sank, a symbol of the honour and loyalty of the princes. But the cities held manfully with the emperor Ludwig in spite of the pope's curse and the princes' desertion, and neither Frankfort nor Aachen would open their gates to Charles.

THE DEATH OF LUDWIG; HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY

When Ludwig hastened to the spot with an army, Charles timorously evaded him and went to France with his blind father John. There the latter fought against the English at Crécy and met his death in the fray. Charles escaped, went to Bonn, had himself crowned, and then fled into Bohemia, where he armed against the emperor. Ludwig presently found himself menaced and attacked on three sides. Nevertheless he would probably have held his own against all comers by the help of the cities and the resources of the Wittelsbach hereditary dominions; but he died suddenly on a bear hunt at no great distance from the monastery of Fürstenfeld in Bavaria (October 11th, 1347). The Augustinians at Munich would not admit his body within their walls because he died excommunicate, and it was buried in the church of Our Lady (*Liebfrauenkirche*) in that city.

Ludwig the Bavarian, or Ludwig IV, as he was styled during his reign as emperor, displayed both prudence and courage in many of his public actions, and magnanimity in some of the details of his private life, but in spite of that he was among the least able of German emperors. His was not a strong character, his actions were dictated by the needs of the moment, his policy was deficient in large views and lofty purposes; it was petty and wavering, often to the point of pusillanimity. Thus he was as much to blame as the great nobles for the fact that under him the dissolution of the empire into separate principalities proceeded apace and the royal authority steadily lost ground. The crown revenues and lands, which had come down from better days, were all but lost in his reign; he sold or pawned them without scruple whenever he was short of money; and that was very often the case, for he needed mercenaries for his protracted feuds. In earlier wars the king had summoned his vassals to the service of the empire, but now that they had risen to the rank of powerful hereditary sovereigns they rendered to the crown only such duty as they pleased, and the election capitulations deprived the king of the right of demanding more. Nor was the spirit of adventure strong enough among the knights to rally many warriors to the royal standard of their own free will; and, on the other hand, the love of money had waxed stronger. Mercenary armies consequently took the place of the old armies of the empire. For money, princes and courts led their own or hireling troops to the aid of the king, or of anyone else who would pay them.

Under these circumstances the king had no choice but to acquire considerable private dominions if he hoped to count for anything. But this was not

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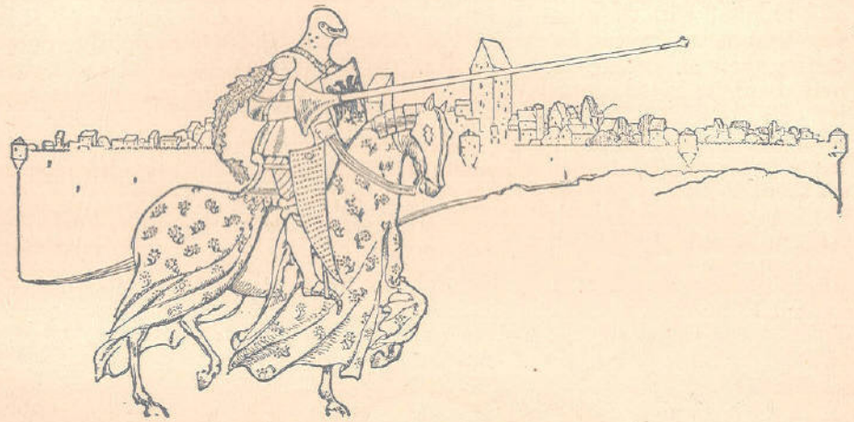
the only expedient at his command; Ludwig himself resorted to another. He allied himself with the cities, and to them he mainly owed his successes. It is true that he was driven by necessity to do so; he was far from rightly appreciating their importance or from giving the citizen class the solid and legitimate foothold in the councils of the nation which was its due. In his extremity only, as in the Frankfort Diet of 1338, did he bring the people into the foreground. But the population of the cities — the mainstay of the nation — made an enormous advance in honour and importance in his reign because he let them do as they pleased so long as their action served his ends.[d]



CHAPTER V

CHARLES IV TO SIGISMUND III

[1346-1437 A.D.]

THE reign of Charles IV introduces us to a new chapter in the history of Germany. Charles, it is true, simply followed out the now familiar policy of using the empire for the aggrandisement of his hereditary estates. But those estates were not Germanic; and the resources of Germany were drained, German commerce and industry were made to suffer, that the Slavonic kingdom of Bohemia might prosper. It is a saying as old as Maximilian that Charles was the father of Bohemia, but only step-father to the empire.

He aimed at the consolidation of the property of his house into a vast Bohemian empire; in the pursuit of this end he confused the administration of imperial affairs with the territorial administration of Bohemia, and, as Lamprecht[p] has so well said, "To Charles the empire was but an annex of his Czech property." Prague was to be the capital of this great consolidation before which the Roman Empire itself was to sink to a position of inferior splendour; and to this day the city bears traces of the greatness of the design.

The death of Ludwig, however, did not secure the submission of the whole empire to Charles. The party of Bavaria still made headway against him, and it determined upon another election.[a] Three of the electors met at Lahnstein and, declaring the former election of Charles a nullity, fixed upon Edward III, king of England, as a monarch worthy their choice. The character of Edward had been advantageously displayed whilst vicar-general of the empire; and his renown was recently augmented by the splendid victory of Crécy and the famous siege of Calais. He was, however, too intent upon the conquest of France to hazard a division of his forces: the example of Richard of Cornwall was before his eyes; and he had the wisdom to decline the offer. He merely availed himself of the occasion to detach Charles from the French cause; and in consideration of Edward's refusal the king of Bohemia engaged to remain neutral in the contest between England and France.

The four electors next fixed their choice upon Frederick II, landgraf of Thuringia, who had married a daughter of the late emperor. But that nobleman preferred a bribe to the imperial crown, and received from Charles 10,000 marks as the price of his refusal. Not disheartened by this second rejection, the electors addressed themselves to Gontram, or Günther, count of Schwarzburg, one of the ablest generals of the age, and of no less wisdom than valour. Günther readily accepted an offer which promised him some warlike pastime; and, having taken possession of Frankfort, he was there solemnly enthroned. But his death immediately delivered Charles from a formidable rival, though it threw upon him the serious charge of having poisoned Günther.

Thus relieved from competition, Charles succeeded in gaining over the other electors; and having by his diplomacy secured all the votes, he was content to be chosen a second time, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the elector of Cologne.[b] At last unquestioned sovereign, Charles set about making the most of his office. But the entire country was in a most pitiable condition.[a]

In the beginning of his reign Germany was visited by dire afflictions — the Jewish massacres, the processions of Flagellants, the plague or Black Death. The long-continued political insecurity, the strife for the crown, and the civil war were consequently doubly hard to bear. As far as any human interference which might have stemmed these disturbances was concerned, Charles remained rather indifferent. A self-contained, prosaic nature opposed to all daring schemes whose consequences could not with certainty be foretold, he, like his predecessors since the Interregnum, refrained from giving the German kingdom a true significance, either by the overthrow or by the peaceable reorganisation of existing conditions. Like all his forerunners, with the exception of the chivalrous and fantastic Henry VII, he saw that strict home rule alone could lend prestige to the German kings. But he, more than they, had consistently followed this policy with unceasing activity, and with a diplomatic skill which rarely missed its aim, avoided all entanglements with the German princes and all conflict with the papal curia or any of his powerful neighbours. Thus he reached a position such as not one of his predecessors had attained — a position which enabled him to make his royal prestige successfully felt in the majority of cases, and to secure the right of inheritance to his son Wenceslaus. The loose conglomeration of political powers, which then constituted the realm, now found a central point in the well-established possession of the Luxemburg dynasty.

THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF CHARLES IV

Charles did not receive all the territories belonging to his father and bequeathed to him by the latter's will. The principal realm of Bohemia, the duchy of Breslau, and the tenure of most of the other principalities of Silesia were indeed his; but he was obliged to resign the markgrafschaft of Moravia to his brother John Henry, and Luxemburg, the cradle of his race, soon to be raised to a duchy, to his youngest brother Wenceslaus, at the close of the year 1353.

King John, his father, had left the hereditary lands in the greatest confusion, political as well as economic. If Charles intended to rule in the German realm he had first to establish order and prosperity in his own country. It was then shown how much he had profited by his sojourn in Italy and France— countries so much farther advanced than his native land in the development of domestic economy and the culture of the arts and sciences. He invited

artists and artisans to Bohemia and made Prague a city of palaces. He encouraged agriculture, started and developed new trades, assisted commerce by opening new routes of travel; he also patronised poetry and learning, and created a home for the sciences by founding the University of Prague (April 7th, 1348).

He constantly endeavoured to keep his territories in a state of peace by a strict suppression of all deeds of violence and a just administration of the law. Although he had to abandon his plan to introduce an entirely new code of laws, the so-called *Majestas Carolina*, into Bohemia, on account of the opposition of the nobles whose powers were greatly reduced by it, yet he did improve the legislation in many ways, and created especially for the duchy of Breslau the so-called *Silesian Code*. Finally he sought to establish the legal position of Bohemia in relation to the German Empire. He declared the bishopric of Olmütz, the markgrafschaft of Moravia, and the duchy of Troppau Bohemian fiefs; united Bautzen, Görlitz, and the Silesian principalities definitely with Bohemia, and assured to the crown of Bohemia the office of cupbearer and the electoral dignity.

Having thus provided for the welfare of his own land, in its growing prosperity he built a strong foundation for his German kingship. At the same time — by influencing the episcopal elections, by endeavouring to increase the royal prestige, and by encouraging the efforts to establish the *Landfriede* in the empire — he checked to a certain extent the frequent feuds and private warfare. As far as possible he also restored peace and tranquillity in those regions where there were no powerful territorial magnates, and finally decided to have himself crowned with the imperial crown in order to strengthen himself both in Germany and abroad. In the autumn of 1354 he marched over the Alps, received the Iron Crown January 6th, 1355, in Milan, and was crowned emperor in Rome, April 5th, 1355. He then returned to Germany without attempting any rearrangement of Italian conditions, satisfied with the outward recognition alone which he had secured.

Having thus increased the importance of his throne in the eyes of all, he now pursued with energy his favourite scheme of assuring the future of the house of Luxemburg and his Bohemian heritage. After having announced a formal law of the realm for Bohemia on April 5th, 1355, which gave the wearer of the Bohemian crown a position with privileges far greater than those of all the other princes of the realm, he determined to undertake a regulation of the decisions of the laws of the realm relative to the choosing of a king by the electoral princes, as well as to endeavour to form a fixed privileged position for these princes. This was done in the Golden Bull, which was accepted on December 11th, 1356, in Metz, by the electoral princes after a series of deliberations, and solemnly proclaimed on Christmas Day.[c]

THE GOLDEN BULL (1356 A.D.)

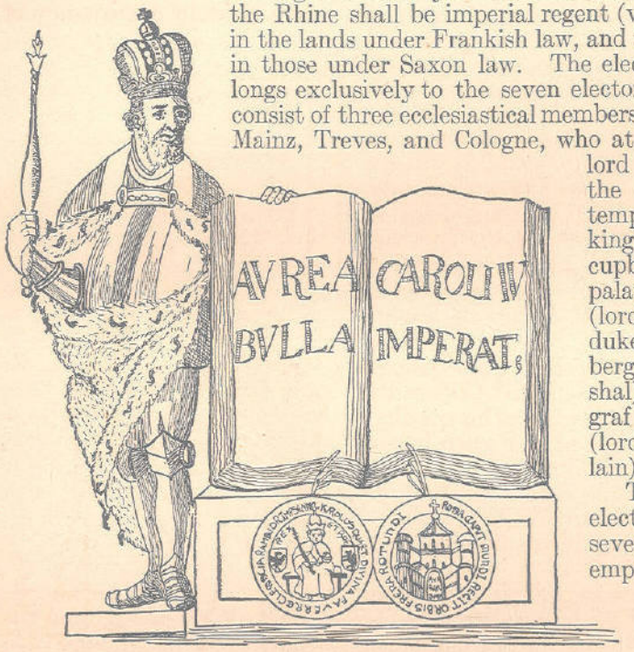
This Golden Bull, so named from the gold imperial seal attached to the document, is one of the most important documents of history. Slight as it is, it formed almost the only constitution of the empire and fixed the method of imperial election until the Peace of Westphalia.[a] In it, definite regulations were made for the election of the king, the rights and duties of the electoral princes were firmly established, and the measures for the public peace were arranged. There was no mention in the Golden Bull either of the emperor's claims on Italy, or of the pope; nay, it was now assumed that by his election the German king had already received the title of "Roman emperor."

[1356 A.D.]

Concerning the election of the king and of the emperor, the Golden Bull made the following stipulations:

After the demise of the Crown, the electoral prince of Mainz as primate of the empire shall summon the remaining electoral princes within three months to an election at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Here they must swear to vote without selfish motives, and may not disperse before the election has taken place. A majority counts as much as a unanimous vote. The coronation will be performed by the archbishop of Cologne at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).

During the vacancy of the throne the count-palatine on the Rhine shall be imperial regent (vicar of the empire) in the lands under Frankish law, and the duke of Saxony in those under Saxon law. The electoral franchise belongs exclusively to the seven electoral princes. These consist of three ecclesiastical members, the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, who at the same time are lord high chancellors of the empire, and four temporal members, the king of Bohemia (chief cupbearer), the count-palatine on the Rhine (lord high steward), the duke of Saxe-Wittenberg (lord high marshal), and the mark-graf of Brandenburg (lord high chamberlain).



CHARLES IV (1316–1378)
(After a print of about 1356, the date of the Golden Bull)

The position of the electoral princes, the seven columns of the empire, was very much exalted. They received the first rank amongst the German princes with the following rights and duties: the electoral dignity as well as the high imperial dignity[1] was always to go with possession of electoral land, which was indivisible and in the temporal electorate hereditary, according to the law of primogeniture. Every year, four weeks after Easter, the electoral princes were to assemble for an electors' diet, so as to deliberate with the emperor on the affairs of the empire. Further, the electoral princes received the "*jus de non evocando*" — that is to say, the important law that their subjects and estates could not appeal from their courts of justice to the imperial courts, except when legal help was refused them. Thanks to this, the electoral princes now possessed an exclusive and conclusive territorial jurisdiction.

Besides this, the imperial regalia in their lands (mines, the mint, taxes, protection-duty from the Jews) belonged to them, and without special permission from the emperor they could acquire land from other princes and estates. And as in rank they were set above all other princes of the empire and almost on an equality with the emperor, so too their persons were to be inviolable, and any attacks upon them were to be reckoned high treason.

[1] The dignity of elector was enhanced by the Golden Bull as highly as an imperial edict could carry it; they were declared equal to kings, and conspiracy against their persons incurred the penalty of high treason. — HALLAM.[c]

[1356 A.D.]

By these enactments of the Golden Bull many disputes were obviated at the imperial election, but on the other hand the division of the German Empire into distinct German states was legally accomplished. The imperial supremacy was only a loose thread for preserving the political unity.

Moreover, the disintegration of the empire into a German confederacy of states went farther and farther; for as the electoral princes were in jealous competition with the emperor, so the other princes of the empire were in jealous competition with the privileged electors, all endeavouring to build up a complete sovereignty and to perfect a special empire of their own. The more powerful among them gradually succeeded in making the emperor confer rights on them almost equal in extent to those conferred on the electoral princes. Others received at least a promotion in titles; thus the counts of Luxemburg and Mecklenburg became dukes. The system now came into existence by which the emperor conferred titles without their corresponding lands. This nobility, obtained by letters patent, a French invention, was introduced into Germany by Charles IV, but it was only later that its application became extensive.

NOBLEWOMAN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By the Golden Bull it was the high aristocracy, especially the electoral princes, who scored. The nobility in general received an acknowledgment of its special privileges as a class, inasmuch as it was left in possession of its old right of private warfare. Otherwise the smaller states were prejudiced in favour of the great. But the provision by which the towns and individual persons were prohibited from forming any union among themselves, without the consent of the sovereigns whom it concerned, was absolutely hostile to freedom. Thereby the estates lost a very important means of protection against the arbitrary caprice of their sovereigns. In the territories the confederacy which yielded such efficient protection to general liberty was robbed of its legal basis, although it continued its formal existence for a while longer.

By this prohibition the emperor and the electoral princes partly had in view the assurance of public peace, which was endangered by the self-protection of the individual members. In the interests of the public peace the Golden Bull also enacted that every feud was to be preceded by a three days' announcement. It is true, not much was gained by this.[d1]

[1] The conditions of the time are sufficiently outlined in the preamble to the Bull: "Every kingdom which is at odds with itself will fall, for its princes are the companions of robbers;

This famous Pragmatic Sanction was finally promulgated in the diet of Metz in 1356. On that occasion the emperor and the empress feasted, in the presence of the dauphin Charles V and the legate of Pope Innocent VI, with all the pageantry and ceremonies prescribed by the new ordinances. The imperial tables were spread in the grand square of the city; Rudolf, duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, attended, with a silver measure of oats, and marshalled the order of the company; Ludwig II, markgraf of Brandenburg, presented to the emperor the golden basin, with water and fair napkins; Rupert, count palatine, placed the first dish upon the table; and the emperor's brother, Wenceslaus, representing the king of Bohemia, officiated as cupbearer. Lastly, the princes of Schwarzburg and the deputy-huntsman came with three hounds amidst the loud din of horns, and carried up a stag and a boar to the table of the emperor.[b]

THE CONDITION OF GERMANY UNDER CHARLES

The policy of Charles IV failed to win the affection of his German subjects, for he sacrificed the national feeling which Ludwig of Bavaria had awakened. Yet his character and the results of his policy are important, for they mark an epoch in the history of culture. Charles had little of the mediæval character. In him there is lacking the rude, disorderly, sometimes violent strength of the more talented princes of the Middle Ages; nor does there appear in him that unbalanced, romantic, and fantastic spiritual development which was the result of the general tendencies of church and state. The spirit of the early Renaissance ruled him and left its stamp in his statesmanship. He stood at the boundary between two ages: spiritually he was the child of the Renaissance thought, which broke with the ecclesiastical and political philosophy of the Middle Ages. In advance of his time, he took advantage of the decadence in the political and social organisation of the period to increase the influence of his family.

Seldom are the lines which separate epochs so well represented in the personalities of men as in the last decade of Charles' life. In 1377 England lost in Edward III the greatest representative of her mediæval power; in 1378, a few months before the death of Charles, Gregory XI died at Rome, the last universally recognised pope for years to come. The great division in ecclesiastical interests began, the influence of which was felt through all Europe.

While Germany fell into a state of discontent and disorder, new political powers arose in the north and east, which threatened the government and property of the Germans. There, when the authority and policy of Germany had ceased to wield any influence, and the German orders and the Hansa had represented the honour and industrial interest of Germany, the ancient enemies united for common action against Germany. The domination in north and east, which had compensated for losses in south and west,[1] was now questioned; indeed, the superior power found it necessary to act on the defensive. The union of Poland and Lithuania, under Wladislaw (IV) Jagello, broke the strength of the German order; the Union of Kalmar in 1397 threatened to take from Germany her dominion over the Baltic. Not long after, the Hussite movement, less ecclesiastical than national, seemed to unite the whole Slavonic world in a common rising against German leadership. The

and therefore God hath removed their candlesticks from their place. They have become blind leaders of the blind: and with blinded thoughts they commit misdeeds."

[1 The dismemberment of the kingdom of Burgundy.]

critical issues of German policy are no longer in the south and west, but in the north and east. Here must Germany's future be decided.

The greatness of the mediæval empire depended on two elements — the fight for leadership in the south, and the extension of German culture to the north and east. This division of national strength was not without disadvantages, which became more apparent as, with the gradual dissolution of the empire, it ceased to represent the divergent interests of north and south. While the south and west conformed to the old Italian influences, the north and east rejected them. This development of diverse interests was especially noticeable in the Hohenstaufen period. The union of north and south became a purely formal one, lacking all the elements that make an alliance of life interests. Also in political development north and south were far different. In the south and west the feudal relations, which were the foundation of the kingdom, resulted in territorial confusion, and the majority of the lower imperial vassals became as good as independent. This breaking up of the south into small powers resulted in a variety of interests which made a lasting constitution impossible, and produced each year new conflicts. In imitation of his stronger neighbour, each territorial lord sought to bring under his dominion the free powers in his reach, nobles as well as cities. Their endless conflicts characterised south Germany in the later half of the fourteenth century; without interest in themselves, they illustrate the political development of the age.

In the north and east conditions were more fortunate. The territory from the Saale and Elbe to the Oder was not lost to the empire. Certain brave princes, indeed whole families of them, had settled in this region, and with the help of their feudal retainers had driven back the Slavs and extended the German boundaries to the east. It is sufficient to remember what the Askanians in the mark of Brandenburg, or the house of Wettin in the middle south, and above all what the Guelfs, chiefly Henry the Lion, had achieved on the lower Elbe. These princes organised into states, without the aid of the empire the territories they conquered; in them there were no lords directly subject to the imperial power. The Guelfs and Askanians placed their own ministerials in the leadership of the new duchies; the bishops also were from the beginning vested only with territorial powers and received their temporal rights from the lords of the land, not from the king. There were no imperial cities; the burghers and the peasants were subject to the lords of the land and had no immediate relation to emperor and empire. In political civilisation, in organisation of administration, through the growth of an office-holding class, free from feudal obligations, the north was far superior to the south and west. The future of Germany rests in these territories; for the south and west continued to divide into small states through the division of territories and the decline of princely families.

Above all, it was important for the future of Germany that the city life of the north was protected from the shadow in which the Golden Bull placed that in the south. There was, indeed, a conflict between princes and cities in the north and east, but never such a conflict as in the south since the latter half of the fourteenth century. Industrially and politically the princes and cities of the north were dependent on each other, on account of their relations to their neighbours and the interests which they both had against them. Since Frederick II the Danish kings had no thought of yielding their landed interests on the Elbe; the Germans must rely on their strength to take it. There the national interests of Germany developed most successfully. While the clever Luxemburgs sought to secure the welfare of Germany and the fortunes

of their dynasty by shrewd treaties with their neighbours, the cities of the north, making alliances with the princes, instituted a national policy which was fruitful of important results. The same tendency was found in the east.

It was the mission of the Hansa and the Teutonic orders to protect north and east from the Danes and Poles, and at the same time to preserve the honour of the German name.

THE HANSA

From a simple association for the protection of trade and commerce, the Hansa developed into a great industrial power of political importance. The country between the lower Elbe and the Trave was the centre of north German trade; from Hamburg and Bremen it extended to the cities of the Low Countries, thence to England; from Lübeck northward to Sweden and Norway; then by way of the cities on the south of the Baltic towards Pomerania and Prussia, to lower Livonia and Esthonia, while the cities of central Germany established the leadership of the Hansa on the territories of the lower Rhine and in lower Saxony and Brandenburg. Under the able protection of its association, the Hansa developed well-defined rules and customs, well represented by the Steel-yard in London, situated between the Thames and Thames street. Here were all the elements of a city — warehouses, markets, halls, banks, and dwellings. Protected by privileges obtained from the English king, it became the storehouse for the foreign trade of the German merchants. At the factories in Bruges, products of the north were exchanged for those of the south and the far east. For the northern trade Wisby was the most advanced protected point. There wares were shipped to Livonia, Esthonia, and Russia. At Novgorod the Hansa established its influence and won privileges from the native rulers. Moreover the Hansa had a national character. From the western boundaries of the German language to distant Prussia, to the cities of Dantzic, Brandenburg, and Königsberg, from these to Livonia and Esthonia, where Riga and other towns belonged to the Hansa, German people were bound together in a common union. In foreign lands the Hansa burghers lived according to their own customs, exempt from the law of the land. Also the political organisation of the Hanse towns was uniform, based on the old aristocratic ideas.

Hence the number of the cities in the association was so great and the influence of certain landed interests so strong that internal conflict could not be avoided. There were three classes of cities, later four. The Lübeck-Wend class, whose leader was Lübeck, included the Mecklenburg cities — Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, Kolberg, Rügenwalde, as well as certain smaller cities; and the cities of the north, as Salzwedel, Stendal, Havelberg, Brandenburg, Berlin-Kölln (Berlin), and Frankfort. A second class was composed of the cities of the lower Rhine and of lower Saxony, as Cologne, Dortmund, Münster, Herford, and Minden, certain of the neighbouring Netherland cities, and the distant cities of Thorn, Kulm, and Dantzic. In the northern territory of the Hansa, Livonia and Esthonia, were a number of cities which composed the Jutland group. Later the Saxon cities of Göttingen, Halle, Hildesheim, and Lüneburg formed a fourth class under the leadership of Bremen. The division into classes gave the individual the opportunity to develop in harmony with the political conditions which surrounded it. The rules of trade and navigation and of weights and measures were fixed by the whole association, but each group arranged the particular affairs with its neighbours and those with whom it entered into commercial

relations. The Hansa also developed into a war power. Each city, in case of war, had to send a contribution of men and ships. So, in the time when the monarchy fell into helplessness, and Charles IV used weak kingly authority to build up his dynasty, Germany developed of itself into a strong power in the north.[c]

The strength of the Hansa was, however, soon to be put to the test in a struggle with the rising power of Denmark. Valdemar IV had raised the Danish realm from insignificance to the rank of a great power. As an ally of Ludwig of Bavaria, he had had the ready aid of the cities in putting down piracy on the Sound and along the Baltic. But having once gained the mastery of the sea, he found his former allies to be his most troublesome competitors. Their great influence was an obstacle to the fulfilment of his great plan, which was to secure the predominance in the north which Denmark had once held under Valdemar I.[a] In a war against Sweden in 1360 he conquered Skåne. By this the herring fishery of the Hanseatic cities was greatly menaced. The Hanseatic cities demanded therefore from Valdemar the ratification of their privilege of fishing off the coast of Skåne. He, however, went with his fleet over to the island of Gotland and captured Wisby in 1361. The commerce of the Hanseatic cities was now in the greatest danger.

They therefore concluded an alliance with Sweden and Norwegian Greifswald in September, 1361. Their fleet, led by the burgomaster of Lübeck, John Wittenborg, appeared in the Sound and took Copenhagen. But on July 8th, 1362, Valdemar fell upon the Hanseatic fleet at Helsingborg and routed it completely. The peace of 1365 left Gotland under Danish sovereignty. As Valdemar continued with inconsiderate recklessness to trepass on the rights and customs of the cities, fresh hostile entanglements naturally ensued. Hakon of Norway also oppressed the Hanseatic League in Bergen, and so the Prussian and Netherland cities came to an agreement in the summer of 1367 regarding preparations for war. In November, 1367, at a great meeting in Cologne, seventy-seven cities declared war against the two northern kings. The nobility of Holstein and the Swedish king, Albert of Mecklenburg, joined with the cities. War began in the spring of 1368. It was a brilliant success. Skåne, Wisby, Copenhagen, all fell into the hands of the cities of the Baltic, Jutland was taken by the counts of Holstein, while the North Sea towns turned their arms victoriously against Norway. King Valdemar was obliged to flee from his country.

After lengthy deliberations an agreement was made between the Danish parliament and the cities, in consequence of which the cities regained all their privileges and also the right themselves to manage the revenues from Skåne. On the basis of this agreement peace was definitely concluded at Stralsund, May 24th, 1370. The German princes, who had an essential interest in the decision, were not consulted at the treaty. Valdemar, who had in vain sought for aid at the hands of his former patrons, saw himself forced to ratify the Peace of Stralsund, December 29th, 1371.[c]

The cities had won a great victory, and now Charles IV attempted to share in their prosperity. He desired nothing less than to obtain the leadership of the Hansa, and he had cherished this plan ever since he had come into possession of the mark of Brandenburg. In order to impress the people of Lübeck in its favour, he granted them in 1374 great liberties; then he honoured the city with a visit, and displayed all possible pomp and magnificence, so as to show the people of Lübeck how much he was attached to them. During his stay he flattered the council outrageously; he invited the members to his table, and addressed them by the title of "lords" (a compliment which they

modestly declined), and called them his imperial councillors. But all this flattery was of no avail. The burghers of Lübeck showed him all due honour, but took care not to enter into any of his proposals, as they knew that he thought only of his own advantage. Meeting with no success, he was compelled to retire.[j]

THE SWABIAN LEAGUE

Turning now to south Germany, we find the same story of independence in the cities, but with a different setting. There, where foreign politics do not intrude, Lamprecht[p] thinks that we find mirrored a more correct view of the social condition of the empire than in the distant north.

The struggle between the princes and the cities, according to Lamprecht, may be said to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, while that between the nobility and the cities was of more recent origin. Princes, the nobility, and cities still acted in concert when the thirteenth century came to a close, but with the first and second decades of the fourteenth century a change is visible. There is both an economical and a military decline in the condition of the noblemen. In the revolutions of the guilds the separation between the burgher and the nobleman becomes marked. The nobility, as soon as it ceases to be a compact social unit, ceases to be the main feature of the social structure. Unlike the landowner and the burgher, the nobleman always lacked individuality. But territories and cities rapidly acquire individual existence, so that all men can realise how differently Bâle or Frankfort would behave from Cologne or Nuremberg under the same circumstances.

Charles' dealings with the Swabian cities were marked by diplomacy rather than by any strict conformance to the constitution which he had drawn up. Having satisfied them with his help in the formation of a league, contrary to the express provisions of the Golden Bull, in order to have their support against Wittelsbach, he now wished to add to it non-city elements and thus establish a *constitutio pacis* or *Landfriede*.[1] In 1373 Charles carried into execution this amalgamation of the cities and the nobility in Swabia, but with the count of Würtemberg, the most notorious chief of the nobility, as president. The peace society and its president were then skilfully utilized by the emperor to aid him in raising money for the imperial treasury.[q]

THE GROWING POWER OF CITIES

In order to make sure of the succession to the imperial crown in his own house, Charles determined to have his son Wenceslaus crowned during his own lifetime, and to carry through this election he needed vast sums of money. These the cities were to pay. Consequently they were again very highly taxed; others were mortgaged and pledged; in particular the emperor allowed the count of Würtemberg to redeem all the imperial mortgages in Swabia,

[1 The *Landfriede* occurs first in the form of *Königsfriede* and then of *Gottesfriede*, both of which seem to have been monarchical declarations of peace between two parties engaged in feud. The Landfriede was a similar declaration proceeding from territorial lords. Thus peace ordinances came to be issued in Bohemia, Bavaria, Meissen, and Thuringia. So long as they were merely defensive alliances, the emperor could permit them to continue without challenging their legality. But when, as we shall soon see, they were used for purposes of attack as well as of defence, imperial supremacy was endangered. At the bottom of the difficulty lay the old German reluctance to submit to authority. If two men fought, they denied the right of anyone, including the emperor himself, to stop them, and the intricate study of conflicting legal sanctions of this kind is quite as potent a factor in the understanding of modern Germany in its federal aspect as the observance of a common desire for union proceeding from a variety of sources, which the historians have delighted to trace with greater zeal than accuracy.]

that is, to buy up all magisterial and other offices in the possession of the empire. In this way the cities of Swabia, to a considerable extent at least, would come into the power of Würtemberg.

To avert this was of vital importance to the cities. They instantly recognised that Charles was determined to sacrifice them to the princes with the sole object of making his son emperor. Under the circumstances they could perceive in Wenceslaus nothing but a partisan of the princes. They were therefore determined to venture to extremes. Incited by Ulm, fourteen cities on the Lake of Constance, joined shortly after by four more, formed a league in which they agreed they would stand together against everyone who should seek to suppress them from the empire and to injure their freedom; also they refused to acknowledge Wenceslaus as king, for fear of being taxed again.

The emperor was extremely provoked by this opposition, which crossed all his plans. He wished to crush it by force. Therefore in the year 1376 he marched with a large army on Ulm, the originator and leader of the league, in order to compel it to submission. In the army of the emperor were his son Wenceslaus, Eberhard count of Würtemberg, the burggraf of Nuremberg, the count of Werteim, the count of Hohenlohe, and many other princes and lords. The siege lasted six weeks, but the citizens defended themselves so bravely that there could be no thought of taking the town.

Unrewarded by any success, the emperor had to retire after having agreed to an armistice. He wished to clear up the question in dispute at a diet at Nuremberg. But the cities did not appear; on the contrary, they attacked the count of Würtemberg, destroyed some of his citadels, and devastated his territories. A large contingent of nobles and princes now forsook the cities: among them the dukes of Bavaria, of Teck, the counts of Hohenlohe, and the Frankish counts. War broke out simultaneously in Swabia, Bavaria, and Franconia. But the cities fought bravely against all their enemies and maintained their advantage. The count of Würtemberg suffered a most bloody defeat at Reutlingen in May, 1377, when almost all the nobility were killed, and Eberhard's son, Ulrich, who commanded the army of the lords, narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

In some respects the battle of Reutlingen formed a turning point. Shortly before, negotiations for peace had been initiated; but they were now broken off by the count of Würtemberg, who wished to avenge the defeat. On the other hand courage and self-reliance were increased in the champions of the cities.

The league of the eighteen cities increased visibly: Nördlingen, Dinkelsbühl, Aalen, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, Weissenburg, Schweinfurt, and Halle joined their ranks. The fortune of war remained true to the cities, and in the year 1378 they were still maintaining a superiority over all their enemies. This development seemed very critical to Charles. He had long ago been able to realise on many occasions that the cities were hostile to him. In Bâle, Worms, Esslingen, and Mainz at various times he had been treated by the burghers with anything but respect. In Esslingen and Mainz the people mobbed him and his escort: he scarcely escaped personal insult. When we remember the traditional fidelity and adherence of the cities to the emperors, such occurrences would seem impossible but for the fact that the whole conduct of Charles had justified the deepest mistrust against him in the populations of the cities.

The lower classes of these populations were always scenting treachery from him, for he not only pushed the cities into the background but he had

also shown himself no friend to democratic administration. His policy was rather to favour the great families where he could, and so under his reign there began a reaction against the victorious democracy of the time of Ludwig the Bavarian. This preference of Charles for the time-honoured sovereignty of the great families naturally made the guilds mistrustful of him, all the more so as it was known how he used his interference in the internal affairs of the cities for purposes of extortion to the detriment of the democracy. Had Charles attached a trifle more value to public opinion, the experiences which he had already partly made in the early period of his reign would have been sufficient indication to him of what he had to expect from the cities. His stock of experience was still further increased shortly before the war of the Swabian cities.

After the death of the archbishop of Mainz in 1373, Charles had thought to confer this important archbishopric on Ludwig, who was then bishop of Bamberg, and had managed to win the pope for his favourite, although a majority of the chapter had chosen Adolphus of Nassau. Both now disputed the archbishopric. Thuringia too was a scene of the combat, for here the archbishopric of Mainz owned possessions. At this point in the struggle the town of Erfurt took Adolphus' part. What could be more natural? For Ludwig, the protégé of Charles, was by birth markgraf of Meissen, of the house of Wettin, which was constantly on bad terms with the Thuringian cities. Erfurt feared to lose its independence under this archbishop, who could acquire such powerful support from his brothers; it therefore denied the claims of Ludwig and acknowledged Adolphus of Nassau as archbishop. For this it was to be punished by Ludwig and his brothers; in 1375 the city was besieged. Charles, who had already placed the ban on the city for its disobedience, also came to the siege, but his presence did not improve matters. Erfurt could not be taken. After a siege of five months an armistice proved necessary; and, at this, Charles consented to raise the ban, naturally in return for a considerable sum of money, which the citizens of Erfurt had to pay.

And now followed the great movement of the Swabian cities. Charles felt that he was on the point of raising the whole citizenhood of the empire against him, and he had just had ample experience of how much strength such a rising was capable of developing. It was high time to lower his tone. He saw there was nothing to be done but to yield to the will of the cities. Every attempt to mortgage them or to surrender them to the princes under any pretext would have met with their strongest opposition. And according to his latest experience this opposition was not to be overcome; on the contrary it increased daily, for the league of the cities was visibly gaining ground. That this league was also dangerous to his son, if Charles continued to show himself hostile to the cities, was evident. Charles decided to negotiate a peace which should grant the cities all they demanded. On the 30th of August, 1378, it came to pass. In consequence of this peace the governorship of the province was taken away from the count of Würtemberg, and all favours which had been granted him to the detriment of the cities were recalled. Duke Frederick of Bavaria was entrusted with the governorship.

The conclusion of this peace which announced the victory of the cities in such striking fashion was the last important act of Charles IV.[1] A few months later, in November 1378, he died at the age of sixty-three. He left three sons, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, and John. His lands were divided among

[1] As Lamprecht [p] says, the recognition by the emperor of the Swabian League at the peace was unquestionably a violation of the Golden Bull. But in return for this the cities acknowledged the election of Wenceslaus, which before this they had refused to do.

them — a remarkable instance of political inconsistency in an emperor otherwise so judicious. The power of the house of Luxemburg was superior to that of other German princes only so long as it remained united. Divided, it shared the lot of all the other German princedoms, where, as we have seen, the members of one and the same house were often at variance and made the pursuit of a common policy impossible. Thus the fruit of all the care and anxiety of this restless emperor for the future of his house seemed to have been placed in jeopardy by his last will. But this, like the other acts of Charles, was the result of self-delusion. He had hoped that his children as well as all members of his family would keep as close together as if they were all inspired by the same spirit.

Thus Wenceslaus received the kingdom of Bohemia, Sigismund the mark of Brandenburg, John a part of Lusatia under the name of the city and district of Görlitz. Charles had already yielded Moravia to his brother John, after whose death the mark passed to his sons Jobst and Procop.[f]

WENCESLAUS (1378–1400 A.D.)

The reign of Wenceslaus is one of the most unfortunate in all German history. To the disintegrating political and social influences which taxed the strength of Charles IV there was added a new problem of international importance — the great schism of the papacy.[1] Wenceslaus, endowed with a robust body and pleasing address, but deficient in the qualities of leadership and character, was unable to meet successfully the difficulties before him, and his reign ended in disgrace and anarchy.

Events that took place soon after Wenceslaus' coronation indicate the instability of the system which his father had hoped to establish. Desiring to increase the influence of royalty by alliances with European governments, Charles IV had made a contract of marriage for his son Sigismund with Princess Maria, heiress to the thrones of Hungary and Poland. The Poles, dissatisfied with the prospect of a German ruler, soon after the death of Charles chose as their sovereign a younger sister of Maria, who had married the duke of Carinthia. Then the Hungarians, jealous of the growth of the house of Luxemburg, offered the hand of the affianced princess to Charles of Naples. A compromise was finally arranged by which Sigismund received his promised wife, but gained no governmental authority in Hungary. Thus both Hungary and Poland were lost to the house of Luxemburg.

The failure of Wenceslaus to take a decisive action in these foreign affairs for the interest of his family was followed by failure to reconcile the conflicting elements in German society. Prejudiced as much as his father against the Swabian League, he refused to recognise it officially. The members of the league then sought allies in the princes. In 1379 an alliance was made with the duke of Bavaria, as well as with many minor nobles of the Rhine valley. To this hostile attitude of the princes and the imperial cities was added that of the free towns. Harassed by the depredations of the knights of the lower nobility, the inhabitants of a number of towns, among them Strasburg, Worms, Speier, and Frankfort, formed in 1381 a union for mutual protection. The same year the new league entered into an alliance with the Swabian League which guaranteed the independence and organisation of each. The princes were alarmed at this federation, which threatened the

[1 Gregory XI had died at Rome four months before the death of Charles.]

existence of the knights and the lower nobility; and in 1382, under the leadership of Leopold of Austria, the nobles of Swabia signed an agreement to prevent war between towns and knights.

Wenceslaus, following the tactics of his father, hoped to conciliate the leagues by persuading them to become a part of the imperial system. In 1384 was formed the union of Heidelberg, which united princes and cities into an association of which the emperor was the head and protector. However, none of the parties in this imperial federation were satisfied, and armed conflict was precipitated by the conduct of Leopold. The Swabian League had increased its membership by a number of towns, among them the Swiss city of Bâle. There was enmity of long standing between the Swiss and the house of Austria. By certain offences to Bâle, Leopold awakened the old hostility. This led Bern, Zurich, Lucerne, and a few other Swiss cities to make an alliance with the federations of the Rhine and Swabia to "preserve peace and protect our common country" (1385). Leopold then began war against the Swiss cities. The Austrians were defeated in the battles of Sempach (1386) and Näfels (1388), and the last claims of Germany in Switzerland were lost.

The German League did not assist the Swiss in their struggle, on account of the war which broke out in Germany between themselves and the princes of Bavaria in 1388.[a] The burghers were defeated in a great battle at Würtemburg, and in May, 1389, Wenceslaus commanded the imperial cities in Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria, and those on the Rhine to dissolve their alliance, of which he had seen enough to know it was "against God himself, the Holy Empire, and the law." On pain of losing their privileges, he ordered them to accept a general peace (*Landfriede*) which he proclaimed for a large part of the kingdom. For each locality a peace tribunal was to be established; its members to be chosen by princes and cities, and the presiding officer by the emperor. Few definite conclusions were expressed in the *Landfriede*, for Wenceslaus knew that he must appeal to the honour of the combatants to have it accepted. But it clearly stated that "the common league of all the cities must dissolve," exception being made in favour of those members of the Nuremberg League which had observed the Heidelberg Union. Ratisbon and Nuremberg were willing to obey the king, and the remaining cities gradually accepted the Landfriede — first those on the Rhine, then the Swabian, Bavarian, and Franconian cities.

The city leagues were thus dissolved, and they never again attained the power and prominence they lost, although some small unions of neighbouring cities remained and others were established. For example, the seven cities on the North Sea maintained their league, and in 1390 a new league was formed by Ulm and other cities, which lasted until late in the next century. Still the significance of the great city league was not lost. The imperial cities came out of the great battle without losing any of their rights and privileges, and had attained what the Swabians had primarily striven for — the abolition of that practice by which they were mortgaged and pledged to meet the imperial expenses. But the broader issue, resistance to the princes, was lost. This was in part the fault of dissimilar interests which had led the different members into the league, in part the fruit of discussion and selfishness, in part the constitution of the league, which had no unifying leader and no common treasury. The situation, also, of the cities — which were scattered over the empire — made their common object difficult of attainment. Finally, there arose a conviction that the movement had undertaken more than was necessary, that the fight was immaterial and without a definite end. So the earlier indifferent attitude of princes and cities was revived.[g]

Civil Wars

In addition to the conflict between princes and cities, Wenceslaus' reign is notable for numerous petty wars among the princes. Jobst, markgraf of Moravia, duke of Brandenburg and Luxemburg, was not satisfied with these territories; he coveted Bohemia and the empire itself. Supported by the nobles of Bohemia, who wished to increase their feudal privileges, and by ambitious princes of other states, he defeated Wenceslaus in 1394, at Beraun, and forced him to yield the government of Bohemia.[a]

This was the signal for a series of civil wars of which Bohemia was the subject. Certain German princes demanded and obtained increased privileges from Wenceslaus, who acted with his accustomed weakness. At war among themselves for Bohemia, the brothers of Wenceslaus, Sigismund and John Henry, and his cousins, Jobst and Procop of Moravia, in turn combated or supported the king, as they saw opportunity to obtain riches for themselves. Often required to diminish his power, twice imprisoned, Wenceslaus regained Bohemia in 1403, and held it for some time in peace by allowing his brother, John Henry, and upon the latter's death his cousin Procop, to act as regent. Through these obscure conflicts, without interest for the history of Germany, Bohemia lost its leadership in the empire and Wenceslaus well merited the loss of the imperial crown.[h]

More decisive for the fortune of Wenceslaus was his attitude towards the Great Schism. From 1305–1372 the papacy was under French influence; the popes resided at Avignon, and each year lost more of the influence they had formerly exercised upon European life. In 1377 Gregory XI returned to Rome. On his death, two popes were elected: Urban VI and Clement VII, who respectively represented Roman and French parties. This double election was the beginning of the Great Schism, which lasted for forty years and was a problem of international interest. When Urban VI died, Boniface IX was elected to succeed him by the Roman party. A movement was then inaugurated at the University of Paris to secure the abdication of the two popes and to have the Roman and Avignon cardinals unite in a common election. Wenceslaus was persuaded to give his sympathy to the movement,[a] but Germany, though by no means entirely lacking in sympathy for the propositions which emanated from Paris, was, in fact, not well inclined towards the transaction which took place. Germany regarded the pope of Rome as its pope, and did not desire to separate from him. Wenceslaus was therefore accused of betraying the empire. The storm, long accumulating, now broke. Many princes had only awaited a pretext to dethrone their king, and they seized this opportunity to make known, as defenders of Germany, their complaints against Wenceslaus. The electors, who formed a kind of permanent council, an oligarchy whose duty was to guard the security and greatness of their country, acted first. In avoiding a compromise, they demonstrated better than on the day of their election that the supreme authority belonged to them and that they were free to resume after having delegated it. Each was actuated by his personal ambition. The archbishop of Mainz did not wish to have questioned the rights of Boniface IX from whom he held his nomination, which the king opposed. Wenceslaus had not a friend in the college of electors. He was reproached for alienating the domains of the empire, for his alliance with the French, and for the political and ecclesiastical anarchy which existed. Yet up to the last moment a little activity on the part of Wenceslaus might have sufficed to overthrow the

plans of his enemies. But, according to a well-known German saying, "he lay like a pig in his sty." The Luxemburgs abandoned their country. The electors reduced to five years a peace of ten proclaimed by the emperor. He remonstrated. On April 20th, 1400, the archbishop of Mainz appeared before the gate of Lohenstein, with the ecclesiastical electors and certain princes and lords among them — the duke of Bavaria, the burggraf of Nuremberg, and the elector of the Palatinate. A large crowd assembled, attracted by the novelty of the occasion. The archbishop of Mainz declared Wenceslaus useless, idle, and incapable, unworthy to retain his title of king. That evening, the three archbishops met at Rhense and chose, as king of the Romans and future emperor, the elector Rupert, count of the Palatinate.

RUPERT (1400–1410 A.D.)

The reign of Rupert was no more fortunate than that of Wenceslaus. He was not the choice of all the electors; in fact, they were not all present when he was honoured with the imperial crown. Moreover, he was not popular with the cities, and so he was recognised by only a small part of the empire. Conscious of his weakness, Rupert hoped to win popularity and strength for his government by accepting an invitation from Florence to aid her in a war against Milan and, incidentally, to be crowned emperor in Rome. Florence promised a subsidy; the Venetians and other enemies of Milan offered their alliance. But the German princes who had elected him refused to support him; the Florentines sent their subsidies very slowly. Rupert arrived in Italy in the later months of 1401 and moved against Brescia; but the army of Milan barred the way. The Germans and Italians were almost equal in number; but the Germans, poorly commanded, without discipline, could not sustain the attack of the Milanese mercenaries. The Italians were victorious and took a number of prisoners, among them Leopold of Austria. Abandoned by a number of his allies, Rupert retreated to Trent, hoping to return by way of Friuli, with a subsidy of several thousand Venetian ducats. To pay his soldiers, he pledged his jewels, his crown, and, impoverished for life, he reappeared in Germany "without army, without money, without crown, and without honour." During his journey and even in his capital, Heidelberg, he was pursued with mocking refrains about his poverty.[h]

For eight years more he attempted to make headway through the anarchy of political intrigues and civil wars, but his death in 1410 left the empire weaker and more divided than it had been even under Wenceslaus.[a] Rudolf of Saxony and Jobst of Moravia, who was also elector of Brandenburg, still recognised Wenceslaus as king of the Romans; but the electors of Cologne and Mainz chose Jobst; then the burggraf Frederick of Nuremberg championed the son of Rupert, and the archbishop of Tours proclaimed Sigismund. The empire was thus disputed by three pretenders, at the same time that Christendom was divided by three popes. The successor of Boniface IX, Gregory XII, had promised to resign if Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope, would do likewise; but Benedict refused to resign, and the cardinals (1409) decided to abandon the two competitors and convoke an ecumenical council at Pisa. Much was expected from this movement. The council deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, and elected Alexander V. But the deposed popes would not accept the decision of the council, and there were now three popes instead of two. The two powers which had long disputed the leadership of the world were now objects of scandal and mockery.[h]

THE CHURCH AND BOHEMIA

We turn now away from the superficial story of emperors rivalling each other in powerlessness, to the intense interest that is associated with the name of Huss.[i] But the tragedy of Bohemian national history, which here opens up before us, is inextricably interwoven with the larger questions of European politics, and especially with the politics of the papal government. It is hopeless to attempt to understand the part played by Bohemia at this most important epoch of her history, unless one first knows what was that ecclesiastical system which awakened her national consciousness, and how religion and patriotism were combined.

From the residence at Avignon to the Reformation there was undoubted mismanagement at the papal court. The loss of much of the revenue from Italian cities forced the Avignon popes to maintain their state by levying heavy dues upon the higher officers of the church, who in turn were forced to recoup themselves at the expense of the lower clergy and the laity. Then too the centralisation of ecclesiastical business, as well as the personal motives and political ambitions of the popes, had increased expenditures, which were met by means judged by the different countries of Europe — where a sense of nationality was well developed — corrupt, unjust, and unworthy of the head of the church.

We have no complete and satisfactory knowledge of the system of papal patronage, but from the universal complaints of the time we can reconstruct the general impression which it made on the people.[a] It is well known how John XXII made the investiture of bishoprics and benefices into a highly profitable business. The bishops were liable to certain taxes: the bishop of Münster, for instance, was assessed 300 gulden; soon other obligations were required of episcopal candidates. It was likewise with the small benefices — not only were they sold for gold, there were also expectant documents to be had. Boniface IX carried on an extensive trade: he revoked the favours which had been granted, only to sell them again; and careful examinations of the claims of the candidates could not make clear who with money or who by influential recommendations gained precedence at the papal court. It was the general impression that the curia sold offices to the highest bidder. To such an end had come the Gregorian fight against simony: the papacy, having achieved its greatness because it opposed simony in others, fell into disrepute through the same evil.

The papacy was also a great source of secular law. Numerous controversies were carried to Rome, since the lay powers found it convenient to carry litigations with clerks to the highest spiritual court. This was always a costly proceeding. On account of the accumulation of business at the papal court, there was always delay before an appealed case could be decided. There was nothing to be done but to begin with the lower officials, who were mediators between the higher officers and the prosecutor. Then, after the decision was made, there was always delay before the bull was issued, and to avoid longer residence in Rome the minor officials had again to be consulted. There was often much haggling over the sum to be paid the pope. A considerable sum was always paid, and the general opinion was that without gold nothing was decided at Rome.

The extraordinary demands which the pope made on the church, the tenths, subsidies, and other levies of money, were also the cause of great scandal. Closely associated with these was the question of investitures.

The king had no influence on elections except as he might use his personal influence in the chapter or the curia for a favoured candidate. The investiture with regalia was only a form, which no longer gave the secular lord influence. But since the election of the chapter required the confirmation of the curia, and the pope himself nominated many bishops, the highest administrative office of the church was given only to those men who could control the secular and spiritual conduct of their subjects.

The chapters in which electoral rights were vested had little of a spiritual character, since they were the foundations of neighbouring noblemen. Usually some members were educated clerks — because they were necessary; but otherwise members of the nobility and their favourites composed the chapter. In elections there were always factions, not ecclesiastical but family factions; often two bishops were chosen. Even in case of a successful election, the successful candidate was hampered with heavy expenses, which he defrayed out of the income of the diocese. In the double election of bishops, one of the two candidates must suffer, the spiritual or the secular; and usually it was the former. The endowment of money and property made bishopries very desirable offices, and consequently no bishop could avoid a certain amount of secular activity.[g]

These conditions reacted on the lower clergy. The priests imitated their bishops.[a] The canons which forbade remuneration for religious services were long since forgotten. Baptism, marriage, confession, burial of the dead were, for the clergy, inexhaustible sources of revenue; penitential alms and dispensations which many of the churches and monasteries had received were replaced by fines, and a tariff excused all sins (from the church's censure) — from the most trivial to the most enormous. The tithes, heavier than ever, were levied with unaccustomed vigour, and at the same time the tendency was for the priests to avoid delivery to higher authorities of the imposts collected from the parishioners. In many instances the priests were familiar only with the advantages of their profession and neglected its duties.[h]

But after hearing the evidence for all the varieties of ecclesiastical corruption, we should not forget that — as Nicholas Clémenges, himself a severe critic of the church, says — the same abuses were found in the secular governments of the time; also that the century of greatest corruption was also the century of Master Eckhart and Tauler, the fathers of German mysticism, and of numerous religious foundations.

The Great Schism, by increasing the number of popes, multiplied the abuses and confusion in the administrative system of the church. In England and France, the strong, well-organised monarchies which had developed in the thirteenth century were able to modify, to some extent, these abuses. But Germany, with a weak and divided central government, was a prey to all possible forms of corruption.[a]

In 1367 and 1372 the clergy of Mainz formed a league to protect themselves against exorbitant tithes; there was a similar association at Cologne, and in 1373 the three ecclesiastical electors met to protest against the demands of Gregory XI. In many villages of north Germany, Magdeburg for example, the bishops protested against the usurpations of the papal court. Sometimes the conflict resulted in violence. Henry, bishop of Hildesheim, caused to be assassinated in 1373 the priests whom the pope wished to impose on him. The nuns of the convent of Derneberg received an order from Avignon to appoint a certain Johann von Münsted to an ecclesiastical office which was dependent on the convent: they aroused against him some lay brothers, and in the combat Johann was killed.[h]

The movement inaugurated by the Parisian theologians, to call a general council of Christendom to end the schism and reform the church in head and members, naturally found much sympathy in Germany. In fact, besides the corruption in ecclesiastical administration, there was in the empire another problem, that of heresy, which demanded the careful consideration of all who had the interests of the church at heart.

RACE CONFLICT IN BOHEMIA

In no country of Europe were the people more dissatisfied with existing conditions than in Bohemia. There was, first of all, a conflict of races. The indigenous population, the Czechs, found rivals in the Germans who had settled among them.[a] Not only had most of the frontier been occupied by German colonists, but in the villages the Germans had obtained control of the higher industries and commerce, and, allowing the Slavs to carry on the small trades, they became the great burghers and occupied the municipal offices. The Czechs fought with energy against absorption. They protested against foreign influence by making impassioned and well-directed use of their national language. In an age when the German language, in spite of the work of the mystics, had hardly passed from its period of formation, the Czech literature under Charles IV produced knightly romances, satires, lyrics, elegies, chronicles, and attempts at drama, based on the national life, which the Germans of Bohemia could hardly imitate or translate.[h] The conflict in secular affairs extended to religious life. The Bohemian church was noted for its wealth. "No kingdom in all Europe has so numerous, stately, and ornate churches," said Æneas Sylvius. But the common law vested rights over ecclesiastical property in the crown, not the church. This opened the way for simony and the confusion of spiritual and secular duties. The archbishop of Prague, we are told, was lord of 329 towns and villages, and an examination of the thirty clergymen in 1379 resulted in the conviction of sixteen.[a] The national opposition against the Germans blended with the opposition against the church and so the programme of reform, to which John Huss gave his name, had a national character which made it suspected in Germany.

The emperor and king, Charles IV, began reformation in the church, but he abandoned the attempt. Then followed a protest of the Czech national feeling. A German, Conrad of Waldhausen, began an attack on the monks and the superstitious practices which disgraced the church. But the movement become entirely Czech. A Moravian, Milicz of Kremsier, indicated the papacy as the source of the evils in the church; and one of his followers, Mathias of Janow, continued his work, contrasting the customs of the primitive church with those of the church of his time. A knight, John of Milheim, and a certain merchant founded at Prague the chapel of Bethlehem for Czech preaching and the reform of morals, and the preachers of Bethlehem became the religious directors of the whole Slavonic population of Prague. These orators and writers devoted their time to the abuses, not the dogmas of the church. But, in passing from the preachers to the masters of the University of Prague, the reform movement became more important and added a new element of opposition to the church. The work of John Huss was to unite and express the protest of nationality, of morality, and of dogma, against the German influence in Bohemia and the corruption and teachings of the church.[h]

The rivalry of nationalities extended to university life, and is well illus-

trated by the attitude of the university toward the work of the council of Pisa. The Czech students and masters, as well as Wenceslaus, who was still king of Bohemia, wished to renounce Benedict XIII and Gregory XII and accept a new pontiff to be chosen by the council. The German members, however, by their control of the Polish nation, outvoted the Bohemians. A movement against the German students began, which was encouraged by Wenceslaus, and resulted in an exodus of the Germans. The result was the foundation of the first German universities, especially that of Leipsic, by the migrating students. The University of Prague lost its cosmopolitan character, but was now recognised as the exponent of the national feeling in Bohemia. In the meantime, criticism of the nature of the church and its doctrines had been active at Prague. The intercourse with students of foreign lands which was notable in the early days of the institution and the rule that the works of French and English masters might be used in the courses of instruction, made possible the introduction of new thought. The marriage of Anne, daughter of Charles IV, to Richard II of England, seems to have increased the intercourse between the universities of Prague and Oxford and the introduction into Bohemia of the works of Wycliffe. Many of his writings were known in Bohemia before 1385, but they aroused no opposition until 1403, when, as the result of the rivalry of Germans and Czechs, Johann Hübner, a Silesian, publicly challenged forty-five theses from Wycliffe's writings. Three years later, Innocent VII ordered the archbishop of Prague to suppress the study of Wycliffe's works.

Among those charged with fostering Wycliffe's heretical teachings was John Huss, a member of the university and preacher at the Bethlehem chapel.[a] Less coarse in speech than Conrad of Waldhausen, less fantastic in his views than Milecz, he made a more profound impression on his hearers than his predecessors had done, and the results of his work were much more lasting. He appealed to the intelligence of his hearers, aroused their reflective faculties, taught and persuaded them, and was not lacking in impressive words. He had an earnest character, a devout spirit, and a conduct to which his enemies could not find exception; a burning zeal for the moral improvement of the people, as well as the reformation of the church; also a keenness and tenacity, stolidity and obstinacy, and a remarkable desire for popularity, which saw in the martyr's crown the highest end to which man's life could attain.[i]

In 1407 he was made dean of the faculty of arts, and the following year, rector of the university. Heresy again became an issue at Prague. Wenceslaus, wishing to gain recognition as king of the Romans from the council of Pisa, decided to purge the university of false teaching. The Bohemian doctors themselves now condemned certain of Wycliffe's doctrines and certain Czech preachers and doctors were imprisoned by the archbishop and delivered to the Inquisition. Huss protested and demanded that they be released. The archbishop replied by banishing him from the diocese. Huss' break with the ecclesiastical authority had begun. The next step was for the Germans to bring before the pope an accusation against the Bohemian university on the ground that it was teaching heresy. Alexander V, elected at Pisa and endorsed by the Bohemians, issued a bull ordering the archbishop of Prague to drive all heretics and false teachers from his diocese, and to suppress the writings of Wycliffe. Huss, however, decided to appeal against the bull, claiming that it was the result of false pretence on the part of his accusers. He next refused to appear at Rome when summoned by the new pope, John XXIII, and was therefore excommunicated. In 1412 he

denounced the sale of indulgences instituted by John XXIII and boldly questioned the validity of priestly absolution. Reform had extended to revolt against the church and its teaching.

THE DOCTRINES OF HUSS

The doctrines which led Huss into revolt against the established authorities in the church were similar to those of Wycliffe and were doubtless the results of study of the English reformer's works. His starting-point, the theory of salvation, was entirely orthodox. "No one is saved by the law, but only through faith in Christ." "God's grace is not acquired through service, but is freely given." These declarations of Huss were not in conflict with those of Thomas Aquinas and the later theologians. But conclusions drawn from these statements regarding Christ's relation to salvation caused conflict with the church. This revolutionary thought was based on two conceptions, the law of Christ, the written word of God, and the true church of Christ.[a] Huss many times declares that the law of Christ, that is, the sacrifice of God as the New Testament reveals it in the time of Christ and the Apostles, is sufficient for Christians, church, and salvation. Not that the Scriptures are the only source of truth; indeed, he recognises moral revelation or experience and reason or systematised thought to be sources of knowledge of the truth. But in matters of faith and salvation, Holy Scripture has unconditioned and final authority. Christ is the best teacher and final judge. Man must neither add to nor take away from his message. Each Christian must believe that truth which the Holy Spirit has concealed in the Scripture, and he must give unconditional obedience to the law of Christ. The opinions of the factions and the bulls of the popes are not worthy of man's faith — they only express what is clearly in Scripture or what can be deduced from Scripture. Indeed, papal bulls cannot be foundations of faith for the pope, and his curia can err. It is his gain to err, and he also errs without knowledge of it.

Huss' second reformatory principle is that of the true church. The germ of his conception of the true church is in the sentence, "The church is the assembly of the elect." The origin of the idea goes back to Augustine, but Huss derived it from the writings of Wycliffe. In 1410 he first realised its consequences, and he developed it in many of his writings, especially the *De Ecclesia*. Since the church of Christ is the assembly of the elect, those do not belong to it who are not destined to salvation by grace. There is therefore a difference, which Augustine had indicated, between the true and the visible body of Christ. All the justified since the beginning of the world are chosen by grace to salvation, are real members of the church. Membership in the true body of Christ, the true church, depends on the eternal election by grace. Therefore outward membership in the church, even office and authority in the same, do not make membership in the true church.[i]

These conceptions of the law of Christ and the true church made Huss accept the nature and authority of the existing ecclesiastical organisation only in so far as it conforms to the word of God revealed to him in the Bible by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. When neither pope, university, nor king could persuade him to modify his views, it remained for the ecumenical council to discipline him.

SIGISMUND CHOSEN EMPEROR (1411 A.D.)

In 1411 died Jobst of Moravia, one of the three emperors elected after the death of Rupert. After a reconciliation with Wenceslaus, Sigismund

was chosen emperor by five of the electors but was not crowned till four years later.[a]

It was long since Germany had had a ruler so wealthy and influential as Sigismund, last of the Luxemburgs. He was king of Hungary, heir to Bohemia, and his estates extended from the Balkans to the Baltic, from the Carpathians to the Rhine. His allies were among the most powerful princes of Germany, Albert V of Austria, the burggraf of Nuremberg, and Frederick of Hohenzollern. His enemies were also numerous. The Venetians threatened the Adriatic coast; the Turks, after years of civil war, had united under Muhammed II; the Poles wished to dissolve their union with Hungary, while many subjects of the empire were turbulent.

Sigismund had the advantage of a good education. He spoke Latin, German, Czech, French, and Italian. He was generous and affable, enjoyed mingling with his people, and his pleasant manner won the goodwill of all whom he met. Large, well proportioned, with light hair and complexion and blue eyes, he was conscious of his beauty and strength. Unfortunately, he was a king only in appearance, and loved only the show of power. He was incapable of perseverance, as easily discouraged as ardent in enterprise. He confused excitement with activity, a brusque manner with firmness, sensationalism with renown. He was inconstant in friendship, and shocked his contemporaries by the unscrupulousness and facility with which he forgot his promises and dissolved his alliances. He had that one lasting passion, pleasure, and the caprices in which he indulged sometimes compromised his honour.

The task before him was a great one, to re-establish unity in church and empire. This, however, was not enough for him. He wished to regain Italy for the empire, as well as the kingdoms of Arles and Burgundy. He was in Italy when Rupert died. Before accepting the imperial crown, he wished to conquer that country, and make his return to Germany a triumphal journey. But the German princes would not furnish aid. He was unable to pay his Swiss mercenaries, and they deserted him. The Italian princes who caused the expedition increased his humiliation and disgrace. Philip of Milan defied him, Genoa closed its gates, and at Asti he was almost made prisoner. Other princes recognised his authority but gave him no aid. When he finally reached Germany, he called a diet at Coblenz, which no one attended.[h]

Such an inauspicious opening of his reign ill corresponded with his high hopes and dreams. But Sigismund was yet to play a great rôle in history — if not as restorer of the empire, at least as restorer of the papacy. The ending of the schism was even more imperative than the assertion of imperial authority, and moreover the task was more within the scope of Sigismund's powers.

While he was yet in Italy, John XXIII, defeated by Ladislaus of Anjou, king of Naples, decided to trust himself to the emperor and to call the council which was universally desired. The pope issued the bull of convocation and the emperor chose the meeting-place — Constance. This news awakened a profound interest and enthusiasm throughout Europe. When the council finally met, in October, 1414, the eyes of all Europe were turned to it. Rarely to-day, in this age of vast assemblages, is so notable and large a body of men gathered together.[a]

Besides the patriarchs of Constantinople, Grado, and Antioch, there were present twenty-nine cardinals, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, more than a hundred abbots, and fifty priors. But the majority of the members were representatives of the universities, which had been the

real leaders of the church during the decline of the papacy. There were not less than three hundred doctors and masters at Constance. The council was also a political congress. All the sovereigns of Europe, save one, sent ambassadors. The prelates and princes were accompanied by soldiers. There came also merchants, clowns, jugglers, actresses, and curiosity seekers. At one time there were in the city three hundred conjurors and musicians, six hundred barbers, and seven hundred courtesans. The officials of Constance were at first alarmed at the task of feeding and lodging this vast multitude of people. "The Swabians," wrote Huss, "say it will take thirty years to purify Constance of the sins which it has committed."[h]

SIGISMUND (1368–1437)
(After an old print)

The programme mapped out was that which the University of Paris had for years demanded: first, the termination of the schism; second, correction of the abuses in the church; finally, the extirpation of heresy. To end the schism it was necessary to depose the three existing popes. A process was therefore instituted against John XXIII.[a] But John had taken precautions not to be deposed and had risked too many hazards to give himself up. While crossing the Tyrol on his way to Constance he made an ally of Sigismund's enemy, Frederick of Austria. He now promised to abdicate if the other two popes would follow his example. Then he proposed to transfer the council to another city. When the fathers refused, he left Constance disguised as a messenger, while Frederick was entertaining the people at a grand festival. The same evening the duke joined him at Schaffhausen.

The council now seemed about to dissolve. Sigismund, however, acted the part of emperor. He rode through the streets on his horse, revived the courage of all, and promised the fathers that he would protect them. The council, reassured, on March 30th, 1415, declared that it represented the Catholic church, that it held its authority from Christ, that it was superior to the pope; and John XXIII was summoned to appear before it as a heretic and promoter of heresy. Sigismund then took vigorous measures against Frederick, and the friends of John. He cited the duke to his tribunal, on pain of the ban of the empire and forfeiture of his domains to rival claimants. But Frederick was turbulent and quarrelsome. Then four hundred princes, lords, knights, and cities of Swabia declared war upon him. After a short but decisive campaign, Frederick surrendered to the emperor without conditions, placed his possessions at the disposition of Sigismund, and promised the return of John XXIII. [The renegade pope attempted to escape to Avignon. He was captured at Freiburg by the burggraf Frederick of Nuremberg and brought to Constance.] On May 12th, 1415, he was brought before the council; he maintained a haughty attitude and after a difficult and scandalous procedure was deposed, May 29th. Gregory XII then resigned and

died soon afterwards; Benedict XIII refused all propositions of the council with inflexible obstinacy, and from his fortress at Pensicola braved all the threats of the fathers until his death.

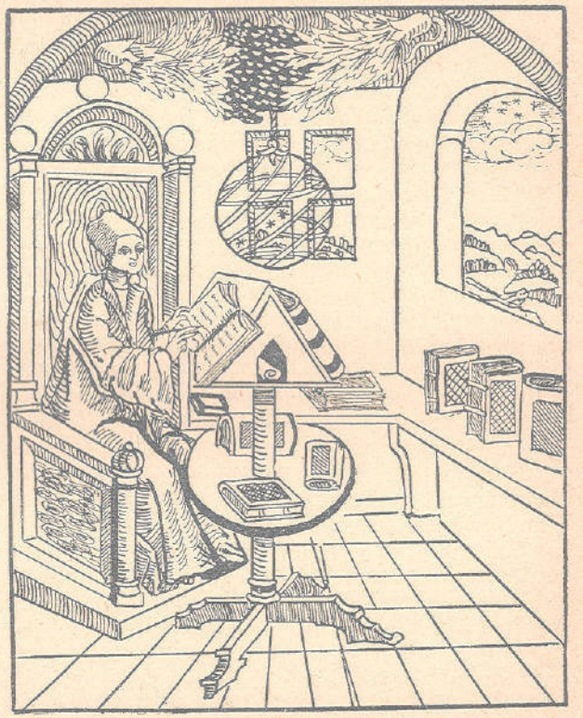
THE TRIAL OF HUSS (1414 A.D.)

[The schism was ended. The council then turned to the revolt against the church represented by Huss. All were prejudiced against him.] The English wished to draw attention, through Huss, to the teaching of Wycliffe: the Germans had not forgotten that he had been in the movement to drive them from Prague. An innovator in religion, he was reactionary in philosophy, professing realistic doctrines, while the Parisian theologians were nominalists. The French, indeed, were more anxious for the condemnation of Huss than they had been for the deposition of John XXIII.[h] The reason was that the doctrines of Huss suggested a revolution in the church. Their significance was well stated by Gerson, a French scholar: "The most dangerous error, destructive of all political order and quiet, is this — that one predestined to damnation or living in mortal sin has no rule, jurisdiction, or power over others in a Christian people. Against such an error it seems to my humility that all power, spiritual and temporal, ought to rise, and exterminate it by fire and sword rather than by curious reasoning. For political power is not founded on the title of predestination or grace, since that would be most uncertain, but is established according to laws civil and ecclesiastical."

Yet Huss was willing to trust his case to the council. He was promised a safe conduct and a public hearing at Constance by Sigismund. The inquisitor general at Prague declared before witnesses that Huss was a good Christian; the archbishop said he knew nothing of his heresy. It seemed to the people of Bohemia that there was somewhere a misunderstanding, and that a public hearing and trial at Constance would result in adjustment of all difficulties. On November 3rd, 1414, with a number of Bohemian friends, Huss arrived at Constance. The procedure of the council towards Huss was based on that of the Inquisition. He was excommunicate and a heretic; and he was therefore outside the law and no promise or contract made with him was binding; he was not allowed to defend his teachings; the church alone could decide upon their validity; he must recant or suffer death.

The first step was a formal accusation and imprisonment.[a] On November 28th [says an old chronicler], the cardinals sent two bishops, a civil magistrate of Constance, and a soldier to the house where Master Huss resided. They told Master John of Chlum that they had come at the order of the cardinals and the mandate of the pope for Master John Huss, and as he had wished to speak with them they were ready to hear him. John of Chlum replied to them angrily, saying: "Do you know, most reverend fathers, how and through whom Master John Huss came here? If you do not, I tell you that Master Wenzil of Lestria and I were with the emperor at Friuli and spoke of returning to Germany; he commanded us to take in our care Master John with his safe conduct, that he might come to the present council", and he said further: "If Master Huss shall consent to remain at Constance with you, say to him that he shall speak nothing of this matter except in my presence, when I shall come, God willing, to Constance." Those who had come replied, "We come only for the sake of peace, that there may be no tumult." Then Master John Huss, arising from the table, replied, "I did not come here to see the cardinals nor did I ever desire to speak with them: I came to the whole

council; but at the request of the cardinals I am ready to go to them, and I am willing to be examined concerning anything. I think I should prefer death than the denial of truth as revealed to me by the Scriptures or other means." And when he had come to the cardinals and saluted them, they said to him, "Master John, many things are said about you, that you hold many errors and disseminate them in Bohemia; and so we have sent for you wishing to ask you if this be true." He replied: "Most reverend fathers, you know that I would rather die than hold an error. I have come to this sacred council, and, having been shown in what I have erred, I am ready in all humility to correct and amend." The cardinals said, "Truly those are good words." Thus they departed, leaving Master (Huss) under an armed guard. But Lord John (Chlum) remained with them.[k]



MEDIÆVAL INTERIOR

A subtle theologian disguised as a friar then came and sought to involve Huss in a discussion of the Eucharist. At four o'clock the pope and the cardinals met. In true inquisitorial method, charges were preferred against Huss in his absence. The accuser was a former priest at Prague and the indictment included (1) teaching the necessity of receiving the Eucharist under both kinds and attacking transubstantiation; (2) making the validity of the sacraments depend on the moral character of the priest; (3) erroneous theories regarding the property, disciples, and organisation of the church.[a]

When this was done [continues our chronicler] they sent a messenger to Lord John, who said that he might depart, but Master Huss should remain in the papal palace. John of Chlum was angered; he went to the pope and protested in the name of the emperor's safe conduct. John's reply was, "You know how matters stand: the cardinals brought Master Huss as a prisoner and I am bound to receive him." The same night at nine o'clock, he (Huss) was taken to the home of a canon of Constance where a cardinal was staying: there for eight days he was guarded by armed men. Then he was taken to the Dominican monastery and was placed in a dark and obscure dungeon, near which was a sewer. He was seized with fever; and when his life was despaired of, Pope John sent his own physicians to him.[k]

John of Chlum and the Bohemian nobles drew up a written protest against Huss' imprisonment, but without avail.

Sigismund arrived on Christmas day. He felt very deeply the insult to his authority in the violation of the safe conduct: he feared the bad impression it would make in Bohemia, a country he hoped to inherit. The pope excused his conduct to the emperor, as he had excused it previously to John of Chlum. Sigismund had to settle with the council. When the fathers opposed to his right to protect a subject their right to judge a heretic according to the established rules of the church, Sigismund several times left the council in wrath. As evidence of his earnestness, it appears that he at one time left Constance, in the latter days of 1414. A deputation followed him and declared that, if he hindered or interfered with the legal authority of the council, it would dissolve. Sigismund was not willing to accept the responsibility of such an event. Huss was not worth the failure of the long-cherished desires of Christendom for the establishment of unity and reformation in the church. He also consoled himself with the thought that, since no promise to the disadvantage of the Catholic faith is valid in the light of divine or human law, he was not under obligation to keep his word given to a heretic. He therefore allowed the process against Huss to take its course.[i]

Renewal of the Trial

The difficulties occasioned by the conduct of John XXIII for a time overshadowed the cause of Huss. When the pope fled from Constance, Sigismund was, for a time, the central figure in the council, and Huss' friends hoped he would use his influence for the liberation of the imprisoned reformer. But the emperor had identified himself with the fathers of the council. On March 24th, he committed Huss to the custody of the bishop of Constance, who imprisoned him in a castle near the city. In May, Wycliffe's writings were condemned and his bones were ordered to be exhumed and taken from consecrated ground. The friends of Huss were alarmed. They again protested against his imprisonment. The patriarch of Constantinople replied, in behalf of the council, that Huss would not be released but that he should be given a public hearing. On June 5th, 1415, the council assembled at the Franciscan monastery. A committee offered a report on the case of Huss, which ended with a condemnation of various extracts taken from his writings. He was then brought in, and the articles against him and the evidence were read.[a] When the master wished to respond, many cried out; on account of the strength of their voices he could not be heard: when he wished to take exception against ambiguous words or give interpretations different from those in the articles, they cried out, "Dismiss your sophistry and say yes or no"; some laughed at him. When he cited the authority of the fathers for certain articles, many exclaimed, "That is not true," or "It is not to the point." Seeing that a defence was not possible, he was silent on some points. Then they said, "Behold now you are silent; that is a sign that you believe these errors."[k]

On account of the tumult the hearing was adjourned till June 7th. Sigismund was then present and better order prevailed. There was a lengthy discussion of the sacrament of the altar. Huss denied that he accepted Wycliffe's views, and was found to be orthodox. Then the nature of the evidence which should determine a man's opinions was examined. One of the cardinals said: "Master John, do you know that it is written that in the mouths of two or three witnesses every word shall be established? Behold

there are twenty witnesses against you — doctors, prelates, and others — some of whom have heard, others know by report." He replied, "If God and my conscience are my witnesses that I never taught what I am accused of teaching, the testimony hurts me not." Cardinal d'Ailly responded, "We cannot judge you according to your conscience, but according to the evidence before us." After other fruitless discussion, Cardinal d'Ailly quoted a remark of Huss, that he had come to Constance of his own will, and that not even the king of the Romans or the Bohemians should have compelled him. John of Chlum arose and said: "Indeed that is true, I am a poor knight in our country yet I would keep him for a year, whomsoever it pleased or displeased, so that he could not be taken. There are many great lords who have strong castles who would keep him, even against both kings." This was the critical point. Evidently heresy was revolt against civil as well as ecclesiastical authority. The cardinal advised Huss to submit to the council, and Sigismund added: "Hear, John Huss; I gave you a safe conduct before you left Prague and commanded that you should be brought here without violence and that a public hearing should be given you. This has been done. All say that I cannot give a safe conduct to a heretic or one suspected of heresy. Therefore, I advise you to hold nothing obstinately but to submit to the mercy of the council. If you continue in your errors, it is for the council to determine what it will do. I have said that I will not defend a heretic; nay, if anyone remained obstinate in heresy, I would burn him with my own hands."

The audience, however, was resumed the following day, June 8th. Thirty-nine articles against Huss, taken from his writings, were read. Most of them were based on his theory of the church as the body of the elect, and the dependence of the ecclesiastical authority on the character of the one exercising it. When the article which stated that pope, bishop, or priest who is in mortal sin is not true pope, bishop, or priest, Huss quoted the words of Samuel to Saul, "Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being king." Sigismund replied, "Huss, no one is without sin"; and D'Ailly added, "It is not sufficient that you destroy the spiritual power by your teachings; you also wish to drive kings from their state." After all charges had been read and discussed, D'Ailly advised Huss to submit to the mercy of the council and warned him not to attempt further defence. "I came here freely," he replied, "I crave another audience to explain my meaning, and if my judgments do not prevail, I am willing to submit to the information of the council." On all sides the answer was, "The council is not here to inform but to judge." The final decision of Huss was an appeal, "I stand before the judgment seat of God, who will judge both you and me as we deserve."

So ended the trial of Huss. He was led back to prison to await his sentence. A final attempt was made through a private individual to get him to retract. Again his reply was an appeal to Christ. On the sixth of July Huss was led to the great church of Constance, where a general session of the council was assembled, presided over by Sigismund. Let us watch the last fateful scene through the eyes of an onlooker.[a]

THE DEATH OF HUSS (1415 A.D.)

In the middle of the auditorium stood a platform on which were placed the sacerdotal robes for the degradation of Master Huss. When he was led into the church, he stepped before the platform. and kneeled in prayer. The

bishop of Lodi ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon concerning heresy, declaring that heresies do much evil to God and the church and that it is the duty of kings to extirpate them. Next the procurator of the council arose and asked for the sentence on Master John Huss. When the articles against him were read (Huss protesting against some) a certain Italian prelate read the sentence against him. And Master John Huss responded, against orders, to certain points of the sentence; specially when he was pronounced obstinate in error he responded, "I never was nor am I obstinate, but I have always desired and to-day desire better information from the Scriptures." When the condemnation was complete, Master Huss fell on his knees and prayed, "Lord Jesus, have mercy, I pray, on all my enemies; thou knowest they falsely accuse me, they bring false witnesses, and charge me with false articles." When he had finished, many laughed at him.

Then seven bishops clothed him with the priestly robes. He said, "When my Lord Jesus was led before Pilate, he wore a white robe." Then he was exhorted by the bishops to recant; sadly he turned to the multitude and replied, "The bishops beg me to recant; I fear to do that lest I lie in the sight of God and offend my conscience and God's truth." The bishops then began to degrade him, taking from his hands the chalice and tearing off the vestments, pronouncing maledictions against him. They said, "We commit your soul to the devil." And he, folding his hands and turning his eyes to heaven, replied, "I commit it to our good Lord Jesus." A paper cap, almost a cubit high, on which were painted devils and also an inscription, "This is a heresiarch," was placed on his head. The emperor said to Clem of Bavaria, "Take him"; and Clem placed him in the hands of the lictors, who led him forth to death.

When they arrived at the place of death, a meadow outside the city, Huss kneeled in prayer. He was then chained to the stake, made a final refusal to recant, and as the flames swept up around him he chanted from the Liturgy,

> O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon us,
> O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me;
> Thou who wast born of the Virgin Mary ——

With the last line the voice ceased; his lips moved a few minutes and then he expired. The executioners were careful to burn his body to ashes; his clothes were likewise destroyed; and the dust was thrown into the Rhine that his followers might not secure any relics of their hero's death.[k]

The trial and execution of Huss awaken our sympathy. It is an excellent example of the treatment of heresy in the Middle Ages. The church found the accused guilty of error; the state then stepped in and administered suitable punishment. The whole procedure is revolting to us. Why should one suffer death for opinions which he refuses to give up for fear of offence to God and his conscience? The answer is found in the nature of mediæval civilisation. The church was not a private institution, but a part of the machinery of government. Sin and faith were matters of public importance. The position of Huss has been stated by Creighton[l]: "He is charged with subverting the existing system of thought; he answers that some modification of the existing system is necessary and that his opinions, if rightly understood, are not subversive but amending. Into this issue his judges cannot follow him. It is as though a man accused of high treason were to urge that his treason is the noblest patriotism. There may be truth in his allegations, but it is a truth which human justice cannot take into account. The judge is

appointed to execute existing laws, and till those laws are altered the best attempts to amend them by individual protests must be reckoned as rebellion."

DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL (1418 A.D.)

As regards the reformation of the church, the council did not realise the dreams of the reformers.[a] The Germans, supported at first by the English, desired that the proposed reformation should be taken in hand before the election of the new pope. But the cardinals and the rest of the nations were so urgent in their opposition to this measure that the council was satisfied with framing some few reformatory decrees, and with recommending the other subjects of reform to the future pontiff. Otto di Colonna was then elected pope, November, 1417, under the name of Martin V. The results justified the fears of the Germans. The feeble glimmer of the council grew pale before the splendour of the new pope, the first who had been universally acknowledged for a long time. The papal monarchy was immediately elevated above all the limits which the ecclesiastical aristocracy meant to have imposed upon it. The rules in chancery prepared by Martin V were but slightly different from those of former popes, about which there had been so much complaint. Proposals for reformation which he set forth did not correspond with expectations. The strength and unity of the council were so much broken that the pope was able to adjust the most critical points of reformation by concordats with separate nations. The pope not only granted ecclesiastical tithes to the emperor Sigismund, notwithstanding all the outcries which had been raised against this kind of church oppression, but he even ventured, in direct opposition to the expressed principle of the council, to pronounce all appeals from the pope to a general council to be inadmissible. Thus the council became so unlike itself that its dissolution in April, 1418, was no cause for regret. The old complaints of extortion and church oppression, as well as the venality of the curia, began afresh; only the Italians were satisfied with the new condition of affairs.[m]

A German Soldier of the Fifteenth Century

SOCIAL DISCONTENT

The news of the execution of Huss provoked general exasperation in Bohemia. It was regarded as a defiance to the Czech nation — a crime which affected the entire Slav race. Sigismund and the Germans had thought of that deed only in reference to one man: they found a whole nation involved. Belgians and national questions were confused more than ever.[h]

The principal doctrine of the religious revolt that now began was the demand for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds. Huss did not propose this innovation — nor, in fact, any of the extensive changes made by his followers in the ecclesiastical system, though they were natural conclu-

sions indicated in his system of thought. It was while he was in Constance that Jacobellus (Jakobek) of Mies began to preach in Bohemia the necessity of administering the wine as well as the bread of the Eucharist to the laity. Huss in a letter to Jacobellus spoke favourably of the innovation, but he did not regard it as a necessary reform. After his death this was regarded as the cardinal doctrine of the conservative Hussites, who were therefore called utraquists (from the Latin *utraque*, "both") or calixtines (from "chalice," or "cup").

Social discontent contributed to the religious and national revolt. The result was the formation of a radical party, whose ideals extended beyond reform to the abolition of the existing ecclesiastical system.[a]

In the Middle Ages church and society were far removed from their natural bases, and were forced to conform even in their most important life-functions to the prescription of ecclesiastical statutes; therefore it came to be believed that an end of all oppression would be made, if the social organisation of early Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, were carried over into the degenerate present. As the poor priests and Lollards of England, so now the so-called Taborites, led by enthusiastic members of the lower nobility, as well as by priests, added to Hussitism a socialistic and communistic programme. Besides the church, the state and society should be reorganised on the basis of the gospel. These people added to the hatred of the Germans and dislike of Sigismund a fanaticism based on the literal interpretation of Scripture, an inspiration, a passion, and a spirit of sacrifice which regarded nothing as impossible and transformed the suffering, uncultured, and impoverished peasants into an irresistible force. The whole development of humanity was to these people a great confusion, a fall from God's law, for whose final restoration there must be a purification of the world; and they were the ones chosen of God to carry out that work — a conception which two centuries later the English puritans also represented. Above all, absolute equality was to be introduced; church, birth, property, education should no longer create social classes; likewise there should be no separation of the priesthood and the laity. The form of government should be republican, for in the people resides the sovereign power. That the emancipation of woman was one of their articles of faith shows how completely these revolutionary idealists would overthrow all legal and moral limitations. Never had the Middle Ages seen any similar movement, never was such unmerciful war declared against ecclesiastical, political, and social conditions.[e]

ECCLESIASTICAL INTERFERENCE

On the ecclesiastical side, the council took energetic measures against the new schism which threatened the church. It forbade communion under both kinds; revoked the charter of the University of Prague and threatened with ecclesiastical penalties King Wenceslaus and the archbishop of Prague if they did not take heresy in hand. The university retaliated by declaring communion under both kinds indispensable to salvation, and designated July 6th as the feast of John Huss, which was observed till the seventeenth century.

The schism, however, progressed peacefully until the dissolution of the council in 1418. Martin V, the new pope, wished to see active measures instituted against heresies. He ordered Sigismund to have all priests restored to the parishes from which they had been driven. Wenceslaus, fearing his brother would take advantage of this order to have himself made king of

Bohemia, willingly complied with the wishes of the pope. This was the signal for war.

When the Catholic priests, re-entering Prague, wished to go in procession to the dedication of their churches and threatened with excommunication those receiving the Eucharist under both kinds, there was a popular rising. Once Wenceslaus was surrounded in the street by a multitude and was requested to permit the communion in both kinds. The king ordered the people to deliver their arms to him. John of Zizka, one of the popular leaders, then went to the castle where the king resided and said: "Behold us with our arms. Where are your enemies?"

The movement spread from Prague to the country. The peasants ceased to attend the churches when the Catholic priests were installed. The Hussite priests held service in private houses, in barns, even in the open fields. They also held meetings on hills to which they gave biblical names: Tabor, from which the Taborites received their name, near Aussig on the Elbe; and Horeb, near Trebeckovic (Hohenbruck). In July, 1419, the municipal council of Prague at the instigation of Wenceslaus imprisoned some Hussites. A great procession formed, marched to the town hall, and demanded the release of the prisoners. The magistrates refused. In the tumult outside a monk who carried the chalice was struck by a stone. Zizka and his followers assaulted the building, ascended the stairways, seized the judge, the burgomaster, and the councillors, and cast them through the windows upon the lances and pikes of those who were below. This was the final humiliation of King Wenceslaus. That "defenestration," as it is called in Bohemian history, caused his death. Seized in the midst of the tumult by an attack of apoplexy, he died in August, 1419.

A political question was now added to the religious issue. Sigismund, the heir to Bohemia, was German, he had allowed Huss to be burned, and was a partisan of Martin V. The Germans and Catholics, who belonged to the feudal nobility and to the wealthy families of the cities, recognised Sigismund as the legitimate heir. Among the dissenters, the calixtines agreed upon four articles of faith: (1) free preaching of the word of God in the popular tongue; (2) communion under both kinds; (3) the suppression of ecclesiastical domains; (4) the punishment of public sins of the priests by temporal penalties. On these conditions they consented to recognise the rights of Sigismund. Much more numerous, however, were the Taborites, whose doctrines we have described, and the Adamites, the Nicolites, and Horebites, all of them sects whose teachings were socialistic in character. At Prague, the more ardent Taborites fell upon the churches and monasteries, destroyed the images and pictures, burned the robes and books. The archbishop and the cathedral chapter fled; the Germans took refuge in the châteaux. With a little activity and energy, a few concessions, and prompt action, Sigismund might have gained a following. But he was indolent, and too devoted to pleasure. Moreover the Turks were threatening Hungary, and the Hungarian nobles were unwilling that Sigismund should leave them. The government of Bohemia was therefore entrusted to Sophia, widow of Wenceslaus, and Teheiniech, one of the wealthiest lords of the country. They were hostile to the popular movements, and civil war commenced. The Czech cause was ably summarised in a pamphlet issued at Prague: "The church has treated us as a stepmother. She has raised against us our worst enemies, the Germans. What cause of war have they, save their eternal hatred for our race? They wish to dominate in Bohemia as in Meissen, in Prussia, and on the Rhine. Who would not resist their hatred? The cross of Christ,

the symbol of all kindness and beauty, has become a sign of massacre and death. Beloved fellow citizens, you who are devoted to the crown of Bohemia, we pray you to unite with us; remember your ancestors, the ancient Czechs who passionately loved their country. To arms, to protect our country against injustice and oppression! By the aid of God we will sustain our cause!"

SIGISMUND'S INVASION OF BOHEMIA

Sigismund saw that a war of religion and race was at hand. He made preparations to invade Bohemia in Silesia and Moravia, and asked Martin V to preach a crusade against his heretical subjects. With an army of eighty thousand men he invaded Bohemia in 1420 and captured two fortresses near Prague. A decisive battle was fought at the hill of Vitkov, which commanded the northeast of Prague, and was held by the Hussites. On July 14th, while the troops of the fortresses attracted attention by a sortie, several thousand cavalry charged the hill. It was almost abandoned by the Hussites. A handful of Taborites, among them two women and a girl, remained firm. Zizka came to their aid; his troops were inferior in number and began to give way, when reinforcements arrived; the Germans were then defeated. Vitkov then took the name of the mount of Zizka. The fortresses were retaken by the Bohemians, a few months later the German army was defeated, and Sigismund evacuated Bohemia.

We are astonished that Sigismund did not find in Catholicism and German patriotism the necessary resources with which to fight advantageously against the Hussites and Czechs, who inflicted so much loss on the church and German influence. Although the universities and the people in Germany were opposed to the Hussite reform because it was Czech, they were too dissatisfied with the corruption in the church to defend it with much ardour. On the other hand, the principalities and towns of Germany had become almost autonomous through the decline of imperial authority, and were thus incapable of putting forth serious effort in any cause, however dear to them.

Another cause of Bohemian success was the character of their army. The German army was feudal in character, each horseman fought independently, and a battle was to them a series of duels. Zizka's army was composed of peasants armed with pikes which terminated in hooks and wooden bars loaded with iron. In a campaign they were protected by movable walls formed by chariots covered with boards and attached to each other by iron chains. When they camped, this was a fortified enclosure; in battle they cast projectiles from it before attacking the enemy; then they took refuge if necessary. If the land were favourable, or sloping, they rolled against the enemy their chariots loaded with armed men. Before this democratic national army of the Czechs, the German cavalry fell, just as the French horsemen had gone down at Crécy and Agincourt before the English archers.

After the death of Zizka in 1424, one of the Taborite leaders, Procopius the Great, instituted a movement to unite all the Bohemian sects in an offensive war against the Germans, who corresponded to the Midianites and Amalekites of the Old Testament. Under his leadership, from 1429 to 1434, the Bohemians made a number of expeditions into Germany.[ah] In Austria the duke fled before them; they also overran Silesia, Lusatia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and Hungary. Not since the invasion of the Hungarians had Germany suffered so much. "Such was the terror of the Christians," says a chronicler, "that, long before the arrival of the heretics, they abandoned the fortified villages and the forts. Thanks to the universal confusion, the

accomplices of the devil reduced the faithful to such misery that they burned their homes before taking flight."

In vain Rome appealed to religion for aid to Germany. Cardinal Julian Cesarini, one of the more popular and courageous priests of the church, preached a crusade at Nuremberg. He assembled 40,000 cavalry and 90,000 infantry, which crossed the mountains into Bohemia in 1431. Procopius had 55,000. When the armies were a mile apart, the Germans threw down their arms and fled in confusion to the frontier. "The flight of the Germans could not have been more rapid," says the chronicler, "if they had at their back two hundred thousand enemies." The cardinal barely escaped; he lost his mantle, his crucifix, and the pontifical bull. "We have sinned against the Saviour," he said; "he has put his curse upon us, and the Christian people are punished with anathema."

Thus heresy became the stamp of Czech nationality. In the villages of Bohemia, the domination of the German patricians passed to the Slav corporations. The war was notable for the fury and the cruelty characteristic of religious conflicts. Villages were usually sacked and burned, and prisoners massacred. The Taborites were especially violent against churches and monasteries. Bohemia lost the admirable religious monuments around which the piety of the people had heaped treasures and artistic wonders. The German domination in Bohemia, the work of five centuries, was completely broken.

CONDITION OF GERMANY DURING SIGISMUND'S REIGN

Since the death of Charles IV Germany had had no real government. It was only an incoherent agglomeration of states, divided in administrations, habits, and interests. Princes and bourgeoisie, laymen and ecclesiastics, alienated from each other by their ambitions and traditions, were united in hatred and distrust of the central authority. Without permission of the king, even without his knowledge, provinces were divided, laws of succession were modified, offensive and defensive treaties were signed, and often imperial subjects were found in armies hostile to their emperor and to Germany.

The feudal service fell into decay. The imperial passed with the religious rights into the hands of the princes. The charters of investiture of the period gave the lords the right to levy at will imposts and aides. There was no money and therefore there were no regular troops. There was no army except undisciplined masses — numerous, but without cohesion, practice in arms, or pay.[h]

Sigismund in vain strove to bring order out of this confusion. At Constance, in 1415, he proposed a new city league of which he should be the head. The cities, however, were cautious of any movement led by the emperor, and the scheme failed. Sigismund then suggested a new Landfriede by which cities and principalities should be divided into four districts, each with a head and a central bureau organised by the emperor. This plan was received with favour by the cities, for it recognised them as equal to the feudal powers; but the princes in 1417 pledged themselves against it, and similar negotiations for a reform of the empire in 1434 failed on account of the hostility of the territorial princes.[a]

The town chronicles are full of revolutionary movements in which the revolt against the church was fused with democratic aspirations. At Mainz the corporations rose against the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie against the clergy; Würzburg, Ratisbon, and Bamberg were at war with their bishop; Magdeburg made an alliance with many towns of the north against her bishop,

defeated his soldiers, and forced him to take refuge at Stettin; at Speier, Strasburg, Passau, and Constance there were quarrels between the middle classes and the labouring people, and between the municipality and the ecclesiastics. The discontent spread to the country districts. In 1428 the inhabitants of Appenzell were excommunicated because they menaced the bishop of Constance, the abbot of St. Gall, and the neighbouring lords. A little later several thousand peasants besieged Worms: they had on their banner the crucified Christ and demanded that the priests and the Jews should be put to death because through them scandals had come into the world.[h]

These conditions, as well as the failure to suppress heresy in Bohemia, revived the old demand for an ecumenical council of the church.

GERMANY AND THE COUNCIL OF BÂLE (1431–1443 A.D.)

Like the council of Constance, that of Bâle was also an international congress. The question of heresy and the reform of ecclesiastical abuse were again subjects for deliberation. In place of the schism, there was an equally absorbing problem — that of the constitutional relation between pope and council, which should be the supreme source of ecclesiastical authority.

The struggle between the two powers was precipitated by Pope Eugenius IV. Alarmed by the independent and revolutionary tendencies at Bâle, he made a vain attempt to dissolve the council. The policy of Sigismund was naturally important for both parties. He had favoured the meeting of the council by taking it under his imperial protection. But, in 1431, he decided to make an expedition into Italy for the conquest of Venice and Florence. He attempted to play the mediator between pope and council, but failed. When his army was unsuccessful, he encouraged the council to give the pope the choice of revoking his bull of dissolution and sending a representative to Bâle or of submitting to a charge of contumacy. The pope was now humbled and the work of the council seemed assured. But the first step in the revival of papal leadership was an alliance of Eugenius and Sigismund. At the pope's suggestion, the conflicting claims of Florence, Venice, Milan, and the emperor were submitted to the arbitration of Niccolo of Este, lord of Florence. Sigismund recognised Eugenius IV as a "true and undoubted pope," and promised to act in defence of his holiness "among all kings and princes — all persons in the world, ecclesiastical as well as secular." The consummation of the alliance was a coronation of Sigismund by the pope — an event well described by Eberhard Windecke,[n] a contemporary German traveller and chronicler.[a]

The Coronation of Sigismund

On May 12th, St. Pancras' Day, the Roman king entered Rome, and on Whitsuntide he rode to St. Peter's church. At length pope and emperor went and took their seats under their respective tabernacles. They stood while the gospel was read and an office of the Holy Trinity was sung. Then he, who had been accustomed to crown the emperor (the pope) approached and placed the crown on the emperor, so that it slanted to the right. The emperor then kneeled before the pope, when the latter straightway raised his right foot and removed the crown with it, according to the law and ancient custom. Then when they sang the gospel and came to the words, "And I will give you a sword," the pope gave the emperor the sword of a former

emperor, according to custom. When the high office was over, the kiss was given in Italian fashion, the pope kissing the emperor on the right cheek and likewise the emperor the pope. Then the emperor took his sword in hand, the pope his cross, and the latter gave his blessing to the emperor.[a]

The coronation of Sigismund affected his attitude towards the council. He still desired its success in its reformatory work, but looked with little favour on the constitutional problem of the relation of pope and council. It was due to his influence, as well as to that of other sovereigns of Europe, that the council did not depose Eugenius, and that the papal autocracy in the church was preserved. The council then turned to the consideration of heresy. The invitation to send representatives to Bâle was accepted by the calixtines or moderate party in Bohemia. After prolonged debate, the Four Articles of Prague were accepted as the basis of a compromise. The definition of the articles and the method by which they should be enforced in Bohemia were relegated to a diet held at Prague in 1434.

Costume of the Late Fifteenth Century

CIVIL WAR AND BATTLE OF LIPAN (1434 A.D.)

But Procopius and the Taborites were unwilling to be reconciled to the church. Civil war in Bohemia was the result; the moderate party defeated the Taborites at the battle of Lipan in May, 1434, in which Procopius and the flower of his army perished. Encouraged by these dissensions, the representatives of the council refused to accept the interpretations of the Articles of Prague offered by the Bohemians. Sigismund skilfully took advantage of the situation by offering to concede religious questions at issue in return for the crown of Bohemia. The Bohemians then re-entered the church without surrendering the principles which had caused their separation. They also gained recognition of their nationality, for Sigismund promised to appoint only native officials in Bohemia. But he made the fatal mistake of encouraging a Catholic reaction. This prolonged the strife between Czech and German.

DEATH OF SIGISMUND (1437 A.D.)

On Sigismund's death, Albert the new emperor was endorsed by the Catholic party but rejected by the calixtines; and the religious problem in Bohemia continued to dominate political issues.

HOHENZOLLERN AND HABSBURG

Besides the religious dissensions and neighbourhood wars which characterised Sigismund's reign, his policy is notable for one action which was of great importance for the future of Germany. This was the investiture of the house of Hohenzollern with Brandenburg, the immediate results of which foreshadowed the rise of Prussia, the leading state of the modern German Empire.

Brandenburg included a large stretch of country extending from the Elbe to the Oder and Vistula. In the early centuries its inhabitants were Slavs and its conquest and conversion to Christianity were as difficult as those of Saxony had been. Although the scene of border warfare under the early German emperors, it was not until about 1135 that it was finally conquered. The conqueror was the famous Albert the Bear, who founded the Askanian house, which with the Wettins and Guelfs ranked among the most powerful feudal families of Germany. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Askanian house became extinct, however, and the royal house of Luxemburg claimed Brandenburg as fief of the empire. Charles IV had treated it rather as personal property, however, and willed it to Sigismund. But Sigismund had more land than power or money, and in 1411 he made a bargain with the wealthy Frederick of Hohenzollern, burggraf of Nuremberg, by which Frederick advanced the needy Sigismund 150,000 marks, and received in turn the stewardship of Brandenburg, or, as the phrase ran, he became "complete general administrator and highest lord."

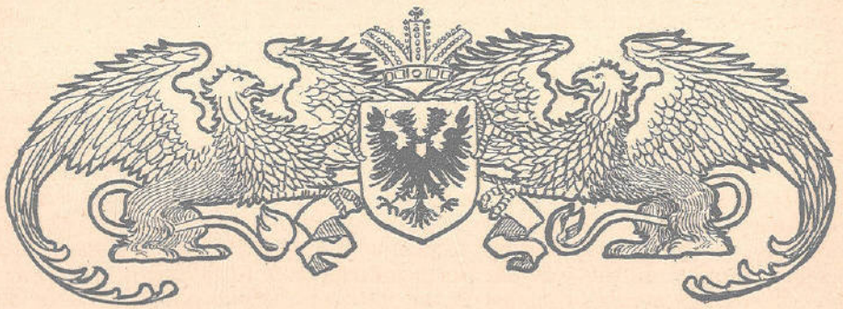
The knightly house of Hohenzollern has often been mentioned in the preceding pages. Originally owners of a single castle on the upper Danube not very far from the ancestral seat of the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns had become influential at the Swabian court, and in 1192 Frederick I became burggraf of Nuremberg, where the family was established, with the rich territories of Ansbach and Bayreuth spreading on either hand. It was a Hohenzollern who had saved the day for the first Habsburg, when the troops of Ottocar went down before the valour of Rudolf I and of Frederick of Nuremberg. But wealth rather than valour constituted their strength, and when in 1415 Sigismund wished to raise more money for his expenses at Constance, he borrowed 250,000 marks more from his most helpful creditor, and for his whole debt of 400,000 marks gave up Brandenburg and its electoral dignity, to the shrewd man of business who was at the head of the Hohenzollern house. In this way the Hohenzollerns came to Berlin!

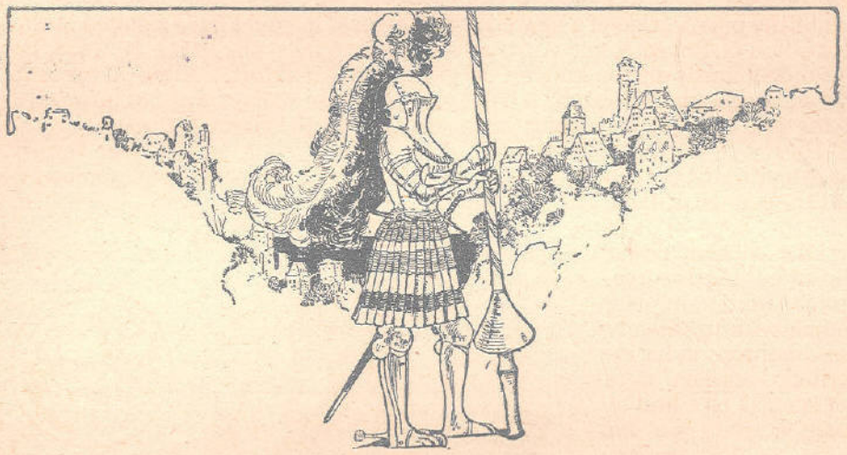
There is a strange contrast in the spirit of the two participants in this transaction. Sigismund needed the money because he was leaving Constance for a visit to the kings of Spain, France, and England. It was his dream that he might thus end the schism by bringing Spain in with the council; that he might prevent the new outbreak of the Hundred Years' War which was just bringing Henry V over to the battle-field of Agincourt, and that then, with a European peace established, he might direct united Christendom in one grand crusade against the Turks.[1] Against this impracticable but lofty dream one must place the less imaginative but more practical plans of the wealthy count of Nuremberg. Out of the dream of Sigismund came no result but humiliation and failure; out of the business bargain of Frederick of Hohenzollern came the Prussian kingdom.

[1] *Cf.* his speech before the council, in Von der Hardt, II, 488.

Indeed the results of the changed position of the Hohenzollerns were at once apparent in the relations between monarch and vassal. Frederick began to adopt an independent policy. He cast in his sympathies with the Rhine princes, who were hostile to Sigismund, opposed the wars against the Hussites, and, in opposition to the wishes of Sigismund, made an alliance by marriage with Poland. Thus began that policy of aggrandisement at the expense of the body of the empire which finally resulted in German revolt and the formation of an independent kingdom.

Sigismund died without male heirs. His daughter, Mary, had married Albert of Habsburg, duke of Austria, and his dying wish was that Duke Albert should be his successor. But when the college of electors met, there was a rival candidate, namely, Frederick of Brandenburg. Here was the prelude of the later conflict of Habsburg and Hohenzollern. Albert was elected and Frederick resigned his claims. The imperial crown reverted to the house of Habsburg, which to-day rules Austria. The worthy policy of Charles IV to establish the house of Luxemburg by alliances with various kingdoms of the empire and its neighbours, had failed. The Habsburgs replaced the Luxemburgs, but Sigismund by exalting the Hohenzollerns did much to establish the rival power which later divided the possessions of the Habsburgs.[a]





CHAPTER VI

ALBERT II, FREDERICK III, AND MAXIMILIAN I

[1438–1519 A.D.]

At this period Germany, as a state, was little more than a cipher in the political system of Europe. Full of strength within, it was yet unable to apply its power. Its constitution, formed upon prescription, was scarcely better than a chaos. Even though the Golden Bull (1356) had sufficiently determined the relations between the head of the empire and the chief of its princes, who could say what the mutual rights of the emperor and the remaining states truly were? The degree of authority which he should possess was thus commonly dependent upon the character and personal power of the emperor. Under the long reign of Frederick III, who slumbered away above half a century upon the throne (1440–1492), this authority was nearly annihilated; and under that of Maximilian I, notwithstanding the new institutions, it was, as regarded its own interests, but little augmented.

On the other hand, there was not one of the remaining princes of Germany whose power was sufficient to command respect. In fact, if the impetuous advance of the hereditary foes of Christendom, who had for fifty years been securely settled in the east of Europe, had not frequently compelled the Germans to make common cause against them, there seems to be no reason why the bands of the empire should not have been wholly dissolved. — HEEREN.[1]

THERE could hardly be a doubt as to the man upon whom the electors would confer the crown after Sigismund's death. To be sure, Elector Frederick of Brandenburg wished to place himself or one of his sons on the throne; but fortune did not favour the ambition of the Hohenzollerns, since the north, like the Wittelsbachs, had to bear the burden of royal duties and to support the Habsburgs, who had entered into the inheritance of the former Luxemburg rivals. Albert of Habsburg, who was lord of Upper and Lower Austria, and who held the crown of Bohemia and Hungary, was the strongest prince of the empire. He did not solicit the crown, but not to elect him would have

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA. LIBRARY

meant the provocation of a new civil war, at least it would have resulted in the separation of Bohemia and Austria from the empire. On March 18, 1438, he was unanimously chosen king by the electors at Frankfort. A brave, earnest, and energetic administrator; a bold, valiant soldier, Albert was not unworthy of the long line of rulers which his house gave to the German throne.

He strove for the establishment of a new *Landfriede*, and likewise turned his attention to the schism which had broken out between Pope Eugenius IV and the council of Bâle, with the hope of raising the secular power and of ending the misgovernment in the church. Unfortunately the conditions in his inherited kingdom were not such as to admit of much activity on his part in the empire. The Taborites and the radical calixtines would not accept a Catholic duke who had used his sword for Sigismund in the Hussite wars. He was indeed recognised king of Bohemia after the reconciliation of Sigismund with Catholics and moderate calixtines in 1436, and was crowned in 1438 at Iglau, but the anti-Austrian party gave its allegiance to Kasimir of Poland. A civil war followed. Before Albert's power in Bohemia was fully secured, an attack of Murad II called him into Hungary. With determination he undertook the defence of the country but received little aid from the Hungarian nobles, who thought more of their privileges and the expulsion of the Germans from their land, than the protection of the boundaries. From his residence in the swampy, low country of the Theiss and Danube he contracted a fever, and died in October, 1439, in the beginning of his forty-second year.[b]

ALBERT II (1397–1439)
(After a woodcut of *ca.* 1515)

The reign of Albert is notable not for itself, for in spite of all his splendid energy, Albert was unable in the two short years of his reign, to accomplish much; but it marks a great mile-stone in both Habsburg and imperial history. From his reign until the empire was dismembered at the dictation of Napoleon, with but an insignificant interruption, the throne was in the possession of the Habsburg family. The growth of their power, however, was particularly accomplished in the reign of the next emperor, Frederick III — perhaps the most unpractical, incompetent, and absurd figure in the imperial history, who

by a strange stroke of fate gave his descendants the richest heritage of Europe.[a]

FREDERICK III (1439–1493 A.D.)

The same considerations which had caused the election of Albert II led the electors to unite on Duke Frederick of Styria (Steiermark) at their meeting at Frankfort on February 2, 1440. Frederick with his brother had possession of Inner Austria. As head of the Habsburgs he was guardian of Sigismund, the head of the Tyrol and Hither Austria, and, although he did not preserve the guardianship of the prospective thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, he was the natural representative of the rights which the Habsburgs had acquired over those lands. As one of the strongest German princes, he was called to assume the crown and defend the rights of the empire.

Frederick was no warrior at heart, he was strongly prejudiced against using violent means to enforce his decisions; but he had the quiet, phlegmatic Habsburg faculty for diplomacy. He had strong faith in the future greatness of his house. He cast his eye to the hazy distance and was too often an inactive spectator of the present. It was natural that such a ruler should do nothing towards introducing the reforms needed in the empire. The indiscretion with which the German states always followed their own interests, and the difficulty of dealing with them, increased during this reign. Although Frederick, in spite of all his weakness, never surrendered any of the theoretical claims of the imperial authority, yet he never was man enough to take practical steps for their defence.

The first problem before him was that of the church. The neutrality which the electors had adopted toward the quarrel of Eugenius IV and the council of Bâle, had put an end to the worst abuses of papal administration in Germany.[b] But when Eugenius was deposed and a new pope, Felix V (Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy), was elected by the council, it was impossible for the ecclesiastical issue not to become a matter of political importance. If a council might depose a pope at will, why might not the nobles or the people depose a king? Frederick and the sovereigns of Europe naturally refused to recognise Felix V and remained faithful to Eugenius. Through the diplomacy of Æneas Sylvius the German princes were persuaded to remain loyal to Eugenius and a concordat regulating the relations of Germany to the papal curia was drawn up (1446). The council of Bâle was now but a name: it adjourned to Lausanne and dissolved three years later (1449). In a few years all the abuses arising from papal administration were revived in Germany; the councils of Constance and Bâle had failed to accomplish the reforms expected of them.

Frederick's loyalty to the papal cause was rewarded by coronation at Rome in 1452, by Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V. With meagre equipment, without escort of electors or great princes, Frederick journeyed to Italy. Æneas Sylvius, his secretary, later Pope Pius II, gives the following account of the last imperial coronation at Rome.[a]

After all preparations had been made, the Roman bishop took his place before the high altar of St. Peter upon a high throne, while the cardinals took up their positions on his right and the bishops and the rest of the prelates on his left. Outside the screen were two raised seats, one designed for Frederick, the other for Leonora,[1] but a free passage was left so that the ascent from here to the altar should be open. Leonora, who had betaken herself in good time to

[1] Frederick's wife, a Portuguese princess, whom he had recently married.

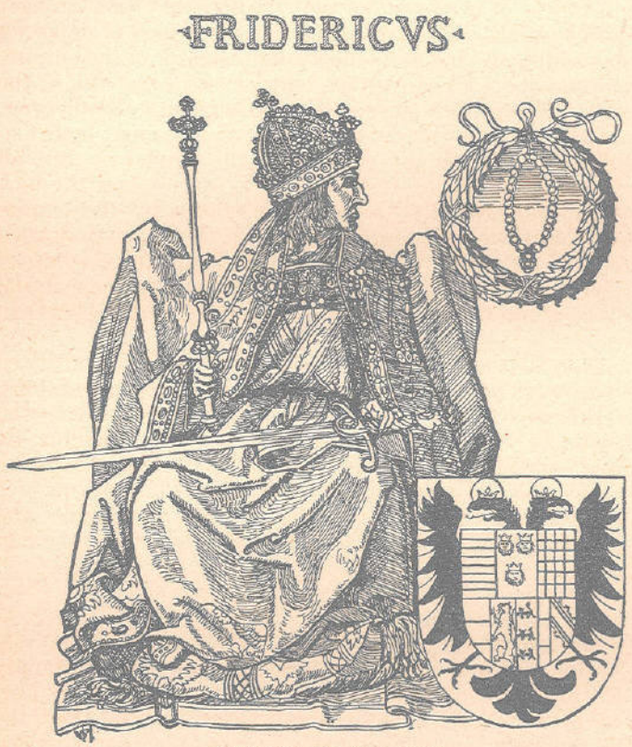
her seat in the company of her maids of honour, drew all eyes upon her; she was a winning maid both owing to her natural charms and her tasteful attire. Frederick was conducted by a number of cardinals to the chapel, called "twixt the Towers," and here swore allegiance to St. Peter, Pope Nicholas, and his successors, in the form used by Louis the son of Charlemagne, as the papal decrees assure us. Here the alb was also put on him, and he was adopted as a canon of St. Peter; on this occasion he gave to his confratres, the canons, as many of them as were present, a kiss. Without pausing he then proceeded in the midst of the cardinals to the main portal of the church. When he had reached this a most solemn blessing was spoken over him by Cardinal Pietro of San Marco, a nephew of Eugenius IV. Thereupon he entered the chapel of St. Gregory, put on sandals, assumed the tunic, and received the imperial cloak. When immediately after this he came into the middle aisle of the basilica, the blessing was pronounced upon him by a second cardinal. And again a third time he was blessed at the screen of St. Peter. Then he was led to the altar of St. Maurice, and, in accordance with ancient usage, anointed with the sacred oil between the shoulder blades and on the right arm by the cardinal of Porto, the vice-chancellor of that time. In the same places his consort Leonora was anointed. After this had been done both went to their seats. Then the pope began the high office, and at the celebration many solemn usages introduced by the ancient fathers of the church were observed. In turn there were handed to him the sceptre, by which the fulness of royal power was denoted, the apple of the empire, which is the usual representation of world sovereignty, and the sword which means the right to make war. Finally, the golden crown, invested with the mitre and studded with precious jewels, was placed upon his imperial head. The empress also received, after the emperor, a crown from the pope's hand, from which it was established that she descended from the wife of Sigismund.

But the emperor, although he had bought adornment for himself at an incredible price, yet on this solemn occasion had caused to be sent from the archives at Nuremberg the cloak, the sword, the sceptre, the apple, and the crown of Charlemagne, as tradition describes them, and of these pieces he had made use. For this advantage is conceded to antiquity that ancient objects command a higher degree of veneration, while new ones lack reputation. But if this really was the finery of Charlemagne then without doubt did the princes and kings of the old days look less to the magnificence of their dress and more to the glory of their name; then did they prefer to do brilliant deeds, rather than wear shining raiments.

Meanwhile for me, seeing that I examined the separate pieces more closely, the impression could not be stifled, as I looked at the sword, that this did not belong to the first Charles (to Charlemagne), but to the fourth Charles who was the father of Sigismund. For, richly engraved upon it, was the Bohemian lion which the latter bore as king of Bohemia. But among the populace the rumour prevailed that these were the ornaments of Charlemagne. For the great fortune of so famous a man will have it so, that to him shall be credited also that which belongs to others called Charles; just as the Theban Hercules has collected in his person the heroic feats of the rest of the men who went by his name, and much is told of Julius Cæsar which was accomplished after him by other cæsars. So important a thing is it to be first in the field. But if, as I am convinced, those pieces date from the time of Charles IV, then we must marvel all the more that in so short a time ornaments have made such strides, so that the costume of Charles may be regarded as that of a peasant, if it is set by the side of the extraordinarily rich and brilliant posses-

sions of our Frederick. Would that we excelled our old predecessors as pre-eminently in virtue as we do in idle frippery.

But while Nicholas set the crown upon the imperial head, the bishop's mitre all but fell off his own cranium, which some took for an evil omen for the pope, saying that from this could be prophesied the attack made later in the same year by Stefano Porcaro, who nearly succeeded in murdering the pope. Yet by the grace of God was Pope Nicholas saved, and he fortunately preserved his position for yet a few years. The miscreant was seized and did penance for the evil design, for an end was put to his life by strangulation in the castle of Crescentius.[c]



FREDERICK III (1415–1493)
(After the woodcut portrait by Hans Burgkmair)

Frederick's Misgovernment in Germany

Frederick's reign began with much talk of peace, under the peace-loving king, who bore such an auspicious name, (Frederick, from *Friede*, peace). But indolence is not a good guarantee of peace, and Germany suffered more disasters under his long reign than had been its lot since the Interregnum. In the first place he attempted to reduce Switzerland to its ancient dependence upon the Habsburgs, and invited in French assistance. The Swiss heroically maintained their independence, and the French troops, defeated in battle, turned into bands of robbers who plundered Alsace and Swabia. They were the same "free companies," who during the Hundred Years' War had learned their savage business from captains like Du Guesclin. Their bandit life was not the only evil in the south, however. The cities and the princes were again at war. Thirty-one cities united against the princes of Baden, Austria, Würtemberg, and Brandenburg. The same anarchy reigned in the north, but worse than all the frontiers were again attacked, especially upon the west, where the great house of Burgundy was at the height of its power.[a1]

[1] See volume on France.

The solidarity of the empire was broken up by neighbouring states. The ancient possessions of the Luxemburgs, the duchy of Luxemburg, and the Wittelsbach possessions in the Netherlands fell to Burgundy; the Poles seized West Prussia, made the land conquered by the Teutonic knights a vassal state and reduced the German colonies on the Baltic, while the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark extended the Danish boundaries to Hamburg and Lübeck.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the necessity for a stronger leadership in the empire was felt. From 1454 an idea developed of deposing Frederick or of choosing a Roman king as a fellow-administrator of the empire. Duke Philip of Burgundy, Albert VI of Austria, and Elector Frederick of the Palatinate were suggested for such an office. Even King George Podiebrad, who had succeeded Albert II's son Wladislaw as king of Bohemia, hoped to be named king of the Romans with the consent of the emperor. But all these attempts failed on account of the resistance of Frederick and the lack of unity among the electors. But the desire for a reform by the empire became stronger; the negotiations were not given up; but they were prolonged by the resistance of the emperor to the curtailment of his theoretical sovereignty and the aversion of the princes to the limitation of their actual authority. Yet new *Landfrieden* were proclaimed which were no better than those of former years.

Frederick's influence in the eastern part of the empire and in his inherited territory was weakened by his neighbours as well as by domestic dissensions. George Podiebrad of Bohemia threatened Austria, and King Matthias, who had succeeded Ladislaus of Hungary, not only increased his kingdom by taking Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia from Podiebrad; he also conquered Austria, Styria, and Carinthia. He almost brought to pass his dream of a powerful kingdom in the heart of Europe, a union of German, Slavonic, and Hungarian provinces, which had also been the dream of Ottocar and the first Habsburgs.

The Revival of Habsburg Power

But after these humiliations the power of the Habsburgs revived. On the boundary of Germany and France the strong kingdom of Burgundy developed. Philip of Burgundy planned to found a new kingdom of Lorraine, and perhaps to procure for his house the imperial crown. But the obstinacy of Frederick prevented his realising this ambition. He was indeed inclined to make the duke king of Brabant, but he would not give up his feudal rights over the German provinces belonging to Burgundy. Philip's plans were also those of his son, Charles the Bold. He wished to be elected king of the Romans with the consent of Frederick III, and offered in return the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian, Frederick's son. In December, 1473, Frederick and Charles met at Treves to come to an understanding in regard to the marriage and the royal authority of Charles. The emperor refused the election of Charles to the Roman kingship, as well as the formation of Burgundy into a separate kingdom. Charles was disappointed. He then turned his influence against Frederick on the Rhine, encouraged the confusion in the archdiocese of Treves, and defended Neuss in a rebellion against the empire. The outbreak of a war with Switzerland, however, drew his attention from Germany, and in January, 1477, he lost his life in an obscure battle with the Swiss at Nancy. Louis XI of France did not hesitate to take advantage of Charles' death. He seized Picardy, Artois, the duchy of Burgundy, and many cities of Flanders. Maximilian now went to the

Netherlands, and in August, 1477, married Mary of Burgundy. It was necessary to take up arms to defend the possessions of his wife against the French. His brilliant victory at Guinegate (August 7th, 1479) won for him the reputation of a hero, and secured the Netherlands for the house of Habsburg. After the death of Mary, he signed the treaty of Arras (1482) by which he yielded to the French the duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, while Artois, Mâcon, Franche-Comté, and Auxerre were later given to the dauphin as the dowry of his wife, Maximilian's daughter.

The death of Matthias of Hungary in 1490 opened the way for a further realisation of Habsburg ambition. Austria and the Tyrol were again united and the acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia also seemed possible. So the old Frederick lived to see his fortunes changed from the deepest humiliation to dazzling greatness, a change, indeed, in which he took no active part.

In the empire, at last, the work of reform reached solid ground for future development in the establishment of the Swabian League, which aimed at peaceful settlement of old matters of feud. In the different territories there was now displayed a growing artistic, scientific, and political activity. At the same time the weakness of the imperial constitution was deeply felt, in contrast to those in the neighbouring monarchies, which had so suddenly reached their prime. Already great hopes were placed upon the young Maximilian. Frederick III, however, spent the last years of his life buried in the experiments and mysterious sciences of alchemy and astrology. He died at Linz on the nineteenth of August, 1493, after a reign whose fruitless inactivity had stretched out for over half a century.[b]

The actual events of Frederick's reign we have passed over quickly and with but slight attention. We shall now glance at his character and his government through the two most widely different sources it is possible to find: the naïve Grünbeck, whose simple attachment to his master makes his contemporary picture grotesque as it is graphic, and the cold scholarly science of the great modern historian Ranke. The one speaks to us of Frederick the man, the other of the land he governed.[a]

Grünbeck's Description of Frederick's Old Age

When he began to be oppressed by the inconveniences of enfeebled health he chose as a resting place the castle of Linz, which in consequence of its antiquity threatened to fall into ruins. On this he caused to be built a number of watch towers, which people at that time were wont to call mouse traps, and which faced all the four quarters of heaven, so that he could keep off encroachment by strangers and particularly also by his dependents. Hence amongst players and gormandisers arose the habit of saying that the emperor had become a mouse-killer; he was accustomed to admit none who appeared on imperial affairs but granted access to flies and gnats only. But evil gossip on all sides was poured upon him by the tongue-wagglers who were cut off from the chance of increasing their store of usurious gain. Ridicule and contempt of this kind, however, he knew how to shake off from his shoulders with ease. Shut off from the outer world the emperor devoted himself in the fulness of leisure and repose to mathematical science, obtaining from the teachers of this art the most accurate information concerning the movements of the stars, the relations between land and sea, the various compositions of the whole world; and he acquired such intimate and marked knowledge of the celestial science that he foresaw from the coincidence of the stars several future events that took place. There are also extant prophecies drawn by

his own hand with regard to the whole career of his son Maximilian and of his end. One day, the talk falling on the fate of individuals, he jestingly prophesied for one of his secretaries a terrible and dishonourable death; whereupon the man immediately committed suicide by hanging himself. Furthermore in the royal libraries may be seen memorials in writing of his hand, in which from the hour of nativity he has calculated the natural proclivities, and the character of certain kings and even from facial traits and from the lines of the hands he has foretold down to all the details events that were to happen in the near or in the remote future in a cunning fashion, and in a way in every respect consonant with the truth. Men there are, I make no doubt, who maintain that he fooled himself with idle tricks of magic; yet he used the night more than the day for these occupations of his as altogether for a relief from imperial affairs. For the most part his habit was to watch until past midnight, but then as a consequence to extend his night's rest until the third hour of the day.

MEDIÆVAL TOWN
(From a pen-and-ink drawing of 1491)

Collections of picked gems and pearls he possessed in great number, and of immense value too, not so much to appease his zeal for collecting by their natural colour and the beauty of their form, but much more to make a show to foreign kings and to awake their desire, or rather their envy. For in the decoration of the crown and of the imperial cloak he is said to have spent three hundred thousand gold gulden in the purchase of pearls and cut stones and to have paid for the gold sewing and the finishers of the crown a sum of ten thousand gold gulden apiece. The trustworthiness of this statement is confirmed by the English jewelers, who, when they saw the emperor in the glory of his imperial dignity, with the mitre set in jewels, estimated his dress and crown at a million. How great his pleasure in these collections was, may be gathered, however, from the circumstance that at the buying of them he used all kinds

of artifice and always established the weight of the pearls with his own hands. When it was necessary to take precautions against the deceits of the dealers, he did not omit to test the gems and pearls, and when he discovered false pieces or pieces of imitation he rescinded the deal and sent the swindler about his business. Furthermore, he learned great skill in the transformation of metals and in their intermixture, and how to make orpiment from quicksilver by an admixture of powder, and to produce genuine gold from pure orpiment by smelting and by the addition of certain other ingredients, and how from the shavings of this to make a water that healed many diseases. In the pursuit of such occupations he closed his life at an advanced age.

The strictly appointed hours for fulfilling religious duties he observed punctually and with warm devotion, whenever his bodily condition permitted it; apart from this he also found time in his leisure hours at night as well as by day for directing his prayers to heaven. Such was the piety with which he always turned his thoughts to the divinity in heaven that not only did he have the houses of worship decorated with purple hangings and baldaquins, with golden apparel magnificently elaborated, with representations of weapons, pictures of the finest execution, with vestments, wax candles, and other ornaments for the sanctuaries, but he also constructed a whole number of new chapels from their foundations upward.

And, for that he devoted especial reverence to St. George, he determined that all men should regard him in all the distresses of war as a sacred protection and fellow combatant, and as such they should appeal to him. Hence it is that the most famous societies and knightly orders in the German lands have risen under the name of this saint and under his protection have executed all their glorious deeds both at home and in war. Certain orders of priests also the emperor inaugurated, which differed from the other ecclesiastical converts not so much in their garb, its colour and cut — for they wear two long linen bands in which crosses are inserted back and front — as in their customs and ceremonies. He also provided them in the most sumptuous way with perpetual rents and in the end tacitly allowed himself to be publicly described as one of these priests of St. George without fuller title. Upon no other enterprise did he ever bring so warm an interest to bear as upon the growth and development of this, his new foundation.

It was his habit, as often as he felt an inclination to eat, at every time and in every place, even whilst driving in a carriage, to consume sweet pears, peaches, or apricots. Sometimes he breakfasted so late in the morning that the food which had been brought up cooked had to be cooked all afresh to avoid its going bad. Rarely he indulged in great carousals, and when he did it was in order partly to make a show with his riches, or partly for imperial reasons that he sometimes invited certain princes, entertaining them at the board and cajoling them in the most endearing fashion with the choicest dainties. On such occasions he would thaw and be full of conversation, telling without exaggeration of his experiences and the vicissitudes of fortune, and giving a perfectly true account of the history of his ancestors. Moreover he had the pleasures of the table seasoned with comic presentations by jesters, just as also he would interrupt breakfast, the midday meal, or supper in this way and protract the conversation until far into the night. All the days of his life it must be admitted he was sober and drank no wine; only occasionally he relished the taste of the fresh grape juice when it was quite sweet from the wine-press, or the young wine of Pucinum. So also he had an especial liking for the grapes of Triest and Rætia, which he seemed not to suck dry but to eat up altogether. When he began to be oppressed with sleep, he would sleep as a rule not longer

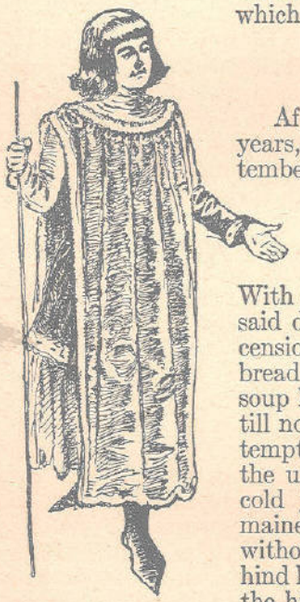
than five hours, and even then not without interruption but in such a way that within this space of time he would wake several times. And when he could not recapture the sleep that had been broken into, he left his bed, seated himself on a stool, and summoned his personal attendant in order to hold converse with him. Then he made a fresh attempt to sleep, or wandered round the room until fatigue seemed to overmaster him. Thereupon he protracted his rest until the fifth or sixth hour of the day, and if he caught anybody who waked him he upbraided him roundly, into such an irritable mood was he put by staying up until early morning.

Now because marvels and prophecies usually denote the death of men of high degree; I deem it suitable at this place to introduce what marvels befell him, my king, before he died. From them he could foresee clearly and unmistakably his death and the dangers which threatened the empire in the future. First of all there fell a number of stones from heaven, and stones of immense weights, but one of them exceeded all the others in size. This one, triangular and showing on its surface traces of burning in its colour and in the form of the metal, may be seen to this day in the possession of the Sebusiani; it came thundering down through the air out of a bright sky and had powerfully agitated the minds of all the inhabitants. Then extraordinary stars, such as antiquity was accustomed to describe as comets, had shone in the sky. Furthermore the dwellings in which the emperor was wont to pass the night were so frequently struck with lightning and some of the places of preservation for his collections of gems caught fire and burned in such wondrous wise through the flashes, that the emperor no longer held such happenings for prophecies, but declared them to be the mischievous teasing of nature, such as she may daily be observed to offer. Also a number of household animals, with which the emperor always delighted in busying himself in all times of adversity, having the knack of enlivening himself through them, came to an end before his eyes through wonderful incidents. Thus amongst other occurrences, an ostrich was hurled over a bridge by a whirlwind, and to the greatest horror and sorrow of all broke its neck. All this kind of marvels the emperor had not needed to note any further, had not he finally encountered a prophetic indication unheard of and unprecedented which conveyed to him complete certainty concerning his end. One of his legs had been devoured all over by a continuous suppuration, and so ill luck would have it that, in consequence of the eating away of the lower thigh bone and the lesion of the joint, the whole leg had to be completely severed with an iron instrument from the sole of the foot to right above the knee cap.[1] This malignant blow of fate the emperor

MUSICIAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

[1] He had a habit of thrusting back his right foot and closing the doors behind him with it; but one day, kicking out too violently, he so injured his leg that the physicians were obliged to amputate it.—BAYARD TAYLOR.[m]

bore with far less equanimity than all the pains which the saw caused him. How hardly he bore his ill fortune is clear from the complaints which he uttered, under the most excruciating pain, to the surgeons and physicians who were attending on him. For instance he said: "Woe to thee, Emperor Frederick, that thou must receive the abominable by-name of the Lame from all posterity, for that everything which may be set down of thy deeds to the last years of thy life will happen under the auspices of this foul title." Finally when the leg had been cut off and he had taken it in his hand he observed: "Now has a foot been taken at once from the emperor and the empire. On the whole and hearty condition of the emperor depended the welfare of the empire. Now both are robbed of all hope; both of us now have plunged from the summit of our fame into the depths!" That this premonition was no erroneous one is clearly proved by the subsequent vicissitudes of fortune to which affairs were subjected and the thousand dangers which beset him who bore the sovereign power.



COURT ATTENDANT OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Death of Frederick (1493 A.D.)

After he had governed the empire for fifty-four years, he died on the 14th before the Kalends of September, in his seventy-eighth year, his death being almost milder and gentler than can be imagined, for the flame of life in such an old man burns with but feeble glimmer, and as the days go on the natural heat of the body is wont to decline gradually. With a marked preference he ate fresh fruits. On the said day he was going through the festival of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary and so took to himself only bread and water, but before partaking of the morning soup he was handed melons, and, being accustomed up till now to indulge his inclinations to eat when similar tempting fruit was offered him, he immediately conveyed the unripe fruit to his empty stomach. Through its cold juice the little warmth of vitality that still remained in him was soon completely extinguished. Thus without a murmur he breathed forth his soul and left behind him, as a legacy, a glorious memory, as it is writ in the history books, for that no emperor among the sovereigns from the time of Augustus onwards held the reins of government longer, with greater justice, and with equal gentleness. For after he had ruled for fifty-four years and restored peace to a great portion of the whole world he quitted this world and went up into heaven.

When he was dead, the bowels were at once taken from the body and the body — as is the custom with the corpses of princes — was embalmed. Then the bowels were placed upon the chief altar in the church at Linz, but the corpse was put in a coffin and conveyed thence by vessel up the Danube to Vienna and placed with the customary pomp in the cathedral of St. Stephen in the vault of the princes of Austria. Hereupon began the funeral rites, and it would have been hardly possible to add to the number of bishops and clergy who appeared and sang hymns and said numerous masses for the dead, nor to the magnificent aspect of the cathedral in which the solemn function took place, nor to the masses of servants who were present, each of whom was

dressed in mourning and provided with a torch and could not give enough expression to his sorrow, nor finally to the number of candles which burned round the hearse. In the meanwhile numerous funeral orations and panegyrics were recited in honour of the dead man in which were expressed a deep regret, so that of all those thousands you could see no single one, into whose eyes the tears were not constantly coming. So great were the merits acquired by the emperor Frederick all over the world [concludes Grünbeck], that his inevitable death cannot be sufficiently mourned and lamented in Germany.[d]

RANKE ON THE ALTERED CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE

The most remarkable fact in the history of this century in Germany was that the imperial throne was no longer able to afford support and protection. The empire had assumed a position analogous to that of the papacy, but extremely subordinate in power and authority.

It is important to recollect that, for more than a century after Charles IV had fixed his seat in Bohemia, no emperor appeared endowed with the vigour necessary to uphold and govern the empire. The bare fact that Charles' successor, Wenceslaus, was a prisoner in the hands of the Bohemians, remained for a long time unknown in Germany; a simple decree of the electors sufficed to dethrone him. Rupert the palatine only escaped a similar fate by death. When Sigismund of Luxemburg (who after many disputed elections kept possession of the field), four years after his election, entered the territory of the empire of which he was to be crowned sovereign, he found so little sympathy that he was for a moment inclined to return to Hungary, without accomplishing the object of his journey. The active part he took in the affairs of Bohemia, and of Europe generally, has given him a name; but in and for the empire he did nothing worthy of note. Between the years 1422 and 1430 he never made his appearance beyond Vienna; from the autumn of 1431 to that of 1433 he was occupied with his coronation journey to Rome; and during the three years from 1434 to his death he never got beyond Bohemia and Moravia; nor did Albert II, who has been the subject of such lavish eulogy, ever visit the dominions of the empire. Frederick III, however, far outdid all his predecessors. During seven-and-twenty-years, from 1444 to 1471, he was never seen within the boundaries of the empire.

Hence it happened that the central action and the visible manifestation of sovereignty, in as far as any such existed in the empire, fell to the share of the princes, and more especially of the prince-electors. In the reign of Sigismund we find them convoking the diets, and leading the armies into the field against the Hussites; the operations against the Bohemians were attributed entirely to them.

In this manner the empire became, like the papacy, a power which acted from a distance, and rested chiefly upon opinion. The throne, founded on conquest and arms, had now a pacific character and a conservative tendency.

Yet the emperor was regarded, in the first place, as the supreme feudal lord, who conferred on property its highest and most sacred sanction; as the supreme fountain of justice, from whom, as the expression was, all the compulsory force of law emanated. It is very curious to observe how the choice that had fallen upon him was announced to Frederick III — by no means the mightiest prince in the empire; how immediately thereupon the natural relations of things were reversed, and "his royal high mightiness" promised confirmation in their rights and dignities to the very men who had just raised him to the throne. All hastened to obtain his recognition of

their privileges and possessions; nor did the cities perform their act of homage till that had taken place. Upon his supreme guarantee rested that feeling of legitimacy, security, and permanence which is necessary to all men, and more especially dear to Germans. "Take away from us the rights of the emperor," says a law-book of that time, "and who can say, This house is mine, this village belongs to me?" A remark of profound truth; but it followed thence that the emperor could not arbitrarily exercise rights of which he was deemed the source. He might give them up; but he himself must enforce them only within the narrow limits prescribed by traditional usage, and by the superior control of his subjects. Although he was regarded as the head and source of all temporal jurisdiction, yet no tribunal found more doubtful obedience than his own.

COURTIER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The fact that royalty existed in Germany had almost been suffered to fall into oblivion; even the title had been lost. Henry VII thought it an affront to be called king of Germany, and not, as he had a right to be called before any ceremony of coronation, king of the Romans. In the fifteenth century the emperor was regarded pre-eminently as the successor of the ancient Roman cæsars, whose rights and dignities had been transferred, first to the Greeks, and then to the Germans, in the persons of Charlemagne and Otto the Great; as the true secular head of Christendom. Emperor Sigismund commanded that his corpse should be exposed to view for some days; in order that every one might see that "the Lord of all the world was dead and departed."

"We have chosen your royal grace," say the electors to Frederick III (1440 A.D.), "to be the head, protector, and governor of all Christendom." They go on to express the hope that this choice may be profitable to the Roman church, to the whole of Christendom, to the holy empire, and to the community of Christian people. Even a foreign monarch, Wladislaw of Poland, extols the felicity of the newly elected emperor, in that he was about to receive the diadem of the monarchy of the world. The imperial dignity, stripped of all direct executive power, had indeed no other significance than that which results from opinion. It gave to law and order their living sanction; to justice its highest authority; to the sovereignties of Germany their position in the world. It had properties which, for that period, were indispensable and sacred. It had a manifest analogy with the papacy, and was bound to it by the most intimate connection.

THE DOMINANCE OF PAPAL AUTHORITY

Hence we see that the German people thought themselves bound in allegiance to the papal, no less than to the imperial authority; but as the papal authority had, in all the long struggles of successive ages, invariably come off victorious, while the imperial had often succumbed, the pope exercised a far stronger and more wide-spread influence, even in temporal things, than the emperor. An act of arbitrary power, which no emperor could ever

have so much as contemplated — the deposition of an electoral prince of the empire — was repeatedly attempted, and occasionally even accomplished, by the popes. They bestowed on Italian prelates, bishoprics as remote as that of Kammin. By their annates, pallia, and all the manifold dues exacted by the curia, they drew a far larger (Maximilian I said, a hundred times larger) revenue from the empire than the emperor; their vendors of indulgences incessantly traversed the several provinces of the empire. Spiritual and temporal principalities and jurisdictions were so closely interwoven as to afford them continual opportunities of interfering in the civil affairs of Germany.

Gregory VII's comparison of the papacy to the sun and of the empire to the moon was now verified. The Germans regarded the papal power as in every respect the higher. When, for example, the town of Bâle founded its high-school, it was debated whether, after the receipt of the brief containing the pope's approbation, the confirmation of the emperor was still necessary; and it was at length decided that it was not, since the inferior power could not confirm the decisions of the superior, and the papal see was the well-head of Christendom. The pretender to the Palatinate, Frederick the Victorious, whose electoral rank the emperor refused to acknowledge, held it sufficient to obtain the pope's sanction, and received no further molestation in the exercise of his privileges as member of the empire. The judge of the king's court having on some occasion pronounced the ban of the empire on the council of Lübeck, the council obtained a cassation of this sentence from the pope.

However great was the devotion of the princes to the see of Rome, they felt the oppressiveness of its pecuniary exactions; and more than once the spirit of the Bâle decrees, or the recollections of the proceedings at Constance, manifested themselves anew. We find draughts of a league to prevent the constitution of Constance, according to which a council should be held every ten years, from falling into utter desuetude. After the death of Nicholas V, the princes urged the emperor to seize the favourable moment for asserting the freedom of the nation, and at least to take measures for the complete execution of the agreement entered into with Eugenius; but Frederick III was deaf to their entreaties. Æneas Sylvius persuaded him that it was necessary for him to keep well with the pope. He brought forward a few commonplaces concerning the instability of the multitude, and their natural hatred of their chief — just as if the princes of the empire were a sort of democracy; the emperor, said he, stands in need of the pope, and the pope of the emperor; it would be ridiculous to offend the man from whom we want assistance. He himself was sent, in 1456, to tender unconditional obedience to Pope Calixtus. This immediately revived the old spirit of resistance. An outline was drawn of a pragmatic sanction, in which not only all the charges against the papal see were recapitulated in detail, and redress of grievances proposed, but it was also determined what was to be done, in case of a refusal; what appeal was to be made, and how the desired end was to be attained. But what result could be anticipated while the emperor, far from taking part in this plan, did everything he could to thwart it? He sincerely regarded himself as the natural ally of the papacy.

The inevitable effect of this conduct on his part was, that the discontent of the electors, already excited by the inactivity and the absence of the emperor, occasionally burst out violently against him. As early as the year 1456 they required him to repair on a given day to Nuremberg, because it was his office and duty to bear the burden of the empire in an honourable manner;

if he did not appear, they at any rate, would meet, and do what was incumbent on them. As he neither appeared then nor afterwards, in 1460 they sent him word that it was no longer consistent with their dignity and honour to remain without a head. They repeated their summons that he should appear on the Tuesday after Epiphany, and accompanied it with still more vehement threats. They began seriously to take measures for setting up a king of the Romans in opposition to him.

From the fact that George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, was the man on whom they cast their eyes, it is evident that the opposition was directed against both emperor and pope jointly. What must have been the consequence of placing a utraquist at the head of the empire? This increased the zeal and activity of Pope Pius II (whom we have hitherto known as Æneas Sylvius) in consolidating the alliance of the see of Rome with the emperor, who, on his side, was scarcely less deeply interested. The independence of the prince-electors was odious to both. As one of the claims of the emperor had always been that no electoral diet should be held without his consent, so Pius II, in like manner, now wanted to bind Diether, elector of Mainz, to summon no such assembly without the approbation of the papal see. Diether's refusal to enter into any such engagement was the main cause of their quarrel. Pius did not conceal from the emperor that he thought his own power endangered by the agitations which prevailed in the empire. It was chiefly owing to his influence, and to the valour of Markgraf Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, that they ended in nothing.

From this time we find the imperial and the papal powers, which had come to a sense of their common interest and reciprocal utility, more closely united than ever.

The diets of the empire were held under their joint authority; they were called royal and papal, papal and royal diets. In the reign of Frederick, as formerly in that of Sigismund, we find the papal legates present at the meetings of the empire, which were not opened till they appeared. The spiritual princes took their seats on the right, the temporal on the left, of the legates; it was not till a later period that the imperial commissioners were introduced, and proposed measures in concert with the papal functionaries. It remains for us to inquire how far this very singular form of government was fitted to satisfy the wants of the empire.

STATE OF GERMANY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

We have seen what a mighty influence had, from the remotest times, been exercised by the princes of Germany. First the imperial power and dignity had arisen out of their body and by their aid; then they had supported the emancipation of the papacy, which involved their own; now they stood opposed to both. Although strongly attached to, and deeply imbued with, the ideas of empire and papacy, they were resolved to repel the encroachments of either; their power was already so independent that the emperor and the pope deemed it necessary to combine against them.

If we proceed to inquire who were these magnates, and upon what their power rested, we shall find that the temporal hereditary sovereignty, the germ of which had long existed in secret and grown unperceived, shot up in full vigour in the fifteenth century; and, if we may be allowed to continue the metaphor, after it had long struck its roots deep into the earth, it now began to rear its head into the free air, and to tower above all the surrounding plants.

All the puissant houses which have since held sovereign sway date their

establishment from this epoch. In the eastern part of north Germany appeared the race of Hohenzollern; and, though the land its princes had to govern and defend was in the last stage of distraction and ruin, they acted with such sedate vigour and cautious determination that they soon succeeded in driving back their neighbours within their ancient bounds, in pacifying and restoring the marches, and in re-establishing the very peculiar bases of sovereign power which already existed in the country.

Near this remarkable family arose that of Wettin, which, by the acquisition of the electorate of Saxony, soon attained to the highest rank among the princes of the empire and to the zenith of its power. It possessed the most extensive and at the same time the most flourishing of German principalities, as long as the brothers, Ernest and Albert, held their united court at Dresden and shared the government; and even when they separated, both lines remained sufficiently important to play a part in the affairs of Germany, and indeed of Europe.

NOBLEMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In the Palatinate we find Frederick the Victorious. It is necessary to read the long list of castles, jurisdictions, and lands which he won from all his neighbours, partly by conquest, partly by purchase or treaty, but which his superiority in arms rendered emphatically his own, to form a conception what a German prince in that age could achieve, and how widely he could extend his sway.

A similar spirit of extension and fusion was also at work in many other places. Jülich and Berg formed a junction, Bavarian Landshut was strengthened by its union with Ingolstadt; in Bavarian Munich, Albert the Wise maintained the unity of the land under the most difficult circumstances — not without violence, but, at least in this case, with beneficial results. In Würtemberg, too, a multitude of separate estates were gradually incorporated into one district, and assumed the form of a German principality.

Next to these princes were the spiritual lords (whose privileges and internal organisation were the same as those of the secular but whose rank in the hierarchy of the empire was higher), among whom nobles of the high or even of the inferior aristocracy composed the chapter and filled the principal places. In the fifteenth century, indeed, the bishoprics began to be commonly conferred on the younger sons of sovereign princes; the court of Rome favoured this practice, from the conviction that the chapters could be kept in order only by the strong hand and the authority of sovereign power; but it was not universal, nor was the fundamental principle of the spiritual principalities by any means abandoned in consequence of its adoption.

There was also a numerous body of nobles who received their investiture with the banner, like the princes, and had a right to sit in the same tribunal with them; nay, there were even families or clans, which from all time claimed exemption from those general feudal relations that formed the bond of the state, and held their lands in fee from God and his blessed Son. They were

overshadowed by the princely order; but they enjoyed perfect independence notwithstanding.

Next to this class came the powerful body of knights of the empire, whose castles crowned the hills on the Rhine, in Swabia and Franconia; they lived in haughty loneliness amidst the wildest scenes; girt round by an impregnable circle of deep fosses, and within walls four-and-twenty feet thick, where they could set all authority at defiance; the bond of fellowship among them was but the stricter for their isolation. Another portion of the nobility, especially in the eastern and colonised principalities in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, Meissen and the marches, were, however, brought into undisputed subjection; though this, as we see in the example of the Priegnitz, was not brought about without toil and combat.

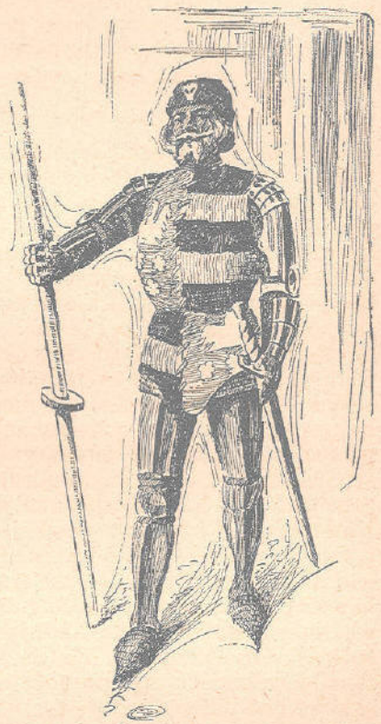
The Cities

Still more completely independent was the attitude assumed by the cities. Opposed to all these different classes of nobles, which they regarded as but one body, they were founded on a totally different principle, and had struggled into importance in the midst of incessant hostility. A curious spectacle is afforded by this old enmity pervading all the provinces of Germany, yet in each one taking a different form. In Prussia, the opposition of the cities gave rise to the great national league against the supreme power, which was here in the hands of the Teutonic order. On the Wendish coasts was then the centre of the Hansa, by which the Scandinavian kings, and still more the surrounding German princes, were overpowered. The duke of Pomerania himself was struck with terror when, on coming to succour Henry the Elder of Brunswick, he perceived by what powerful and closely allied cities his friend was encompassed and enchained on every side. On the Rhine we find an unceasing struggle for municipal independence, which the chief cities of the ecclesiastical principalities claimed, and the electors refused to grant. In Franconia, Nuremberg set itself in opposition to the rising power of Brandenburg, which it rivalled in successful schemes of aggrandisement. Then followed in Swabia and on the upper Danube (the true arena of the struggles and the leagues of imperial free cities) the same groups of knights, lords, prelates, and princes, who here approached most nearly to each other. Among the Alps, the confederacy formed against Austria had already grown into a regular constitutional government, and attained to almost complete independence. On every side we find different relations, different claims and disputes, different means of carrying on the conflict; but on all, men felt themselves surrounded by hostile passions which any moment might blow into a flame, and held themselves ready for battle. It seemed not impossible that the municipal principle might eventually get the upper hand in all these conflicts, and prove as destructive to the aristocratical, as that had been to the imperial power.

In this universal shock of efforts and powers, with a distant and feeble chief and inevitable divisions even among those naturally connected and allied, a state of things arose which presents a somewhat chaotic aspect; it was the age of universal private warfare. The *Fehde* is a middle term between duel and war. Every affront or injury led, after certain formalities, to the declaration, addressed to the offending party, that the aggrieved party would be his foe and that of his helpers and helpers' helpers. The imperial authorities felt themselves so little able to arrest this torrent that they endeavoured only to direct its course; and, while imposing limitations or forbidding particular acts, they confirmed the general permission of the established practice.

The right, which the supreme, independent power had hitherto reserved to itself of resorting to arms when no means of conciliation remained, had descended in Germany to the inferior classes, and was claimed by nobles and cities against each other; by subjects against their lords, nay, by private persons, as far as their means and connections permitted, against one another. In the middle of the fifteenth century this universal tempest of contending powers was arrested by a conflict of a higher and more important nature — the opposition of the princes to the emperor and the pope; and it remained to be decided from whose hands the world could hope for any restoration to order.

Two princes appeared on the stage, each of them the hero of his nation, each at the head of a numerous party, each possessed of personal qualities strikingly characteristic of the epoch — Frederick of the Palatinate and Albert of Brandenburg. They took opposite courses. Frederick the Victorious, distinguished rather for address and agility of body than for size and strength, owed his fame and his success to the forethought and caution with which he prepared his battles and sieges. In time of peace he busied himself with the study of antiquity, or the mysteries of alchemy; poets and minstrels found ready access to him, as in the springtime of poetry; he lived under the same roof with his friend and songstress, Clara Dettin of Augsburg, whose sweetness and sense not only captivated the prince, but were the charm and delight of all around him. He had expressly renounced the comforts of equal marriage and legitimate heirs; all that he accomplished or acquired was for the advantage of his nephew Philip.



Costume showing Armour of the Fifteenth Century

The towering and athletic frame of Markgraf Albert of Brandenburg (surnamed Achilles), on the contrary, announced, at the first glance, his gigantic strength; he had been victor in countless tournaments, and stories of his courage and warlike prowess, bordering on the fabulous, were current among the people — how, for example, at some siege he had mounted the walls alone and leaped down into the midst of the terrified garrison; how, hurried on by a slight success over an advanced party of the enemy, he had rushed almost unattended into their main body of eight hundred horsemen, had forced his way up to their standard, snatched it from its bearer, and, after a momentary realisation of the desperateness of his position, rallied his courage and defended it, till his people could come up and complete the victory. Æneas Sylvius declares that the markgraf himself assured him of the fact. His letters breathe a passion for war. Even after a defeat he had experienced, he relates to his friends with evident pleasure, how long he and four others held out on the field of battle; how he then cut his way through with great labour and severe fighting, and how he was determined to reappear as soon as possible in

the field. In time of peace he busied himself with the affairs of the empire, in which he took a more lively and efficient part than the emperor himself. We find him sharing in all the proceedings of the diets, holding a magnificent and hospitable court in his Franconian territories, or directing his attention to his possessions in the Mark, which were governed by his son with all the vigilance dictated by the awe of a grave and austere father. Albert was the worthy progenitor of the warlike house of Brandenburg. He bequeathed to it not only wise maxims, but, what is of more value, a great example.

About the year 1461 these two princes, as we have said, embraced different parties. Frederick, who as yet possessed no distinctly recognised power, and in all things obeyed his personal impulses, put himself at the head of the opposition. Albert, who always followed the trodden path of existing relations, undertook the defence of the emperor and the pope; fortune wavered for a time between them. But at last the Jorsika, as George Podiebrad was called, abandoned his daring plans. Diether of Isenburg was succeeded by his antagonist, Adolf of Nassau; and Frederick the palatine consented to give up his prisoners: victory leaned, in the main, to the side of Brandenburg. The ancient authorities of the empire and the church were once more upheld.

At Ratisbon, some time later, in the year 1471, the allied powers ventured on an important step, for the furtherance of the war against the Turks, which they declared themselves at length about to undertake; they attempted to impose a sort of property tax on the whole empire, called the "common penny," and actually obtained an edict in its favour. They named in concert the officers charged with the collection of it in the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees; and the papal legate threatened the refractory with the sum of all spiritual punishments — exclusion from the community of the church.

These measures undoubtedly embraced what was most immediately necessary to the internal and external interests of the empire. But how was it possible to imagine that they would be executed? The combined powers were by no means strong enough to carry through such extensive and radical innovations. The diets had not been attended by nearly sufficient numbers, and people did not hold themselves bound by the resolutions of a party. The opposition to the emperor and the pope had not attained its object, but it still subsisted; Frederick the Victorious still lived, and had now an influence over the very cities which had formerly opposed him. The collection of the "common penny" was, in a short time, not even talked of; it was treated as a project of Paul II, to whom it was not deemed expedient to grant such extensive powers.

The proclamation of public peace also produced little or no effect. After some time the cities declared that it had occasioned them more annoyance and damage than they had endured before. It was contrary to their wishes that, in the year 1474, it was renewed with all its actual provisions. The private wars went on as before. Soon afterwards one of the most powerful imperial cities, Ratisbon, the very place where the public peace was proclaimed, fell into the hands of the Bavarians. The combined powers gradually lost all their consideration. In the year 1479 the propositions of the emperor and the pope were rejected in a mass by the estates of the empire, and were answered by a number of complaints. And yet never could stringent measures be more imperatively demanded.

Private Warfare

It is not necessary to go into an elaborate description of the evils attendant on the right of diffidation or private warfare (*Fehderecht*); they were probably

not so great as is commonly imagined. Even in the century we are treating of, there were Italians to whom the situation of Germany appeared happy and secure in comparison with that of their own country, where, in all parts, one faction drove out another. It was only the level country and the highroads which were exposed to robbery and devastation. But even so, the state of things was disgraceful and insupportable to a great nation. It exhibited the strongest contrast to the ideas of law and of religion upon which the empire was so peculiarly founded.

One consequence of it was that, as every man was exclusively occupied with the care of his own security and defence, or could at best not extend his view beyond the horizon immediately surrounding him, no one had any attention to bestow on the common weal; not only were no more great enterprises achieved, but even the frontiers were hardly defended. In the east, the old conflict between the Germans and the Lettish and Slavonic tribes was decided in favour of the latter. As the king of Poland found allies in Prussia itself, he obtained an easy victory over the Teutonic order, and compelled the knights to conclude the Peace of Thorn (A.D. 1466), by which the greater part of the territories of the order were ceded to him, and the rest were held of him in fee. Neither emperor nor empire stirred to avert this incalculable loss. In the west, the idea of obtaining the Rhine as a boundary first awoke in the minds of the French, and the attacks of the Dauphin and the Armagnacs were foiled only by local resistance. But what the one line of the house of Valois failed in, the other, that of Burgundy, accomplished with brilliant success. As the wars between France and England were gradually terminated, and nothing more was to be gained in that field, this house, with all its ambition and all its good fortune, threw itself on the territory of lower Germany. In direct defiance of the imperial authority, it took possession of Brabant and Holland; then Philip the Good took Luxemburg, placed his natural son in Utrecht, and his nephew on the episcopal throne of Liège; after which an unfortunate quarrel between father and son gave Charles the Bold an opportunity to seize upon Gelderland. A power was formed such as had not arisen since the time of the great duchies, and its interests and tendencies were naturally opposed to those of the empire. This state the restless Charles resolved to extend, on the one side, towards Friesland, on the other, along the upper Rhine. When at length he fell upon the archbishopric of Cologne and besieged Neuss, some opposition was made to him, but not in consequence of any concerted scheme or regular armament, but of a sudden levy in the presence of imminent danger. The favourable moment for driving him back within his own frontiers had been neglected. Shortly after, on his attacking Lorraine, Alsace, and Switzerland, those countries were left to defend themselves. Meanwhile, Italy had in fact completely emancipated herself. If the emperor desired to be crowned there, he must go unarmed like a mere traveller; his ideal power could be manifested only in acts of grace and favour. The king of Bohemia,

PIKEMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

who also possessed the two Lusatias and Silesia, and an extensive feudal dominion within the empire, insisted loudly on his rights, and would hear nothing of the corresponding obligations.

The life of the nation must have been already extinct, had it not, even in the midst of all these calamities, and with the prospect of further imminent peril before it, taken measures to establish its internal order and to restore its external power — objects, however, not to be attained without a revolution in both its spiritual and temporal affairs.

The attempted reforms of the last part of his reign found a consistent opponent in the aged emperor. Frederick III had accustomed himself in the course of a long life to regard the affairs of the world with perfect serenity of mind. His contemporaries have painted him to us — one while weighing precious stones in a goldsmith's scales; another, with a celestial globe in his hand, discoursing with learned men on the position of the stars. He loved to mix metals, compound healing drugs, and, in important crises, predicted the future himself from the aspects of the constellations; he read a man's destiny in his features, or in the lines of his hand. In his youth his Portuguese wife, with the violent temper and the habitual opinions of a native of the south, urged him in terms of bitter scorn to take vengeance for some injury; he answered that everything was rewarded, punished, and avenged in time. In 1449, when the cities and princes, on the eve of war, refused to accept him as mediator, he was content; he said he would wait till they burnt each other's crops; then they would come to him of their own accord, and beg him to bring about a reconciliation between them — which shortly after happened. The violences and cruelties which his hereditary kingdom of Austria suffered from King Matthias did not even excite his pity; he said they deserved it, they would not obey him and therefore they must have a stork as king, like the frogs in the fable. His frugality bordered on avarice, his slowness on inertness, his stubbornness on the most determined selfishness; yet all these faults are rescued from vulgarity by high qualities. He had at bottom a sober depth of judgment, a sedate and inflexible honour; the aged prince, even when a fugitive imploring succour, had a personal bearing which never allowed the majesty of the empire to sink.[1]

All his pleasures were characteristic. Once when he was in Nuremberg, he had all the children in the city, even the infants who could but just walk, brought to him; he feasted his eyes on the rising generation, the heirs of the future; then he ordered cakes to be brought and distributed that the children might remember their old master, whom they had seen, as long as they lived. Occasionally he gave the princes who were his friends a feast in his castle. In proportion to his usual extreme frugality was now the magnificence of the entertainment. He kept his guests with him until late in the night (always his most vivacious time), when even his wonted taciturnity ceased, and he began to relate the history of his past life, interspersed with strange incidents, decent jests, and wise saws. He looked then like a patriarch among the princes — all of them so much younger than himself.[e]

[1 Elsewhere Ranke says: "At the very time in which all the monarchies of Europe consolidated themselves, the emperor was driven out of his hereditary estates, and wandered about the other parts of the empire as a fugitive. He was dependent for his daily repast on the bounty of convents, or of the burghers of the imperial cities; his other wants were supplied from the slender revenues of his chancery. He might sometimes be seen travelling along the roads of his own dominions in a carriage drawn by oxen. Never, and this he felt himself, was the majesty of the empire dragged about in meaner form. The possessor of a power which, according to the received idea, ruled the world, was become an object of contemptuous pity."]

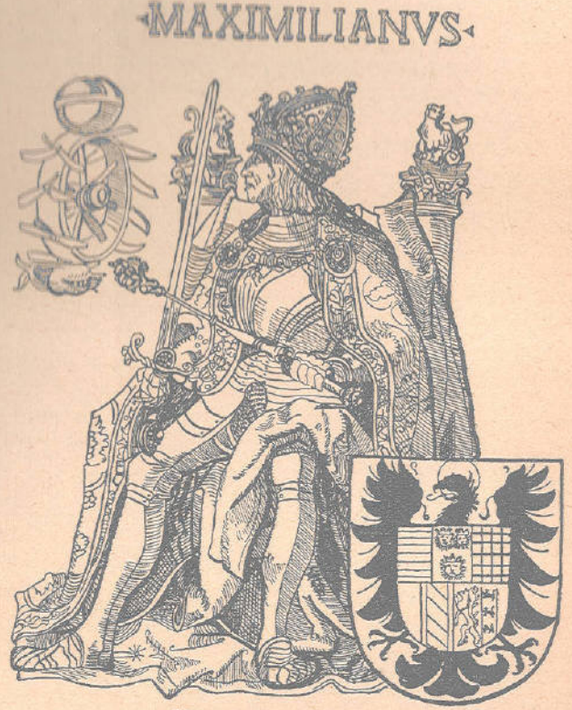
THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FAMILY

(From the painting by Strigel, in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna)

THE REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN I

Frederick III died in 1493. Maximilian was proclaimed his successor on the imperial throne without a dissentient voice, and speedily found himself fully occupied.

France at that time cast her eyes upon Italy. Nepotism, the family-interest of the popes, who bestowed enormous wealth, and even Italian principalities, on their nephews, relatives, and natural children, was the prevalent spirit of the court of Rome. The pope's relations plundered the papal treasury, which he filled with the plunder of the whole of Christendom, by raising the church taxes, amplifying the ceremonies, and selling absolution.



MAXIMILIAN I (1473–1531)
(After a woodcut portrait by Hans Burgkmair)

France, ever watchful, was not tardy in finding an opportunity for interference. Charles VIII unexpectedly entered Italy at the head of an immense army, partly composed of Swiss mercenaries, and took Naples. Milan, alarmed at the overwhelming strength of her importunate ally, now entered into a league with the pope, the emperor, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of driving him out of Italy, and Alexander VI astonished the world by leaguing with the arch-foe of Christendom, the Turkish sultan, against the "most Christian" king of France. Charles yielded to the storm, and voluntarily returned to France (1495 A.D.) Maximilian had been unable, from want of money, to come in person to Italy, and three thousand men were all he had been able to supply. He had, however, secured himself by a marriage with Bianca Maria, the sister of Galeazzo Sforza, and attempted, on the withdrawal of the French, to put forward his pretensions as emperor. Pisa (1496) imploring his aid against Florence, he undertook a campaign at the head of an inconsiderable force, in which he was unsuccessful.

A still closer alliance was formed with Spain. The marriage of Philip, Maximilian's son, with the Infanta Johanna, and that of his daughter Margaret, with the Infant Don Juan (1496) brought this splendid monarchy into

the house of Habsburg, the Infant Don Juan expiring shortly afterwards, and the whole of Spain falling to Philip in right of his wife.[i]

At this point the demands made upon the activity of King Maximilian came to the rescue of the imperial idea. As early as 1489 he promised to do all in his power to introduce a chamber of justice on the lines proposed, so that he had pledged himself morally. But after his father's death in the year 1493, when Europe was again plunged into the greatest agitation, he had to reconcile himself to still larger concessions. In this connection particular importance attaches to the diet at Worms of 1495. The prevalent idea was, after the imperial dignity had lost its significance as the central power, for the diet to make an attempt at founding a unity of a different kind. The intention of the representatives, particularly of their leader at that time, Berthold von Mainz, was to found a federation of all the parts of the empire and by this means to base the power of the realm, which could no longer be monarchical, on a more aristocratic-republican foundation. Their first idea was to form an imperial council to be made up of king, electors, and the different deputies from the provinces, who would have had the entire control of internal affairs. Maximilian's purpose, on the contrary, was to obtain supplies of money and men; not only the urgent assistance which was needed for the moment, but what he called a permanent source of support, a military constitution of supply. Both parties, as we have seen, desired unity, but the former more in the aristocratic, the latter in the monarchical sense. Naturally the former preponderated because it was in itself much the stronger. Moreover, even the estates proposed to found a military constitution, not on the basis of the feudal system, however, but on that of a general assessment. They had the generosity to make a preliminary grant to the king of the money which he demanded for his urgent need, to avoid his being placed in pawn as it were (such were the terms of their expression).

The cities, which particularly pressed for a public peace, only contributed at the instance of Berthold, and not without a certain amount of resistance. But as Maximilian still hesitated, and demanded again and again money and troops, and the establishment of "a permanent supply," they began to refuse him everything till peace and order should be reinstated. Committees were formed, proposals made and referred to experts. In consequence of the opposition, Maximilian was at last compelled to bow to necessity and accept them. The four items were the following: (1) The public peace (*Landfriede*), which differed particularly from the former Landfriede in that it was not established for a term of years, but was to be perpetual, "general, and continual." The punishment of outlawry was retained. (2) The chamber of justice, which was now to be constituted in a manner to which Frederick III would never have consented, both at the will and with the advice of the assembly and in final election on the spot; the president himself was even empowered to pronounce the ban of the empire on his own responsibility. (3) The "common penny," or the permanent main subsidy; a general poll-tax which never actually came into operation, but which was intended to represent one-tenth per cent. on the value of all property. (4) Not the council of regency, but for a month in every year an assembly of the estates of the empire, which on urgent occasions was even to be convened by the presidents. Obviously the result was now in favour of the estates. The imperial assembly would have had the control of the money and the conduct of foreign affairs, and a share of the judicial power would have passed over to a combination springing from the estates, as a consequence of the access of dignity bestowed upon the chamber of justice.

It is no wonder that Maximilian did not like to further a constitution of this kind. He did not appear at the first imperial assembly. The consequence was that no executive measures could be carried in accordance with the previous resolution concerning the "common penny." Some princes had the generosity to return the money to their subjects; in the second year no one would pay it any longer. The further consequence of this was that the chamber of justice, which it had been proposed to pay out of this "common penny," could not be maintained, so that the public peace totally lacked effective execution. It was evident that the king was mostly at fault. As he had at the same time come off a loser in his wars both with Switzerland and Italy, he was obliged in the year 1500 at the Augsburg diet to consent to a council of the empire — or imperial regency, which he had always refused before; each elector was to send one representative, and each of his cities two. The chancellorship was to be filled by the elector of Mainz. The estates in return consented to a kind of military levy. Thereupon the newly constituted imperial council did in point of fact receive the ambassadors of France. But the king, who ought to have presided over this council, did not appear. He prevented the complete filling up of the places in the council; again the whole proceedings resulted in nothing. Nor did he summon a new diet. Instead of founding the empire at this time, as he has been so often credited with doing, he rather contributed towards its complete dissolution. He certainly founded a sort of chamber of justice, but quite of the old kind, made up of a few bishops and depending on perquisites; but, as nobody acknowledged it, it accomplished nothing.

In the year 1502, the electors agreed to assemble at least every year, each one to deliberate upon the interests of the empire with the estates situated nearest him. But Maximilian managed to undermine this intention by securing the nomination to the vacancy at Cologne of a prince who was absolutely devoted to him. He himself was so indignant that he sometimes declared he would throw down his crown at the feet of the representatives and trample it to atoms. The representatives, on their side, actually conceived the idea in 1503 of deposing the king. Thereupon he himself appeared, as Louis of Bavaria once did, in the assembly to frustrate this purpose. He was really, however, not so utterly powerless in the empire; he possessed a number of bishoprics and livings. Albert of Saxony and Henry of Calenberg were in his service. Furthermore it was a piece of good fortune for him that the Landshut quarrel broke out, in which he took a part so fruitful of results that he regained his former influence and prestige. This happened chiefly through that Swabian League which dates its formation from 1488.[1] Moreover his son Philip, whose father-in-law Ferdinand the Catholic was establishing his authority in Naples, was also victorious in the war in Gelderland, and an accommodation had just been made with the French. All these fortunate circumstances contributed to the gradual extinction of motives for forming a constitution in which the claims of the king and the estates of the realm should be equally balanced. The purely "representative" principle could no longer maintain the upper hand, but yet it was impossible to suppress it entirely.

[1 This is known as "the great" Swabian League to distinguish it from the numerous others that are associated with the internal history of Swabia from 1376 onwards. The subject of the conflicting policies of the cities and the princes of Swabia and their respective relations with the emperor is yet another illustration of that anarchy which is the main characteristic of German history before the period of the Reformation, and which, it may be added, by no means disappeared entirely with the advent of that period.]

THE DIET OF COLOGNE (1505 A.D.)

At the diet at Cologne in 1505, the estates agreed to assist the king against Hungary in accordance with former proposals. Every thought of calling in the "common penny" was expressly discountenanced. But it was at once determined that the assistance granted was to be in money, and a tax was settled. The king promised to establish a chamber of justice and to negotiate a public peace in the manner resolved upon at Worms. In the diet at Constance in the year 1507 these efforts were continued. The power of the king was already so consolidated that a French ambassador, who carried with him despatches addressed to the imperial estates, was arrested and treated pretty roughly. Here the former proposals were renewed and directed towards an expedition to Rome. Clearly the cities were drawn upon pretty heavily. All the electors together, including Bohemia, had to place in the field 760 horsemen, 557 infantry, and pay 16,230 gulden; the cities had to provide 632 horsemen, therefore almost as many as the electors, and on the other hand 1,335 infantry, two and a half times as many, and to pay 39,942 gulden.

BOURGEOIS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Further, a firm foundation was laid for the chamber of justice, the nomination of its members divided between the king and the estates, the payment to be made out of penal money fines, and, if these were not sufficient, an imperial tax was to be raised. The president of the chamber was to have the right of pronouncing the ban of the empire. However the vote of supply was only granted for half a year, and the council was provisionally accepted for six years only. But still it was of the greatest importance that it really held sittings, and exercised a regular activity, which dates from this time.

These labours then were continued in the diet at Cologne in 1512. It was again agreed to retain the imperial chamber for another six years, and its reform was also resolved upon. The only thing wanted now was to provide for the execution of its decisions. For this purpose the empire was divided into ten circuits. Six circuits, exclusive of the king and the electors, had already been sketched out in 1500 at Augsburg. Two new ones were now formed out of the Austrian possessions, and two out of the electorates, one for the Rhine and one for Upper Saxony. They are called "circles" in the imperial decree.[1] In each circle there was to be a captain with his contingent of sub-

[1 Ranke makes the distinction in the German between *Kreis* (translated "circuit") and *Cirkel* (translated "circle").]

ordinates. At every breach of the public peace the captain of the circle in which the perpetrators, their helpers and dependents lived, was to summon his contingent and consult with them, and take proceedings to maintain the public peace. Switzerland was excluded from this constitution of things — as she looked after herself. Other plans were also made; there was talk of a new universal tax such as had been resolved upon at Worms; of a scheme of appointing eight councillors to the king, above all of a closer union of the empire. The emperor expresses this very clearly in the recess: "We and the estates of the holy empire have contracted and pledged our common duty to carry out the following articles and intentions as a Christian body and assembly to and with each other." The cities had been for some time excluded from the settlement, but now they were readmitted.

We must guard, however, against concluding that these resolutions were at once carried into effective operation. They were ideas and plans, the necessity of which was obvious to everyone, but to execute them presented the gravest difficulties. The circuits were in all probability not really established till about twenty years later; the captains were not appointed, neither were the councillors, who were considered of so much importance. Maximilian himself was in a perpetual dilemma between respect and contempt, fortune and misfortune, power and weakness. The fact was largely due to his foreign relations. In these he accomplished an incredible amount for his family and its power chiefly by treaties and marriage alliances; how remarkable it is that, on the contrary, when he strove for the rights of the empire, with an assiduity greater, though not always so well-matured and warlike, he failed in everything.[k]

THE SEPARATION OF SWITZERLAND (1499 A.D.)

The empire, like the oak whose topmost branches first show symptoms of the decay spreading from its roots, first lost the finest of her German provinces, and her holy banner was hurled from those glorious natural bulwarks, whence, mid ice and snow, her victorious forefathers had looked down upon the fertile vales of Italy.

The Swiss confederation had been declared an integral part of the Swabian circle, but, influenced by distrust of the Swabian cities, which had ever preserved a false neutrality towards them, and of the princes and nobles, their hereditary foes, they refused to enter into the league. Their success against Burgundy had, moreover, rendered them insolent and presumptuous, whilst France incessantly incited them to declare themselves independent of the empire. France drew her mercenaries from the Alps, was a good paymaster, and flattered the rough mountaineers with a semblance of royal confidence; whilst the German princes, and even the emperor, thoughtlessly treated them with contempt. A dispute concerning landmarks that arose between the Grisons peasantry and the Austrian Tyrolese, and occasioned their enrolment in the confederation, brought the matter to an issue. The enraged emperor declared war (A.D. 1498) against the Swiss, in which he was seconded by the Swabian league. In 1499 the Swiss concluded a treaty with France, and, quitting their mountains, attacked the approaching foe on every side. Willibald Pirkheimer, who was present with four hundred red-habited citizens of Nuremberg, has graphically described every incident of this war. The imperial reinforcements arrived slowly and in separate bodies; the princes and nobles fighting in real earnest, the cities with little inclination. The Swiss were, consequently, able to defeat each single detachment before they could

unite, and were in this manner victorious in ten engagements. The emperor, on his arrival, publicly addressed an angry letter to the Swiss from Freiburg in the Breisgau. The Tyrolese failed in an attempt to take the Grisons in the rear across Bormio, and four hundred of the imperialists were, on this occasion, crushed by an avalanche. Pirkheimer saw a troop of half-starved children under the care of two old women seeking for herbs, like cattle, on the mountains, so great was the distress to which the blockade had reduced the Swiss. They, nevertheless, defended themselves on every side, and slew four thousand Tyrolese near Mals in the Vienstgau, in revenge for which four hundred Grisons peasants, detained captive at Meran, were put to death. The emperor went to Constance, where a letter from the confederation was delivered to him by a young girl.[1] Peace was, however, far from the thoughts of the emperor, who, dividing his forces, despatched the majority of his troops against Bâle, under the Count von Fürstenberg, whilst he advanced towards Geneva, and was occupied in crossing the lake when the news of Fürstenberg's defeat and death, near Dornach, arrived. The princes, little desirous of staking their honour against their low-born opponents, instantly returned home in great numbers, and the emperor was therefore compelled to make peace. The Swiss retained possession of the Thurgau and of Bâle, and Schaffhausen joined the confederation, which was not subject to the imperial chamber, and for the future belonged merely in name to the empire, and gradually fell under the growing influence of France, A.D. 1499.

OTHER WARS

Some years after the Swiss war, Maximilian was involved in a petty war of succession in Bavaria, A.D. 1504. Disturbances had also arisen in the Netherlands (A.D. 1494), where the people favoured Charles of Gueldres to the prejudice of the Habsburgs. Maximilian's son, Philip the Handsome, at length concluded a truce with his opponent, and went into Spain for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Castile, whose queen, Isabella, had just expired, in the name of her daughter, his wife, Johanna. Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, however, refused to yield the throne of Castile during his life-time, and, in his old age, married a young Frenchwoman, in the hope of raising another heir to the throne of Aragon.

Maximilian beheld the successes of the French monarch in Italy, and Ferdinand of Naples dragged in chains to France, with impotent rage, and convoked one diet after another without being able to raise either money or troops. At length, in the hope of saving his honour, he invested France with the duchy of his brother-in-law, Sforza, and, by the treaty of Blois (A.D. 1504), ceded Milan to France for the sum of two hundred thousand francs. The marriage of Charles, Maximilian's grandson, with Claudia, the daughter of Louis, who it was stipulated should bring Milan in dowry to the house of Habsburg, also formed one of the articles of this treaty, and in the event of any impediment to the marriage being raised by France, Milan was to be unconditionally restored to the house of Austria. The marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand with Anna, the youthful daughter of Wladislaw of Hungary and Bohemia, was more fortunate. Ferdinand of Spain, unable to

[1] On being asked the number of the Swiss, she replied: "There are plenty to beat you; you might have counted them during the battle had not fear struck you blind"; and on an old soldier, stung by the sarcasm, drawing his sword upon her, she said, "If you are such a hero, seek men to fight with." Götz von Berlichingen, who was present, thus describes the emperor: "He wore a little old green coat, and little short green cap, and a great green hat over it." (Quite Tyrolean.)

tolerate the Habsburg as his successor on the throne, entered into a league with France, who instantly infringed the treaty of Blois, and Claudia was married to Francis of Anjou, the heir-apparent to the throne of France. Maximilian, enraged at Louis' perfidy, vainly called upon the imperial estates of Germany to revenge the insult; he was merely enabled to raise a small body of troops, with which he crossed the Alps for the purpose of taking possession of Milan and of being finally crowned by the pope. The Venetians, however, refused to grant him a free passage, defeated him at Catora, and compelled him to retrace his steps. At Trient, Matthæus Lang, archbishop of Salzburg, placed the crown on his brow in the name of the pope, A.D. 1508.

The insolence and grasping policy of Venice had rendered her universally obnoxious. Maximilian had been insulted and robbed by her; Louis dreaded her vicinity to his newly-gained duchy of Milan; whilst Ferdinand, the pope, and the rest of the Italian powers viewed her with similar enmity. These considerations formed the basis of the league of Cambray, A.D. 1508, in which all the contending parties ceased their strife to unite against their common foe. The French gained a decisive victory at Agnadello. Vicenza was taken by the imperial troops, A.D. 1510. The Swiss, who had at first aided Venice, being forced to retreat during the severe winter of 1512, revenged themselves by laying Lombardy waste. Venice, deprived of their aid, humbled herself before the emperor, and the senator Giustiniani fell in the name of the republic at his feet, and finally persuaded both him and the pope to renounce their alliance with France. The new confederates were, however, defeated at Ravenna by the French under Gaston de Foix. The Swiss confederation, gained over by the bishop of Sion, who was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, now took part with the emperor and the pope, and, marching into Lombardy, drove out the French and placed Max Sforza on the ducal throne of Milan, A.D. 1512.

The emperor, although unable to offer much opposition to France in Italy, was more successful in the Netherlands, where, aided by the English, he carried on war against Louis and gained a second battle of spurs at Terouanne.[1] He also assembled a troop of lancers under George von Frundsberg, who besieged Venice, and fought his way through an overwhelming force under the Venetian general, Alviano, at Ceratia. Maximilian entered Lombardy in person (A.D. 1516) with twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Swiss, under the loyal-hearted Stapfer of Zurich, but was compelled to retreat, owing to want of money, and the superior numbers of Swiss in the service of France. Unable to save Milan, he made a virtue of necessity and ceded that duchy to Francis I, who had succeeded Louis. In his old age, he zealously endeavoured to raise means for carrying on the war against the Turks.[2] Anticipating the full co-operation of the European states he struck a medal, in which he was designated as lord of the West and East, and flattered himself with the prospect of again rendering Constantinople the seat of a Christian empire. The pope also entered into his views, sent him a consecrated hat and sword, declared the kingdom of the East an imperial fief, and appointed him generalissimo of the Christian army, which was to consist of Germans and French, while the English, Portuguese, and Spaniards were to furnish a naval armament.

[1] Peter Daniel says, in his *History of France*, "because our cavalry made more use of their spurs than of their swords." The Chevalier Bayard, on perceiving the impossibility of escape, took an English knight, who had just dismounted, prisoner, in order instantly to surrender himself to him. Maximilian, on being informed of this strange adventure, restored Bayard to liberty.

He laid his plan before the diet, and appealed to the states with his usual eloquence; but he was answered by remonstrances against the exactions of the pope; and a considerable sensation was excited by a writing attributed to Ulrich von Hutten, which was circulated among the members, describing the pope as a more dangerous enemy to Christianity than the Turks, and charging the court of Rome with having drained the states of Christendom by annates, reserves, tenths, and other exactions; discussion was deferred to a future meeting.

The same ill-success attended his attempts to secure the election of his grandson. He had already entered into secret negotiations with several of the electors, and Charles had sent into Germany a considerable sum to bribe the electoral college. By these means Maximilian secured the votes of Mainz, Cologne, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg; but he experienced an opposition from Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, who, as one of the vicars of the empire, wished for an interregnum, and the elector of Treves, who was devoted to France. In addition to these obstacles, the nomination of Charles was counteracted by Francis I, who aspired to the imperial dignity, and by the pope, who was unwilling to see the crowns of the empire and Naples united in the same person. In consequence of this opposition, the electors declined the proposal of Maximilian, by urging their usual plea that, as he had not been actually crowned at Rome, they could not infringe the laws of Germany by electing two kings of the Romans, and, having failed in all his endeavours to convince the electors of the validity of the bull of Alexander VI, which declared him as much emperor as if crowned at Rome, Maximilian was obliged to defer his project to a future occasion.

That occasion never arrived. Although no more than fifty-nine, he had long felt his health declining, and for the last four years he never travelled without a coffin, which he was occasionally heard to apostrophise. Soon after his arrival at Innsbruck, where he purposed to regulate the succession to his hereditary dominions, he was seized with a slight fever, which he hoped to remove by exercise and change of air. He accordingly descended the Inn, disembarked at Passau, and with a view to dissipate his melancholy, or to improve his health, proceeded to Wels in Upper Austria, where he amused himself with his favourite diversion of hawking and hunting. But the fatigues of the chase aggravated his complaint, and the immoderate use of melons brought on a dysentery. Being recommended by his physicians to fulfil the last duties of a Christian, he replied, "I have long done so, or it would now be too late." On the arrival of the friar, he sat up in his bed, received him with the most joyful expressions and gestures, and said to the bystanders, "This man will show me the way to heaven." After much pious conversation, during which he would not suffer himself to be called emperor, but simply Maximilian, he received the holy sacrament according to the ordinances of the church. He then summoned his ministers, and executed his testament. He ordered that all the officers of state and magistrates should continue to exercise their functions, until the arrival of one of his grandsons. From a principle of extreme modesty, which he carried so far that he never put on or took off his shirt before any person, he called a short time before his death for clean linen, and strictly forbade that it should be changed. He ordered the hair of his head to be cut off, and his teeth to be pulled out, broken, and publicly burnt in the chapel of his court. As a lesson of mortality, his body was to be exposed to view for a whole day, then to be enclosed in a sack filled with quicklime, covered with white silk and damask; to be placed in the coffin already prepared for its reception, and to be interred in the church of the palace at

Neustadt, under the altar of St. George, in such a situation, that the officiating priests might tread upon his head and heart. He expressed his hope that by these means his sinful body, after the departure of his soul, would be dishonoured and humiliated before the whole world. Having finished this business, he stretched out his hand to the bystanders, and gave them his benediction. As they were unable to conceal their emotions, and burst into tears, he said, "Why do you weep, because you see a mortal die? Such tears as these rather become women than men." To the prayers of the Carthusian he made audible responses, and when his voice failed, gave signs of his faith with his gestures. He died at three o'clock in the morning, on the 11th of January, 1519, in the sixtieth year of his age.*g*

RANKE'S ESTIMATE OF MAXIMILIAN

Maximilian was a man of schemes but not of achievements, full of talents and artistic capacities; a splendid sportsman and shot, a chamois-hunter by habit and inclination; indefatigable, mysterious, and withal popular, so that his person is associated with pleasant memories — but he never did or accomplished a single thing. He was inexhaustible in new ideas; for this reason he acquires much significance for the future of the empire, but not in virtue of direct institutions. The last years of his government lack a commendable orderliness even more egregiously than the first. In the year 1513 he summoned a diet which did not meet at all; in the year 1517 another one certainly met in Mainz, and which may be compared to the diet in Reineke Fuchs, so many were the grievances that poured in. Even the chamber of justice, which had only just been established and in whose proceedings Maximilian incessantly interfered, met with the most violent attacks.

The empire generally was in a state of ferment. Emperor and princes were at variance on every point as regarded their respective rights. Not one institution was really carried into effect. It was still not yet known what estates were immediate and what mediate. In all districts this was a source of many-sided dissatisfaction. The lists[1] which came into existence were for this very reason utterly useless. The nobility, particularly fearful of a widening authority especially in the princely jurisdiction, made alliances with one another or fought for fame and fortune in isolated groups. The cities also were in a state of considerable agitation. Oppression on the part of the princely power, the continual restlessness of the provinces, the restriction on their trade, which nevertheless increased with magnificent rapidity, and a number of internal troubles threw them into commotion. Most dangerous of all however was the profound disaffection amongst the peasantry. Even in the second half of the fifteenth, and almost in every year at the beginning of the sixteenth century we hear of insurrections amongst the peasantry, which were naturally fostered all the more by the fact that the peasants had now learned the art of war; and as they knew as well how to fight as the Swiss, they now claimed the same rights as the latter.

A period full of so much internal unrest as that of Maximilian's reign does not again occur in the whole of German history; even the present time cannot be compared with it. A firm government, which might have stemmed the discontent, had not been established. In these circumstances it was really the religious movement of the Reformation which, by providing the general

[1 "Matrikeln" in the original; the assessments being made from the list of estates and no one knowing which were mediate and which were immediate estates, it is clear that the revenues were imperilled by this state of affairs.]

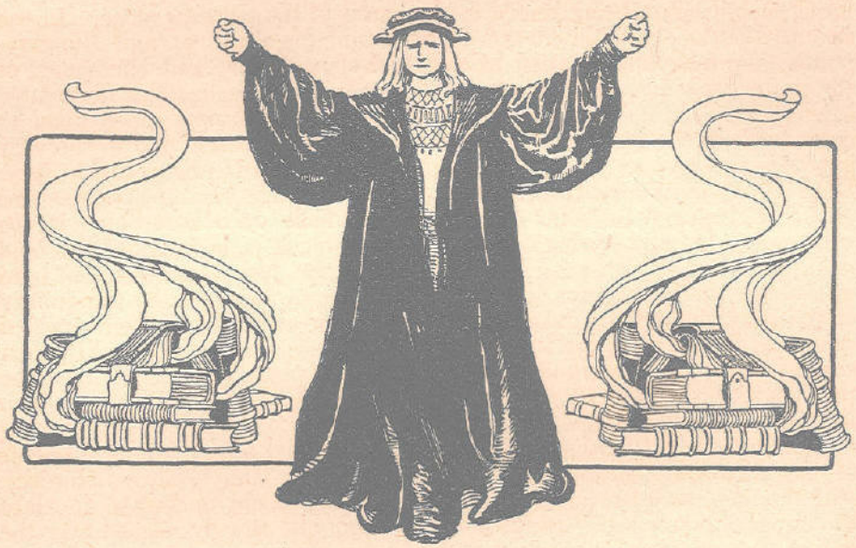
agitation with a new motive power, at once diverted it from the reign of politics and absorbed it in itself.

The glory which surrounds the memory of Maximilian, the high renown which he enjoyed even among his contemporaries, were not won by the success of his enterprises, but by his personal qualities. Every good gift of nature had been lavished upon him in profusion: health up to an advanced age, so robust that, when it was deranged, strong exercise and copious draughts of water were his sole and sufficient remedy; not beauty indeed, but so fine a person, so framed for strength and agility, that he outdid all his followers in knightly exercises, outwearied them in exertions and toils; a memory to which everything that he had learned or witnessed was ever present; so singular a natural acuteness and justness of apprehension, that he was never deceived in his servants; he employed them exactly in the services for which they were best suited; an imagination of unequalled richness and brilliancy. He was a man, in short, formed to excite admiration and to inspire enthusiastic attachment; formed to be the romantic hero, the exhaustless theme of the people.

What wondrous stories did they tell of his adventures in the chase — how in the land beyond the Ens, he had stood his ground alone against an enormous bear in the open coppice; how in a sunken way in Brabant he had killed a stag, at the moment it rushed upon him; how, when surprised by a wild boar in the forest of Brussels, he had laid it dead at his feet with his boar-spear, without alighting from his horse! But above all, what perilous adventures did they recount of his chamois hunts in the high Alps, where it was he who sometimes saved from death or danger the practised hunter that accompanied him. In all these scenes he showed the same prompt and gallant spirit, the same elastic presence of mind. Thus too he appeared in the face of the enemy. Within range of the enemy's fire, we see him alight from his horse, form his order of battle, and win the victory; in the skirmish attacking four or five enemies single-handed; on the field defending himself in a sort of single combat against an enemy who selected him as his peculiar object: for he was always to be found in the front of the battle; always in the hottest of the fight and the danger. The Venetian ambassador cannot find words to express the confidence which the German soldiers of every class felt for the chief who never deserted them in the moment of peril. He cannot be regarded as a great general; but he had a singular gift for the organisation of a particular body of troops, the improvement of the several arms and the constitution of the army generally; the militia of the Landsknechts, by which the fame of the German foot soldiers was restored, was founded and organised by him. He also put the use of fire-arms on an entirely new footing, and his inventive genius displayed itself particularly in this department.

He had a matchless talent for managing men. The princes who were offended and injured by his policy could not withstand the charm of his personal intercourse. "Never," says Frederick the Wise of Saxony, "did I behold a more courteous man." The wild, turbulent knights, against whom he raised the empire and the league, yet heard such expressions from his lips that it was, as Götz von Berlichingen said, "a joy to their hearts; and they could never bear to do anything against his imperial majesty." He took part in the festivals and amusements of the citizens in the towns — their dances and their shooting matches, in which he was not unfrequently the best shot; and offered prizes, damask for the arquebusiers or a few ells of red velvet for the crossbow-men. At the camp before Padua he rode up to a sutler and asked for something to eat. John of Landau, who was with him, offered to

taste the food; the emperor inquired where the woman came from. "From Augsburg," was the reply. "Ah!" exclaimed he, "then there is no need of a taster, for they of Augsburg are God-fearing people." In his hereditary dominions he often administered justice in person, and if he saw a bashful man who kept in the background, called him to a more honourable place. He was little dazzled by the splendour of the supreme dignity. "My good fellow," said he to an admiring poet, "thou knowest not me nor other princes aright." All that we read of him shows freshness and clearness of apprehension, an open and ingenuous spirit. He was a brave soldier and a kind-hearted man; people loved and feared him.[e]



CHAPTER VII

CHARLES V AND THE REFORMATION

[1519–1546 A.D.]

> On one occasion only had the two men stood face to face who split the life of Germany into two halves, the two great opponents who are still fighting to this day in the spirit of that posterity which has sprung from them, the Burgundian Habsburger and the German son of the soil, Emperor and Professor; the one, speaking German only to his horse, the other translator of the Bible and creator of the new German written language; the one, the forefather of those who believe in the Jesuits, original founder of the dynastic policy of the Habsburgs, the other, the predecessor of Lessing, of the great German poets, historians, and philosophers.
>
> It was a desperate hour in the history of Germany when the young Emperor, heir of half the earth, uttered at Worms the contemptuous words: "This man will never make a heretic of me!" for therewith began the struggle between his House and the spirit of national Germany: a struggle during three centuries, with victories and defeats on both sides and an issue predestined.—GUSTAV FREYTAG.

THE imperial throne, now vacant by the death of Maximilian, required a successor. The general agitation throughout Europe, as well as the confusion prevalent in Germany itself, where the Faustrecht [or "law of violence"] appeared immediately after the death of the emperor to resume its sway, demanded a monarch, endowed with energy and consequent power, in order to maintain the necessary equilibrium between the internal and the external government. The war still continued between Spain and France upon the subject of Italy, although neither of these powers possessed the right of decision in the cause of a country which knew not how to govern or even help

[1519 A.D.]

itself, such decision being vested in the hands of the emperor alone. In the east the Turks again threatened to devastate the country; and Hungary, reduced by maladministration as well as by the luxury and effeminacy of the people, was no longer able to serve as a bulwark against this formidable enemy; hence from this quarter likewise the emperor was called upon to come forth as the protector of Europe. In Germany itself, and in the very heart of the empire, feuds were raging with all their ungovernable fury. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, having cause to revenge himself upon the free city of Reutlingen for some offence, fell suddenly upon that place, in the winter of 1519; and having made himself master of it, he continued to hold it in possession as his own. The Swabian League, however, which had been established by the emperor Maximilian, in order to maintain the tranquillity of the land, finding the duke paid no respect or attention to their repeated summons to surrender the town, advanced at once against him, and by their superior force not only regained possession of the place, but pursued the duke throughout his own territories so closely that he was compelled to quit them for safety.

Maximilian had, in the course of his reign, gained several voices in favour of his grandson Charles, already king of Spain; many princes, however, still thought consideration requisite before they could undertake to place the imperial power in the hands of a sovereign who already reigned over the half of Europe; for, as inheritor of the houses of Spain and Austria, Charles possessed, besides Spain and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the beautiful Austrian provinces, and all the patrimonial territories of Burgundy in the Low Countries. If to so much splendid power the additional lustre acquired by the possession of the imperial crown were to be added, it was to be feared — thus the princes thought — that his house might become too powerful, and thence conceive the proud and ambitious project of invading and destroying the liberty of the German princes, and seek accordingly to render the empire, without limitation, hereditary and independent.

From another side again, as his competitor for the imperial crown, came forth to oppose him the king of France, Francis I. The ambassadors from France presented to the assembled princes at Frankfort a document laudatory of their royal master, in which they thus alluded to the danger threatened by the incursions of the Turks: "He must indeed be wanting in understanding who, at a time when the storm has broken forth, should still hesitate to confide the steerage of the vessel to the most skilful helmsman."

Nevertheless, in spite of the confidence with which the envoys spoke, the princes felt the danger of electing a French king to be emperor of Germany; and as the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, to whom they had offered the crown, declined it with the magnanimous observation, in excuse, that the inferior power of his house was not equal to contend with the difficulties of the times, adding even his recommendation to them to elect the young Spanish king instead, the princes after further consideration remembered and admitted that at least he was a German prince, and the grandson of their late revered emperor Maximilian; they decided accordingly in his favour, and elected him to the imperial throne on the 28th of June, 1519. Before the election, however, his ambassadors were obliged by the princes to sign the following conditions; *viz.*, "That the emperor shall not make any alliance, nor carry on any war with a foreign nation, without the approbation of the princes, neither shall he introduce any foreign troops whatever into the empire; that he shall hold no diets beyond Germany; that all offices at the imperial court and throughout the empire shall be conferred upon native Germans;

that in all the affairs of the empire no other language but German or Latin shall be employed; that, in conjunction with the estates, he shall put an end to all the commercial leagues which, by means of their capital, have hitherto held so much sway, and maintained so much independence; that he shall not pronounce the imperial ban against any state of the empire without urgent reasons nor without a proper form of judgment; and, finally, that he shall come to Germany as speedily as possible, and make that country his principal seat of residence." These and other articles being sworn to by the ambassadors in the name of their royal master, they proceeded at once to hasten his arrival in the Germanic Empire.[b]

The great contest had lasted for a year, and the tension it had evoked in Europe was by no means relaxed by its decision; the clash of warring interests had penetrated too deeply into the life of the Powers, and the discord was intensified rather than mitigated by the victory of the Catholic King.

FREDERICK THE WISE
(1463–1525)

It must be conceded that Charles did everything in his power to soothe the apprehensions bound up with his triumph. He seems to have learnt the certainty of his election as early as the 25th of June, by a letter from the elector of Mainz. In the early morning hours of the 6th of July a Flemish secretary delivered to Charles the elector's letters announcing his election. As soon as the momentous news was known all the grandees hastened to the court to kiss the hand of Charles; the nuncio and the ambassadors of England and Venice appeared to congratulate, only the French ambassador held conspicuously aloof. Nevertheless in the course of the next few days Chièvres and Gattinara assured the ambassadors of France and Venice of Charles' desire, now that he had attained so high a dignity, to maintain peace in Christendom, to proceed against the infidels as a good Christian should, and above all to be on terms of good friendship with their two states. "Our king," they said, "loves peace and is prepared to do everything to maintain it." To the pope he was even more gracious. No sooner did he receive from his plenipotentiary in Germany the news of the result of the election than he laid it before the papal legate, and addressed a letter of thanks to the pope, in which he completely ignored all that the latter previously had done to oppose him and spoke of the resignation exercised by the pope at the last moment as a kindness for which he owed him the utmost gratitude. He promised ever to cherish such sentiments towards him that the pope should never regret the kindness which, in his paternal affection, he had shown him.[f]

The Spaniards themselves were discontented at beholding their sovereign invested with the imperial dignity; they feared they might in consequence

be reduced to the form of a secondary kingdom, subject to the rule of arbitrary governors. "What else had the empire now become," they said, "but the mere shadow of an immensely overgrown tree?" In such poor estimation was the ancient and, formerly, so venerated imperial crown now held in foreign countries.

The majority of his councillors advised and warned Charles not to abandon his hereditary kingdom for the sake of a possession so uncertain, and at least difficult to maintain; but his genius saw and acknowledged that this very circumstance paved the way for bold and independent action. It was at this time, whilst he was on his journey to Germany, there to take possession of the crown offered to him, that the important news arrived announcing the acquisition made in his name of a second empire, that of Mexico, then just discovered in the new world.

Charles landed in the Netherlands and continued his journey to Germany. He was crowned on the 22nd of October, 1520, at Aachen, with great pomp and magnificence, and he then appointed the 17th of April of the following year as the day for holding the first imperial diet at Worms. This diet was one of the most brilliant that had ever been held; it was attended by six electors and a numerous body of spiritual and temporal princes. The most famous transaction that occurred on this occasion was the trial of Martin Luther.[b] But the diet was important for other reasons as well. The emperor was just then in a most critical situation. In Spain there was open rebellion and his viceroy was unable to cope with the commons who were abetting it. One of the first things to be done at the diet was to appoint a council of regency to govern Germany while Charles returned to Spain. At the outset the embarrassment of ruling his scattered dominions was apparent, and Charles' chief interest in Germany at the time was in getting from it men and money. As to the latter, Charles inherited from his grandfather little but debts, and he had to borrow 20,000 gulden from Franz von Sickingen, the knight whose castle of the Shrenberg threatened the imperial city where the diet was meeting.

But even of greater importance were the negotiations with the pope. Francis I, the disappointed rival, was threatening Italy, and Leo X (Giovanni dei Medici) was only too likely to be favourable. Besides, the pope felt uncomfortable in the grip of all the Spanish and imperial might which had its hold on the south and the north of Italy. The emperor's need for the alliance of the pope was very great, and not to be influenced by the protest of a German monk. On May 8th, 1521, a treaty was signed between Charles and Leo, which shows where Charles' interests lay at the moment of the Lutheran revolt. Milan and Genoa were to be freed from the French yoke and restored to the feudal dominions of the emperor, and both pope and emperor were to furnish troops and money. The emperor was to send Neapolitan troops to aid the pope in regaining Bologna; and Parma, Piacenza, and Ferrara were to be recovered for him. The pope was to support Charles in Naples against the Venetians — they were to have the same friends and enemies; and lastly, "the emperor was to support the pope against those fallen from the faith." The Edict of Worms against Luther was issued the same day.

There are now two divergent interests in our story — the history of the emperor and his foreign policies, and the narrative of the revolt of Martin Luther. As the latter was destined to influence history far more deeply than the transitory successes of Charles, we leave aside the details of the long world-struggle of the greatest Habsburg for those of the origins of Protestantism. We have already given the main outline of the wars with Francis I

in the history of that monarch, and we turn from the path to the great victory of Pavia and the Treaty of Madrid, to the more genuinely German history of Luther.[a]

THE APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER

Martin Luther, born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483, became a monk in the monastery of the Augustin-Eremites at Erfurt (1505), in consequence of peculiar circumstances; he was early led to Augustinism and the study of the Bible by deep religious requirements, which could find no satisfaction in the mechanism of the church. Removed in 1508 to the Augustine monastery at Wittenberg, he laboured there, in the newly founded university (1502), first as bachelor, from 1512 as doctor, with especial zeal to promote the study of the Bible. He met with much success as a lecturer; by him and some like-minded fellow-labourers the study of theology at Wittenberg was diverted from Aristotle and the schoolmen, to Augustine and Holy Scripture; and denying the sanctity of works, it made its animating central point the doctrine of salvation of man by faith in Christ alone. Such a practical and scriptural turn of mind had often existed silent and still in the church before, and so long as it was not directly assailed in its inmost sanctuary, holding fast its allegiance to an ideal church instead of to the real, it had overlooked the shortcomings of the latter, or excused them on the plea of human imperfectibility. Thus even Luther held fast to the church, without considering the internal difference between his point of view and that of the church; but at the same time his inward religious life and faith attained such rocklike steadfastness that, counting all outward things as nought, he was ready to face every danger and every onset in defence of the saving truth he had recognised.

MARTIN LUTHER

At this time the Dominican Johan Tetzel [Dieze or Diez], as sub-commissary of Albert, the elector of Mainz, began to preach in the borderlands, as it was not allowed him to preach within the Saxon dominions, the indulgence prescribed by the pope for the advancement of the building of St. Peter's church; he sold indulgences with unheard-of exaggeration and incredible effrontery at Jüterbog (or Jüterbock) and Zerbst, not far from Wittenberg. Luther soon discovered in the confessional the corrupting consequences of this. His own words regarding the affair are worth quoting.

LUTHER'S OWN ACCOUNT OF TETZEL AND HIS INDULGENCES

It happened in the year 1517 [he tells us] that a preaching friar, Johann Tetzel by name, came hither, a noisy fellow, whom Duke Frederick had saved from drowning at Innsbruck, for Maximilian had commanded him to be

drowned in the Inn (you may imagine it was for his great virtue's sake).[1] Duke Frederick reminded him of it, when he began to trouble us at Wittenberg; he acknowledged it freely. The same Tetzel now hawked about the indulgence, and sold grace for money, dear or cheap as he best could. At the time I was a preacher here in the monastery, and a young doctor fresh from the anvil, glowing and bold in Holy Scripture. As many people went from Wittenberg to Jüterbog and Zerbst after the indulgence, I (so truly as Christ my Lord hath redeemed me) not knowing what the indulgence was — as, indeed, at that time no one knew — began to preach mildly that men might do better, forsooth, than purchase the indulgence. I had before this, here at the castle, preached to the same effect against indulgence, and had displeased Duke Frederick thereby, for he entertained a great affection for this foundation (which possessed a particularly ample indulgence). Now, to come to the true cause of the Lutheran teaching, I let all go on as it went. However, it comes to my mind how that Tetzel had preached loathsome and fearful articles, which I will now name, to wit: he had such grace and power from the pope that if any man had defiled or impregnated the Virgin Mary he could forgive the sin, as soon as a fitting sum was deposited in the chest. Item, the red indulgence-cross with the pope's banner, erected in the churches, was as efficacious as the cross of Christ. Item, if St. Peter were here now, he could have no greater grace or power than he had himself. Item, he would not change places in heaven with St. Peter: for he had released more souls with indulgence than St. Peter by his preaching. Item, when a coin was placed in the chest for a soul in purgatory, so soon as the penny fell ringing upon the bottom, the soul immediately started for heaven. Item, the grace of indulgence was the very grace whereby man was reconciled to God. Item, there was no need to feel grief, or sorrow, or repentance for sin, if a man bought the indulgence, or the letter of indulgence. Tetzel also sold the right to sin in future time. He pushed his traffic to a fearful extent; everything might be done for money.[b]

A MODERN VIEW OF TETZEL (LEA)

This arraignment of Tetzel by Luther has vast importance as an historical document, quite regardless of any question as to the precise accuracy of the charges therein contained. As to this latter point there has been, as a matter of course, a vast deal of controversy. But so well-balanced an investigator as Lea[j] declares that he sees no reason to doubt the substantive accuracy of Luther's charges. He points out that the *quæstuarii* had been accustomed for centuries to use similar arguments and promises. He cites Balan[m] as authority for the belief that "Arcemboldi, the papal commissioner for North Germany, committed a thousand knaveries and thus assisted in spreading the Lutheran revolt." He believes that Luther was "too shrewd to commence his assault by basing his case on calumnies." He points out, moreover, that Luther virtually took his life in his hands in making this attack, and his inference seems justifiable that Luther was too shrewd a man to have based his cause on lies susceptible of being readily refuted.[a]

[1 Luther is alluding to the story that Tetzel had been condemned to death for seducing a married woman at Ulm, in 1512, but on the intervention of Frederick the Urse, elector and duke of Saxony, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, from which he was later pardoned. Grone in his defence of Tetzel finds the accusation incompatible with Tetzel's high commission, but Lea[j] thinks rather that "no one at that time would have thought of visiting so heavily so trivial an offence."]

LUTHER ROUSES OPPOSITION

On the 31st of October, 1517, Luther affixed to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses drawn up against the sale of indulgences as practised by Tetzel.

Although in his theses Luther assailed only the Thomist doctrine of indulgences, and did not pass on to many others of the schoolmen, still they produced an effect important in the highest degree, and roused the Dominicans especially to oppose them. The spirit of this order was particularly sensitive by reason of humiliations but lately undergone in the case of Savonarola and Reuchlin; and they considered themselves injured in the persons of St. Thomas and Tetzel at the same time. Tetzel at once assailed Luther with counter theses, for the defence of which he obtained the degree of doctor at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Sylvester Prierias wrote against him with similar zeal. Dr. Johann von Eck, vice-chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, united himself with them, and wrote *Obelisci* against Luther's theses. The tenor and the manner of these attacks could not discourage a Luther; they only kindled him into a noble indignation.

The Dominicans carried their complaints to Rome. Leo X, who regarded the whole matter as a mere monkish wrangle, suffered Luther to be summoned before him; but he was easily induced, out of consideration for Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, whom he wished to bend to his views for the approaching election of the Roman emperor, to commission his cardinal legate Cajetan at Augsburg to bring the new heretic to submission. However, this legate, before whom Luther made his appearance at Augsburg in October, 1518, could subdue the humble monk neither by his kindness nor by his threats. Moreover, the monk appealed, from the pope ill-informed to the pope better-informed; and afterwards, when the whole doctrine of indulgence, as developed down to this time, was confirmed from Rome by a bull, he issued an appeal from the pope to a general council (at Wittenberg, the 28th of November, 1518).

Sympathy with the bold champion had long been expressed only in a tone of fear and deprecation; gradually some few voices ventured to encourage him, especially among the humanists, and his associates and fellow-townsmen at Wittenberg; but in the young Melanchthon, who was won over to the Wittenberg school in 1518, he found his most faithful helper in the great work for which he was destined, without as yet knowing it himself. His luminous and edifying works, by means of which he made the subject of controversy intelligible to a larger circle, and contrived to awaken the feelings of the people, with moral and religious addresses in the spirit of Augustine's system, to an inward religion, won for him more and more the hearts of the German nation.

The elector of Saxony was at this time a person of too great importance to the pope, in a political point of view, to be alienated for the sake of an insignificant monk. Leo X sent to him his chamberlain, Karl von Miltitz, with the golden rose, in order to win him over to his views with regard to the election of the Roman emperor, and to come to an understanding with him on the subject of Luther. Miltitz quickly saw upon his entrance into Germany (December, 1518) that nothing could be effected here by force, and so much the less when, on the death of Maximilian I which now followed (January 12th, 1519), the elector of Saxony became regent in northern Germany. He tried with Luther a flattering kindness, and thereby actually obtained, not indeed the recantation he wished for, but still the promise to

be silent if his enemies kept silent, and to declare openly his obedience to the see of Rome. Under existing circumstances Miltitz thought he might venture to be satisfied with this result in this troublesome matter. He rebuked Johann Tetzel, the real author of the difficulty, at Leipsic, with such sternness for his shameless proceedings that he died [so it was said] of fear. Luther gave the promised declarations, and the matter seemed to be brought to an end.[k]

LUTHER BECOMES A HERETIC

The question of indulgences was one that was still open to such university disputations as Luther invited in his theses. It had never been settled authoritatively by the church beyond the bull Unigenitus of Clement VI, which, however, covered but part of the ground. So long as Luther's attack upon abuses was confined to this debatable subject, even so keen an enemy of Rome as Hutten saw nothing in it. It was a great sight, he wrote, to watch the monks tearing each other! The humanists cared little about the whole matter.

But an entirely different question arose in 1519, when Luther turned from such fairly safe matter of controversy in theology to the ground of church history and attacked the primacy of the "bishop of Rome." When he did this, Luther was no longer a theologian, he was a rebel against the institution which for a thousand years had administered the sacraments of salvation. This was the crisis; the theses, tentative and faltering, were as nothing compared to it. It was brought about through a sentence Luther let fall in a defence of his thesis, which he sent to the archbishop of Brandenburg. There Luther stated that the primacy of the bishop of Rome had not existed before St. Gregory's time. This weak spot was at once picked out by Dr. Eck, a famous disputant of the time, who had challenged Luther's cause in the person of his friend Carlstadt. Luther had bound himself to Miltitz to remain silent. He now felt himself absolved from the promise by Eck's attack, and set to work to defend his statement. As he studied church history, and found how often the primacy of Rome had been ignored in the early history, he came to the rather unwarranted conclusion that that primacy had not existed before the great age of Hildebrand. This was the decisive moment. All Luther's friends wanted him to refrain from attack on such grounds. Spalatin, who was the intermediary with the elector Frederick, "was in an agony of apprehension."[1] What was the use of this rebellious attitude? How could evils in the selling of indulgences be bettered by unnecessary statements about the pope's early primacy? By entering upon this new field, Luther was making himself a heretic; but, once convinced, nothing could stop him. His own heroic mood was the source of Protestantism. He wrote that though his friends forsook him, as the disciples forsook Christ, "yet Truth left alone will save itself by its own right hand — not mine, nor yours, nor any man's; but last of all, if I perish, the world will lose nothing."

In this mood he threw down his defiance to the pope, in *De Potestate Papæ*, which contained his point of view for the disputation. The pope's power was not rooted in divine right, he said, but should be accepted as a matter of expediency. It was, therefore, only valid in so far as it justified itself. The church was not the sacerdotal framework of the sacraments, but the "ecclesia" was the faithful; faith would bring all the rest — keys, sacraments, and power. "Last of all, I say that I do not know whether the

[1] Charles Beard: *Life of Martin Luther*

Christian faith can bear it, that there should be any other head of the universal church on earth than Christ himself."

When Luther went to Leipsic to uphold such views against Eck, he was going to the university which had been founded by those who fled from the contamination of John Huss at Prague. The memory of the Hussite wars was still fresh in men's minds; and the terror of the rumbling wagons of Procopius had not yet died out. To go into such a city and openly proclaim such doctrines was certainly the act of a brave man, whatever one may think of his conclusions. But the students of Wittenberg did not propose to let their professor suffer violence. A hundred of them escorted his carriage, armed, and with all the state they could display. The cavalcade that entered Leipsic was sufficiently imposing to ensure as fair a trial as possible. Eck was a skilful debater. The other points in dispute, questions of grace and the Augustinian doctrines of free-will, were comparatively unimportant. The primacy of the pope was the main point. Eck managed to bring Luther to a declaration that several of Huss' doctrines had been unjustly condemned, then that the council of Constance had erred. This was sufficient. Luther was clearly a heretic. He had already denied the final authority of the pope. Now he was driven to refuse that authority to a general council. What was left but individual judgment and its interpretation of divine revelation? Luther stood confessed an anarchist in the church-state. Eck had all he wanted. He went to Rome for the bull of excommunication, while Luther went back to Wittenberg to write against "the Babylonian Captivity of the church," and to appeal to the "Christian nobility of the German nation" (June, 1520) — a trumpet blast of war.

The "Address to the German Nobility" summarises the evils which Germany has suffered through Roman interference. It points out the economic distress that had come through extortions of the papacy for the maintenance of the splendour of the pontifical court. It lashes the misgovernment of bishops with sinecures or plūralities, the arrogance and wealth of the cardinals. It appeals for the abolition of all the economic claims of Rome which, as he saw them, were responsible for so much misery. This stinging attack was not couched in elegant humanistic Latin, but written in plain German. No such work had ever appeared in Europe before. The "Babylonian Captivity" (October, 1520) was, on the contrary, in Latin, though like all of Luther's works soon translated. It rejected the sacramental system and transubstantiation. Only baptism and the Lord's Supper remained true sacraments in Luther's eyes, and as to the latter the presence of Christ was in the bread as fire in hot iron — the substance did not change. The great revolt was now begun. It remained to check it or watch the overthrow of the church in Germany.[a] Luther felt himself summoned as the soldier of God to war against the wiles and deceit of the devil, by which the church was corrupted; and together with this character, which he maintained immovably, he assumed the unconquerable courage, the rocklike trustfulness, and the cheerful confidence with which he steadfastly pursued his aim from this time forth through every danger.

LUTHER DEFIES EXCOMMUNICATION, AND PROCEEDS TO WORMS (1521 A.D.)

As soon as the election of Charles V to the empire was decided by the influence of Frederick the Wise, counteracting the pope's wishes (June 28th, 1519), the curia had no motives of interest to withhold it from proceeding in Luther's case. Accordingly, when Eck betook himself to Rome in 1520, to

carry on his work with the help of the Dominicans, Luther might certainly foresee a sentence of excommunication. However, Frederick the Wise, supported also by Erasmus' opinion, remained determined to protect the most revered teacher of his rising university against unjust violence. But Luther had already found in other parts of his German fatherland most determined friends; several knights offered him refuge and protection against persecution. Thus he was possessed of the outward means for expressing in his works his present acquaintance with the state of the church and its relation to Christian truth. This he did with the most unrestrained boldness in the work, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung* (June, 1520), with reference to the external constitution of the church, and in the *Præludium de Captivitate babylonica Ecclesiæ* (October, 1520), with reference to the Catholic doctrine of sacraments.

The bull of condemnation against Luther, which was prepared in Rome on the 15th of June, 1520, appeared yet more the organ of personal hatred, from the fact that Dr. Eck was entrusted with the publication of it, and arbitrarily extended its application to several of Luther's friends, distinguished by name. In Germany the bull was received with an almost universal antipathy, in some places with resistance. Luther declared it a work of antichrist, renewed his appeal to a general council, and at length, on the 10th of December, 1520, formally abjured the papal see, and at the same time publicly burned the bull, together with the books of the papal law.

A fresh bull of the 3rd of January, 1521, pronounced upon Luther and his adherents sentence of excommunication, with all the penalties enforced against heretics, and of interdict upon their place of residence; the papal legate Alexandro, at the diet of Worms, called in the secular arm to the execution of the decree. But so greatly were circumstances altered by the prevailing excitement, that the diet determined first to hear the men condemned by the pope, and at the same time drew up 101 grievances against the Roman see. Luther proceeded with the emperor's safe conduct to Worms, welcomed everywhere on the way with great respect and sympathy; here he testified before the emperor and the empire, April 18th, 1521, that he could not recant. His courage made a deep impression; but the existing constitution was too powerful; after he had been dismissed in safety, the ban of the empire was passed against him and his adherents on the 26th of May.

LUTHER AT THE WARTBURG (1521–1522 A.D.)

In order to protect him therefrom, the elector had him seized on his return home, and secretly conveyed to the castle of the Wartburg.[b]

Removed from the world and from public intercourse with men; protected from the pursuit of his enemies and the menacing consequences of the ban of the empire, he there under the name of Junker Görg (Younker George) passed ten months, during which he was busied incessantly with the great work of church reform. The governor of the castle with the feelings and sympathy of a friend looked after his maintenance most conscientiously, while at the same time he anxiously endeavoured to prevent his residence there from being discovered and so becoming known to the outside world. Luther was consequently obliged to present an appearance in accordance with the name and rank he had assumed. "I have laid aside the habit of a monk and put on the attire of a knight, and let my beard and hair grow, so that you would scarcely recognise me: in fact I no longer recognise myself." Thus wrote Luther to Spalatin in the same letter in which he informs him of the

experiences and adventures on his homeward journey, and in a letter of the 26th of May to Melanchthon we read: "I have no more to write, for I am a hermit, an anchorite, a real monk, but not with the tonsure or habit of one; I should appear before you as a knight and you would hardly recognise me." Two pages were deputed to serve him; with these exceptions nobody saw him during the first months of his concealment; and even later on he had seldom intercourse with anyone else. On the other hand, he was soon allowed to correspond with his friends, but it appears that the governor at first carefully scrutinised this correspondence. A letter to Amsdorf of the 12th of May contains the following communication, "that he had already lately written to his friends in Wittenberg but had listened to better advice, and torn up all letters, as it had not been safe as yet to write"; and in a later letter to Spalatin we read: "I have scarcely been able to manage to send this letter, because there is so much fear that the public will get to know where I am. Therefore if you think this may be to the honour of Christ let it remain or become doubtful whether friend or foe has me in charge, and keep silence, for it is not necessary that anybody but yourself and Amsdorf should know more than that I am still living."

KNIGHT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In all his letters Luther avoids mentioning his real abode. He writes "out of my desert; out of my hermitage; on the mountain; in the air-preserves; in the region of the birds; amongst the birds who sing on all the trees most sweetly and praise God day and night with all their might." Most of the letters, however, are dated from his "hermitage" or from "Patmos," the name which he preferred later on to give to the Wartburg. Once he tried to deceive his adversaries by a trick as to his concealed place of abode. In a letter to Spalatin he enclosed another which his friend was to lose with intentional carelessness so that it might fall into the hands of his opponents. He particularly wished it to get into the hands of Duke George in Dresden, for the latter would be certain to delight in revealing and publishing the secret.

Luther's sudden disappearance had certainly excited much anxiety and astonishment. Many of his supporters were greatly afraid that his crafty opponents had made away with him; others, however, hoped and wished that he was being concealed by friends. There was in Eisenach, where all sorts of things were told of Luther, a firm belief and report that he had been made a prisoner by friends from Franconia. On the other hand, his enemies and persecutors were soon seized with fear and anxiety lest the excitement of the

people against them should become still more dangerous and violent, and they wished him back again in public life.[a]

LUTHER'S POWER INCREASES

Meanwhile the execution of the sentence of annihilation was crippled by the war in which the emperor was immediately afterwards entangled with France. Only in the dominions of the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, and certain ecclesiastical princes was the Edict of Worms carried into execution, so as to furnish martyrs for the new doctrine, and thereby increase the enthusiasm in its favour. In the rest of the German dominions the edict was not observed, partly because the princes were favourably inclined to Luther's cause, partly because they were withheld through fear of rebellion. At Wittenberg the alteration of the constitution of the church according to the new principles was forthwith commenced, and Melanchthon supplied the new church with the first systematic statement of its doctrines.

It was no cause for wonder that the new and unaccustomed freedom made many men giddy. In Wittenberg a party had existed since the beginning of December, which wished, like the Taborites, to restore suddenly and by force the original simplicity of divine worship. A body of students and townsmen began to hinder the celebration of mass and the chanting of hours, and threatened the barefooted friars. Only the reformer himself, in whom discretion, enthusiasm, and energy were united in such an extraordinary manner, could protect his work from sinking into an empty fanaticism. He suddenly came forth from his concealment in March, 1522; his powerful preaching scared the false prophets, and quieted men's minds. Soon after, he offered to his German fatherland the precious fruit that had grown in his retirement at the Wartburg, his translation of the New Testament, which furnished every man of the people with the means of becoming certain of his faith, and of being able to give a reason for it.

Adrian VI, a pious and earnest man, who mounted the papal throne after Leo X (1522), thought that, the more sincerely he acknowledged and promised to redress the errors which had crept into the external constitution of the church, so much the more decidedly he might venture to claim the execution of the existing law of heresy against Luther's doctrinal errors. But the public declarations which he caused to be made with this end in view, at the diet of Nuremberg (December, 1522), produced no other effect than a fresh and importunate claim for the redress of the grievances of the German nation already repeated so often before. In return for the earliest efforts for reform at Rome, Adrian VI was rewarded with hatred, resistance, and an early death (September 14th, 1523). His successor, Clement VII, immediately returned to the old papal course, and demanded by his cardinal-legate Campeggio, at the diet of Nuremberg (January, 1524), the unconditional suppression of heresy. The legate obtained only an unsatisfactory decree to observe as far as possible the Edict of Worms.[b]

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

Meanwhile a political ferment, very different from that produced by the Gospel, had long been at work in the empire. The people, bowed down by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, bound in many countries to the seigniorial

estates, and transferred from hand to hand along with them, threatened to rise with fury and at last to break their chains. This agitation had shown itself long before the Reformation by many symptoms, and even then the religious element was blended with the political; in the sixteenth century it was impossible to separate these two principles, so closely associated in the existence of nations. In Holland, at the close of the preceding century, the peasants had revolted, placing on their banners, by way of arms, a loaf and a cheese, the two great blessings of these poor people. "The alliance of the shoes" had shown itself in the neighbourhood of Speier in 1502. In 1513 it appeared again in Breisgau, being encouraged by the priests. In 1514 Würtemberg had seen the "league of Poor Conrad," whose aim was to maintain by rebellion "the right of God." In 1515 Carinthia and Hungary had been the theatre of terrible agitations. These seditions had been quenched in torrents of blood; but no relief had been accorded to the people. A political reform, therefore, was not less necessary than a religious reform. The people were entitled to this; but we must acknowledge that they were not ripe for its enjoyment.

Since the commencement of the Reformation, these popular disturbances had not been renewed; men's minds were occupied by other thoughts. Luther, whose piercing glance had discerned the condition of the people, had already from the summit of the Wartburg addressed them in serious exhortations calculated to restrain their agitated minds: "Rebellion," he had said, "never produces the amelioration we desire, and God condemns it. What is it to rebel, if it be not to avenge oneself? The devil is striving to excite to revolt those who embrace the Gospel, in order to cover it with opprobrium; but those who have rightly understood my doctrine do not revolt."

Everything gave cause to fear that the popular agitation could not be restrained much longer. The government that Frederick of Saxony had taken such pains to form, and which possessed the confidence of the nation, was dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might have been an efficient substitute for the influence of this national administration, was absent; the princes, whose union had always constituted the strength of Germany, were divided; and the new declarations of Charles V against Luther, by removing every hope of future harmony, deprived the reformer of part of the moral influence by which in 1522 he had succeeded in calming the storm. The chief barriers that had hitherto confined the torrent being broken, nothing could any longer restrain its fury.

It was not the religious movement that gave birth to political agitations; but in many places it was carried away by their impetuous waves. Perhaps we should even go farther, and acknowledge that the movement communicated to the people by the Reformation gave fresh strength to the discontent fermenting in the nation. The violence of Luther's writings, the intrepidity of his actions and language, the harsh truths that he spoke, not only to the pope and prelates, but also to the princes themselves, must all have contributed to inflame minds that were already in a state of excitement. Accordingly, Erasmus did not fail to tell him: "We are now reaping the fruits that you have sown." The multitude, seeing their desires checked in one direction, gave vent to them in another. "Why," said they, "should slavery be perpetuated in the state, while the church invites all men to a glorious liberty? Why should governments rule only by force, when the Gospel preaches nothing but gentleness?" Unhappily, at a time when the religious reform was received with equal joy both by princes and people, the political reform, on the contrary, had the most powerful part of the nation against it; and while

the former had the Gospel for its rule and support, the latter had soon no other principles than violence and despotism.

Luther, who had rejected the warlike enterprises of Sickengen, could not be led away by the tumultuous movements of the peasantry. He ever firmly maintained the distinction between secular and spiritual things; he continually repeated that it was immortal souls which Christ emancipated by his Word; and if, with one hand, he attacked the authority of the church, with the other he upheld with equal power the authority of princes. "A Christian," said he, "should endure a hundred deaths, rather than meddle in the slightest degree with the revolt of the peasants." He wrote to the elector: "It causes me especial joy that these enthusiasts themselves boast, to all who are willing to listen to them, that they do not belong to us. The Spirit urges them on, say they; and I reply, it is an evil spirit, for he bears no other fruit than the pillage of convents and churches; the greatest highway robbers upon earth might do as much."

The insurrection began in the Black Forest, and near the sources of the Danube, so frequently the theatre of popular commotions. On the 19th of July, 1524, some peasants of Thurgau rose against the abbot of Reichenau, who would not accord them an evangelical preacher. Ere long thousands were collected round the small town of Tengen, to liberate an ecclesiastic who was there imprisoned. The revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity from Swabia as far as the Rhenish provinces, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. In the month of January, 1525, all these countries were in a state of rebellion.

About the end of this month, the peasants published a declaration in twelve articles, in which they claimed the liberty of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes, of slavery, and of fines on inheritance, the right to hunt, fish, and cut wood, etc. Each demand was backed by a passage from holy writ, and they said in conclusion, "If we are deceived, let Luther correct us by Scripture."

The opinions of the Wittenberg divines were consulted. Luther and Melanchthon [1] delivered theirs separately, and they both gave evidence of the difference of their characters. Melanchthon, who thought every kind of disturbance a crime, oversteps the limits of his usual gentleness, and cannot find language strong enough to express his indignation. The peasants are criminals, against whom he invokes all laws human and divine. If friendly negotiation is unavailing, the magistrates should hunt them down, as if they were robbers and assassins. "And yet," adds he (and we require at least one feature to remind us of Melanchthon), "let them take pity on the orphans when having recourse to the penalty of death!" Luther's opinion of the revolt was the same as Melanchthon's; but he had a heart that beat

[1 Philip Melanchthon (Philip Schwarzerd was his German name), a native of Bretten, in the Rhenish palatinate, was born 16th February, 1497. He was the son of an armourer, called "the locksmith of Heidelberg." Melanchthon was not only profound and thorough in his studies, but also many-sided. With his extraordinary natural gifts, and in the condition in which science then was, he found it possible to embrace, in the circuit of his learning, the several faculties of medicine, law, and theology. His decided preference was always for the latter, although he never became an ecclesiastic. In this respect Melanchthon forms a connecting link between Erasmus and Luther. He exhibits a more decided theological tendency than the one, and possesses, on the other hand, a wider culture and greater elegance of style than the other. Erasmus himself highly esteemed the learning of Melanchthon, and publicly testified his appreciation of it. "Immortal God," he exclaims with reference to the youth who had excited his admiration, "what promise is there in this young man, this *boy!* His attainments in both literatures are equally valuable. What ingenuity and acumen, what purity of language, what beauty of expression, what a memory for the most unfamiliar things, what a wide extent of reading!"—HAGENBACH.*e*]

for the miseries of the people. On this occasion he manifested a dignified impartiality, and spoke the truth frankly to both parties.

But the revolt, instead of dying away, became more formidable. At Weinsberg, Count Ludwig of Helfenstein and the seventy men under his orders were condemned to death by the rebels. A body of peasants drew up with their pikes lowered, whilst others drove the count and his soldiers against this wall of steel. The wife of the wretched Helfenstein, a natural daughter of the emperor Maximilian, holding an infant two years old in her arms, knelt before them, and with loud cries begged for her husband's life, and vainly endeavoured to arrest this march of murder; a boy who had been in the count's service, and had joined the rebels, capered gaily before him, and played the dead march upon his fife, as if he had been leading his victims in a dance. All perished; the child was wounded in its mother's arms, and she herself thrown upon a dung-cart, and thus conveyed to Heilbrunn.

At the news of these cruelties, a cry of horror was heard from the friends of the Reformation, and Luther's feeling heart underwent a terrible conflict. On the one hand the peasants, ridiculing his advice, pretended to receive revelations from heaven, made an impious use of the threatenings of the Old Testament, proclaimed an equality of ranks and a community of goods, defended their cause with fire and sword, and indulged in barbarous atrocities. On the other hand, the enemies of the Reformation asked the reformer, with a malicious sneer, if he did not know that it was easier to kindle a fire than to extinguish it. Shocked at these excesses, alarmed at the thought that they might check the progress of the Gospel, Luther hesitated no longer, no longer temporised; he inveighed against the insurgents with all the energy of his character.

Neither gentleness nor violence could arrest the popular torrent. The church-bells were no longer rung for divine service; whenever their deep and prolonged sounds were heard in the fields, it was the tocsin, and all ran to arms. The people of the Black Forest had rallied round Johann Müller of Bulgenbach. With an imposing aspect, covered with a red cloak, and wearing a red cap, this leader boldly advanced from village to village followed by the peasantry. Behind him, on a wagon decorated with ribands and branches of trees, was raised the tricolour flag, black, red, and white — the signal of revolt. A herald, dressed in the same colours, read the twelve articles, and invited the people to join in the rebellion. Whoever refused was banished from the community.

Ere long this march, which at first was peaceable, became more disquieting. "We must compel the lords to submit to our alliance," exclaimed they. And to induce them to do so, they plundered the granaries, emptied the cellars, drew the seigniorial fish-ponds, demolished the castles of the nobles who resisted, and burned the convents. Opposition had inflamed the passions of those rude men; equality no longer satisfied them; they thirsted for blood, and swore to put to death every man who wore a spur.

At the approach of the peasants, the cities that were unable to resist them opened their gates and joined them. In whatever place they entered, they pulled down the images and broke the crucifixes; armed women paraded the streets and threatened the monks. If they were defeated in one quarter, they assembled again in another, and braved the most formidable forces. A committee of peasants was established at Heilbrunn. The counts of Löwenstein were taken prisoners, dressed in smock-frocks, and then, a white staff having been placed in their hands, they were compelled to swear to the twelve articles. "Brother George, and thou, brother Albert," said a tinker of Öhringen to the

counts of Hohenlohe, who had gone to their camp, "swear to conduct yourselves as our brethren; for you also are now peasants; you are no longer lords." Equality of rank, the dream of many democrats, was established in aristocratic Germany.

Many nobles, some through fear, others from ambition, then joined the insurgents. The famous Götz von Berlichingen, finding his vassals refuse to obey him, desired to flee to the elector of Saxony; but his wife, who was lying in, wishing to keep him near her, concealed the elector's answer. Götz, being closely pursued, was compelled to put himself at the head of the rebel army. On the 7th of May the peasants entered Würzburg, where the citizens received them with acclamations. The forces of the princes and knights of Swabia and Franconia, which had assembled in this city, evacuated it, and retired in confusion to the citadel, the last bulwark of the nobility.

But the movement had already extended to other parts of Germany. Speier, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse accepted the twelve articles, and the peasants threatened Bavaria, Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The markgraf of Baden, having rejected the articles, was compelled to flee. The coadjutor of Fulda acceded to them with a smile. The smaller towns said they had no lances with which to oppose the insurgents. Mainz, Treves, and Frankfort obtained the liberties which they had claimed.

An immense revolution was preparing in all the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular privileges, that bore so heavily on the peasants, were to be suppressed; the possessions of the clergy were to be secularised, to indemnify the princes and provide for the wants of the empire; taxes were to be abolished, with the exception of a tribute payable every ten years; the imperial power was to subsist alone, as being recognised by the New Testament; all the other princes were to cease to reign; sixty-four free tribunals were to be established, in which men of all classes should have a seat; all ranks were to return to their primitive condition; the clergy were to be henceforward merely the pastors of the churches; princes and knights were to be simply the defenders of the weak; uniformity in weights and measures was to be introduced, and only one kind of money was to be coined throughout the empire.

Meanwhile the princes had shaken off their first lethargy, and George Truchsess von Waldburg, commander-in-chief of the imperial army, was advancing on the side of the Lake of Constance. On the 2nd of May he defeated the peasants at Beblingen, marched on the town of Weinsberg, where the unhappy count of Helfenstein had perished, burned and rased it to the ground, giving orders that the ruins should be left as an eternal monument of the treason of its inhabitants. At Fürfeld he united with the elector palatine and the elector of Treves, and all three moved towards Franconia.

The Frauenburg, the citadel of Würzburg, held out for the princes, and the main army of the peasants still lay before its walls. As soon as they heard of Waldburg's march, they resolved on an assault, and at nine o'clock at night, on the 15th of May, the trumpets sounded, the tricolour flag was unfurled, and the peasants rushed to the attack with horrible shouts. Sebastian von Rotenhan, one of the warmest partisans of the Reformation, was governor of the castle. He had put the fortress in a formidable state of defence, and having exhorted the garrison to repel the assault with courage, the soldiers, holding up three fingers, had all sworn to do so. A most terrible conflict then took place. To the vigour and despair of the insurgents the fortress replied from its walls and towers by petards, showers of sulphur and boiling pitch, and the discharges of artillery. The peasants, thus struck by their unseen enemies, were staggered for a moment; but in an instant their fury grew more

violent. The struggle was prolonged as the night advanced. The fortress, lit up by a thousand battle-fires, appeared in the darkness like a towering giant, who, vomiting flames, struggled alone amidst the roar of thunder for the salvation of the empire against the ferocious valour of these furious hordes. Two hours after midnight the peasants withdrew, having failed in all their efforts.

They now tried to enter into negotiations, either with the garrison or with the truchsess, who was advancing at the head of his army. But this was going out of their path; violence and victory alone could save them. After some little hesitation, they resolved to march against the imperial forces, but the cavalry and artillery made terrible havoc in their ranks. At Königshofen, and afterwards at Engelstadt, those unfortunate creatures were totally defeated. The prisoners were hanged on the trees by the wayside. The bishop of Würzburg, who had run away, now returned, and traversed his diocese accompanied by executioners. Götz von Berlichingen was sentenced to imprisonment for life. The markgraf Kasimir of Ansbach put out the eyes of eighty-five insurgents, who had sworn that their eyes should never look upon that prince again; and cast this troop of blinded individuals upon the world. The wretched boy who had played the dead march on his fife at the murder of Helfenstein was chained to a post; a fire was kindled around him, and the knights looked on laughing at his horrible contortions.

Public worship was everywhere restored in its ancient forms. The most flourishing and populous districts of the empire exhibited to those who travelled through them nothing but heaps of dead bodies and smoking ruins. Fifty thousand men had perished, and the people lost nearly everywhere the little liberty they had hitherto enjoyed. Such was the horrible termination of this revolt in the south of Germany.[i]

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE

Let us now turn from theological and politico-social disputes to a more peaceful picture—namely, that of the family. Luther's form here appears invested with an entirely new greatness. The quondam monk is revealed to view as a house father and house priest, as the founder of the German parsonage. In June, 1525, amid the storms of the sacramental controversy and the Peasant War, Luther was married to Katharine von Bora. Katharine von Bora (Bore) belonged to the ancient and noble family of the Von Hugewitzes, and in early youth was placed in the noble Cistercian nunnery of Minptschen, not far from Grimma, in Saxony. On the night of Good Friday, April 4th, 1523, Katharine, and eight other young ladies, to all of whom the veil had grown too burdensome, were, not without the knowledge of Luther, abducted from their convent by Leonard Koppe, a burgher of Torgau, assisted by a few of his friends. From Torgau the fugitives proceeded to Wittenberg, where Luther provided for their accommodation. Katharine was received into the house of Philip Reichenbach, the burgomaster. Luther had at first so little intention of marrying her as to take all possible pains to find her a worthy husband. A wooer soon announced himself in the person of Henry Baumgärtner, a patrician of Nuremberg. This individual, however, changed his mind in the sequel; and Luther, after having fruitlessly admonished him that he must make haste if he wished to marry Fräulein von Bora, as another suitor had presented himself in the interval, proposed for her hand, through his friend Amsdorf, in behalf of one Glatz, a preacher of Orlamünde, who had signified his desire to make Katharine his wife. But the lady, with perfect

frankness, declared that she could not make up her mind to bestow her heart and hand upon any save Nicholas Amsdorf or Luther himself. The latter, who a year previous to this, in 1524, had laid aside his monkish habit, thereby plainly declaring his absolution from the vow of celibacy, took the matter into consideration and prayed over it. Having, in his own conscience, become firmly convinced of the propriety of the step which he contemplated, he proceeded without delay to its execution. On the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, June 13th, 1525, accompanied by his friends, Dr. Bugenhagen, the painter Lucas Kranach, and a jurisconsult named Apelles, he repaired to Reichenbach's house and there solicited the hand of Katharine in marriage. She at first regarded his petition as a jest, but speedily betrayed the earnestness of her own desire. Friend Bugenhagen then joined the hands of the contracting parties, and thus accomplished the betrothal at once. A fortnight afterwards Luther gave a marriage entertainment, at which his parents were present.[1] The town councillor of Wittenberg sent him a wedding gift of fourteen measures of different kinds of wine, among which were Malvoisie and Rhine wine. Katharine was twenty-six years of age at this time, and Luther forty-two. Judging from her portrait by Lucas Kranach (to be found, together with that of Luther, in the Museum of Bâle), her face must have been not exactly handsome, but cheerful, prepossessing, and good-humoured. She impresses one as a good German wife and housekeeper.

Notwithstanding Luther's small income he was exceedingly hospitable and beneficent. He kept a free table for poor students. His house was open to all who were oppressed, to every stranger as well as to every friend. He not only frequently recommended poor persons to the elector, or to other beneficent individuals, but he also himself set an example in affording them aid. Upon one occasion when a poor man sought his presence and complained of his destitution, Luther's ready money was exhausted, and his wife was confined to her bed. Not willing, however, to dismiss the man without relieving his wants, the Reformer procured him some money which had been presented to his children by their god-parents, and gave this to the poor fellow. To his wife, who looked somewhat grave when she discovered what her husband had done, he said, "Dear Kate, God is rich, He will give us some more." Wherever he could dry tears, cause joy, create happy faces around him, he did so, and did so for the most part in secret, without regard for reward or thanks. As he was driving once with Doctor Jonas and a few other friends, Luther gave an alms and Jonas did the same. "Who knows," said the latter, "when God will return me this!" But Luther laughed heartily at him, saying, "As if God did not give it to you at the first! We ought to give freely, simply, of pure love, willingly."

This anecdote leads us to Luther's circle of friends, concerning one of whom we must say a few words more. Melanchthon was married before Luther, in November, 1520. The name of his wife also was Katharine. She was a daughter of the burgomaster Jerome Krapp, and was born in the same year with her husband. His wedding day was the only day when the con-

[1 Melanchthon expressed himself concerning Luther's marriage in a confidential letter which shows respect neither for Luther nor for Katharine von Bore. He puts the chief blame for the marriage on the escaped nun who was living with Luther. "Luther," he wrote to Camerar, "is an exceedingly light-minded (*leichtfertig*) man, and the nuns have pursued him with all sorts of devices. At the same time the frequent living with nuns has weakened him, although he is a strong man." Thereby he believes that Luther has fallen into an "inopportune change of life." He hopes, however, that marriage will make him more moral. The letter, in Melanchthon's text, is given in the *Sitzungsberichten der münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1876, 601–604.—JANSSEN.?]

scientious teacher permitted himself to intermit his lectures. His wife is described as simple in her manners, pious, and charitable. Housekeeping cares were often a heavy burden to the professor, on account of his inadequate salary. The good couple frequently deprived themselves of the most necessary articles, in order that they might be able to help the poverty-stricken ones who daily applied to them. The happy father was warmly attached to his children, of whom he had four — two sons and two daughters. Upon one occasion, when a French savant visited the famous "teacher of Germany," he found him with a book in one hand, while he rocked the cradle with the other. In hours of spiritual conflict, he, like Luther, found comfort in his children.

Passing from this glimpse of the quiet domestic life of the Reformers, we must direct our eyes once more toward the field of conflict, again fixing our attention on the cause with which they were occupied.[e]

RELIGIOUS LEAGUES AND THE DIET OF SPEIER (1526 A.D.)

By this time several states of Germany, determined to resist the progress of the new opinions, had constituted a religious league. Their example was soon followed by negotiations of John the elector of Saxony, and the landgraf Philip of Hesse — two of the most powerful princes of the empire, and alike devoted to the cause of reformation. The treaty into which they entered is commonly called the League of Torgau, where it was ratified, May 4th, 1526, although in truth concluded at Gotha in the previous February. Other princes, more particularly those of lower Germany, united in the compact, and on the 12th of June they all agreed at Magdeburg to stand by each other with their utmost might, in case they were violently assaulted "on account of the Word of God or the removal of abuses." In this temper they proceeded to the diet of Speier [also Spires or Speyer], which opened a few days afterwards (June 25th) with fresh discussions on the state and prospects of the German church.

But the resolutions of the empire were again defeated by the obstinate adherence of Charles V to the established usages of Christendom. His failure to comply with the predominating wishes of this diet destroyed, perhaps forever, the religious unity of the German states. The emperor had been entangled on the one side in a quarrel with Clement VII, which terminated in the storming of Rome (May 6th, 1527), and the surrender of the pontiff.[1] On the other side, the fall of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in his efforts to withstand the armies of the mighty Ottoman at Mohács (August 29th, 1526), diverted the attention of the archduke Ferdinand (brother and representative of Charles). The months consumed in gaining his objects proved a breathing-time to the reformers.

NEW DIET OF SPEIER (1529 A.D.) AND THE NAME "PROTESTANTS"

But the storms of war passed over, leaving Charles and Ferdinand at liberty again to vindicate the old opinions. A fresh diet was convoked at Speier, for March 15th, 1529. On this occasion the imperial message, breath-

[1] The state of feeling in the army is illustrated by the following from von Ranke: "Soldiers dressed as cardinals, with one in the midst bearing the triple crown on his head and personating the pope, rode in solemn procession through the city, surrounded by guards and heralds; they halted before the castle of St. Angelo, where the mock pope, flourishing a huge drinking-glass, gave the cardinals his benediction; they even held a consistory, and promised in future to be more faithful servants of the Roman Empire: the papal crown they meant to bestow on Luther."

ing anger and intolerance, added to the flames already burning among the adversaries of the Reformation, and impelled them to resume more vigorous measures. After a sharp struggle the pacific edict of the former diet of Speier (1526), by virtue of which important changes had been consummated in numerous provinces of Germany, was absolutely repealed (April 5th); and the reformers, pleading that such revocation violated both the laws of the empire and the sacred rights of conscience, fearlessly drew up the document[1] which has obtained for them and their posterity the name of *Protestants* (April 19th). The resolution which they manifested at this crisis was indeed remarkable, sufficient even to convince the ministers of Charles V that nothing but the convocation of some free council in Germany itself was likely to compose the multiplying discords.

ERASMUS

The force, however, of such protests was materially abated by contentions in the camp of the reformers. The alienation that grew up between the Saxon theologians (of northern and middle Germany) and the Swiss (including also parts of southern Germany) was peculiarly apparent when the landgraf Philip of Hesse, anxious either to confirm his own belief respecting the Eucharist, or to strengthen the defences of the Reformation in its threatened conflict with the emperor, secured a meeting of the Protestant chiefs at Marburg (October 1st, 1529).

CONFERENCE OF MARBURG (1529 A.D.)

These "princes of the Word," as a contemporary poet calls them, included Luther, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Schnepf, Brenz, Hedio, Osiander, Justus Jonas, Myconius, Johannes Sturm (of Strasburg), and others. Zwingli cleared himself from the suspicions which hung over his orthodoxy respecting the Divinity of Jesus Christ; he also professed his agreement with the Wittenbergers on original sin and the effects of baptism. It was otherwise when the theologians entered on the fifteenth article of the series before them, that relating to the Eucharist. Both parties felt the difference to be fundamental, and they separated, not indeed without assurances of mutual charity, but with a firm conviction that their principles would not allow them to work together.

This fruitless conference is on other grounds remarkable, as giving birth to the first series of dogmatic definitions (fifteen in number), on which the Articles and other symbolical writings of the Lutherans were generally

[1] It proceeded from the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the landgraf of Hesse, and the count of Anhalt. Fourteen of the cities also joined in this protest. In answering the argument of the imperial party with respect to the interpretation of the Bible, they contended that, so long as the church itself was the subject of dispute, the best method of expounding hard texts of Scripture was to call in the help of clearer passages.

modelled. Subscription to the series, as revised and augmented at the convent of Schwabach (October 16th, 1529), was made an indispensable condition of membership in the reforming league.[l]

THE TREND OF POLITICAL EVENTS; THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

During this time the emperor Charles had not been without occupation abroad. He had proceeded from the diet in Worms to the Netherlands and thence revisited Spain, where he remained nearly eight years; his penetrating glance embraced the whole of Europe. His immediate attention, however, was more especially directed to the movements of Francis, king of France, who, as a dangerous neighbour and rival, availed himself of every opportunity to gain some advantage over him. The story of the rivalry of the two monarchs has been told in our histories of Spain and France, and need not be repeated here. After the final humiliation of Francis, in 1529, Charles was prepared to make his first visit to his Italian states.[a] He landed in August, 1529, in Genoa, and continued his progress on to Bologna with the pomp worthy of an emperor. Here he had appointed a meeting with Pope Clement, which took place in great solemnity. The former enmity was altogether forgotten; the emperor, following the example of his ancestors, dropped on his knee and kissed the foot of the holy father, and the latter solemnly crowned him emperor and king of Lombardy.

Thus was celebrated the coronation of the greatest and most powerful monarch who had borne the crown since Charlemagne, and who was, likewise, the last emperor to visit Italy. Charles appeared now to the Italians, who had only known him hitherto as a prince to be dreaded, in the character of a mild and noble ruler, and their fear was changed into the most sincere veneration. The emperor would not even retain Milan for himself, but, before he left Italy, restored it into the hands of Francesco Sforza, who received it as a fief of the empire.

In the following year, 1530, the grand diet was held in Augsburg, to which the emperor himself repaired from Italy as he had announced. Even before he arrived, he was met on the road by several deputies from both parties, who sought to gain his preference; he referred them, however, to the approaching diet itself, without declaring his sentiments on the subject. On the 22nd of June, in the evening, he made his entry into the city with great pomp, surrounded by the numerous electoral and other princes and nobles. No longer now the young and inexperienced prince, as when ten years before he first appeared in Germany, the emperor at this moment stood unrivalled by any contemporary monarch, unsurpassed by his predecessors since the dominion of the great Charlemagne, and admired universally for his distinguished qualities. In Francis I of France he had humbled one of the most haughty and ambitious of his foreign enemies, and Rome itself had not been able to withstand his mighty power. His noble figure and dignified carriage produced their imposing effect upon all — whether friends or foes — who approached his presence. Melanchthon, who had come to Augsburg in the suite of the elector of Saxony, thus expresses himself in a confidential letter upon the subject of the emperor: "But the individual most worthy of remark in this assembly is certainly the emperor himself. His uninterrupted success has no doubt excited wonder even in your country; but far more to be admired is his great moderation, amidst all this good fortune, which seems to come at his bidding, for neither by action nor word does he indicate in the slightest degree the effect it may have upon his feelings."

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530 A.D.)

In spite, however, of the veneration with which the emperor's personal character was regarded, the preponderance of his own power, and that of the Catholic princes generally, the Protestant princes, who were all present, maintained their ground of opposition with so much determination and firmness that they succeeded in effecting their object even in matters of merely external ceremonies of worship, and obliged him to revoke several of his edicts. Thus when he had ordered that all the princes present should join in the celebration of the festival of Corpus-Christi-day (the day after his arrival), the whole number of German princes, mounting their horses at dawn of day, proceeded in solemn state to the palace, where, demanding an audience of the emperor, they firmly declared they would not attend; and he found it expedient to abandon his purpose. With equal resolution they protested against the ordinance prohibiting their clergy from preaching in Augsburg, and withdrew only after he had revoked it and substituted another, in which he ordered that no sermon should be preached on either side, and that on Sundays the gospel and epistles alone should be read.

At the head of the rest of the Protestant princes was John, elector of Saxony, a man whose remarkable zeal and firmness in the cause of reform acquired for him the surname by which posterity has distinguished him. When even threatened by the emperor with his refusal to invest him with the enfeoffment of the electorate of Saxony, as yet not conferred, he still maintained his position. This prince possessed a simple but resolute mind, which, when once under the influence of conviction, was impressed by no fear, regardful of no sacrifice. At the same time, he did not conceal from himself the fact that with his inferior power it must be impossible for him to contend against the mighty and preponderating force of the emperor; but the question he put to himself was whether he should renounce "the almighty power of God or the world;" the answer to which removed all doubt from his mind and heart. He was likewise much encouraged and confirmed in his conviction by the letters of Luther, who, on account of the ban still in force against him, was able to proceed only as far as Coburg, from which place he watched with the greatest anxiety and expectation the important proceedings that were taking place in Augsburg; but, at the same time, with an indomitable resolution inspired by his faith and zeal in the great cause. It is said that at this time he composed his beautiful hymn *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott* (A mighty fortress is our God). When now the question of the religious disputes was at length discussed before the diet of Augsburg, the Protestant princes laid before the assembly their confession of faith, exhibiting in succinct but comprehensive language all the articles in which the new church differed from the old. This was completed by Melanchthon from the seventeen articles prepared by Luther at Schwabach, and from other writings which the Protestant princes had brought with them; thus was produced the Augsburg Confession which from that moment has formed the basis of the Protestant church. It was read publicly before the diet by Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony, on the 25th of June, and its reading occupied several hours.[b]

The general tone of this confession is humble, modest, and apologetic; yet so violent were some of the opponents of the Reformation, who had listened to the reading of it, that they urged the emperor to gird on his sword immediately and execute the Edict of Worms. Instead of this, however, Charles adopted the advice of the more moderate members of his party. He directed a committee of divines, then present at Augsburg, four of whom, Cochlæus,

Eck, Wimpina, and Faber, were among the ablest champions of scholasticism, to write a confutation of the Lutheran document. Their answer was eventually recited before the diet on the 3rd of August; and soon after, on the opening of a conference (August 16th) between the leading theologians of each party, many of the serious differences on points of doctrine were so far adjusted that the rest appeared to those engaged in it no longer incapable of reconciliation. Such hope, however, weakened by the opposition of the sterner Lutherans, vanished altogether when Campeggio, the papal legate, reasserted all the strongest arguments in favour of the jurisdiction of the Roman church.

Warrior of the Sixteenth Century

Inflamed by his representations, and more conscious as the interviews proceeded that real harmony was unattainable, the diet finally issued another edict enjoining the reformers, at least until a council could be summoned, to appoint no more married priests, to practise auricular confession with the same minuteness as in former years, to abstain from mutilations of the canon of the mass and from all language tending to disparage private masses, and even to acknowledge that communion in one kind is quite as valid as in both. A threat was at the same time suspended over them, importing that if they continued firm in their resistance after May 5th, 1531, the unreforming states would instantly adopt coercive measures.

The necessity of acting still more vigorously in self-defence now led to the formation of the Smalkaldic or Smalcaldic League (March 29th, 1531), by which the Protestants bound themselves for six years to help each other in maintaining the distinctive ground which they had occupied in the Augsburg confession. They next endeavoured to fortify their position by political alliances with France, and other powers antagonistic to the house of Austria.[1]

FERDINAND CHOSEN KING OF THE ROMANS

Meantime the emperor, on leaving the diet of Augsburg, had proceeded to Cologne, where he summoned the electoral princes to meet him. He there proposed to them that they should select, as king of the Romans, his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had already ceded his hereditary lands in Austria — and who since the extinction of the royal house of Bohemia and Hungary, in the person of Louis II, who was killed when fighting against Suleiman II, in the battle of Mohács, in 1526, had acquired the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, by the rights founded upon ancient treaties of inheritance — in order that he might be enabled to maintain good order throughout the empire during the frequent absence of the emperor. The electors consented, and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen); the elector of Saxony, who caused his protestation against this election to be handed in by his son, and the dukes of Bavaria, who had for a long time been jealous of the power of the Austrian house, and who on this occasion joined in alliance with their enemies in

matters of religion, the princes of the Smalkaldic League, were the only two parties who made any opposition, and refused to acknowledge Ferdinand.

The new king of the Romans was extremely desirous of preserving tranquillity in Germany, as his new kingdom of Hungary was at this time hard pressed by the Turks, and his chief source of assistance must be derived from the German princes. The Protestants, however, refused to give their co-operation until peace had been secured to them in their own country, and its continuance sworn to be maintained. The emperor accordingly now concerted fresh measures, in order to promote a state of union, and at length, after the most warm and urgent exhortations from Luther in favour thereof, they produced the provisionary religious Peace of Nuremberg, in 1532. The emperor declared, in contradiction to the opinion of the Catholic majority, that, in virtue of his imperial power, he would establish a general peace, according to which no person should be attacked or condemned on account of his faith, or any other religious matter, until the approaching assembly of the council, or the meeting of the estates of the empire. Nay, he promised likewise to suspend all proceedings taken by his imperial chancellor in matters of faith against the elector of Saxony, until the next council.

The subsidiary troops against the Turks were now collected and formed an army of such force as had not been produced for a length of time, the Protestant princes and cities themselves sending very large contributions. The danger appeared, indeed, extremely urgent, for the sultan had advanced with a force of three hundred thousand men to attack the Austrian territories from four points; and to oppose him the emperor had only seventy-six thousand men at command. However, the first attempts they made very soon showed the Turks with what men they had to deal. Ibrahim Pasha, who led the vanguard, considered he was bound for honour's sake to punish the little town of Güns, in Hungary, which to his mortification had closed its gates against him, thinking that it would easily fall into his hands on the first assault; but its brave commandant, Jurischtisch, with his small garrison, repulsed all his attacks, and kept him before the walls for the space of a fortnight. At this sudden and unexpected check upon his march, Suleiman calculated what the great city of Vienna might cost him, especially as now the emperor had come to its aid; and perceiving, in addition, that the German princes, whom he thought to find in a state of dissension, had now become reunited, he resolved at once to sound a retreat. Thus the whole of Europe, to its great surprise, saw the great Suleiman quickly abandon an expedition which it had cost him three years to prepare.

The emperor was now enabled to turn his attention to other affairs, and proceeded, first of all, to Italy, for the purpose of arranging with the pope upon the subject of the convocation of the grand council. But he found that the pope was by no means in earnest about the matter, neither was it, at this time, at all desired by the papal court; and Charles accordingly departed for Spain without doing anything.

THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM; THE ANABAPTISTS

During the absence of the emperor in Spain, and whilst Ferdinand was engaged in employing all his means to establish his dominion in Hungary, the doctrine of the reformers spread more and more in Germany, and party spirit daily increased. The Protestants went so far, in the year 1534, as to declare to the imperial chamber that they would no longer obey its decrees; because contrary to the conditions of the Treaty of Nuremberg, it pronounced

judgment against them in cases which referred to the restitution of confiscated church property; and which proceeding rendered completely invalid the laws for the perpetual peace of the country as established by the emperor Maximilian.

Another subject of dispute was the territory of Würtemberg. Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, had, just after the death of Maximilian, and before the election of Charles V, been driven out of his country by the Swabian League, on account of a feud which had existed between him and the town of Reutlingen. The league ceded the land, which was burdened with a heavy debt, to the emperor, and the latter transferred it, in 1530, to his brother Ferdinand, together with his Austrian states. It appeared now as if that country was destined to form forever a portion of the Austrian possessions; but the deposed duke, who was now wandering through the empire a fugitive, seeking to enlist his friends in his cause, found at length a protector in his relation Philip, landgraf of Hesse. Ulrich had already adopted the Lutheran faith, and Philip now formed the determination to re-establish him in his possessions even by force of arms. He accordingly raised an army of twenty thousand men, marched unexpectedly into the very heart of Würtemberg, defeated the Austrian governor of the country at Lauffen, in 1534, and restored the reconquered duchy to Ulrich. It was expected that this bold act would produce a sanguinary war; but this time the storm passed over. Charles and Ferdinand were both too much occupied elsewhere to augment their already extensive power by the addition of a foreign country; whilst, on the contrary, the other members of the Smalkaldic League, who had taken no share in this act of the landgraf, endeavoured to bring the matter to a peaceful adjustment. Thence was effected, under the mediation of the elector of Saxony, the Peace of Cadan in Bohemia, by which Duke Ulrich received back his land as an arrière fief of Austria; the religious peace as signed at Nuremberg was confirmed, and Ferdinand was formally acknowledged Roman king by the elector of Saxony and all his family. And in order to maintain at least the imperial sovereignty, it was decided that the landgraf and Duke Ulrich should ask pardon of the emperor personally, and of the Roman king by deputy, for having disturbed the peace of the land.

Another circumstance occurred which threatened important and serious results, but still did not interrupt definitively the peace of the empire — *viz.*, the contentions of the anabaptists in Münster, in 1534 and 1535. The principles of Thomas Münzer upon Christian liberty and equality, and upon the community of possessions, as well as upon his faith in immediate divine revelations, were not as yet eradicated, and had still been preserved, especially in Holland, among the so-called anabaptists. They demanded that mankind should do penance and be baptised anew in order to avert the wrath of God. Two of their fanatic preachers, Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, and a tailor, Jan Bockhold or Bockelsohn, of Leyden, proceeded, in the early part of the year 1534, to Münster, at the time that an ecclesiastic, called Rothmann, had just introduced the doctrine of Luther; they gained him over to their sect likewise, and with the aid of the populace and other anabaptists from the vicinity, drove out of the city all the wealthy citizens, created fresh magistrates, and established a community of possessions. Each person was required to deposit in a general treasury all he possessed, whether in gold, silver, or other precious articles, whilst the churches were despoiled of their ornaments, pictures, and images; and all the books they contained, except the Bible, were publicly burned. Everywhere, as in all such scenes of fanaticism, the most licentious acts were committed, and passions the most violent and brutal

raged throughout the city. Under the sanction of their creed of Christian liberty, each man was authorised to take to himself several wives, and their chief, John of Leyden, set the example by marrying three at once. Finally, one of his partisans, who made a boast of having especially received a divine communication, John Dusentschur of Warendorf, saluted him as king of the whole globe, and as such appointed to restore the throne of David; and twenty-eight apostles were selected and sent forth to preach this doctrine to the whole world, and to bring the inhabitants thereof to acknowledge the newly appointed king. These agents, however, wherever they arrived, were immediately seized as rebels and executed.

The bishop of Münster, supported by the landgraf of Hesse, and several other princes, advanced, in the year 1534, with a large army against the city. In the first assault, however, that they made on the 30th of August, they were repulsed most valiantly by the fanatic anabaptists; but the more slow and not less fatal attacks of famine, to which the latter were gradually reduced by the besiegers, who cut off the supplies, could not be overcome. Want increased from day to day, and diminished more and more the zeal of the people. The new king resolved to establish his royal authority more firmly by terror, and even beheaded one of his wives with his own hand in the public market-place, because she gave vent to the expression that she could not possibly believe that God had condemned such a mass of people to die of hunger, whilst the king himself was living in abundance. At length, however, after a great number had really perished through starvation, two citizens led the bishop's troops, on the night of the 25th of June, 1535, into the city; and after a sanguinary battle, John of Leyden, and his executioner, Knipperdolling, together with his chancellor, Krechting, were made prisoners, and having been publicly exhibited in several cities of Germany as a spectacle, they were tortured with burning pincers and put to death by having their hearts pierced with a red-hot dagger. Their bodies were then placed in iron cages, and suspended from the steeple of the church of St. Lambert, in the market-place of Münster, and the form of Catholic worship and the authority of the bishop were immediately re-established in that city.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHARLES V

Meantime the emperor had proceeded upon an expedition the results of which crowned him with lasting honour and fame. A pirate, Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, born of obscure parents in the island of Lesbos, but one of the most daring and extraordinary men of his day, had established himself on the north coast of Africa. To join him in his depredations he had gained over a numerous body of Moors, who, driven out of Spain by King Ferdinand the Catholic, burned with the desire of revenging themselves upon the Christians; and thus strengthened, this desperate pirate infested the Mediterranean seas in every direction. His cruelty and audacity rendered him the terror of all the inhabitants along the coasts; whilst in the African peninsula he held in his possession Algiers and Tunis, and the Turkish sultan, Suleiman himself, had confided to his charge the whole of his fleet, in order to employ it against the Christians, of whom already some thousands languished as captives in the hands of the barbarians.

As protector of entire Christendom, Charles felt he could no longer endure the existence of such outrage and cruelty, especially as the fugitive and rightful king of Tunis, Hassan, had come to him for protection. He embarked, therefore, with an army of thirty thousand men, including eight thousand

German troops, under the command of Count Max of Eberstein, and a fleet of five hundred vessels, the latter being under the orders of Doria, and the army commanded by the emperor himself in person and the marquis de Vaston. They arrived before Tunis in the summer of 1535, and captured the citadel of Goletta, which defended the port, on the first assault; all the ammunition was seized, and more than two thousand Turks put to the sword. The army of Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, which was drawn up ready for battle on the plain in front of the city, was attacked at once and completely put to rout. The victorious troops now took possession of the city, and proceeded immediately to open the prisons of their suffering fellow Christians; and Charles, to his inexpressible joy, was enabled to set at liberty no less than twenty-two thousand of these objects of severe oppression, who now, with tears of joy and gratitude, were restored to their relations and friends. The emperor himself declared that glorious day to be one of the most happy and delightful of his entire life. His fame spread far and wide throughout every country; and this he truly merited by the courage and perseverance he had evinced in this perilous but heroic undertaking; whilst, at the same time, he proved by his example how easily these barbarian corsairs of the African coasts might, with a bold and resolute spirit, be overcome. He restored the fugitive king, Hassan, to his throne of Tunis; but, at the same time, prohibited him from all capture or imprisonment of Christian slaves, and as a pledge of his obedience the emperor retained possession of the citadel of Goletta. Khair-ed-Din, after his defeat, had fled to Algiers, whither Charles resolved to pursue him in the ensuing year.

A fresh war, however, with the king of France prevented him from executing this intention. This prince, on the death of Francesco Sforza, had renewed his claims to Milan, and in order to ensure for himself an open road to Italy, he unexpectedly attacked and took possession of the duchy of Savoy, upon whose duke he also made claims. Charles saw at once the necessity for war, and resolved to fix the scene of contest in the south of France. Unwarned by the disastrous results which attended his first expedition, under the duke de Bourbon, he undertook another in 1536, and having advanced as far as Marseilles he once more laid siege to that city. He however found that it was much too strongly fortified to hold out any chance of success, whilst the whole of the neighbouring country was laid waste by the French themselves; whence want of supplies and disease forced the emperor, after having remained two months before the place, to withdraw his troops and make as good a retreat as he could, but in which he nevertheless lost much of his ammunition and luggage.

By the mediation of the pope, a suspension of arms, during ten years, took place in Nice, in the year 1538, and soon afterwards the two monarchs had an interview at Aigues-Mortes, on the Rhone. The proposal for this meeting was first made by the king of France; and although the imperial council considered it unsafe for the emperor to trust himself upon French ground, Charles, notwithstanding the doubts they expressed, resolved, were it even for the novel and extraordinary nature of the project — to him so pleasing — to accept the invitation. When he arrived in the harbour the king himself embarked in his state barge to receive him, and conducted him ashore. Here a splendid dinner was prepared and served up, which was followed by a grand fête, at which the royal personages presided until midnight. On the following morning the dauphin himself attended upon the emperor and handed him the water and towel for his toilet, and, indeed, both sides rivalled each other in marks of mutual friendship and civility. And in

CHARLES V AND FRANCIS I IN THE CHURCH OF ST. DENIS, JANUARY, 1540

(From the painting by Gros)

all this there was no hypocrisy; they were both desirous of a lasting peace, and in the following year, 1539, Francis gave an additional proof of his good intentions and sincere wishes. The city of Ghent, in Flanders, owing to some new impost, had risen in revolt against the emperor Charles, and offered to place itself under the protection of the king of France; but the latter immediately communicated the circumstance to the emperor himself, and proposed at the same time, in order to reach the scene of contention in Flanders with more expedition, that he should take the shortest route from Spain through France.

This offer was accepted by Charles without any mistrust, and as he proceeded on his journey through the kingdom he was everywhere received with the greatest honours, and at every city or town he entered the keys of each place were presented to him, whilst in Fontainebleau, where the king had previously arrived, he was detained by magnificent fêtes during the space of an entire fortnight, and when he reached Paris he was equally well entertained during another week. His presence in Ghent very soon appeased the rioters; and whilst he was still there, Charles received the most urgent appeals from Germany, hoping that he would quickly reappear in that country, where his presence was become more necessary than ever, in order to put down the disorders which had daily increased.

He acceded to their wishes and, in the year 1541, presided at the diet of Ratisbon. On this occasion, and subsequently for several years, he endeavoured by writings, religious discussions, and his own persuasive eloquence to reunite the contending parties; and, at the same time, the maintenance of internal peace in Germany was the desire and aim of his government, as well as the necessary principle of his reign, threatened as he was on the one hand by invasions from the Turks, and forced on the other hand to carry on wars with the French.

Charles quitted the diet at Ratisbon, and proceeded to Italy, whence he set out on his expedition to Algiers, as previously determined upon. His enterprising mind, ever delighting in new and brilliant exploits, aspired to the realisation of a project, at once grand and commensurate with his powers — the annihilation of the corsairs of the barbarian states of Africa; the accomplishment of which he now felt himself especially called upon to effect, inasmuch as the audacious Barbarossa had again excited general indignation by his recent piracies on the coast of Spain. This new expedition, however, commenced under very unfavourable circumstances; the season for the navigation of the Mediterranean had already become extremely tempestuous, and the experienced admiral Andrea Doria himself prognosticated a disastrous voyage. Charles, however, would not consent to its being postponed, and they accordingly set sail. The fleet arrived on the 20th of October, 1541, before Algiers, and the troops were forthwith landed. Towards the evening, however, before the artillery, baggage, and provisions could be brought on shore, a tremendous gale arose, and did much damage to the ships, several of which were wrecked on the coast.

All thoughts of conquering Algiers were of course abandoned, and the grand object now was the preservation of the army; for the light cavalry of the Turks made their appearance on the following day and pressed hard upon the ranks of the jaded troops. In this trying and dangerous moment, however, the emperor Charles displayed the energy and perseverance for which, as a warrior, he was ever distinguished. During a march of three entire days, through water and mud, he led his troops, amidst the harassing attacks of the enemy, along the whole extent of the coast as far as the bay

of Metafuz, where the remnant of the dispersed fleet had assembled. Without distinction he shared with his common soldiers the most severe privations and fatigue, and thence it was that he succeeded in reviving their spirits and stimulating their courage, till at length they reached their destination and re-embarked. The emperor set sail for Italy, where, having arrived safely, he disembarked, and proceeded at once to Spain.

The king of France had availed himself of Charles' absence in order to renew hostilities. All his experiments of friendly understanding with Charles did not suffice to banish from his recollection the duchy of Milan; and now he thought the moment had arrived when he must succeed in reconquering it, and for this purpose he renewed his alliance with the Turks. Whilst, therefore, Charles, after his return from Algiers, sought a little repose from the fatigues of that sad expedition, Francis forthwith entered the field against him; the incapacity of his generals, however, when brought to compete with the experience and superiority of the Spanish leaders, combined with disease and the scarcity of supplies for the troops, operated so much against him that the whole of his five armies could effect nothing in the first campaign, and they were forced to return home dispirited and disappointed.

CHEVALIER IN HALF ARMOUR

In the following year, 1543, Charles set out for Italy, and thence, suddenly crossing the Alps, proceeded to the lower Rhine, where the duke of Cleves had made an alliance with Francis I; and this prince, who had recently begun to encourage the doctrines of Luther, was selected as the first to feel the imperial authority. The appearance of the emperor in this country was quite unexpected. It was reported among the people that he had been shipwrecked on his return from Algiers and had perished. Believing this statement, they treated the news of his arrival in Germany as a mere fable. The garrison of the small town of Düren, on being summoned by Charles to surrender, replied: "They were no longer in dread of the emperor, as he had long since become food for the fishes." When, however, the Spaniards scaled the walls, cut down all before them, and set fire to the town, alarm and terror spread throughout the whole country. They said the emperor had brought with him a species of wild men, half black and half brown, with long, sharp nails at their fingers' ends, which enabled them to climb the loftiest walls, together with huge teeth with which they tore everything asunder.

It is unnecessary to say that the beings thus marvellously described were no other than the old warriors of Charles, who, by constant exposure to the sun, had become dyed completely brown, and reckless of all danger, when making an assault on a fortified town, usually fixed their daggers or lances in

the fissures of the walls, and thus formed for themselves the means of ascent to the ramparts. The terror, however, which their appearance created very soon brought under subjection the entire country; and the duke of Cleves was obliged humbly to sue for pardon on bended knee. This was granted to him by the emperor, but under the condition that he should not forswear his religion; that whatever changes he had introduced should be immediately abolished, and the original regulations re-established, and that he should not enter upon any alliance in opposition to the emperor.

No action or engagement of any importance took place with the French this year; but for the ensuing one Charles collected a very large army, and after he had held a new diet in Speier, in the winter of 1543, and had secured to himself the co-operation of all the German princes, he marched in the following spring into the enemy's country at the head of a numerous body of chosen troops. The flower of this army consisted of thirty thousand Germans, the result of the good understanding which the emperor had established at this last diet between himself and the Protestant princes, and more especially the elector of Saxony and the landgraf Philip. The first place he took was St. Dizier, whence he marched direct for Paris; and having taken possession of Épernay and Château-Thierry, he was within a march of only two days from the capital, whence the inhabitants, already alarmed at his approach, took to flight. Now, however, Francis made proposals of peace, which the emperor accepted at once, being anxious for a reconciliation with his rival, as affairs in Germany grew more and more complicated, and, on the 24th of September, 1544, the Peace of Crespy was signed — the last that Charles signed with the king of France. By this treaty little alteration was made in the main points of dispute; as before, Burgundy remained in the possession of France, and Milan was retained by the emperor. Francis, however, pledged himself this time to support the emperor, not only in checking the Turks but in restoring the unity of faith.[b]

INTERNAL CONDITION OF GERMANY

Although the times were stormy and agitated, and party strife threatened to divide the nation against itself, yet industry and commerce still remained in a satisfactory condition. The Hansa, it is true, went under because it was wanting in public spirit and patriotism; but on the other hand the traffic of the south German cities increased considerably, one of their most flourishing branches of industry being the manufacture and export of linen goods. Not only in the cities but also in the rural districts both men and women were engaged in this useful industry and earned a bountiful living. The wares found their way into all parts of the world and amongst others over the Alps into Italy, while through Frankfort they were forwarded northwards. In order that the industry might receive the greatest possible stimulus, capitalists formed themselves into companies to provide the necessary funds for the manufacture. In the district round the Lake of Constance and in Swabia, many of the peasants devoted the winter season to the preparation of yarn and to weaving. As, besides this branch of industry, precious metals, dyes and hardware were exported, the active commerce remained considerable.

Nuremberg and Augsburg displayed the greatest commercial energy, and were the richest of the imperial cities and the centres of industrial life. Augsburg was not only at the head of the trade with Italy, but also exported goods on its own account direct to the East Indies. The profits were so great that the emperor Maximilian I was astounded at the prosperity of his free city of

Augsburg, where amongst others the rich family of the Fuggers rose from the position of mere linen merchants to the rank of princes. In Nuremberg, on the other hand, the growth of commerce and industry was accompanied by that of the fine arts. Pre-eminent among his compeers towered the celebrated painter Albrecht Dürer, who was justly admired in his own country and abroad, for his works displayed above everything the German vigour and exalted dignity of the national artistic genius. At his side stood the excellent sculptor Adam Krafft and the master-founder Peter Vischer; the latter's masterpiece, the tomb of St. Sebaldus, still exists in Nuremberg, while extant works of the former artist testify to the originality of his creative genius. The ancient imperial city was proud to include besides these the glass painter Veit Hirschvogel and the artists Lindenast and Veit Stoss among her citizens.

ARTISAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In Saxony there was brisk rivalry with the cities of southern Germany in the growth of commerce, industry, and the fine arts, the mainspring of which was the productiveness of the mines, which continued to yield precious metals in abundance. While the old mineral veins of Freiberg maintained their ancient fame, new ones were started near Marienberg which were extraordinarily productive. Even in the Fichtelgebirge the gold mine near Kronach was worked, not without profit, while the Mansfeld silver mines led to a vigorous trade with Venice. Just as scientific life in Saxony was powerfully stimulated by the University of Wittenberg and extended its influence thence over all Germany, art was also worthily represented by the genius of the painter Lucas Kranach.

Simultaneously with painting and sculpture, there came a revival of poetry, on which the Reformation exercised a remarkable influence. The productions of the Middle Ages stood out as models of excellence in these serious times of intellectual struggle, and served to cultivate taste. But while the *minnelied*, full of jest and joyousness, was sung for the social delight of the higher classes, now national life expressed itself principally through the awakened consciousness of the middle classes. It was in the cities, on the minds of thoughtful artisans, that the rousing voice of Dr. Martin Luther made the most powerful impression. The purifying of morals, the incitement of independent thought in the lower classes, and freedom in the pursuit of knowledge were all characteristic of the Reformation, and thus it was that the latter awoke the poetical instincts of the middle classes to fulness of life. A worthy artisan, Hans Sachs of Nuremberg, stood out as a living example of the union of the noble art of poetry with a handicraft. Joyfully impressed by the teaching of Luther, his soul turned to poetry as a means of assisting the

work of the Reformer. But as the impulse was of a deep, moral character, his simple verses became imbued with a solemn earnestness and their effect was extraordinary.

The real significance of the Reformation of the church now became outwardly apparent, for the middle classes searched the Holy Scriptures for themselves, and strove earnestly by example, speech, and song after moral excellency and purity. The intimacy of family life developed more and more fully among the German artisan class, and purity of religion and an honest life came to be regarded as a stern duty. Even if this tendency did border on pedantry and mystic obscurity, its effect was none the less invigorating to the middle classes, and subsequently it became the only safeguard which preserved the nation, when it fell a prey to ever-growing inward decay, from complete dissolution.

THE NEW PENAL CODE OF 1532

At the time when religious peace was proclaimed at Nuremberg in 1532, the imperial diet at Ratisbon inaugurated an improvement in legislation which was of the highest importance for Germany — namely, the introduction of a new penal code. When the trials by ordeal, which were in olden times called to the assistance of both accusation and defence, fell into disuse, the nations, following the example of Roman law, had recourse to the cruelties of the torture. As we have already seen, this system was in use from the earliest times with serfs; but from the fifteenth century the practice became more general. Torture now became a regular test which was also employed to extort confession from the freeman. Desire for revenge, hatred and superstition, and all the evil passions gained in the torture chamber a fearful weapon against their victims, and cruelty very soon became so general and horrible that the human soul revolted against it.

If the mere use of torture was in itself a barbarity, one can gauge the magnitude of the evil when one remembers that the courts of justice were often guilty of revolting abuses. The punishments meted out in the courts both as to life and limb were no less arbitrary than the criminal procedure. The sentence of death was pronounced upon the innocent with a truly hardened unscrupulousness, and this became such a crying abuse that all friends of humanity raised a vehement protest against it. When the imperial supreme court was instituted, appeal was made to it against the arbitrary sentences of death which were customary in all the courts of justice of the separate states, whether of the cities of the empire or of the principalities. Thus we see that the unity of the empire was at all times in the history of Germany regarded as the only protection and refuge for the oppressed.

Unfortunately, the imperial court had not sufficient power to check the injustices of the intermediate courts. The supreme court therefore appealed to the imperial diet, and urgently implored redress by way of legislation. Already in the reign of the emperor Maximilian I, this court had represented to the imperial diet at Freiburg in 1498 that complaints were being lodged daily against princes, imperial cities, and other sovereignties because they condemned men to death without guilt, just cause, or reason. The imperial diet postponed the examination of the matter to some future meeting, and as usual nothing was done. When the court reiterated its remonstrance still more urgently at the imperial diet of 1500 held at Augsburg, the reform of the penal code was at length promised in the decree of dissolution. The promise would probably have remained an empty one, but for the timely interference

POLITICAL
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of a friend of mankind. Johann, baron of Schwarzenberg, minister of the prince-bishop of Bamberg, drew up in 1507 a scheme for a new penal code, which, according to the standard of morality and civilisation then prevailing, was distinguished for its discrimination and humanity. This excellent man endeavoured to make this code the foundation of the general law of the empire; but, soon convinced that nothing was to be expected from the firmly rooted red-tapeism of the imperial diet, he used the whole weight of his influence to raise his code temporarily to the force of law in the bishopric of Bamberg. This wise determination was carried out and the Schwarzenberg code was proclaimed by princely decree to be the law of the land in the grand chapter of Bamberg.

After it had been circulated through the press in 1508 and 1510, it was received with such approval that the markgraf of Brandenburg caused the same law to be introduced in 1516 into the principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth. From that time the fame of the Schwarzenberg code rose so high that in 1521 it was, with a few alterations, made the foundation of the deliberations for the revision of the law by the regency of the empire then in session at Nuremberg. Finally, there was presented to the imperial diet in 1529 the draft of a new penal code which in all essentials was identical with that of Schwarzenberg, that is to say with the Bamberg and Brandenburg codes. After three years more of deliberation, that draft was finally proclaimed the law of the empire by the imperial diet at Ratisbon in 1532. This bore the title *The Criminal or Penal Code of the Emperor Charles V*, and is known as the Carolina.

NOBLEMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The new code had sprung, not only from deep special knowledge, but also from keen discernment into the requirements and possibilities of the time. It was a work of slow maturity, and therefore universally beneficial. Fixed regulations are prescribed for procedure in penal cases as well as for the kind and measure of the penalty, without unduly restricting the discretionary powers of the judge. Yet the Carolina must appear hard and even cruel, judged by the present standard of morality, and nothing testifies more convincingly to the progress of civilisation than facts of this order. It is clear that the new code was framed with humane intentions, for concessions relatively great for those times were made to the accused, in order to protect innocence, and compassion with the unfortunate criminals is often expressed — the condemned being alluded to as "the poor one." Nevertheless, even in this comparatively mild penal code, torture is still preserved and it seems, as it were, to revel in the great variety of the capital punishments. Thus is the erroneous old commonplace about the "good old times" refuted. And yet even this Carolina was an important step in progressive legislation, as is shown by the circumstance that it remained in force for three hundred years.[d]

THE EMPEROR AND THE SMALKALDIC LEAGUE

Both the emperor and his brother Ferdinand were strenuous in their endeavours to reunite both parties, and for this object they established from time to time successive religious conferences: at Hagenau, in 1540; at Worms, in 1541, where Melanchthon and Eck stood opposed to each other; and in the same year likewise at Ratisbon, at which the emperor himself presided and took an active part therein. All, however, was in vain; the new doctrine was too widely separated from the old, and in it were now involved too many interests: on all sides too many worldly considerations were brought into operation, and amidst the wild party passions and distractions of that period it was impossible to obtain for the subject that calm and profound investigation so necessary and so desirable.

These attempts at reconciliation producing little or no results, the emperor, as usual, had recourse either to a general council, confirming in the interval the Treaty of Nuremberg; or, of his own authority, issuing, even against the voice of the Catholic majority, decrees by which all the Protestant churches in the land were recognised by the state. Thus it occurred at the diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, before Charles' expedition to Algiers; thus likewise at Speier, in 1542, by the mediation of Ferdinand and the elector of Brandenburg, in order to collect all the forces of the empire against the Turks; and finally, in 1544, at the second grand diet in the same city, at which the emperor and all the seven electors were present, when he prepared his second expedition against Francis I of France. The personal relations between the emperor and the two Protestant leaders, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, had never been upon a more favourable footing; so much so, indeed, that the question of a marriage between a son of the elector and a daughter of Ferdinand had already formed a subject of discussion, whilst the landgraf received from the emperor a promise that in the next campaign against the Turks he should be appointed commander-in-chief in lieu of himself.

And yet, in spite of all this, the Protestants about this time sought to aid themselves by force of arms. Duke Henry the younger, of Brunswick, a zealous Catholic, and of impatient and violent spirit, was at enmity with the elector of Saxony and the landgraf of Hesse, more particularly on account of their religion; and each party attacked the other in fierce pamphlets abounding in passionate invective and furious abuse. In addition to this the two towns of Brunswick and Goslar, which formed a part of the league of Smalkald, invoked the protection of the Protestant provinces against their own duke, who oppressed them in every possible way, and whom the emperor himself as well as King Ferdinand had repeatedly, although in vain, reproached for his unjust violence against those towns. At length, in 1542, the league raised an army, invaded the territory of the duke, conquered and drove him from the country, and held possession thereof. The duke appealed to the emperor for succour; he, however, only referred the matter to the consideration of the next diet.

Accordingly at the diet of Worms, held in 1545, it was decided that, until the affair was equitably adjusted, the emperor should hold the estates of Brunswick under his own immediate dominion. This arrangement, however, by no means accorded with the demands of the impatient and haughty duke, who would willingly have found himself at the head of the Catholic party: to pretend to make use of threats in the name of the emperor was, he said, "just like hunting with a dead falcon." In his zeal he was misled into an act

for which he stood committed in the eyes of Francis I, king of France. This monarch had confided to his charge a considerable sum of money, for the purpose of collecting a body of troops for his service; as soon, however, as the duke had succeeded in this object he marched them into his own duchy, in the autumn of 1545, in order to regain it from his enemies. The no less bold and energetic landgraf Philip, however, was soon on the alert with his army, and the elector of Saxony with Duke Maurice having joined him with their forces, they surrounded the duke so completely in his camp of Kale-feld, near Nordheim, that he was forced to yield himself a prisoner, together with his son. The landgraf led them away as captives to the castle of Ziegenhain, and the emperor took no further interest in the matter, beyond advising him to treat his prisoners with lenity and according to their rank as princes.

Meantime the before-mentioned diet of Worms, although it operated once more towards the maintenance of religious peace, presented, nevertheless, stronger indications of the growing schism, and the complaints of both parties became more and more urgent. The Catholics did not fail to complain of the confiscation of their ecclesiastical possessions in the Protestant countries, and the Protestants on their side refused to acknowledge the decrees pronounced by the imperial chamber in these and similar matters, inasmuch as the Catholics would only permit judges of the ancient faith to preside there. Distrust had now increased to such an extent that but a small number of Protestant princes appeared at all at the diet. The grand medium for reconciliation, from which Charles had formerly hoped so much, *viz.* a general council of the church, was now ineffectually employed; for it was now too late to resort to it, neither was it regulated in a just and equitable form. The court of Rome had eventually given its consent to such an assembly, and had convoked the council for the 15th of March, 1545, at Trent, in the Tyrol, which was solemnly opened on the 13th of December of the same year. The Protestants, however, refused to recognise its authority for deciding in their affairs, giving as their reasons that the council was convoked on the frontiers of Italy, in a country totally unacquainted with the customs of Germany, and which consequently could not fail to have an injuriously preponderating influence; and further that the pope, who had already condemned them as heretics, or at least had treated them as accused of heresy, presided at the said council as their judge. If, therefore, this council was to be regarded as an independent one, they must enjoy equal rights with the others.

Some time previously, Frederick, the elector palatine, who had then recently gone over to the new church doctrine, made a proposition which might have produced advantageous results if everyone had been animated with good faith and influenced by pure principles. He proposed "to convoke a national or general council of Germany, and to transmit to Trent the convention therein concluded between all parties, as being the opinion of the entire body of the German nation." The same idea had been vainly suggested, even prior to this, by John Frederick of Saxony, who proposed that the said council should meet in Augsburg. This expedient, free from all foreign influence, and by which the nation would have been so represented as to express its wants fairly and directly, appeared the only one which must have proved beneficial and have led to a conclusion of religious disputes.

The anxiety felt by the emperor and the Catholics, lest the Protestants should acquire a superiority throughout the empire, was not without foundation. Three out of the four lay electorate princes in the imperial council had already adopted the new doctrine (although the elector palatine and the elector of Brandenburg had not as yet joined the league of Smalkald), and now

even one of the three prelates, Hermann, the venerable elector of Cologne, declared himself more and more decidedly in favour of the new cause. He was desirous, with the sanction of his states and a portion of his chapter, to introduce into his bishopric the most searching and important reforms, and had already entered upon the grand work himself, having invited Melanchthon from Wittenberg to aid him therein. The university and the corporation of Cologne, however, together with the opposition party of the chapter, were against all such reforms, and appealed to the emperor and the pope for their authority against these measures. This university had, previously to the Reformation, in the time of Jacob Hoogstraten, taken an active part in the dispute against the humanists — the professors and restorers of the study of the ancient languages — and especially against Reuchlin; whilst it was one of the first to condemn the dogmas of Luther.

In this increasing complication of affairs, where no longer the least hope of conciliation remained, the emperor, more and more urged to hostile measures by Rome and Spain (the duke of Alva having now arrived in Germany from the latter country), considered himself at length called upon to employ as a last resource the force of arms, and thus promptly and definitively to decide the question. His chancellor, Granvella, held, therefore, secret counsel with the pope's legate, Cardinal Farnese, on the possibility of carrying on a war against the Protestants; he gave him to understand that the pope must necessarily join in active co-operation, as the emperor himself was exhausted, and the Catholic princes were without energy; and the cardinal, in his joy to find the emperor now seriously determined to proceed to extremities, made the most flattering promises. In order to be unoccupied with any foreign enemy, Charles now concluded a truce with the sultan, and with Francis I he likewise made peace.

We are now arrived at a critical period of Charles' life. In forming the resolution to accomplish with the sword that which he had so long endeavoured to effect by peaceful means, he fell into a great error, falsely imagining that the mighty agitations of the mind could be checked and held in chains by external power. From that moment, on the contrary, he was himself vanquished by that very overwhelming epoch, the course of which until then he had appeared to direct and hold in rein; it was henceforth no longer in his power to restrain its career. His genius, impaired with increasing years, and over which about this time the Jesuits had gained an influence not to be mistaken, became more and more clouded and prejudiced against all that was new and vigorous in life, and thus in his gloomy and morose spirit he thought he was able to cut with the sharp edge of his sword the knot he found it so difficult to loosen. This mistaken idea of the emperor Charles at the closing period of his reign resembles a tragedy, in which we find a noble mind forced to bend and sink beneath the heavy burden to which fate has subjected it.

These latter years, it is true, may be included amongst the most brilliant of his life, by their external successes produced so rapidly; but it was precisely this good fortune which made him lose sight of the exact point of moderation which, down to this moment, he had so happily maintained, and whence he was soon laid low by the iron hand of destiny, and all his plans, formed with so much trouble and anxiety, were completely annihilated. Nothing else now remained for him but to collect his reduced powers in order to withdraw in time from the whirlpool before him, and whilst he threw aside the shining brilliancy of earthly grandeur, to preserve at least the independence of his spirit. And, assuredly, by this last resolution the emperor

Charles secured to himself his dignity as a man, whilst he conciliated the voice of posterity.

THE DEATH OF LUTHER

Shortly previous to the commencement of the sanguinary war of religion, Luther, the founder of the grand struggle, breathed his last[b] (February, 18th, 1546). We may fitly bring the present chapter to a close by citing a few of the multitudinous estimates that have been passed upon the personality of the famous reformer.[a]

As presenting first the view of an enthusiast, whose estimate will be subject to certain qualifications, we may summarise the characterisation of Schaff,[o] who regards Luther as "the great national hero of the German people, and the ideal of German life." In his view, Luther is even more than these words might imply; he is such a hero as scarcely finds a peer anywhere in history. Schaff thinks that King Arthur, who excelled no less in private than in public life, is perhaps most comparable to Luther amongst heroes of the English-speaking race. But even he, apparently, approaches rather than equals the great reformer; and as to the leaders of German thought and action—even including Frederick the Great and Goethe—no one among them all is to be named in the same day with Luther. The great founder of protestantism is a man of action no less than a man of thought; a student of the severest type, yet a past master in the art of handling men. He is humble in the moral recollection of his own frailties, yet a veritable lion in the midst of bodily perils. He has boundless energy and matchless powers of endurance; he scarcely knows what it is to be weary. And withal he has, along with the boldness of the warrior, the skill of the writer and the orator, and the sincerity and humility of the Christian.

If such eulogy as this were justified, it would not be strange that the Germans should have tended to exalt Luther almost to the point of deification; we shall see presently, however, that it is quite possible to view the great reformer with less favourable eyes. But even after such concessions are made as a more impartial study may require, the least sympathetic critic may still understand the point of view of Carlyle, who declared Luther to be "a right spiritual hero and prophet."[a]

LUTHER'S LIMITATIONS

Luther had the instincts of a statesman [says Creighton] as well as the zeal of a teacher. He saw the paramount importance of the maintenance of order and was not misled by his sympathies. For himself, he had always inculcated civil obedience, and had striven against confusion; prophets of murder had arisen in spite of his attempts, and none withstood them more diligently than he. But he exhorted the nobles to lay aside their tyranny, to deal reasonably with the peasants and consider their demands when they were just. To the peasants he spoke with equal force: they took God's name in vain by making him the author of confusion; he allowed no man to judge and avenge his own cause. He bade them endure, and pray, and trust in God's help. Even as he wrote, the issue of events was doubtful, and Luther knew that his words would give dire offence to the insurgents. "I go home," he wrote, "and with God's help will prepare for death, and await my new masters, the murderers and robbers. But rather than justify their doings I would lose a hundred necks."

But Luther was not called upon to suffer martyrdom for his moderation. Rebellion was stamped out in blood. Luther rejoiced in the triumph of authority, and threw himself unreservedly on the side of repression. His denunciations of the "robbing, murdering peasants" lost all sympathy with their grievances. They were guilty of every sin, and clothed their sins with the pretence of God's law. Luther, who had exhorted his countrymen to cast off the yoke of their ecclesiastical superiors, could find no punishment too severe for them when they attempted to diminish the burdens wherewith their temporal superiors oppressed them. His utterances caused much disappointment and indignation. He was called a hypocrite and a flatterer of princes. But he only repeated his general principle: "It is better that all the peasants should be slain than the magistrates and princes, because the peasants take the sword without God's authority."

The limits of his principles and of his influence had been painfully manifested. His utterances had been harsh and unsympathetic: he had no better advice to give than patience under old wrongs, and submission to grievances for God's sake. There was nothing that was new, and little that was hopeful, in such a message. Still Luther's attitude encouraged the nobles of Germany, and saved the country from disorder, which must have proved fatal to the future of the Reformation. Luther carried with him the good sense of Germany, and proved that his teaching was free from revolutionary fanaticism. But he lost greatly in personal importance, and could no longer claim to command the movement which he had originated. There was henceforth a difference between the Lutheran movement and Luther. The simplicity of an ideal had passed away, and the sternness of practical life had been disclosed. Germany was reduced to desolation; on all sides were heard the mutterings of discontent. The new ideas were no more powerful than the old to bring an immediate remedy to the woes of society. With sombre resoluteness men ranged themselves on one side or the other, in the conflict which was now inevitable; and both sides felt that the struggle would be long and stubborn.[p]

LUTHER'S PERSONALITY

Is it acuteness of perception or inventive genius that we admire in Luther? [asks Hagenbach]. He was the inventor of neither gunpowder nor printing, nor did he discover a fresh path across the waters, or a new quarter of the globe, like Columbus and Vasco da Gama. His telescope searched out no hidden star in the heavens; his microscope descried no previously unknown plant or insect on the earth; no law of mechanics or physics is called by his name.

May we, then, behold in him the thinker who, in the invisible realm of the intellect, opened new paths for speculation or led the way to new views of supersensual matters? This last he certainly did, after his own fashion, without intending it. But philosophical thought, research, investigation, as such, was not his business. If the name of philosopher had been applied to him, he would have protested against it. We know in what estimation he held the "old storm-brewer," Reason, and her priestess, Philosophy, and what opinion he entertained of that master of thought, Aristotle; and Luther, judging thus, must be content if the wisdom of this world pass him

by unheeded, and if the history of philosophy omit to mention him or notice him only as a psychological problem.

Since, then, it is neither the man of learning, nor the philosopher, nor the sage, nor the saint, that we revere in him, in our effort to classify him we must perhaps have recourse to the word genius, a convenient category which we are wont to employ whenever our ordinary standard for the measurement of greatness is insufficient. And it is, in truth, the presence of genius which impresses us when we contemplate the character of Luther. In whatever sphere of life we meet him, on whatever side we view him, flashes of intellect scintillate from him. His style may in some instances be ponderous, but he never becomes tedious. We are invariably refreshed if we read aught that has flowed from his pen, or hear any anecdote concerning him. The most unimportant things are handled by him, in his letters, in such a manner as to awaken our interest. We become interested in every individual who has once come in contact with Luther.

It will, perhaps, be said that his was a thoroughly poetic nature. And this is true. It is not, however, to Luther as a poet that our thoughts fly as quickly as his name is mentioned. Some of his devotional songs — for instance, that powerful hymn, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, etc. — live, it is true, not only in the church but in the nation. But of independent poetical productions, of artistic creations in the service of art, Luther neither was nor cared to be the author. Profoundly poetical as his whole nature was, as is manifest from his charming mingling of jest and earnest, the like of which is to be met with in no other man except Shakespeare, Luther was called to something else than poetry — we may with propriety say to something higher. The poetical vein in his composition was ever in the service of the reformer. Yet even as a poet, how superior Luther is to the other poets of his time, who either studied in Latin verses, imitated the ancient classics, or, in the broad and easy style of Hans Sachs, practised the master-song, giving birth to productions that were naïvely entertaining, but destitute of all elevation of sentiment. That which gives elevation to the poetry of Luther is, again, the religious element in his character.

It is, then, a genius presided over by religion and supported by a German spirit and nature, which so peculiarly affects us as we gaze upon Luther. He is the man of faith and the German, the man of the German people. The two characteristics are inseparably intertwined. Divest Luther's character of either its religious or its national impress, and the man becomes but a lifeless mask and his whole history a falsehood. Nay, it is not any abstract greatness that we reverence in Luther; it is Luther himself in his whole essence, in his complete and solid personality, before whom we involuntarily bare our heads.[e]

LUTHER AND HIS PROTESTANT BIOGRAPHERS

The biographic lacuna, as far as the critical history of Luther is concerned [says Gauss], becomes all the more obtrusively potent in view of the fact that few, if any, single characters since the close of the Middle Ages afford more autobiographic, plastic, dramatic elements and data. Luther was no taciturn, self-absorbed misanthrope; no solitary, self-communing spirit. He was not only a man of strong passions, unbending spirit, violent temper, of irregular, wayward and undisciplined will, of insurgent, radical originality, of half-formed ever changing theories, of continually excited nerves and seething blood, but of a most blunt, fearless, brutal frankness. He was fearless to the

border of irresponsible rashness, blunt to the exclusion of every qualm of delicacy, audacious to the scorn of every magnanimous restraint, coarse beyond the power of reproducible Anglo-Saxon, lubricous to a degree that even pales Rabelaisian foulness. His was a volcanic, torrential personality.[r]

CRITICAL VIEWS OF LUTHER

Luther was ceaselessly engaged [says Janssen] in a struggle with himself and his conscience, from which, on his own confession, he tried to escape by excessive drinking, by games and amusements, by thinking of a beautiful maiden, or by falling into a violent fit of anger. He was accustomed always to get into a rage over the church, its doctrines and institutions, and especially over the papacy.

Luther's language was so intemperate that Wilibald Pirkheimer said of him that he seemed to have fallen into absolute madness with his impetuous daring tongue or else to be led by an evil spirit.

"Luther observes no bounds," wrote Böllinger, one of the most respected theologians of the new faith in Switzerland; "yea, his writing is more often nothing else than a blustering and scolding so that if God has advised him of a good cause, he surrounds it with so many evil and wild words that the good is not especially respected. In a flash he gives all to the devil who do not submit to him on the spot. Thus in all his attacks there is much of an inimical spirit and little of a friendly or fatherly attitude."[q]

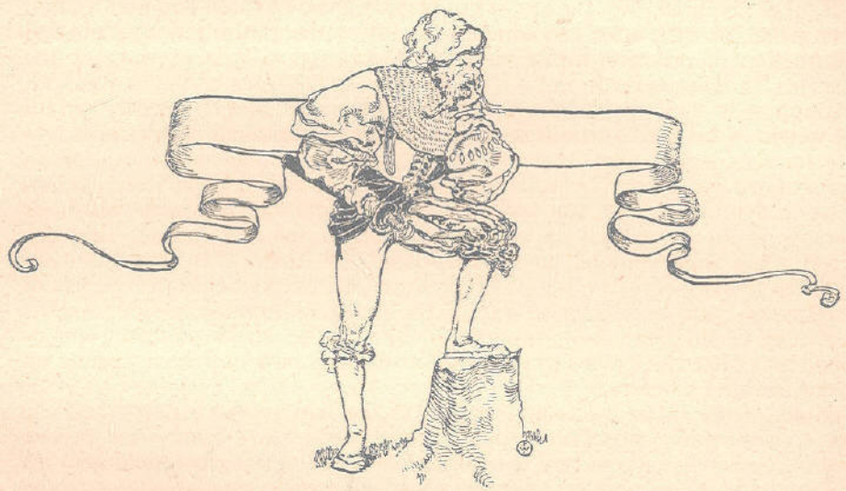
LUTHER'S GENIUS

It is evident of itself [says Schlegel] that a man who accomplished so mighty a revolution in the human mind, and in his age, could have been endowed with no common powers of intellect, and no ordinary strength of character. Even his writings display an astonishing boldness and energy of thought and language, united with a spirit of impetuous, passionate, and convulsive enthusiasm. The latter qualities are not, indeed, very compatible with a prudent, enlightened, and dispassionate judgment. The opinion as to the use which was made of those high powers of genius must of course vary with the religious principles of each individual; but the extent of those intellectual endowments themselves, and the strength and perseverance of character with which they were united, must be universally admitted. Many who did not adhere afterwards to the new opinions still thought, at the commencement of the Reformation, that Luther was the real man for his age, who had received a high vocation to accomplish the great work of regeneration, the strong necessity of which was then universally felt: for no well-thinking man then dreamed of a subversion of the ancient faith.

If, at this great distance of time, we pick out of the writings of this individual many very harsh expressions, nay, particular words which are not only coarse but absolutely gross, nothing of any moment can be proved or determined by such selections. Indeed, the age in general, not only in Germany but in other very highly civilised countries, was characterised by a certain coarseness in manners and language, and by a total absence of all excessive polish and over-refinement of character. But this coarseness would have been productive of no very destructive effects; for intelligent men well knew that the wounds of old abuses lay deep, and were ulcerated in their very roots; and no one was therefore shocked if the knife, destined to amputate abuses, cut somewhat deep.

Luther acquired, too, the respect of princes, even of those opposed to him. Thus when, shortly after the commencement of the Reformation, a general insurrection of peasants broke out, which renewed all the excesses of the Hussites, Luther, so far from exciting the rebels, like some of the new gospellers, opposed them with all the powers of his commanding eloquence, and all the weight of his high authority; for he was by no means in politics an advocate for democracy, like Zwingli and Calvin, but he asserted the absolute power of princes, though he made his advocacy subservient to his own religious views and projects. It was by such conduct and the influence which he thereby acquired, as well as by the sanction of the civil power, that the Reformation was promoted and consolidated. Without this, Protestantism would have sunk into the lawless anarchy which marked the proceedings of the Hussites, and to which the war of the peasants rapidly tended; and it inevitably would have been suppressed, like all the earlier popular commotions; for under the latter form Protestantism may be said to have sprung up several centuries before.

None of the other heads and leaders of the new religious party had the power, or were in a situation to uphold the Protestant religion — its present existence is solely and entirely the work of the deed of one man, unique in his way, and who holds unquestionably a conspicuous place in the history of the world. Much was staked on the soul of that man, and this was in every respect a mighty and critical moment in the annals of mankind and the march of time.[g]



CHAPTER VIII

A DISSOLVING EMPIRE

[1546-1618 A.D.]

From the middle of the fifteenth century on, Germany progresses rapidly towards a crisis that can only be compared, in its world-wide importance, with the crusades and the French Revolution. The Holy Roman Empire, as it still was officially called, although it embraced little territory that was not German, had come to be scarcely more than a lofty conception. — HENDERSON.[h]

WHILST the diet of Ratisbon was still sitting, in 1546, where for the last time the Protestants urged "a lasting peace and equal rights for the evangelical and Catholic estates, together with an equitable council of the German nation," the emperor had already collected an army, and concluded a treaty of alliance with the pope. He determined, in combination with the holy see, to adopt extreme measures against Hermann, the archbishop of Cologne, who was at once formally deposed from his electorate. This and other acts alarmed the confederates of Smalkald; and they demanded from the emperor the object of his military preparations. He replied briefly that all those who submitted to his authority would find him influenced by the same gracious, paternal, and good intentions he had hitherto shown; but, on the other hand, all such as acted in opposition to him must expect to be treated with the greatest severity. And shortly after this, when the messenger returned from Rome with the treaty signed by the pope, he issued his declaration of the 26th of June, 1546, that, as hitherto all the diets had produced no effect, it was his desire that all should await with patience the determination he might adopt upon the subject of religion, whether for peace or war. This declaration showed evidently that it was the emperor's intention to have recourse to

war, and the Smalkaldic League immediately prepared to take up arms in their defence. The marked contrast, however, between the two great leaders held out but little prospect of brilliant results.

The elector of Saxony, who adhered to his faith with his whole soul, and was but little influenced by anything external beyond it, would not for a moment admit any political calculation to connect itself with his cause, but rested solely upon his conviction that God would not forsake his gospel. Previously, he had already refused the alliance of the kings of England and France, because they both appeared to him unworthy to defend the doctrines he held to be the most pure, and he even considered that he was bound to refuse the co-operation of the Swiss, because they deviated from him in their belief in the doctrine of the Eucharist. The elector, whose ideas were extremely circumscribed, had never for a moment suspected the existence of the plans so long contemplated by the emperor; on the contrary, he always continued to nourish in his heart, even to the last moment, the most sincere and genuine veneration for the ancient, sacred name and person of the emperor. And, indeed, had it not been for his able chancellor, Brück, to whom he confided everything, and who, fortunately, knew better than himself how to bring into connection the maxims of state policy with the strict principles of religion, so firmly advocated by his master, the league would have suffered still more severely.

Philip of Hesse was not wanting, either, in attachment and zeal for his faith; but there were other motives besides of an external character by which he was influenced in the part he had chosen. He had from the first been excited by the most burning ambition, and had it not so happened that a combination of events had cut him off from all friendly connection with the imperial throne, he would doubtless have occupied a distinguished position amongst the councillors and generals of the emperor. Finding himself, however, placed by fate at the head of the opposite party, his bold and enterprising genius prompted him to employ every expedient against the emperor; for which purpose he was gifted with powers far more comprehensive than the elector of Saxony. He would willingly, in several cases, have taken up arms where the circumstances were favourable, in order to obtain for himself and his co-religionists at once those rights for which they were otherwise forced to wait until granted them by the emperor. We have seen already how he twice boldly took the field at all hazards — at one time in favour of Ulrich of Würtemberg, and at another against the duke of Brunswick; but whenever he urged the policy of undertaking more extensive expeditions, he found himself always checked by the elector, who was ever anxious not to infringe the laws; whence it was alone the common danger which held in union two minds so different in character, and almost wholly opposed to each other. This inequality of thought and feeling, however, could not fail to produce necessarily great confusion and opposition in moments of decisive action.

This was the weak side of the Smalkaldic League; but for this, its power under good and wisely concerted direction would have been sufficiently effective to have obtained complete success in a legitimate defence against the emperor. And in such case, to have proceeded upon the principle and feeling with which the elector of Saxony acted would have been highly praiseworthy and honourable; for thence the Protestant party would have been able to defend its liberty of faith with advantage, without the interference of foreigners, which was always destructive to Germany; it would have preserved the respect and reverence due to the imperial majesty — so long, at least, as the latter did not transgress the limits of justice; and without having recourse

to the dishonest artifices of that policy which honours truth in proportion only as it accords with its own interest. But the league was unhappily devoid of unity of action and cordial co-operation, as well as of fixity of purpose in the execution of its plans. A considerable number of princes had refused to join its ranks, and even opposed it by attaching themselves to the emperor's party. Maurice, the young duke of Saxony, although himself a Protestant and cousin of the elector, as well as heir to the landgraf Philip, was in secret communication with the emperor; whilst the markgraf of Brandenburg, John of Küstrin, abandoned the league, and Albert of Bayreuth also, openly entering the service of the emperor, acted with him in concert against it.

MAURICE OF SAXONY

Maurice of Saxony was one of the most remarkable and distinguished men of his day. Young, bold, and active, he already possessed the keen glance and quick perception of the more experienced warrior, and had at command that searching, comprehensive view of circumstances which enabled him to execute his purposes with characteristic promptitude. His whole appearance, likewise, displayed the perfect man; and his eye of fire and penetration, together with the entire expression of his noble, daring countenance, indicated his heroic character. The emperor Charles himself, who always ranked the Germans far behind his subjects of the southern climes, and accordingly held but few of them in much respect, soon learned to know the young duke's character, and quickly penetrating into all that was grand and noble in his nature he singled him out at once as worthy of especial regard and esteem beyond all his other courtiers.

Maurice, whose keen glance penetrated far more deeply into future events than that of his cousin the elector, discovered very soon that the latter could not possibly maintain the contest against the superior address and tact of the emperor, and he accordingly formed at once the resolution of making himself the chief of the house of Saxony. In doing this, he may, perhaps, have justified himself by the plea that there was no other means of saving it; still his justice and truth were put thereby severely to the test. He would not join the league of Smalkald, because he wished to attach himself to the emperor and preserve his alliance until, by the attainment of his object, he should be at liberty to act with independence.

On the formation of the league he gave his advice against it, and when invited to join it he refused and declared that he would only take up arms in defence of his own lands. He was, however, already, at the moment he made this declaration, in secret understanding with the emperor; but to what extent and how closely he was allied, and under what stipulations, has not been clearly shown; unfortunately, however, there is every probability to suppose that the reward held out to him was the prospect of receiving the electorate. Such being the case, what an inward struggle must it have cost him, and how painfully must it have agitated his whole soul, when the unsuspecting elector, just before he set out on his expedition against the emperor, confided into his hands the whole of his lands, in order to protect and watch over them as his substitute during his absence, to be faithfully restored to him on his return! Nevertheless, no external sign betrayed this inward contention, and wisdom triumphed over truth; and, in order not to betray himself, he accepted the protectorate of the electoral territories.

The emperor exerted every effort in order that the approaching war should not assume the character of a purely religious war. In a proclamation to

the principal Protestant cities, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm, printed in Ratisbon, he assures them positively that the preparations for war made by his imperial majesty were by no means adopted for the purpose of oppressing either religion or liberty, but solely in order to bring to submission a few obstinate princes, who, under the cloak of religion, sought to seduce over to their party other members of the holy empire, and who had lost all sense of justice and order, as well as respect for the imperial dignity.

The straightforward good sense of the German citizens told them plainly that a part of this proclamation was nothing but mere empty words, whilst they felt the danger with which they were themselves threatened by the overthrow of the princes. They held themselves, therefore, firmly attached to their league with the Protestant states. An unexpected event which now took place rendered perfectly useless all the pains that Charles had taken to conceal the object in view. He had scarcely concluded his alliance with the pope, the nature of which was exactly the opposite of what he had so lately assured the cities in question, when the pope made it publicly known, and issued a bull throughout Germany, in which he represented the emperor's expedition as a holy undertaking for the cause of religion: "The vineyard of the Lord," it says therein, "shall now be purified, by fire and sword, of all the weeds which have been sown by the heretics throughout the Germanic Empire." By the terms of the compact itself, the pope promised to assist the emperor with twelve thousand Italian foot soldiers, and fifteen hundred light cavalry troops, which he undertook to maintain at his own cost for the space of six months. Besides this, he gave 200,000 crowns towards the general outlay of the war, and authorised the emperor to draw the moiety of the revenues from the ecclesiastical possessions in Spain, and to dispose of Spanish monastic property to the amount of 500,000 scudi. In return for which Charles promised that he would compel, by force of arms, all the rebels in Germany to return to their obedience to the holy chair of Rome; that he would restore the ancient religion, and that, without the consent of the holy father, he would enter into no treaty with those of the new heresy, that might be disadvantageous or injurious to the Romish church.

CHARLES V

This manifesto, contrary to the wish of Charles, gave a religious character to the war, and such was the pope's desire. In the Protestant countries, however, the most bitter and indescribable exasperation was excited, and if the leaders had only known how to avail themselves of that moment, by directing the entire strength of the mass thus aroused, the emperor, with his Spaniards and Italians, must have been completely overcome. For the other German princes, and even the Catholic princes, held themselves generally quiet; dreading lest, after overthrowing the Protestants, the emperor should exercise sole dominion over the whole empire.

The army furnished by the cities of upper Germany marched first into the field — a well-appointed and select body of troops under the command of a man distinguished for his military skill and well-tried experience, Sebastian Schertlin, of Burtenbach near Augsburg. This brave officer and knight was remarkable for his resolution and firm, undeviating principles of action; he would never brook half measures, but always manœuvred for the total defeat and destruction of his enemy. He had served in all the campaigns against the Turks and the French, and had shared in the battle of Pavia and the storming of Rome under the duke de Bourbon. He was now soon joined by the corps of Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, under the command of the brave John of Heydeck. Schertlin speedily drew up his plan of the war, according to which he commenced operations by at once seeking to annihilate the emperor's forces at the very onset of their formation; for Charles, who still remained stationary in Ratisbon, had as yet at the utmost only from eight to ten thousand men, whilst he still awaited the troops collecting in Germany and those that were marching to his aid from Italy and the Netherlands.

Schertlin advanced against the town of Füssen on the river Lech, in Swabia, one of the principal military dépôts of the emperor; but the troops on his approach evacuated the place, and retired into Bavaria, and just as he was about to march in pursuit of them a messenger arrived from the council of the city of Augsburg, in whose service he was more especially engaged, with instructions not to enter the territory of the duke of Bavaria, who was a neutral power. The house of Bavaria had threatened to join the emperor in case they did not leave the country unmolested; at the same time it may be observed that, if it was resolved to remain entirely neutral, it ought assuredly not to have permitted the troops of the emperor to pass through its territory. But there was at that moment a secret compact concluded between the Bavarian house and the emperor, by which the former agreed to furnish at least a certain contribution in money. It was, therefore, with no little pain and mortification that Schertlin found himself thus suddenly checked and forced to make a halt on the very banks of the river Lech, without being permitted to cross it and destroy the enemy thus slipping through his fingers; especially as his plans embraced far more important and decisive results, it having been his determination, after having defeated the troops now before him, to proceed by forced marches to Ratisbon itself. The army there collected being but small, the emperor would have been forced to take to flight, in which case he must have lost the whole of upper Germany. Referring to this subject Schertlin wrote that assuredly Hannibal himself had not experienced greater regret and mortification, when compelled to withdraw from Italy, than he had endured when forced at that moment to retire from the Bavarian territory.

The brave Schertlin now proceeded at once to carry into execution the plan he had formed immediately after the failure of his first project, which was to oppose the march of the pope's troops across the Tyrolese mountains into Germany. Never had such a well-appointed army been formed in Italy as that which now marched forth to join the emperor's force; the soldiers, under chiefs long distinguished for courage and experience, being all united in one zealous, enthusiastic feeling against the Protestants. Schertlin, by forced marches, soon gained the passes and made himself master of the important defile of Ehrenberg. Thence he marched against Innsbruck, and had he been allowed to proceed he would have obtained his object and commanded the whole country; but here he received fresh orders from the leaders of the league, by whom he was now instructed to evacuate the land, inasmuch as

[1546 A.D.]

King Ferdinand, to whom it belonged, had not as yet declared war against the Smalkaldic League. Thus was evinced already, even at the commencement of operations, all that doubt and fear amongst the confederates whence might easily be foreseen the most unfortunate and disastrous results. For it was the height of folly and madness, after the war had become inevitable, to show consideration towards those who, although as yet not declared enemies, were nevertheless known to be decidedly hostile. Nevertheless, the general was obliged again to obey superior orders, and was thus unable to avail himself of the advantages he already possessed, or might at any future period gain.

THE SMALKALDIC WAR OPENS (1546 A.D.)

Meantime the Saxon and Hessian troops were brought into the field, and directed their march towards upper Germany. The two chiefs of the league addressed, on the 4th of July, a letter to the emperor stating that they were not conscious of having committed any act of disobedience, of which they had been accused by the emperor. If, however, they had laid themselves open to such reproach, it was only just and equitable that they should be heard beforehand; and if this did take place, then they would make it clear in the eyes of all that the emperor undertook the war merely at the instigation of the pope, in order to oppress and crush the doctrine of the evangelists, and the liberty of the Germanic Empire. This last and most grave accusation, now made for the first time against the emperor by his opponents, was soon eagerly caught at and disseminated throughout the world. This one sentence, if it was held to be truly expressed, must have produced a startling change even in the Roman Catholics themselves, must have subdued all their zeal and rendered them less desirous to behold the emperor succeed in overcoming his adversaries.

Charles, indeed, immediately afterwards, by committing a most rash act, appeared to confirm the accusation thus made against him; for when the document from the leaders of the league was laid before him, he would not even touch it, but proceeded at once, on the 20th of July, to reply to it by a declaration of the imperial ban against the two princes of Saxony and Hesse. He therein charged them with disobedience to the imperial authority, and a design to deprive him of his crown, his sceptre, and all authority, in order to invest themselves therewith, and finally to subjugate everyone to their tyrannical power. He called them "rebels, perjurers, and traitors," and absolved their subjects from all obligation of homage and obedience to them. Thus severely did he express himself in reply to their address, although quite in conformity with the excitement and violence of that turbulent period. By this, his last act, however, the emperor violated the ancient rights of the empire, according to which he was not empowered to declare the ban against any state without the counsel and judgment of the princes. No exact estimate, therefore, can be made of the extent to which the emperor might have been carried, had circumstances continued favourable; for to minds like his, which subject themselves entirely to the dictates and guidance of prudence, circumstances constitute the only measure of restriction. They undertake only what appears to them practicable, and Charles accordingly was cautious in not attempting what he could not complete. He held the sway over so many extensive states, and had opposed to him so many powerful adversaries in Europe, that he felt it quite impossible to devote that continual and exclusive care to Germany which a plan of absolute sovereignty, to be carried out successfully, strictly demanded; hence he wisely abstained from the attempt.

[1546 A.D.]

Nevertheless, Charles gave ample evidence of his character as a proud and mighty emperor, ruler of half the world, by acting in particular circumstances, when everything depended upon prompt measures of execution, independent of all forms of law; whence it may be said that the violation of the rights and privileges of the empire rested more in his intentions than in his plans.

Meantime he entered upon this opening scene of the Smalkaldic War in conscious superiority of mind and true heroic independence. Although having at command but a small body of troops, and threatened by an army of at least fifty thousand men, the most complete and formidable force that Germany had produced for several years, he only replied to the declaration of the princes by the said document of excommunication, and then proceeded from Ratisbon to Landshut in order to be more immediately at hand to receive the succours marching from Italy. To remove, however, all doubt or fear from the minds of his partisans, he declared to them that he would never abandon the German soil, but would adhere to it living or dead. His best guarantee was the state of dissension existing in the camp of the allies. Schertlin with the municipal troops had now joined the army of the two disunited princes. The citizen-general now advised that they should march with their combined forces against Landshut, and there surround the emperor at once; but, as usual, they could come to no determination, and the valuable opportunity was lost once more. The emperor, on the contrary, lost no time in making the most of these valuable moments; he collected around him all the reinforcements as they arrived from Italy and Spain, as well as the auxiliary troops from Germany, and when he found himself in sufficient strength, he ascended the banks of the Danube as far as Ingolstadt. There he encamped, and strongly fortified himself; for as yet he could not venture to enter the open field and attack the enemy, preferring to await the arrival of Count Buren, who was advancing to join him with a considerable body of troops from the Netherlands. The allies had followed him to his present position, and now they at length determined to attack his camp, as yet not quite secured, with their artillery, and thus force him to draw up in line of battle.

Accordingly, on the 31st of August, they advanced at break of day, and forming themselves into a half circle occupied all the heights in the rear of the camp with their planted cannon. The allied troops were animated with courage and a desire for battle; and at this favourable moment a bold and decisive assault, conducted with prompt and energetic effect, would have procured for the allies an easy but complete and glorious victory. For the emperor was far inferior in force, and his camp was as yet only defended by a simple trench. The idea of such an assault was not unthought of by the allies; according to some accounts the landgraf Philip, according to others General Schertlin, had suggested it at the very moment when the fire from his twelve heavy cannon was dealing destruction amongst the emperor's Spanish arquebusiers, and sending them back flying into the camp. But again this time irresolution and disunion among the leaders rendered futile the decision which ought to have been put into force immediately. The emperor, who with the greatest sang-froid encouraged his troops, and himself defied all danger, now gained time to complete the fortifications of his camp, and was soon enabled to witness in perfect security how vain were the efforts of the enemy to point their cannon with any effect against him. From this moment Schertlin, as he himself relates, placed no longer faith in this war, declaring that he saw no serious efforts being made to render it an honourable and legitimate war.

The princes continued during five entire days to cannonade the imperial

camp, without producing any desired result; and when they heard that Count Buren, with his auxiliary troops from the Netherlands, had already crossed the Rhine, they raised the siege, and suddenly retired with their whole army in order to march against him. The emperor could scarcely believe his eyes, when he beheld the powerful army of his enemy thus retire without having effected anything; and mounting his horse he rode out of his camp escorted by the duke of Alva and others of his staff, to observe their retreat more closely.

Meantime, the princes, notwithstanding their rapid march, were unable to prevent the junction of Count Buren with the emperor, who, being now so much reinforced, proceeded at once to march in advance, taking possession of one place after another along the Danube, and making himself complete master of that river. When at length he approached and threatened Augsburg, the citizens summoned their general, Schertlin, to their aid and protection. The allies, however, notwithstanding they had not understood properly how to avail themselves of their superiority, maintained the war by an obstinate resistance until November, so that the emperor could not bring them to a general action; whilst, in the meantime, the Spaniards and Italians of his army already suffered greatly from disease and fatigue.

The allies suffered likewise from the severe weather, to which was added the want of supplies, both in provisions and money, and the army now began to show signs of discouragement and dejection, because the leaders were incapable of inspiring confidence; the Swabian division of the army was more especially disgusted with the war, because the whole burden was thrown upon its shoulders, whilst the two armies had now been encamped face to face for more than six weeks, without doing anything. The princes at length sent a despatch to the imperial camp, in which they declared themselves ready to negotiate for peace, or at least a suspension of arms. By this act, however, they only betrayed and acknowledged at once their weakness, and yielded themselves as conquered without striking a blow. Rejoicing triumphantly, the emperor commanded the document to be read before the whole army drawn up in order of battle, and for all reply he briefly announced to the princes, through the markgraf of Brandenburg, that his majesty knew of no other way by which peace was to be restored than by the submission of the electors themselves and their adherents to the imperial authority, together with their entire army, their lands, and subjects.

Upon receiving this reply, the allied princes broke up and separated on the 22nd of November, at Giengen, and each returned to his own territories.

The presence of the elector of Saxony had been more especially claimed by his country through a message despatched to him in his camp, announcing that Duke Maurice had, with the exception of a few small places, taken entire possession of the whole land. For the emperor had authorised his brother Ferdinand, as king of Bohemia, to execute, in conjunction with Duke Maurice, the sentence of the ban adjudged against the elector; and such was the position of affairs that it appeared, if Maurice did not himself take immediate possession of the electorate, it would most probably be lost forever. Such at least was the representation made by Maurice when he summoned together the states of the country, in order to obtain their sanction for such proceeding; for without that he could not have commenced upon such an important undertaking. He employed all his powers of speech and argument, in order to give his conduct and wishes the semblance of right and justice. The sudden arrival, however, of Ferdinand, with his Hungarian light cavalry, which he had brought with him from Bohemia, produced a decided effect; their savage

appearance spread universal terror, and it was regarded as a happy relief to yield to the Saxon warriors of Maurice. The entire electorate, therefore, with the exception of Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Gotha, was speedily in the hands of the ambitious duke. The voice of the people, nevertheless, loudly condemned his proceedings; he was looked upon by them as a renegade in the cause of the new doctrine of faith; and by the clergy, both in the pulpit and in their various writings, he was most severely censured and lashed.

MUSKETEER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The elector himself now, in December, 1546, returned to Saxony, full of sadness and dejection. He soon succeeded, however, in reconquering his lands, and in seizing a portion of the duke's territory, after he had overthrown and taken prisoner, in Rochlitz, Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg, who had been sent to the aid of his friend, Duke Maurice, by the emperor. Maurice was likewise left without any assistance from Bohemia, as the estates of that country refused to fight against their co-religionists in Saxony, referring, at the same time, to a treaty of inheritance which existed between the crown of Bohemia and the electoral house of Saxony; whilst Ferdinand himself began to feel rather uneasy on account of his own kingdom. That country had already ripened into a state of open revolt, and the states had even proceeded to collect a considerable army, in order, as they pretended, to protect the Bohemian territory against the attack of the unchristian Spanish and Italian forces. Whence it resulted that Maurice, of his own land, only retained possession of the towns of Dresden, Pirna, Zwickau, and Leipsic, and he was reduced to place all his hopes in the emperor Charles.

SURRENDER OF THE CITIES

Meantime Charles was occupied in bringing to subjection the Protestant cities in the south of Germany. This, however, was deemed no easy undertaking, these places being exceedingly strong and able to resist his arms for a length of time; whilst, in the interval, the princes of the north could avail themselves of the opportunity, and make their preparations for a fresh campaign. It seemed, however, as if both courage and resolution had suddenly deserted them altogether; for wherever the emperor presented himself the cities submitted to him at once without offering any resistance. Bopfingen, Nördlingen, Dunkelsbühl, and Rothenburg threw open their gates without its being necessary for him to unsheathe the sword at all; whilst Ulm itself, powerful as that city was, despatched messengers to meet him, who on their knees, and in the open field, besought his pardon in the Spanish tongue. This act was especially, and with justice, most severely condemned by the allies. The city was also obliged to pay over to him as a fine 100,000 florins. Frankfort paid likewise a sum of 80,000 florins, Memmingen 50,000 florins, and the smaller towns paid sums in proportion; and now the turn came for Augsburg. This city was protected by walls almost invulnerable, mounted with two hundred pieces of artillery, and provided with a strong garrison, and

a warlike population; if, therefore, it had only maintained its ground with determined bravery, it must thereby have revived once more the sinking courage of the entire body of the allied forces. But the rich members of the municipality took fright when they found the danger so close to their own door; and one of them, Anthony Fugger, proceeded as deputy to wait upon the emperor in his camp, and returned with the conditions exacted: the city was to pay a sum of 150,000 gold florins, receive a Spanish garrison, and banish its brave commandant Schertlin. The latter employed every effort to prevail upon them to defend the place, but all his eloquence was in vain: he could not infuse courage into them; finally, he reminded them of their contract with himself, according to which they had engaged to retain him in their service, and could not banish or discharge him. They, however, only replied by begging him with tears in their eyes to leave the city; accordingly the brave old warrior quitted the place in disgust and indignation, and retired to Switzerland — the Spanish troops taking immediate possession. The cities, indeed, had reason to congratulate themselves upon having the permission granted them to retain the same privileges in respect to religion as were enjoyed by Duke Maurice and the house of Brandenburg; although this arrangement certainly did not accord with the promise made to the pope.

Besides the cities, two princes in Upper Germany had taken an active part in the war: Ulrich, duke of Würtemberg, and Frederick, elector of the Palatinate. The latter was not a member of the Smalkaldic League, and had only, in accordance with an hereditary treaty between himself and Duke Ulrich, furnished the latter with a subsidiary force of three hundred cavalry and six hundred foot soldiers; added to this, he had been a juvenile companion and playmate of the emperor when both were together in Brussels as boys; hence he easily obtained a pardon. The duke of Würtemberg, however, was obliged, together with his council, to beg for pardon on his knees, and likewise to give up his strongest castles with all the cannon, and to pay a fine of 300,000 gold florins, after having sworn to obey the emperor in all things.

Thus the Smalkaldic League in upper Germany was speedily destroyed, and the emperor resolved at once not to allow his army any repose, but to bring matters in the north of Germany to an equally prompt and decisive termination. He himself stood, indeed, much in need of rest; his hair during this war had become quite gray, his limbs were completely lamed from gout, whilst his countenance was so deathly pale, and his voice so weak and tremulous, that he could hardly be recognised or understood. His spirit, however, still reigned with all its original power within that infirm body; and he was now urged on by necessity to obtain his object, inasmuch as he was anxiously expected at Eger by King Ferdinand and Duke Maurice, who there tarried like two fugitives driven from their possessions until he came. He joined them at length, on the 15th of April, and they celebrated together the Easter festival; they then forthwith proceeded on their march, and on the 22nd of April Charles found himself already encamped within a short distance of the walls of Meissen on the Elbe.

The elector could not, for a long time, believe it possible that Charles was marching against him; but now, when to his no small surprise he found he was actually within sight and close upon him, he gave hasty orders to destroy the bridge near Meissen, and marched with his army along the right bank of the Elbe, in order to reach Wittenberg, his capital, where he would have at command all the means necessary to maintain a long and vigorous resistance. The emperor, on the other hand, held it to be most important that an immediate attack should take place, to bring the war to a speedy end; especially as his army was four times as strong as that of the elector. Accordingly, he lost not a moment, but pursued his march along the opposite shore, almost in a line with the elector's troops, and searched along the river for a spot to ford it and get his army safely and expeditiously across. The elector halted near the small town of Mühlberg, whilst the emperor, very late at night, once more rode with his brother and Duke Maurice along the shore, seeking in vain for a favourable spot by which to cross over; for the Elbe here was at least three hundred feet wide, and the opposite shore was considerably higher than on his side. At length his general, the duke of Alva, brought from a neighbouring village a young miller (his name — preserved by history — was Strauch), who promised to lead them to a fording-place. He was induced to commit this act of treachery by a feeling of revenge towards his fellow countrymen, who, as they marched in the course of the day through his village, had taken with them two of his horses; this circumstance, and the tempting offer of a hundred crowns, made him by Duke Maurice, with the promise of two other horses to replace those taken from him, determined him to serve the enemies of his country.

At the dawn of morning, and under favour of a very thick fog, several thousands of Spanish arquebusiers now commenced crossing the river, and a select troop among them, having cast aside their guns and thrown off their armour, placing their swords in their mouths, holding them tight between their teeth, plunged into the stream, and swimming to the other side, seized the remains of the bridge which had been destroyed by the Saxons. This they succeeded in repairing whilst the cavalry forded the river, each horseman taking with him on his saddle a foot soldier. Lastly followed the emperor, his horse guided by the said miller, King Ferdinand, Duke Maurice, and the duke of Alva, with the rest of the imperial suite.

THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG (1547 A.D.)

On the morning of this eventful day — the sabbath — the elector attended divine service in Mühlberg, and when in the midst of his devotions a messenger arrived in breathless haste and announced to him that the enemy had crossed the river and was in full march in pursuit of him he would not believe it, but desired the service of God not to be interrupted. When it was over he found the news was too true, and he had scarcely time to retire with his army. He ordered his infantry to march in all haste for Wittenberg; but he directed the cavalry to keep the enemy at bay by skirmishing, the artillery having already been sent in advance to Wittenberg. The imperials, however, pursued the Saxons with such speed that they overtook them on the plain of Lochau; and although his artillery and the greater portion of the infantry still remained behind, the emperor, nevertheless, by the advice of the duke of Alva, gave orders for an immediate attack. The Spanish and Neapolitan troopers dashed with impetuous force against the Saxons, Maurice himself leading the attack.

The elector's cavalry were soon thrown into confusion, and fell back upon the ranks of their own infantry, which were hastily drawn up in battle array on the borders of a deep forest. The elector gave his orders from a carriage, his weight of body not permitting him to mount on horseback; the emperor, on the other hand, in whom the signs of illness were less than ever perceptible on this day, rode an Andalusian charger, holding in his right hand a lance, and wearing a helmet and a cuirass gorgeously decorated with gold, his eye

beaming with warlike ardour. The imperial cavalry, with their terrific shout of "*Hispania! Hispania!*" broke now through the ranks of the Saxon infantry, which were completely put to rout. All now took to flight; everywhere was confusion and terror. As they fled across the plain, the fugitives were overtaken and struck down by their pursuers, covering with their bodies the whole line of road from Kossdorf to Falkenburg and Beiersdorf. One of the elector's sons was overtaken by some troopers of the enemy; he defended himself with great courage, and shot one of them dead at the moment when, having received two sword-cuts, he was sinking from his horse; some of his own men coming up just in time rescued and bore him away in safety. But his father was not so successful; he could not escape. He had been urgently entreated by his faithful adherents to seek safety in flight, and gain a secure asylum in Wittenberg; but his only observation was, "What will become of my faithful infantry?" and he remained on the field of battle. In the heat of action he had quitted his carriage and mounted a powerful Frisian charger; he was, however, very soon surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and as he valiantly defended himself, he received a cut on his left cheek from the sabre of a Hungarian trooper. The blood streamed all over his face, but even in this sad condition the undaunted warrior would not yield, until a Saxon knight in the suite of Duke Maurice, Thilo of Trodt, penetrated through the Hungarians that surrounded him, and called out to him in German to save his life. To him, as he was a German, the elector gave himself up a prisoner, and in token thereof he drew from his finger two rings which he presented to him; whilst to the Hungarian he gave his sword and dagger.

The knight conducted his royal prisoner to the duke of Alva, and the latter, at the earnest and repeated persuasion of the elector, led him before the emperor, who still continued mounted on his horse in the centre of the plain. The elector, as he approached, sighed deeply, and raising his eyes up to heaven, said, mournfully, "Heavenly Father, have pity on me, for behold I am a prisoner!" His sad condition and appearance excited the compassion and sympathy of all around—his wounded face still streaming with blood, and his cuirass likewise being covered with spots of gore. He was assisted to dismount by the duke of Alva, and was about to drop on his knee before the emperor, taking off the gauntlet from his right hand, in order, according to German custom, to present it to his majesty; but the latter refused to take it, and with a stern and haughty look turned from him. The mortified prince now addressed him with the words, "Mighty, gracious emperor!" "Ay, now I am your gracious emperor, am I?" returned Charles, haughtily. "It is long since you styled me thus!" The elector continued: "I am your imperial majesty's prisoner, and beg to receive the treatment due to me as a prince." "You shall receive the respect you merit," concluded the emperor. The elector was now conducted to the camp by the duke of Alva, together with Ernest, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who had also been taken prisoner. Thus was that important day brought to a successful close for the emperor. In the style of Cæsar, he writes: "I appeared, I fought, and God vanquished."

THE FATE OF THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY

After a repose of two days, Charles marched on to Torgau, which surrendered forthwith, and thence he proceeded to Wittenberg, the capital of the country. The place was defended by a strong fort and a good garrison,

whilst the citizens themselves assisted with determined courage and loyalty; had they continued to make resistance for any length of time, the emperor would have been forced to withdraw from Saxony without having completed his work, as he was not at all prepared for a long campaign. Thence, in his impatience, and by the urgent persuasion of his confessor and others around him, he had recourse to an expedient which completely transgressed the limits of his prerogative, and was contrary to the constitutional rights of the empire. He summoned a council of war, and pronounced sentence of death upon the unfortunate prince—an act which, however just the sentence, could not legitimately take place, except in a diet held by the German princes of the empire. Probably he may not seriously have contemplated the execution of the sentence, but only sought to use it as a means to terrify the friends and faithful adherents of the elector within the walls of the city, and thus induce them to surrender the place; but the violation of the law was based in the form of the judgment, and in case it did not operate in the way, perhaps, originally intended by Charles, there was too much reason to fear from his stern nature, which never allowed him to waver or recede, that execution would follow.

The elector, who, when in prosperity, was too often wanting in resolution and fixity of purpose, evinced at this moment all the heroic courage of a firm and energetic soul founded upon unchanging and indomitable faith. The sentence of death pronounced upon him was announced to him at the moment he was engaged in a game of chess with his fellow prisoner, Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneburg. His appearance and manner betrayed neither alarm nor despondency, but as he resumed his game he calmly replied: "I can never believe that the emperor will proceed to such extremes in his treatment of me; if, however, his majesty has truly and definitively thus resolved, then I demand to be informed thereof in such positive and legitimate form as will allow me to proceed to fix and arrange my affairs in regard to my wife and children."

It is not known whether Duke Maurice did at all interest himself on this occasion with the emperor in favour of the elector; but, on the other hand, it is known for certain that the elector Joachim of Brandenburg hastened immediately to the imperial camp, where he strenuously exerted all his powers of eloquence with the emperor to prevent, by some mediatory accommodation, the fulfilment of the sentence. He succeeded at length in his object, but under conditions most severe and painfully humiliating to the elector of Saxony. He was obliged to renounce for himself and descendants all claim to the electoral dignity, as well as the possession of the territory, which were transferred to Duke Maurice. His castles of Wittenberg and Gotha were surrendered to the emperor, whilst he himself remained his prisoner during imperial pleasure; so that, if deemed proper and necessary by Charles, he might even have been sent to Spain itself, and there placed under the immediate charge of the infante Don Philip. The necessary provision for him and his family was to be furnished by Maurice, produced by the revenues derived from the towns of Eisenach, Gotha, Weimar, and Jena. In one article of the conditions it was proposed that the elector should even promise in advance to accept everything that might be decreed by the council of Trent and the imperial power in religious matters; but to that the resolute prince would by no means be brought to agree, and on this point he remained so firm and immovable that the emperor was obliged to yield: he struck out the passage with his own hand, and even the Spaniards themselves acknowledged the firmness of the elector to be both honourable and praiseworthy.

When it became known in Wittenberg that the city was to be delivered up to the emperor, although in religious worship it was guaranteed the free exercise of the Augsburg confession, considerable indignation and consequent opposition and confusion arose. At first the citizens resolved to defend themselves to the last man, because they found it impossible to place any confidence in the promise made that they should have their religious liberty; particularly after the cruel manner in which the Spaniards had acted towards their land. The elector, however, commanded them not to make any further resistance, as the emperor would, he assured them, faithfully keep the promise he had given; especially as the latter granted them permission to receive only German troops as a garrison. Accordingly on the 23rd of May, 1547, the Saxon soldiers marched out and the imperials took possession of the town. In the course of a very short period an interchange of a more peaceful and friendly feeling arose between the camp and the city, and mutual distrust disappeared more and more. The Saxons, to their great wonderment and admiration, beheld their deposed lord and prince comfortably lodged and entertained in the tent of the duke of Alva, where he was waited upon and treated with the greatest distinction and reverence by the Spaniards. The electress herself and her children, dressed in complete mourning, were led before the emperor by the sons of the Roman king and paid him their homage; Charles assisted the princess to rise, and consoled her in her sorrow and affliction with words of sympathy and encouragement, granting permission to the elector to pass an entire week with his family in his castle of Wittenberg, and there celebrate with them the festival of Whitsuntide. In addition to this, he himself repaired to the castle and returned the visit of the princess. The impression produced by his noble and exalted spirit, now so much softened, diminished and almost extinguished that feeling of antipathy hitherto existing against him throughout the country; whilst, on his part, he formed a much more favourable opinion of the people of the north of Germany than the enemies of the new doctrine had led him to conceive: "Things and people appear far different in this evangelical country to what I fancied and believed them to be before I came among them," was his expression now. And when he learned that on his arrival the Lutheran form of divine service had been prohibited and had ceased, he exclaimed: "Whence has that proceeded? By whose authority? If it be in our name that the service of God has been interdicted here, then does it incur our high displeasure! We have not altered aught touching religious matters in High Germany, why should we do so here?" He then visited the royal chapel of the castle and examined the tomb of Luther. One or two of his suite advised him "to have the remains of the heretic disinterred and publicly burned"; but Charles replied: "Let him repose in peace, he has already found his judge; I war only with the living, not with the dead."

Maurice, the new elector, showed himself equally friendly and indulgent towards the people of Wittenberg: "You have been so faithful to my cousin that I shall always remember and think well of you," were his words to the corporation as he left them. On the 6th of June the imperials withdrew from Wittenberg, and immediately afterwards the soldiers of the new elector marched in and took up their quarters in the city.

On the same day that the emperor Charles entered Wittenberg, his former rival, Francis I of France, was borne to the tomb, as if fortune had resolved to remove at once from before his path every obstacle to the plans he had formed. From Wittenberg he marched on to Halle, in order to attack the second leader of the Smalkaldic League, the landgraf of Hesse; and the latter, having now no longer any hope of deliverance but through the grace

and pardon of the now all-powerful emperor, employed every effort by means of his son-in-law, Duke Maurice, and the markgraf of Brandenburg, to obtain both.

Both these princes exerted themselves most actively and zealously for him, and at length they succeeded; the emperor declaring, through his chancellor, Granvella, that if the landgraf came to him in person, surrendered himself at discretion, and signed the conditions which would be submitted to him, he promised not to seize his lands, neither would he take his life nor punish him with lasting imprisonment. Thus it is expressed in a copy of the transactions of that period. The mediators, however, did not well weigh the last sentence of the declaration, and imagined it was meant to convey that the prince should suffer no imprisonment; and they pledged their word of honour with the landgraf to give themselves up prisoners to his sons in case the emperor did not give him full liberty to return. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, Philip, in full reliance on their word, came to Halle, and on the following day he was led before the emperor.

Charles was seated on his throne, surrounded by a crowd of Spanish grandees and Italian and German nobles, and amongst them stood conspicuous Henry, duke of Brunswick, lately the landgraf's prisoner, but whom he had been forced to release and who now triumphed in his late conqueror's humiliation. With dejected and mortified mien the landgraf humbly knelt at the foot of the throne, whilst his chancellor Güntherode, kneeling behind him, read aloud to the emperor the petition for pardon. It was expressed in the most humble terms, and an eye-witness relates that, in the excess of shame and confusion with which the prince was overwhelmed at this moment, in the presence of such a large and august assembly, a slight smile played about his mouth, as if produced by an unconscious effort of nature to repress the feeling of shame by which he was so painfully tried. But this expression did not escape the lynx-eyed monarch; he held up his finger menacingly, and said in his Netherland dialect — for he spoke the German very badly — "*Wöl, ick soll di lachen lehren!*" (Ay, ay, I will teach you to laugh!) The imperial chancellor, Doctor Seld, then read the emperor's reply — that, although the landgraf, as he himself acknowledged, deserved the heaviest punishment, the emperor, nevertheless, in his innate goodness, and in consideration of the intercession made in his favour, would allow mercy to take the precedence of justice; he therefore removed the ban of excommunication pronounced against him, and granted him the life he had by his acts forfeited. After this document had been read, the landgraf was about to rise as a free prince from his humble posture, but waited in vain for the signal from the emperor; finding, therefore, that this was withheld, and that the clear and solemn promise of pardon was likewise refused to him, he rose of his own accord and withdrew from the assembly.

In the evening he supped with the elector Maurice and the markgraf of Brandenburg, in the quarters of the duke of Alva; after the meal, he was about to retire, when the duke informed him he must consider himself his prisoner. He was seized at once with astonishment and indignation, as were also the two princes who had guaranteed his liberty. They immediately appealed to the emperor and represented to him that they had pledged their princely word for the landgraf's liberty; but Charles denied having promised him remission from all imprisonment — as the mediators had falsely understood — although he declared at the same time that he would not punish him with perpetual captivity. And indeed it is very possible that his councillors promised more than he himself intended to grant; or that in the ignorance

of the chancellor Granvella and his son of the German, and of the two electors of the Spanish and French languages, an error may have arisen in the correspondence.

The deposed elector and the landgraf were therefore obliged to follow as prisoners the court and camp of the emperor wherever he proceeded. Besides this, all the Hessian castles and strongholds, from Cassel to Ziegenhain, were rased, all the cannon and ammunition seized and taken away, and the states of that country were forced to pay a fine of 150,000 florins. In his treaties with the cities of upper Germany, the duke of Würtemberg, the elector of Saxony, and the landgraf of Hesse, he gained more than five hundred pieces of cannon, which he caused to be conveyed to Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. The Spanish garrisons which he quartered wherever he found it possible, and especially in the cities of upper Germany, excited everywhere the greatest discontent. The overbearing pride and shameful treatment displayed and exercised by these haughty foreigners, animated as they were by their religious hatred, were insupportable, whilst it was not forgotten that the emperor, in the stipulations of his election, had promised not to bring or introduce any foreign troops into the empire.

SOLDIER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE COUNCIL REMOVES FROM TRENT

It now became more and more evident that peace in matters of religion would not emanate from the council of Trent, for as its members consisted altogether of Italians and Spaniards, they could not possibly be regarded as the representatives of the Christian world in the sense of the former convocations of the church. The Protestants now, as well as previously, refused not only to acknowledge their authority, but, on the contrary, insisted upon a council "in which the pope should not have the presidency, and where the Protestant theologians should enjoy the privilege of voting with and on the side of the bishops, and where the decrees recently made should undergo fresh examination and revision."

The papal party, on the other hand, would not consent to these demands, although the princes of Germany, including even the Catholics, urgently demanded that the states which had assisted at the confession of Augsburg should be admitted to join the council. Nay, the cardinals themselves viewed the circumstance of its being held at Trent with a very unfavourable eye, and they strenuously endeavoured to have it transferred to the interior of Italy; for they were afraid that, if the aged pope, Paul III, died during the period of its assembly, the council, supported by Charles, would take upon itself the office of electing a new pope in opposition to the rights enjoyed by the college of cardinals, and by which the interests of that institution must be materially affected. At length a case of fever came fortunately to their aid and seconded their wishes; and although it was feared that the disease

would prove more generally fatal, still one only of the bishops became its victim. This, however, was sufficient to produce the accomplishment of their object, and on the 9th of March, 1547, the council was removed from Trent to Bologna.

The emperor, on hearing of it, was highly indignant, and flew into a most violent passion, whilst the pope approved of the step taken by his legate; hence the division already existing between him and the emperor, owing on the one part to the pope's having withdrawn his troops from Germany immediately after the expiration of the agreed term of six months' service, and on the other to the emperor's not having availed himself of the triumph he had obtained in his empire by forthwith extirpating the Protestant party, became more confirmed. The emperor told the pope's nuncio in plain language that it could not be expected that the Protestants, who were willing to submit to the council, would themselves repair to Bologna, or even pay attention to what might be concluded there; whilst the rest did not require this motive for refusing to attend. If, therefore, Rome did not furnish him with a council, he himself would speedily have one assembled which should be so formed as to satisfy everyone, and produce all the reforms required; adding that the pope was an obstinate old man, whose only desire was to ruin and demolish the church to its foundation. Such were the angry terms in which Charles, contrary to his usual manner, addressed the prelate, and by that we have another proof of his anxiety and zeal to promote the peace of the church. The German bishops, on their part, now likewise most urgently besought the pope to remove the seat of council to Trent, but their efforts remained for a length of time without producing any effect.

THE "INTERIM"

In consequence, Charles now proceeded to re-establish of his own accord, at a diet held in Augsburg, in 1548, order and peace in religious matters in Germany, and with this view he opened a new conference, to which, on the side of the Catholics, two moderate men were appointed: the bishop of Naumburg, Julius Pflug, and the grand vicar of Mainz, Michael Helding; whilst the court chaplain of the elector of Brandenburg, Johann Agricola of Berlin, was selected on the part of the Protestants. They applied themselves to the subject with great industry and zeal, and marked out a plan of reunion which they laid before the emperor. Agricola, however, from his too great anxiety to establish the desired peace, had deviated in several essential points from the original principles of his faith. He had succeeded, it is true, in gaining for his own party, the admission of the two articles, *viz.*, of the marriage of clergymen, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both forms, but to continue valid only until the council should have given its decision upon the subject. As to the rest, he recognised the authority of the pope, the celebration of mass, and the Catholic church and its signs of faith generally; whence it was easy to foresee that great discontent and opposition must arise.

As, however, the elector of Brandenburg, and likewise the elector palatine, engaged both to sanction and adopt it, Charles considered he should now be able to compile therefrom his code of doctrines, called the *Interim*. He convoked his states on the 15th of May, and then caused to be read to them the work in question which was entitled "Declaration of his imperial and royal majesty, which determines how religion shall be exercised and maintained within the holy empire until the decision of the general council shall be pronounced." After the reading, and a short discussion had taken place among

a few individual members, but which led to no result, the elector of Mainz arose, and in the name of the states returned thanks to the emperor for the trouble, labour, industry, and love he had taken and shown for the sake of the country; and as none ventured to make any objection, the emperor concluded that the sanction of the entire body of the states was given to the measure, and regarded it now as the law of the empire.

Whilst the emperor Charles thus sought on the one hand to make himself independent of the proceedings of the pope, and on the other to maintain the unity of the German church — by which that of the Germanic Empire itself must be rendered still more firm — he was guided by the one grand and fundamental principle observed throughout his entire reign — the restoration of the importance and dignity of the ancient empire, as had formerly been projected and in part effected by the great Charlemagne, the Ottos, and other high-minded emperors. His aim was to render the empire replete with spiritual and temporal power. The emperor, according to Charles' plan, was to be made in reality the chief authority of entire Christendom; with his temporal power he was to unite a material and effective influence over the church, and not only protect, as a machine of the spiritual power, the order of the church, and assist in enforcing duty to its commands, but he was to have an important share and interest in its councils and resolutions. Like Charles the Great, who presided at the synods of his bishops, and whose decrees were sanctioned by his signature, so, likewise, it was the desire of Charles V to partake in the direction of the general council, or at least to maintain next to the pope, and as the central point of the ecclesiastical order of the Germanic Empire, the dignity with which he was invested.

ARQUEBUSIER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The emperor was well aware that a grand and important step would be gained towards the establishment of his Interim, if the imprisoned elector of Saxony, whose spiritual influence in the Saxon territories had recently very much increased — he being now regarded as a martyr to his faith — could be persuaded to give it his approval. Accordingly, he sent his chancellor, Granvella, and his son, the bishop of Arras, together with the vice-chancellor Seld, to submit to him the proposals to accept that code of doctrines, and likewise to recommend its adoption to his sons. The elector, however, in reply to their request, handed over to them a declaration which, in anticipation of such a visit, he had already prepared and written with his own hand, stating that the education he had received from his youth upwards at the hands of the servants of the divine word, together with the profound researches he had himself since made in the writings of the prophets and apostles, had united to convince him that the true Christian doctrine was to be recognised in the Augsburg confession, and his conscientious belief therein remained unshaken. If he accepted the Interim as a Christian and divine doctrine, he should be forced, against his conscience, to deny and condemn the Augsburg confession

in many articles upon which his immortal happiness depended, and sanction with his lips what in his heart he held to be completely contrary to the doctrines of the holy scripture; in doing this he should consider he was shamelessly abusing and blaspheming the holy name of God, for which sin he must severely and bitterly suffer in his soul. His imperial majesty, therefore, would not, he hoped, feel ungracious towards him, if he refused to accede to the Interim, and persisted in adhering strictly to the Augsburg confession.

The ministers refused to accept this declaration, and reminded the elector that the emperor was empowered to make laws and decrees even in religious matters, and that several Roman emperors, ancestors of his present majesty, had created such, which even to that day were obeyed by all the subjects of the Roman Empire. The elector, however, remained immovable; and as during the discussion they were interrupted by a loud peal of thunder, the elector felt rejoiced and strengthened by the conviction that this was sent as an indication from heaven that his conduct met with divine approbation, and that he should be guided by the judgment of God alone, and not by that of mortals.

The act committed against the elector, immediately after this interview — although it is believed to have been done without the sanction of the emperor himself — was both petty and unjustifiable. He was deprived at once of the society of his chaplain, Christopher Hoffmann, and a seizure was made of all his books, amongst the rest of his own especially treasured copy of the Bible, beautifully illuminated; but amidst the painful mortification he endured, whilst forced to submit to this trial, his firmness did not forsake him, for as the minions quitted the place with these to him invaluable treasures, he said, resignedly: "You may take the books; but that which I have learned from them you can never take or even tear from my heart."

The sons, following the example of their father, refused to introduce the Interim into their territory, and in fact the emperor soon found himself deceived in his hopes of bringing his code into general use. The Protestant theologians rose in one body against the measure, and many were forced to vacate and abandon their offices, and take up the pilgrim's staff as wanderers, as in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Frankfort, and other cities: the number of banished ecclesiastics in the upper countries alone amounted to four hundred. What, however, is still more astonishing is that the Catholics themselves disapproved of this Interim, although it was by no means pretended that it should be put into practice amongst them. The Catholic church would have reaped the greatest advantage therefrom; for if the emperor had succeeded in his plan, the reunion of both would have been a necessary consequence. Thence their opposition can only be interpreted into a declaration that they would not regard as valid any regulation in matters of religion coming from him as a layman.

Thus, during his sojourn of two years in the Netherlands, whither he had repaired after the diet of Augsburg, the emperor was forced to receive continual complaints from Germany; his Interim was only acknowledged outwardly in a few places, whilst generally, in all parts of the empire, much bitter feeling was expressed against it, and even the elector Maurice himself gave it but a very limited reception in his land. He had commissioned several theologians, including Melanchthon, to prepare a church formulary for his own subjects, and with great trouble, and not without incurring severe censure from the more rigid of the Lutheran clergymen, they completed what was called "the Leipsic Interim," and which, certainly, deviated in many points from but as a whole adhered to the Protestant faith. It was introduced in

several parts of the north of Germany, although here and there with considerable alterations; but, on the other hand, in many other parts of the country the greatest stand was made against any change whatever. The cities of Constance, Bremen, and Magdeburg, especially, declared themselves most firmly opposed to it, and refused to submit to the imperial order; whereupon the emperor pronounced the ban of the empire against them, and the two former places returned to their obedience. But Magdeburg continued obstinate, being influenced in a great measure by several theologians who had taken refuge there after their banishment from Wittenberg on account of the Interim; amongst whom a certain Flacius, with the by-name of Illyricus, was the most violent and zealous. The elector Maurice received at the new diet of Augsburg, in 1550, orders to execute forthwith the sentence of the ban pronounced against that city. He accordingly marched with his army at the commencement of the autumn in the same year, and laid siege to the place.

At this diet Charles sought to gain for his son Philip, whom he had sent for from Spain, the title of king of the Romans. However, neither his brother Ferdinand, nor the latter's son, Maximilian, nor, in fact, any of the electors or princes, would give their consent; for, besides other causes, the haughty, gloomy, repulsive appearance and manner of the prince could not possibly operate in his favour among the Germans. His father, therefore, saw himself obliged to send him back to Spain, whither Philip, indeed, was too glad to return, for he was more attached to that country than to any other. The emperor, at the conclusion of the diet, left Augsburg for Innsbruck, as the new pope, Julius III, having now removed the seat of the council from Bologna to Trent, Charles was anxious to be in its vicinity.

THE ELECTOR MAURICE DESERTS THE EMPEROR

Meantime the new elector of Saxony nourished in his heart a most bold and determined design against the emperor, the immediate motives for which, however, we are not able to define, inasmuch as the whole of this man's thoughts and actions have remained an enigma in all historical research. Still there is no doubt he was influenced in his conduct by at least two grand causes: (1) the severe and unjust confinement of his father-in-law, the landgraf of Hesse, towards whom he considered he was still bound to redeem the word and guarantee he had given for his liberty, whilst neither the arguments nor prayers resorted to by him had the least effect upon the emperor; and (2) the sad condition of the Protestants in Germany. These latter felt more and more convinced that the emperor only waited now for the resolutions of the council of Trent, in order to establish them as the laws of religion throughout the empire, and as he had already commenced hostilities against Magdeburg, on account of the Interim, so likewise, as soon as he had collected fresh troops, it might be expected that he would force all the states of the land to submit to all those decrees of the church. Indeed, at this moment, the whole body of the Protestants was in a state of anxious expectation and suspense. Those who dreaded the worst results condemned the elector Maurice as the most culpable party: inasmuch as he had betrayed the league of Smalkald, and it was through him that John Frederick of Saxony and the landgraf of Hesse were now suffering imprisonment. Those, on the other hand, who still cherished some hope of relief, turned their eyes towards him, for to them he appeared the only one now left, capable of protecting the new faith.

The moment had indeed arrived when with one grand and mighty stroke he might expunge all recollection of the past and regain the public confidence. Maurice was not long in deciding the course he should take, and he determined to put his plan into execution at once. He availed himself of the opportunity presented in the expedition against Magdeburg, to collect, without exciting suspicion, a numerous body of troops; whilst at the same time, in accordance with the object in view, the siege of the city itself was conducted as tardily as possible. At length, in September of the following year, 1551, he, of his own authority, agreed to a suspension of arms, and in the succeeding November he concluded a treaty with the city — the terms of which were extremely mild and favourable for the latter — whilst, however, he took care not to discharge his troops on this account. He secretly despatched his early friend and companion, Albert, markgraf of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, to the court of Henry II, king of France, the son of Francis I, in order to conclude an alliance with him, and he immediately engaged in his service the leader of the Würtemberg troops, John of Heydeck, who, together with Schertlin, had been previously placed under the imperial ban.

These proceedings, however, had not escaped observation, and were communicated to the emperor; but Charles remained deaf to all the warnings given to him. He placed the greatest confidence in the man whom he thought he had thoroughly tested, and when thus cautioned against him, he replied that as he had never, to his knowledge, given cause, either to Maurice or the markgraf Albert, to act inimically towards him, but, on the contrary, had shown to both great proofs of his favour and consideration, he could not believe it possible that they would be guilty of such ingratitude; and he was convinced that with them their acts would go hand in hand with their words, and that they would not swerve from that honourable line of conduct for which the German nation had ever distinguished itself. And thus, whilst on the one hand the emperor placed his firm reliance upon German fidelity, his minister, Granvella the younger, calculated upon the simplicity of the Germans; for the observation he made in reply was that it was wholly impossible for a phlegmatic German to conceive a plan and endeavour secretly to bring it to bear, without its being immediately discovered and known in all its details.

Both the emperor and his minister, however, were struck as it were with a clap of thunder, when Maurice, in the month of March, 1552, suddenly appeared with his whole army, and invaded Franconia, augmenting his forces with those of the landgrafschaft of Hesse and the troops of the markgraf Albert. At the same time both these princes drew up a declaration against the emperor, which they made public, wherein they sought to justify the war they commenced. They complained of the prolonged imprisonment of the landgraf, as likewise of the attacks made by the emperor upon the liberty of Germany. They reproached him with having confided the seals of the empire to foreigners, who were totally unacquainted both with the language and the laws of Germany, so that the Germans themselves were actually forced to learn a foreign tongue before they were allowed to make known their demands to the imperial government. Contrary to the oath he took, he had, they said, introduced into the country foreign troops, who pillaged and ruined the unfortunate inhabitants, whom they likewise abused and ill-treated in every possible way; nay, he had gone to such extremes that he had clearly shown he was swayed by no other thought or feeling than that of subjecting all and each to the most shameful servitude, whence his conduct had been such that if the sweeping torrent of destruction were not speedily

and effectually checked, posterity itself would have too great reason to abominate the negligence and cowardice of the present generation, during which the liberty of their fatherland — its greatest and most precious treasure — had been allowed to fall a sacrifice.

The emperor again, whose actions were better than in these declarations they were represented to be, in his dignity made no other reply than: "The accusations of the two princes being so childish, unconnected, and absurd, they only contain in themselves their own falsehood and want of foundation, whilst they lay bare in ample evidence the mischievous character of those who have invented them."

The enterprise of the two princes, however, very soon lost character in public opinion through the conduct of the markgraf himself, who, with his people, committed throughout the flat portions of the country violence and devastation equalled only by the most lawless band of freebooters and incendiaries. Thence Maurice and the young landgraf William of Hesse, both of whom had nobler objects in view, were forced to separate from him and leave him to act for himself.

The emperor was now in a state of great embarrassment; he was in want both of troops and money, which latter, to his mortification, the moneylenders of Augsburg refused to advance him, and he was reduced to the extremity of deputing his brother Ferdinand to open negotiations with Maurice. As, however, they led to no result, and Maurice easily perceived that the design of Charles was to gain time, he broke up at once from Swabia and marched his troops into the Tyrol, in order, if possible, to fall upon him unprepared. His progress was so rapid that he actually preceded in person the announcement of his advance; he marched on to Ehrenberg, which fell into his hands, and had he not been detained an entire day by a mutiny which broke out in one of his regiments, he would have succeeded in gaining Innsbruck in time to surprise the emperor there and take him prisoner. Charles, however, was thus enabled to escape on the previous night (May 19th), during a dreadful thunderstorm, and arrived in safety at Trent; he himself was conveyed there upon a litter, being at the time extremely ill, and his brother Ferdinand, with the captive elector of Saxony, and the rest of the suite followed, some on horseback, others even on foot, whilst servants with torches lighted them on their road through the narrow passes of the Tyrolese mountains — such had been their haste. But even Trent itself was no longer secure, and after a few hours of repose Charles was again forced to resume his flight across the most difficult and dangerous roads as far as the village of Villach, in Carinthia — the assembled council at Trent having also in their alarm broken up and taken flight on every side. Maurice, however, on finding that Innsbruck was evacuated, turned back again, after he had distributed amongst his troops the imperial booty collected, and marched on to Passau, whither an assembly of the princes had been convoked.

Charles now gave the imprisoned elector of Saxony his liberty once more; stipulating only that he should remain with the court a short time longer. And truly the sight alone of this suffering prince must have produced within him bitter and painful feelings; for it was only five years previously that, on the plain of Lochau, the elector, with bleeding form, appealed to him on his knees for grace; whilst now the same prince beheld him, the former conqueror, sick and helpless, traversing almost impassable mountains as a fugitive, and pursued, too, by another elector of Saxony, whom he in his days of pride and glory had himself promoted and rendered powerful. What, however, afflicted the emperor more than anything else was to find himself deserted by all his

states — not even being aided by the Catholics; whilst they all preferred submitting patiently to be plundered by the markgraf Albert rather than uniting for the succour and protection of their emperor. Then it was that he but too truly felt the conviction at heart — that only in the love of his people can a sovereign hope to find a sure protection in the hour of danger. In Augsburg, the elector John Frederick took leave of the emperor, who, in this parting scene, testified much respect and even emotion towards the prince. The latter left Augsburg immediately, and hastened to return to his own lands.

THE TREATY OF PASSAU (1552 A.D.)

The emperor meantime left it to his brother Ferdinand to negotiate with Maurice at Passau. He himself had a great objection to the whole transaction, but he was nevertheless very desirous to make peace with Maurice, in order to be enabled to turn all the power of his arms against the enemy he most hated — the French — who, during this interval, had invaded Lorraine and taken one city after another. Under such circumstances the Treaty of Passau was concluded, on the 31st of July, 1552. Therein it was stipulated: that the landgraf Philip of Hesse should at once be set at liberty, and that the ban of the empire pronounced against all who had joined in the war of Smalkald should be withdrawn; that with respect to the other religious grievances, a new diet should be convoked, and that until then the imperial chamber of justice should exercise its judgment with equal impartiality for both parties, but that the imperial council should be composed of Germans only.

After the conclusion of this peace, Maurice, in order to prove the justice of his intentions, disbanded all the foreign troops of his army, and marched with his own soldiers to Hungary in aid of King Ferdinand. Philip of Hesse was liberated, and returned to his family and country. The long and severe imprisonment he had endured had humbled and depressed his independent spirit, and destroyed all further inclination for great undertakings; he employed the remaining years of his life in the praiseworthy task of healing, as far as possible, the wounds inflicted during the previous unhappy period of anarchy throughout his dominions.

The emperor having, in the meantime, collected an army from Italy and Hungary, marched against Henry II, king of France, and, sick and enfeebled as he was, he followed it in a litter and commanded it at the siege of Metz. But it appeared now as if fortune had abandoned him entirely; the city defended itself with great obstinacy, and however determined the emperor and his army might have been to carry on the siege, they were nevertheless compelled to yield to the severe effects of the winter, and to withdraw from its walls. Much discontented, Charles returned to the Netherlands, and commenced making preparations for the next campaign (1553). This, however, as well as the two following expeditions of 1554 and 1555, produced nothing decisive for the two nations: the French, when Charles sought to bring them to an open engagement in the field, fortified themselves in their strongholds, and the entire war limited its operations to merely devastating the provinces of the frontiers. Charles was accordingly forced to transfer its achievement to his son Philip II.

The Treaty of Passau had produced in Germany a happy state of repose; one man alone appeared determined not to allow its uninterrupted enjoyment — the turbulent markgraf Albert of Brandenburg. He pursued his war of pillage and incendiarism against the bishops and several cities in Franconia, Swabia, on the Rhine and Moselle, with unheard of impudence and

daring, and as at length all the warnings given to him were of no avail, Duke Maurice, to whom the peace of Germany had now become more and more dear, united with Henry duke of Brunswick, and both made a combined attack upon the markgraf, in 1553, on the plain of Lüneburg, near Sieversshausen; he having by this time extended his depredations even to lower Saxony. The battle was severe and bloody; the markgraf, however, was completely beaten; but two sons of the duke of Brunswick, a prince of Lüneburg, fourteen counts, and nearly three hundred of the nobility besides were left dead on the field, whilst Maurice of Saxony himself was mortally wounded. He was conveyed to a tent erected close to a hedge, and there he received the captured banners and papers of the markgraf; which latter he examined with all the eager curiosity his sinking state would permit. Two days afterwards he expired, exclaiming with his dying breath: "God will come ——"; the rest of the sentence was unintelligible.

Although only thirty-two years of age, he had already acquired greater authority and commanded more influence in Germany than any one of his contemporaries. Hence any further testimony is unnecessary in order to prove the preponderating power of his genius. The final efforts he so patriotically made for the promotion and establishment of general tranquillity and his love for peace and order, which he sealed with his own blood, have in a great degree served to throw the mantle of oblivion over his earlier proceedings, and conciliated the critical voice of public opinion. He was succeeded in the electorate by his brother Augustus.

Albert, the restless markgraf, in whom the turbulent spirit of the times of the Faustrecht was revived in all its destructive form, still continued, in spite of the severe defeat he had suffered, to harass the country. Completely reduced after this last battle, he, in his extremity, sought the aid of the king of France, and supported by the money he received from that monarch he immediately began, in 1556, to collect fresh troops and make arrangements for another campaign — or rather series of depredations. Happily, however, his death, which occurred suddenly amidst his warlike preparations, prevented him from committing further devastation. He was likewise a prince of extraordinary powers, and resembled very much his ancestor Albert, the Achilles of Germany; but the innate wildness of his disposition and character generally, combined with the disordered state of those times, which destroyed all principle, however firmly based, had operated to give to his energies a direction fatally destructive.

In the Treaty of Passau it had been fixed that a diet should be held in order to regulate the affairs of religion, and to investigate the accusations of the elector Maurice against the emperor. Charles himself urged with great zeal its assembling, in order that it might not appear as if he stood in any fear of the inquiry; but the affairs of Germany having now become altogether equally indifferent to him, nay even odious, he confided their direction to his brother Ferdinand, who devoted all his energies with noble and praiseworthy zeal to the undertaking. In spite of the lethargy and indolence of the German princes, and not discouraged by several vain attempts to effect his object, he at length succeeded, in 1554, in forming a diet at Augsburg. A committee was immediately named to examine and settle the various matters of religious contention, composed of the ambassadors of Austria, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Würtemberg, Eichstädt, Strasburg, Jülich, Augsburg, and Weingarten, and they all worked with sincere and laudable industry in the great cause. The Roman king aided them therein most strenuously; he removed every external difficulty presenting itself in the progress of their task, and when he

learned, amongst other things, as is related by his chancellor, Zasius, "that several of the spiritual princes were engaged in fruitless disputes, that they were occupied in strewing the path with every sort of disquisition and difficulty, adapted more to destroy altogether, even to the foundation, the building they were engaged to reconstruct, whilst such proceedings must produce on the other side bitter and inimical feelings," he despatched Zasius and his vice-chancellor Jonas to them, and warned them in most grave and solemn terms to desist from such a line of conduct; and in thus acting he effected his object.

And by proceeding in another circumstance to act with equal firmness towards the Protestants, he caused them likewise to yield to his wishes. The point was one of great importance, inasmuch as they demanded that the ecclesiastical body of Germany should be at liberty to adopt the Augsburg confession, and retain at the same time their offices and lands; but the Catholic party rose in strong opposition against it: If this demand, they declared, were conceded, the whole of the ecclesiastical possessions in Germany would very soon be transferred into the hands of the Protestants. Much rather, on the contrary, ought the law to be that as soon as a spiritual prince, in his own person, passed over to the new doctrine, he should be forthwith succeeded by a Catholic. Eventually the Protestants were obliged to cede the point for the moment, but they held it in reserve, meantime, to be discussed on a future occasion: a subject of dispute which became important under the title of the "Ecclesiastical Reservation."

Thus was concluded at length, on the 26th of September, 1555, at Augsburg, the religious peace which for a time put an end to the long contest. Free exercise of religion was granted legally to the Protestants throughout the whole of Germany, and they retained possession of all the revenues hitherto received from the ecclesiastical institutions. Neither Protestants nor Catholics were allowed to seek proselytes at the expense of either party, but every person was permitted to follow freely his own faith. And whilst every reigning prince was privileged to fix and establish the religion of his dominions, he was not at liberty to force any of his subjects to adhere to any one church beyond another; on the contrary, it was left open to anyone, who might desire to do so from religious motives, to remove from one territory into another. Hence, in this respect, the progress of reform had not as yet attained that degree of intolerance which allowed the subject professing a faith different to the established creed of the country equal rights with those enjoyed by all the rest of his fellow subjects. Another law, however, by which the interests of the Protestants were beneficially promoted was that their co-religionists became now likewise members of the imperial chamber of justice.

After the conclusion of this religious peace, the subject-matter of the accusations brought by Prince Maurice against the emperor came on for discussion in the college of the electoral princes; but, to the satisfaction of Charles, none of the other states of the empire would join in the investigation, and consequently the whole question was abandoned.[b]

PAUL IV

Meanwhile circumstances had arisen which seemed to more than compromise the English combination. Cardinal Caraffa had become pope under the name of Paul IV, and seldom did Habsburg have a more violent opponent, or the church a more blindly zealous and perverse leader. He hastened to form an alliance with France, being determined to free Italy from Spanish

rule and to restore it to the state of independence it had enjoyed in his early youth. He thwarted an agreement between the emperor and Henry II. Droysen relates: "Foreign and Neapolitan emigrants filled the curia; the papal exchequer made against Charles V and King Philip a formal appeal in which it was proposed to excommunicate these princes and to release their subjects from the oath of allegiance."

GERMAN LORD OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

He implored Suleiman to spare Hungary and seize Naples and Sicily instead. Charles had to be careful that the Catholic fanaticism of his Spaniards played him no pranks. In spite of this the combined papal and French troops were defeated, and Paul had to submit to terms of peace which only consolidated the Spanish dominion in Italy. The duke of Tuscany by the annexation of Siena, the French by that of Piacenza, which had been won from the Spaniards, were the obedient friends of the Spaniards. Although the pope had been unfortunate on this occasion, he far surpassed himself elsewhere. Immediately after entering on the pontificate he sent a violent bull to England in which he demanded the surrender of all the estates of the convents. Parliament decided to comply only in the case of those possessions which had been handed over to the crown. His demands became ever more violent, the persecutions ever more ruthless, and the results were ever more bloody, one rebellion following another, extortions succeeding extortions. There was satisfaction in England over the fact that Mary had no heirs; the princess Elizabeth obstinately adhered to Protestantism. It was hoped that soon an end would come to the whole troubled condition.

And an end did come. Mary died without heirs (1558); Elizabeth succeeded; the Spanish alliance was repudiated after the loss of Calais. The bloody Catholic episode was over. Thus Charles saw his plans frustrated even here; Italy alone remained assured to his house in Spain. The reckoning of his life work, which during his retirement at San Yuste he had leisure to draw up, showed that he had barely escaped bankruptcy, full as were his columns of brilliant though bloody numbers. A cold calculator, at all times and in all ways, he had no claim to compassion.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSIONS

Whilst negotiations were pending with the Ottomans, terminating with the peace of 1562, and when Ferdinand was chosen emperor, in the East the czar had already obtained successes which increased his empire, and upon

which the future undertakings and the whole power of Russia depended. Kazan and Astrakhan were subjected, the frontiers extended to the Don and Caucasus; the international market at Astrakhan was Russian, but it was empty. The differences with Poland and Sweden, the plundering of Lithuania and Finland, were temporary manifestations, but in Moscow earnest looks were being turned towards the possessions of the German knights of the sword: the question of the Baltic was raised, and Russia armed herself to decide its fate. It was only by these coast possessions that the European position of the great eastern empire was to be created and upheld. The attention of Europe, during the whole of the sixteenth century, was occupied by the Baltic question in the East and the Spanish question in the West.[c]

THE ABDICATION AND DEATH OF CHARLES V

BUFFOON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Charles had beheld all the grand plans created within his comprehensive mind either incompletely executed or altogether destroyed; and accordingly the greater his desire to bring them to bear, the greater was the mortification he was forced to experience in the contemplation of their failure, and more especially did he feel this in his present afflicted state of body. On the other hand, the country towards which he had ever turned his eye with pleasurable, genial feelings — Spain — had now found in his son, Philip, a protector who possessed the general confidence of the nation. Accordingly everything now combined to strengthen the motives for the plan determined upon by Charles, which, in imitation of Diocletian, he had some time had in contemplation — to abdicate his throne, and end his days in the retirement of a monastic life.

In the autumn of 1555 he summoned his son Philip to Brussels, and on the 25th of October of the same year he solemnly transferred into his hands the dominion of the Netherlands.

On the 15th of January, in the ensuing year, 1556, his abdication of the crowns of Spain and Italy, in favour of his son Philip, took place in Brussels with equal solemnity; and in the following August, that of the Germanic Empire, in favour of his brother Ferdinand, was effected by an embassy, at the head of which was Prince William of Orange. Ferdinand assumed the government from that moment on his own authority, but was only formally acknowledged by the body of electoral princes in the beginning of the year 1558, at Frankfort, where he swore to the stipulated terms of his election, and the imperial crown was solemnly placed on his head by the arch-chancellor of the empire, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, which crown, together with the sceptre, had been brought from Brussels, at Charles' desire, by the imperial deputation.

Charles embarked on the 17th of September, 1556, for Spain, where he proceeded to a small building which he had caused to be built expressly for himself, near the convent of San Yeste. There he died on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.[b] Details of his abdication-ceremonies and of his life during the years of retirement have been

given in our histories of Spain and the Netherlands, and need not be repeated here. Our present concern is with the affairs of the empire whose control Charles had voluntarily relinquished.[a]

FERDINAND I (1556-1564 A.D.)

The reign of Ferdinand I offers few political events of a striking character. In Bohemia there was tranquillity, since he had made himself the absolute master of the kingdom. In Hungary the war still lingered, with little advantage either to him or his rival, John Sigismund. In Austria, his hereditary possession, he found the number of dissidents so much increased that, though a zealous Catholic, policy induced him to apply to the Roman court for two great concessions, the marriage of the clergy and the use of the cup: the latter he obtained; the former, the pope had no power — as he had, doubtless, no inclination — to grant. And in another respect the emperor showed that, if he was a true Catholic, he was no slave to the papacy. At the commencement of his reign, having signed the usual convention with the electors — a convention which differed from that of his brother and predecessor only in so far as it afforded security to the Protestant religion — he notified his accession to Paul IV, and at the same time expressed his desire to receive the imperial crown from the hands of that pontiff.

NOBLEMAN CARRYING BANNER

Never was conduct more impolitic than that of Paul on this occasion. Protesting that Ferdinand had never been the lawful king of the Romans, since he had been elected to that dignity without the concurrence of the head of the church, he refused to receive the ambassador; reproached the new sovereign for daring to assume the imperial title without his sanction; declared that the abdication of Charles was null, since it had been effected without the consent of the papal see — the acknowledged superior of the empire; and ordered a new election to be made, before Ferdinand should be recognised as the temporal head of Christendom. Were not this monstrous instance of arrogance too well attested to be doubted, mankind would have some difficulty in believing that, at a time when half of Germany, almost the whole of Scandinavia, England, the Netherlands, half of Scotland, and part of France had thrown off all obedience to him, the pope could use language which would scarcely have been tolerated in the darkest ages.

In this unexpected crisis, the emperor acted with the spirit becoming his

station. He ordered his ambassador to quit Rome, unless an audience were immediately granted him. In alarm, Paul temporised; but, though he was anxious to mollify the monarch, death surprised him in the midst of his negotiations. Pius IV, who succeeded, was more tractable; and though Ferdinand, in the instrument of notification, omitted the word *obedientiam*, which had hitherto been inserted in it by all his predecessors, his title was acknowledged. Catholics, no less than Protestants, were irritated at the pretensions of the pope: both declared that it was high time to dissever the last ties which connected his secular authority with the empire; and that, while the Catholic princes and states yielded him in spirituals a ready obedience, he must be openly taught that his temporal claims were no longer admissible. It was resolved that henceforth no emperor should receive the crown from the hands of the pope. That resolution has been wisely observed; and from this period not a vestige of dependence is to be discovered in the intercourse of the emperors with the popes. Soon afterwards, though Pius interposed many obstacles, Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the electors; and instead of an instrument containing the obedience of the empire towards the head of the church, a mere complimentary epistle was substituted. "Thus terminated the long dependence of the emperors on the see of Rome, which had been established in ages of darkness and ignorance; had been continued from respect and habit; and which, in all periods, had involved the empire in innumerable embarrassments and calamities, without producing a single real advantage."

In many other respects the duties of Ferdinand were sufficiently delicate. His great object was to preserve internal tranquillity, by continuing the good understanding between the rival parties in religion. He held the scales of justice so evenly balanced between them that no one could accuse him of partiality. He would not allow the Catholics to suppress, in their own states, the exercise of the reformed religion; nor, to gratify the Protestants, would he abolish the Ecclesiastical Reservation. Nor was outward harmony between them his only aim. With the same zeal, and, unfortunately, with as little success as his predecessor, he laboured to effect a union between them. While, on the one side, he endeavoured to make the Protestants acknowledge the council of Trent, on the other he attempted to wring from the pope, among other concessions, that of the two points we have mentioned — the clerical marriages, and the use of the cup. But, moderate as was Pius IV, his prejudices could not be made to bend; he evaded every request, however demanded by policy.

With equal pertinacity, the Protestants refused to recognise the council, unless the pope attended like any other bishop, without the power of presiding, or swaying, or in the slightest degree directing the proceedings; unless the reformed theologians should be declared equal in character and dignity to the Roman Catholic bishops; unless the council were transferred from Trent to some city of the empire. In a subsequent assembly at Naumberg, they went further. They would not receive the papal ambassador, the cardinal Commendoni; nor the papal letters, addressing them in the usual style of "*Filii*," since, as they did not acknowledge the bishop of Rome as their father, they would not accept the title which he had given them. At length they condescended to write, but in a tone of the bitterest invective: they heaped every abusive epithet on the Romish hierarchy, especially on its head, and declared that they would never attend any council convoked by him, simply because he had not the power of convocation — that being the undoubted prerogative of the emperor.

If Ferdinand were disgusted with the savage opposition of these fanatics who, without sacrificing one rational point of their creed, might surely have used courtesy towards the oldest bishop in the universe, and have shown a disposition to be tolerant where forms only were concerned, where the essential articles of belief were tacitly laid aside for a season, he had soon the gratification to perceive that they were more fierce in their hatred to each other than to the common enemy. Three great points, in particular — the nature of the Eucharistic sacrament, that of justification, and the extent of the divine decrees — continued, and with greater virulence than ever, to divide the reformed doctors. In this very assembly of Naumburg, on the suggestion that the confession of Augsburg should be received as the general exposition of the reformed faith, scenes of violence occurred, which had been hitherto unparalleled.

For the preservation of internal peace, Ferdinand substituted diets of deputation for the general diets. They consisted of deputies returned from the several electorals and imperial cities, with the elector at their head. As, whenever the public peace was menaced, or new regulations were required for securing it, they were easily convoked, the innovation was certainly an improvement. With the same view, the powers of the military chief or colonel in each circle were enlarged; he was enabled to call out a greater levy of troops, in a less time. The aulic council was purged of its foreign advocates, and remodelled, so as better to suit the wants and wishes of the Germans.

On the whole, Ferdinand may be regarded as one of the best sovereigns of the country. Though attached to his own religion, he tolerated the reformed even in his own hereditary dominions of Austria; and, in his efforts alike for the reformation of his own church and for the union of all religious parties, he showed an enlightened zeal for the best interests of society. That such a man should be beloved need not surprise us. Hence he had little difficulty in procuring the election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans. But the readiness with which the states entered in this respect into his wishes must, doubtless, be assigned to his dividing the hereditary domains of his house among his children and their posterity, and, consequently, to his disarming the jealousy of the empire. That the king of Bohemia, the king of Hungary, the archduke of Austria, the duke of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and other places, should, when elevated to the imperial throne, appear formidable to the patriotic Germans, was natural. In his eldest son, indeed, he secured the succession alike to the two kingdoms and the archduchy: but then Hungary was half in possession of a rival, and neither it nor Bohemia was well affected to the house of Austria. To his second son, and the posterity of that son, he bequeathed the Tyrol, with the exterior provinces. The third had Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola.

MAXIMILIAN II (1564–1576 A.D.)

Maximilian II was worthy to succeed his able and patriotic father. In his policy as regarded the empire, it was his constant aim to preserve the religious peace, which was never more threatened than during his reign. Because he had so much attachment to the Lutheran doctrines as to receive the communion under both kinds, and detested persecution, though he remained in the bosom of the Catholic church, he had great personal influence with both parties. Listening with patience to the complaints of both, he was able to show both that they were wrong — the Roman Catholics in seeking to

persecute the Lutherans of their states, the Lutherans in clamouring for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Reservation.[e]

It was the fate of Protestantism not to have many suggestions carried out, on account of increasing disputes amongst its supporters. In the first place Calvinism forced its way into the country from France and Switzerland. This severe and logical form of dogma and constitution, based on the fearful doctrine of predestination, was eminently calculated to train men in strength of will and resolution; but it was un-German — an entirely Roman-French representation of Protestantism which never became indigenous in Germany, and which was looked upon by strict Lutherans as in no sort a co-religion, but as a violation of the sacraments, and not deserving the protection of the religious peace. The conversion to Calvinism of the Palatinate, therefore, under Frederick III, caused a great rupture between that province and Saxony and Brandenburg.

Warrior of the Sixteenth Century

On the other hand, in Lutheranism itself there were struggles and disputes between the strict Lutherans and a section of moderates, who in their teaching about the Eucharist and justification had adopted slightly Calvinistic views and who took their name from the gentle Philip Melanchthon (1560), but were dubbed heretic crypto-Calvinists by their opponents. They were the dominating sect round Wittenberg and the electorate of Saxony; the views of their opponents radiated from the newly founded University of Jena, 1558, into the Ernestine Thuringia and the towns of lower Saxony. So the new opposition in the church was closely bound up with the old dynastic opposition and both together caused great convulsions in central Germany.

John Frederick's eldest son of the same name in Gotha, whose feeling of deep indignation at the treatment of his family left him no peace and robbed him of all clear-headed reflection, made an alliance with the Franconian knight of the empire, William von Grumbach, an old companion-at-arms of the markgraf Albert; because William, who was engaged in a long and unfortunate lawsuit with the bishopric of Würzburg, held out to John the inducement of being able to restore the lost glories of his house by a general uprising of the nobility, or at least of the knights of the empire, against the princes. Harboured in Gotha by John Frederick, Grumbach obtained possession of Würzburg by an unexpected attack in October, 1563, but fell under the ban of the empire on account of his breach of the peace; and the same fate befell the duke, because he would not give up his alliance with Grumbach.

This affair, so small in itself, had much to do with matters of great and world-wide importance. In the east loomed threateningly a fresh and frightful war with the Turks; in the north Eric XIV of Sweden, supported by Russia, had just begun the struggle for the control of the Baltic against Denmark, the Hanse towns, and Poland, and had come to an understanding with the Ernestines in order to prevent the interference of the empire in favour of the Danes and the Hanseatic League, whilst the elector Augustus of Saxony, the husband of a Danish princess, made an alliance with Denmark. Great

interests demanded, therefore, the speedy overthrow of the Ernestines. The invasion of Habsburg-Hungary by the Turks came to a standstill through the brave defence of the little fortress of Sziget by Niklas Zrinyi in September, 1566, and was completely repulsed after the death of Sultan Suleiman (September 4th) by the powerful army of Maximilian II; though the latter certainly did not manage to effect more than an inglorious peace of eight years (February, 1568). Meantime the elector Augustus, as the head of the circle of upper Saxony, commissioned to execute the ban of the empire, forced the fortified town of Gotha into unconditional surrender, after a brave resistance of many months, in April, 1567. Grumbach was executed, the duke kept a prisoner till his death in Vienna-Neustadt, and his sons were compelled to mortgage the Neustadt circle to the electorate of Saxony as reparation for the expenses of the war. But the victory of the Albertines was by no means followed by a victory for the followers of Philip Melanchthon's teaching, which Augustus had only tolerated in his country hitherto because he thought that the teaching was purely Lutheran. Puzzled and nervous, and believing himself purposely deceived by those around him, he put down with an iron hand crypto-Calvinism in Saxony, which then became the central fortress of Lutheran orthodoxy; and so there could be no further question of a common understanding with the Palatinate. In consequence, the proposal of the Palatinate in the diet in 1576 to make a confession of faith optional in the cathedral chapters was frustrated, and so the suspension of clerical restrictions and the condition of the evangelicals remained as insecure as before.

Whilst these fruitless disputes distracted the empire, the nation in its inactivity was losing one possession after another. Since the old colony of Livonia, a combination of lands belonging to some German orders and bishops, had gone over to Lutheranism, that league of ecclesiastical states had lost all internal authority and stability. Placed between the great Slav powers and the ambitious northern kingdoms, and left in the lurch by the empire, Livonia fell under foreign rule. As the Russians even since 1558 were spreading over the country, Revel and Esthonia in 1561 placed themselves under the protection of Sweden; Gotthard Kettler, the last grand master of Livonia, took Courland in 1561 as a secular duchy holding of Poland; Livonia proper became for centuries an apple of discord between Danes and Swedes, Poles and Russians. The last attempt of the Hanse towns in alliance with Denmark to secure at least the former trade with Russia met with a certain amount of success, after the fall of Eric XIV, in the Peace of Stralsund, 1568, but the fate of Livonia was not influenced thereby. The outlook for the future, therefore, was very gloomy when Maximilian II died at Ratisbon, on the 12th of October, 1576.

RUDOLF II

Under the rule of his son and successor, Rudolf II (1576–1612), things grew worse. Not that he had ever been a church fanatic, though brought up in Spain and originally intended to succeed to the throne there; he was, on the contrary, inclined like his predecessor to occupy the position of a mediator in the empire and to maintain peace; but undecided, shy, and more devoted than is becoming in a ruler to scientific and artistic hobbies, he was by no means fit to govern, and he fell gradually into a mania for persecution. Almost of themselves things went from bad to worse in the empire. As the Roman church everywhere in France, England, Poland, and Sweden was beginning its work of restoration, so was this the case in Germany, first of all in the conception by the ecclesiastical princedoms of the religious peace, according

to which the Lutheran states were to be content with what they had already won, particularly with the ecclesiastical property, which had become theirs since 1552. The prince-abbot of Fulda began first and was followed by the bishops of Treves, Mainz, Hildesheim, Bamberg, Würzburg, Paderborn, and Münster. Everywhere in these dioceses the Protestant clergy and teachers were exiled, orthodox Catholic priests were appointed, Jesuitical schools were founded; congregations which had thus lost their pastors were compelled to go over to the Catholics or leave the district: all this was done through the sovereign power in the church of the governors of the country.

On the other hand, however, the split between the parties grew wider. In vain did John Kasimir of the Palatinate, in 1577, try to unite for common defence the Protestants of all countries; he found little response. Elector Augustus collected eighty-six Lutheran imperial estates in 1580 round his "formula of concord," in order to establish some common basis of agreement; but it only succeeded in widening the rift with the Calvinists. Quite transitory was the connection of the electorate of Saxony with the Palatinate; after the death of Augustus in 1586, and under his successor Christian I, the chancellor Nicholas Crell abolished the obligations of the "formula of concord" and made an alliance with the Palatinate for the support of Henry IV of France. The early death of the elector brought about the fall of the chancellor, and again delivered over electoral Saxony to the unconditional dominion of Lutheran orthodoxy.

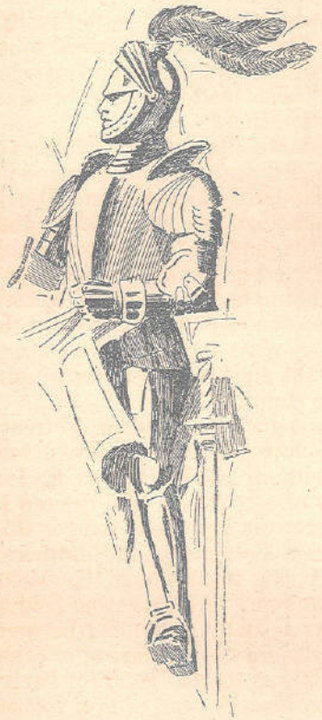
SOLDIER OF THE TIME OF EMPEROR RUDOLF

Thus the Roman party trenched on the department of politics in the systematic restoration of its possessions and in the endeavour first of all to get the entire imperial power into its hands. In the college of electors in the diet the Protestants were already in a minority, for electoral Saxony scarcely ever went with the Palatinate, but with the ecclesiastical electors; the idea of gaining a majority (1583) by the conversion of the elector archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard of Waldburg, was rendered abortive by the instability of the Lutheran estates as well as by the decided interference of the pope, Gregory XIII, who deposed the archbishop and appointed Ernest of Bavaria in his place. After the loss of his capital, Bonn, in the March of 1584, Gebhard fled to the Netherlands.

In the college of princes the Protestants had a decided majority so long as the Lutheran "administrators" kept their seats and votes. Consequently the Roman party disputed their right; and as the Lutherans gave way, for the sake of peace, they were driven out of the imperial diet after 1598, and the majority in the diet of princes also became Catholic. The imperial diet, now again entirely dominated by Catholics, inflicted in 1598 the sentence of outlawry on the imperial town of Aachen, because, contrary to the Peace of

Augsburg, it had admitted Protestants to the diet; and the sentence was carried out in the same year by the neighbouring princes. The imperial courts of justice, too, rejected more often than not the claims of the evangelicals, notably the aulic council, the old king's court, which Ferdinand I in 1559 had organised as a permanent authority, and the members of which were nominated by the emperor alone.

Having succeeded in getting the control of the empire into their hands, the Roman party found in the young duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I, their most determined champion, and a firm support in the Bavarian state, which the young duke had remodelled through a strictly organised and reliable administration, a well-regulated system of finance, and the transformation of a small standing army into a power quite prepared for war and capable of giving assistance. Maximilian did not desire the annihilation of Protestantism in the empire and was most decidedly not in favour of the Habsburg Catholic rulers, whom he as a prince of the empire distrusted; but he was determined to oppose firmly everything which seemed to him an encroachment on the rights of the Protestants, and for this purpose he professed to agree with the interpretations laid down in the Peace of Augsburg. At the same time he wished to secure for Bavaria a leading position in the empire.



ARMOUR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In face of these increasing dangers, the Palatinate statesmen under Frederick IV (1583–1610) — especially the Calvinist, Prince Christian von Anhalt-Bernburg, who was their head at that time — formed views and plans which plunged the empire into great confusion, but which, considered from the strictly Protestant point of view of protection against the existing condition of things, were almost necessary.

THE PROTESTANT LEAGUE

In opposition to imperial power exercised entirely by Roman Catholics, it seemed an absolute necessity to curtail as far as possible the exercise of this power in ecclesiastical questions, to unite the Protestant states into a separate league, and, under certain circumstances, to call in the assistance of foreign powers, after the old fashion of opposition amongst the princes of the empire. The Lutheran states, particularly the two north German electorates, would have nothing to do with this; they wanted to maintain peace in the empire, and also their alliance with the emperor, in order that they might assist the latter in the war with the Turks which had again broken out in 1593. The policy of the Palatinate was bound in the end to destroy the constitution of the empire and to invoke the interference of foreign powers, but the prospect of the latter in this time of conflicting forms of confession and creeds did not seem so very terrible, and it certainly set a limit to the progress of reaction in church matters. The conservative policy of electoral Saxony avoided both

MUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA

these dangers, but did not hinder the forward pressure of Protestantism, which it was willing to protect. It was impossible for anyone to say from the point of view of the imperial government of the time how the destruction of the constitution could be avoided, while continual efforts were made to weaken Protestantism. The Palatinate policy, however, was superior, in that it knew what it wanted, whilst the conservatives knew only what they did not want. Some tangible result, therefore, sprang from it. It suspended the powers of the imperial chamber to decide questions about church property, by contesting in 1603 the neglected revision of its sentences, a revision which had been proposed by the imperial diet and which naturally rested on the supposition that they were legal. For the law had condemned several south German states to deliver up four monasteries of which they had held possession since 1552; and so a dangerous beginning had been made towards bringing the whole Catholic question again under consideration.

In the year 1604–1606 the policy of the Palatinate, directed by Christian of Anhalt, had succeeded in coming to a more definite understanding with Ansbach, Kulmbach, Anhalt-Dessau, and the landgraf Maurice; and also in bringing Würtemberg, which had hitherto held aloof on religious grounds (even in the diet of 1603) from the Calvinists of the Palatinate, over to the side of the *Correspondirende* (corresponding parties), and in paving the way for a separate treaty with that state. This understanding had been started as long before as the year 1600, at an interview between the elector palatine and the duke at Pfullingen. Würtemberg's principal motive for the present *rapprochement* lay in the fact that in the meantime the aulic council of the empire had interfered in the ecclesiastical affairs of the country.

But before matters had gone as far as the conclusion of a separate treaty between the Palatinate and Würtemberg, the latter had been drawn into negotiations with a view to union with the Neuburg palatinate and Baden-Hochberg, which likewise realised the necessity of a coalition, but desired to see it confined to Lutheran princes. Thus there was imminent danger that matters might end in the formation of separate Calvinistic and Lutheran unions, especially as Neuburg and Baden were trying to gain over the elector of Saxony, who, however, returned an evasive answer. At a meeting held at Stuttgart in May, 1605, a separate alliance was actually concluded between Würtemberg, Neuburg, and Baden, with a proviso for the admission of other sincere adherents of the Augsburg confession. It was to hold good for twelve years, during the first four of which the very considerable sum of fifty *Römermonate* (the contribution of the German states to a common war) was to be paid down, while in the succeeding period an annual contribution of six *Römermonate* was to be made. The confederates were not only to render assistance when a member of the union was unlawfully injured in respect of the territory he already possessed, but also if territory or rights which he had justly acquired by inheritance or purchase within the limits of the empire should be forcibly withheld from him. This clause bore special reference to the pretensions of the Neuburg palatinate to the Jülich inheritance. A deed giving effect to this covenant was signed by the three princes on the 9th of May. Thus a foundation was laid, upon which a Protestant league might hereafter arise, though it was in the first instance confined to Lutherans. Little progress was made, however, towards the settlement of further details, on account of various petty territorial quarrels between Würtemberg and Baden; and all the less because since the resumption of his connection with the elector palatine the duke of Würtemberg was no longer whole-hearted in the matter of this separate Lutheran alliance. Duke Frederick of Würtem-

berg was thus the natural intermediary between the two confederacies in embryo, the combination of which into a common union was the object Prince Christian of Anhalt had most at heart. In August, 1606, the duke of Würtemberg was at one and the same time treating with Neuburg and Baden at Geislingen and with the Palatinate at Bretten. In 1607 a separate alliance was concluded between the count palatine and the duke of Würtemberg, who was thenceforth practically a member of both confederacies.

The progress of events in the empire, and the obvious danger with which the open discord in the imperial house and the serious conflicts in the diet of Ratisbon were fraught for all Protestants, naturally brought about a further *rapprochement* of the two separate confederacies, for whose cause, as we have seen, Christian of Anhalt had meanwhile secured the active assistance of Henry IV of France. At the diet of Ratisbon itself he prosecuted his negotiations energetically, and there succeeded in winning over the markgraf of Ansbach to the idea of a union. During the session of the diet Duke Frederick of Würtemberg died (February 8th, 1608). A considerable number of Protestant princes gathered at his solemn obsequies in Stuttgart, and Christian of Anhalt was promptly busy negotiating with them.

Thus was the final conclusion of the long-planned alliance at length arrived at. On the 12th of May, 1608, the duke of Würtemberg, the markgrafs of Ansbach, Kulmbach, and Baden, Wolfgang William, son of the duke of Neuburg, and Christian of Anhalt (as the representative of the elector palatine and the soul of the whole union movement) met for this purpose at the village of Ahausen in Ansbach. And now that the union was fairly resolved upon, the Neuburg palatinate went even beyond the Palatinate project. In the latter, mention was made of small contingents of troops to be furnished by the members of the union, but the Neuburg proposal provided for the levy of contributions to the confederacy and for a common confederate army, the strength of which should amount to twenty thousand men. For this purpose a military organisation was required; and this also was actually agreed upon. The elector palatine took his place at the head of the union as its director, and a number of military advisers were appointed by the united powers to assist him. A compact organisation with far-reaching aims had thus been created, as we may see, and took its place beside the mouldering institutions of the empire; and there can be no question that, from the outset, it was animated by a tendency directly opposed to the central government. The union was founded for the express purpose of resisting the coercion which the Protestants had reason to apprehend from the government, on the ground of a forced interpretation of the religious peace. Although this league was soon extended by the accession of Hesse-Cassel, under the excellent landgraf Maurice, of Zweibrücken, Anhalt, and sixteen south German states, yet it was essentially confined to the southwest of Germany and consisted of a number of small states, which could do nothing without the most desperate efforts.

THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE

Much stronger was the counter-alliance of the "Catholic League" which Maximilian of Bavaria formed with six petty ecclesiastical princes in June, 1609, at Munich. This was to endure for nine years and was further strengthened by the addition of the three ecclesiastical electors; it was open, furthermore, to the accession of all the imperial states outside of Austria, for Maximilian maintained the supreme and unconditional control of it, as being, by far, the most important confederate of the league.

The two leagues came into contact with each other for the first time in the dispute about the accession to Jülich and Cleves, after the death of the imbecile duke, John William — a very debatable question, which made unavoidable the interference of the foreign powers, France, Holland, and Spain. In this very much involved question the only important point was that John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Philip Ludwig of the Neuburg palatinate founded their claims of inheritance on descent from the female line, while the elector of Saxony based his on the agency of the emperor. The imperial Habsburg policy stepped in between these two heirs-apparent, in order to push to one side every claim of succession, and to confiscate as a vacant imperial fief the country, which from its position was of the greatest importance, and to give at least a portion of it to Spain. Spain, even in 1609, had been obliged to acknowledge the actual independence of the northern Netherlands, but she yet held fast to the determination of subjugating them. Austria favoured the claims of Saxony only in order to cause disagreement between the two north German electors. But Brandenburg and the Palatinate at once came to an understanding with each other, and, supported by the union, the Netherlands, and France, took joint possession of the country and drove out the archduke Leopold, bishop of Strasburg and Passau, who, commissioned by the emperor, had taken possession of Jülich in 1610. But as the strength of the two parties was soon exhausted and the assassination of Henry IV of France (May 14th, 1610) put an end to the hope of succour from the French, the two claimants, after a long contention, agreed to a settlement by which Wolfgang William of the Neuburg palatinate should take provisionally under his government Jülich and Berg, whilst Brandenburg should have Cleves, the Mark, and Ravensberg, without prejudice to a later and final settlement.

A Bavarian Princess

In order to keep the assistance of the league and of Spain, Wolfgang William had become a Roman Catholic in November, 1613, and with the zeal of a renegade he at once began romanising his acquisitions on the lower Rhine. John Sigismund declared himself a Calvinist at Christmas, 1613. But, more broad-minded than Wolfgang, he renounced from principle the idea of making use, against the strict Lutherans in his province of Brandenburg, of the position in the church conferred upon him by law. While thus showing the first example of ecclesiastical tolerance and gaining a firm footing on German soil in the extreme east by the inheritance of the duchy of Prussia after the

death of Albert Frederick in 1618, and in the west by the acquisition of the Cleves provinces on the lower Rhine, he prepared in this severe crisis quite unconsciously the part his country was to perform in the future.

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

In all this confusion the Habsburgs had played no important part; indeed they had left the leadership of the Catholic states to the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, for internal disorders crippled the power of their large possessions. Since the death of Ferdinand I these had been divided. The Bohemian possessions and Austria, with the Habsburg part of Hungary, were ruled by the elder branch — first Maximilian II, then Rudolf II; Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were under the dominion of the younger line, represented immediately by the archduke Charles; the Tyrol and the provinces of further Austria were the common possession of the whole family and were ruled by a younger archduke as governor. Therefore, as the natural effort of the ruling house was to strengthen the power of the princes of the land, it was obliged to break up this liberty and Protestantism. Religious reaction set in first and most energetically in Carniola. Still the archduke Charles did not succeed in founding a Jesuit university in Gratz; his son Ferdinand II (1590–1637), who had been brought up with his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria by the Jesuits and was later entirely in the hands of his father confessor, suppressed with unmerciful rigour the evangelical services and the Lutheran schools in all the places belonging to the princely power; only the nobility were allowed a certain measure of religious freedom.

Austria, where at first Archduke Ernest, and after 1595 Archduke Matthias, reigned in the name of Rudolf II, Melchior Klesel, the vicar-general of the bishop of Passau, confined Protestantism to the estates of the nobles, by doing away with the evangelical form of worship and using his rights of patronage as a prince and bishop to appoint Roman Catholic clergy and abbots. Still, in 1603, the states under the leadership of Erasmus of Tschernembl bound themselves to a defence of their rights. In Bohemia and Moravia utraquism enjoyed a lawful and unassailable position, which however did not benefit the Lutherans. The zealous bishop of Olmütz, Francis of Dietrichstein, was able in 1603 to exclude the Lutherans from the diets of a few towns belonging to the reigning princes and from the Moravian courts of law; but by these means he irritated the nobility, whose leader was the accomplished Charles of Zjerotin.

What only half succeeded in these German Slav provinces failed entirely in Hungary and led to a reaction in the states of the latter in favour of Protestantism, a reaction which afterwards spread to the former. The Turkish war, with the assistance of the empire or rather of the circles of the empire, had been, on the whole, successfully carried on by the imperial troops, and had even in 1602 brought under the direct rule of the Habsburgs the much-quarrelled-over Transylvania. Uplifted by this success, the imperial court conceived the fatal idea of using the strong army of mercenaries which was mostly under the command of Italian officers, not only to suppress the liberties of the Magyar Calvinistic nobles, which were incompatible with any monarchical government, but also to put down Protestantism. The powerful noble, Stephen Bocskay, rose in resistance at the head of the nobility of eastern Hungary in the autumn of 1604, attracted the flourishing towns of northern Hungary to his side, drove the imperial troops out of the country, and in the Peace of Vienna on the 29th of June, 1606, extorted his recognition

as prince of East Hungary and Transylvania, and also exacted toleration for all Christian creeds in the whole of Austrian Hungary. Shortly afterwards, on the 11th of November, 1606, Turkey concluded the twenty years' Peace of Zsitvatorok in Komárom, on the basis of the existing territorial possessions of the contracting parties. This victory of Protestant interests had an irresistible influence on Austrian Bohemia. This was furthered by the dissensions in the house of Habsburg, whose archdukes, on account of the increasing imbecility of Rudolf II, recognised his younger brother Matthias as their head.

CONFLICT BETWEEN RUDOLF AND MATTHIAS

An alliance was formed in June, 1608, between Hungary, Upper and Lower Austria, and Moravia, for the preservation of their national and ecclesiastical rights, and they supported the archduke Matthias so emphatically that Rudolf II was obliged to give up these four countries to his rule. Matthias, of course, bought this help by the renewal of all the grants of Maximilian II. The emperor saw himself forced in the Royal Charter of the 9th of July, 1609, to grant full liberty of conscience to the utraquists and the Lutherans and to the three upper estates, lords, knights, and imperial towns, the right to erect evangelical schools on their possessions and to appoint consistories and four-and-twenty "protectors" to guard their interests. A special agreement between the Catholic and evangelical estates extended the right of church-building to the crown lands, among which, according to old Bohemian law, the church lands were also reckoned. On the 20th of August of the same year Silesia also received its charter; negotiations about a charter were carried on with the state of Lusatia, which was almost entirely Protestant.

Deeply embittered at the turn of affairs, Rudolf II attempted an armed reaction. Under his authority, his cousin Leopold, bishop of Passau, appeared in Prague with the mercenary troops which had been engaged in the Cleves campaigns, the famous *Passauers;* and, after a bloody fight, garrisoned the Kleinseite and the Hradschin. But the Bohemian estates called Matthias to their assistance and with his help forced Rudolf II to renounce the Bohemian crown, and on the 23rd of May offered it to Matthias. On the 20th of January, 1612, in the midst of hazy and revengeful plans, Rudolf died. The man who had dethroned him, King Matthias, after the victory for Protestant interests which had raised him to power, became little more than the chief of a confederacy of aristocrats.

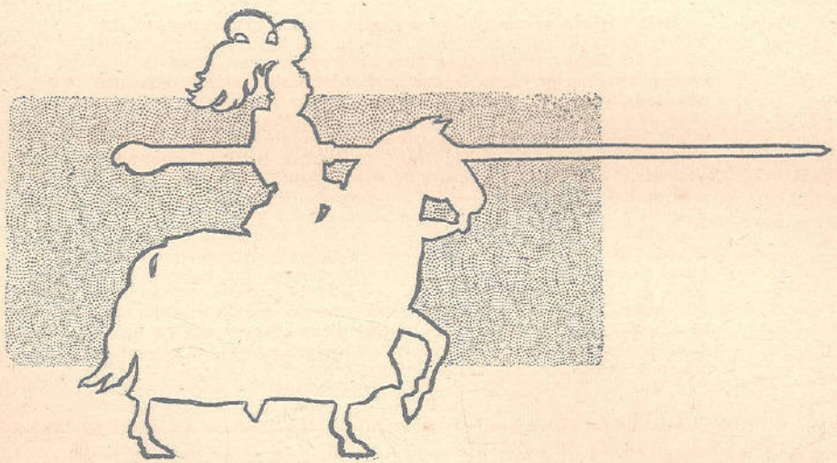
MATTHIAS EMPEROR (1612–1619 A.D.)

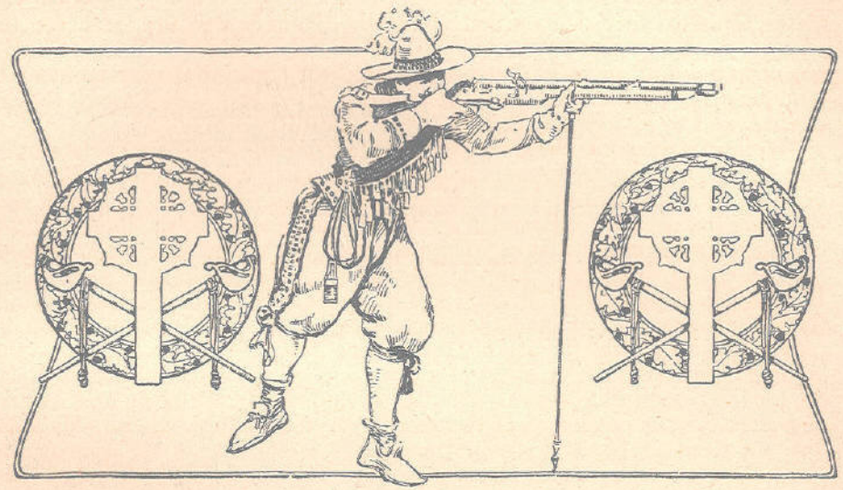
But in the empire conflict was approaching a most disastrous crisis. On the 13th of June, 1612, Matthias was chosen emperor; Protestant grievances, as demanded by Brandenburg and the Palatinate, had not been previously removed. The emperor opened his first and last diet in Ratisbon (August 13th, 1613), under the most unfavourable auspices. For already in March the league had resolved to seek the assistance of Lorraine, Savoy, Spain, and the pope in order to maintain their standpoint in ecclesiastical matters, even at the risk of a war, and the union, supported by treaties with England and the Netherlands, was determined to enter into no negotiations before the ecclesiastical grievances were redressed.

The mediatory proposals, therefore, of Klesel, who was now the president of the emperor's privy council, which were to allow the Protestant administrators the possession of their institutions, fell to the ground; the allied

states refused every deliberation about the Turkish war tax, and, for the second time, the diet separated without being dismissed. And, to make reconciliation still more impossible, the emperor chose that very moment to relinquish his position between the parties, which had been formal, though neutral, and to go over to the side of the league.

While Matthias was thus doing his best to make the hostilities in the empire still more irreconcilable, he excited the greatest indignation in Bohemia because, being childless, he proclaimed as his successor in Hungary and Bohemia his cousin Ferdinand of Styria, the merciless exterminator of Protestantism in the eastern Alps. This, however, could not take place without the consent of Spain, for Philip III of Spain, as the grandson of Maximilian II (through his daughter Anna), was a nearer heir to the Bohemian lands than Ferdinand. Ferdinand therefore bribed Philip into a renunciation by ceding to him (in the Treaty of Gratz, June 21st, 1617) upper Alsace, and holding out to him the prospect of a cession of all the imperial fiefs in Italy. So, for the second time, was an alliance concluded between Spain and Austria and again to the detriment of Germany.[f] In this posture of affairs Matthias died, an event not likely to restore tranquillity, as the king of the Romans was perfectly detested by the Protestant party. The causes of the Thirty Years' War, one of the most disastrous that ever afflicted a country, were in full operation. A contest of principles no less than of personal ambition was about to commence — one which shook Europe to its extremities, and must be remembered so long as books remain to record it.[e]





CHAPTER IX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

[1618–1648 A.D.]

> It is, strictly speaking, not accurate, in an examination of the Thirty Years' War, to talk of a Catholic and a Protestant point of view; for these terms suggest that the war was a religious one — a conflict between the old faith and the new teaching. One of our chief aims must be to efface this notion and to secure for the Thirty Years' War its due measure of purely political significance. Attitudes of mind there may be in this stupendous struggle, but they are not Protestant and not Catholic; they are rather national and anti-national. The simple question is whether one party or the other wished to preserve or to shatter the venerable German Empire; and it is only because the destroyers were chiefly recruited from the Protestant ranks that we have any right to talk of a Protestant aspect. So too, because they were mostly Catholic princes whose mission it was to uphold the ancient Roman empire of national Germany in this war, we may justify the use of the expression "a Catholic aspect." We shall find Protestant princes standing on the side of empire and Catholic princes bearing arms against it. Not from religion did this thirty-three years' contention spring; it is on the whole a contrivance of politics. — FRANZ KEYM.[b]

FERDINAND II attained the throne under circumstances the most perplexing: Bohemia in arms, and threatening Vienna itself with invasion; Silesia and Moravia in alliance with them; Austria much disposed to unite with them; Hungary by no means firmly attached, and externally menaced by the Turks; encountering besides, in every direction, the hatred of the Protestants, against whom his zeal was undisguised. But in these circumstances Ferdinand manifested his undaunted firmness and courage: "Notwithstanding these imminent perils," says Khevenhiller,[k] "this illustrious prince never desponded; he still retained his religion and confidence in God, who took him under his

protection and, contrary to all human expectation, brought him in safety through this Red Sea."[d]

Before we take up the details of this tempestuous reign it may be well to say a word of qualification regarding the estimate of the causes of the Thirty Years' War which we have just quoted at the head of this chapter. As exhibiting a somewhat different point of view from that of Keym,[b] we may quote Gindely,[a] who says: "The cause of the murderous war which, for thirty years of the seventeenth century, lacerated Central Europe is to be sought chiefly in the incompatibility of the religious views which prevailed among the peoples of the time. It would be unreasonable to ascribe to one of the religious parties alone the guilt of this fierce struggle; they were equally guilty. We should judge them by the ability with which they filled their places and carried out their plans; by the self sacrificing spirit which actuated them in relation to their associates, and should inquire also whether they observed, and in what manner they observed, those eternal, moral laws which are respected alike by all Christian nations. Led by these principles, we can rightly judge such men as Ferdinand II, Maximilian of Bavaria, and Gustavus Adolphus, and do them justice, although their action was so opposite that the approval of the one seems to involve the condemnation of the other."

This seems wide enough from Keym's view, but Gindely immediately qualifies his estimate as follows: "But disagreement in religious convictions was not the sole cause of the war. The insubordination of the estates in Austria, the avidity of the princes to enrich themselves at the cost of the church property, the ambition of individual party leaders, who could be satisfied only in a general disorder, contributed so largely to the kindling of the conflagration as to make it doubtful to what particular the greater guilt should be ascribed. But whatever may have kindled the strife, it is certain that its long duration was caused only by material interests. Though ideal views may give rise to a war, this once begun, the material questions of possession and power advance to the front and become, in contests which the party at first defeated would have been glad to end by yielding somewhat, the sole causes of continuance. All the princes and statesmen who came successively to participate in the Thirty Years' War wished to augment their power by triumph. This is true of Ferdinand II and Maximilian of Bavaria; of Louis XIII and his minister Cardinal Richelieu; of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna. Having once drawn the sword, the question was the same with all — increase of territory and people. All the words with which they tried to conceal this purpose were empty phrases which never deceived those who employed them. We would not, however, deny that Ferdinand II and Gustavus Adolphus, each in his way, regarded themselves as chosen instruments of God, and that their efforts were not, like those of Louis XIII, governed by mere desire of conquest."

Be the exact balance of causes what it may, the war whose history forms the chief theme of the period upon which we are entering is a momentous one. It will be well to recall, however, that, in the midst of all this tumult, German culture did not altogether decline. Almost two centuries had now elapsed since Gutenberg and Fust had begun printing books with movable type; in the mean time a flood of publications had come from the German presses. German culture was also stimulated by the rivalry existing between the various rulers. "Every little prince," says Gindely,[a] "was ambitious to have his educational system culminating in a university. Thus has Germany, since the great struggle in the opening of the seventeenth century, become

the world's school and its library, though this state of things seemed to work against the cause of freedom in that contest."

Among the princes who accomplished most in this direction were those whose history has furnished the theme of our recent pages. In particular, Rudolf II, by bringing Tycho Brahe to Prague, and subsequently by his patronage of Johannes Kepler, was instrumental in making Germany the centre of scientific progress. It was while working at Prague that Kepler discovered and promulgated his famous laws of planetary motion. Ferdinand II continued for a time to patronise Kepler, and the great general Wallenstein was peculiarly interested in the astrological studies of the astronomer. We shall do well as we follow out the military and political history of this epoch to recall that this is the age of Kepler, no less than of Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus. With this corrective reflection in mind, we take up the detailed history of the Thirty Years' War. In so doing we shall first have occasion to turn back to certain events that have been referred to in the preceding chapter, for the struggle began while Matthias still occupied the imperial throne.[a]

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR IN BOHEMIA AND THE PALATINATE

In Bohemia the exasperation of the Protestants at the consistent repression of religious and civil freedom broke out in 1618, the immediate cause of the outbreak being the erection by the Protestants of churches for their use in the cities of Kloster-Grab and Braunau, which were under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Catholics would not suffer this, because they asserted that in Bohemia only the nobility and gentry and the royal cities enjoyed religious freedom, but not the subjects of ecclesiastical territories; and, in fact, nothing definite on this subject was decreed in the royal charter of Rudolf II. On the other hand the Protestants urged that the ecclesiastical estate is not recognised in Bohemia as an independent one, and, therefore, ecclesiastical territories are really crown possessions. When this dispute came before the emperor Matthias, he decided in favour of the Catholics, and the two Protestant churches were closed by the Catholic clergy, that of Kloster-Grab even being demolished, while several of the burghers were punished with imprisonment.

Thereupon the Protestants met in a convention, according to a right conceded to them by Rudolf II, to elect "defenders" (*defensores*) for the protection of their common interests. They therefore summoned six men of their party from each district in Bohemia to come to Prague, and these defenders sent a petition to the emperor against the violent procedure which they considered an infringement of the royal charter. Matthias, however, returned them a very harsh reply, prohibited for the future all meetings, and instructed his chief magistrate in Prague to dissolve the assembly of defenders.

This filled the people with great bitterness, and Count Henry Matthias of Thurn, a brave and universally beloved nobleman, who was one of the defenders, placed himself at the head of the oppressed and led the Protestant delegates, all fully armed, to the castle of Prague, where the imperial magistrates were to be found, of whom two, William of Slavata and Jaroslav of Martinice, had long been hated. After a heated discussion these two men and their secretary Fabricius were seized and pitched out of the window, which stood fully sixty feet from the ground. However, the fall did not kill them; Martinice and the secretary had a narrow escape; Slavata, who was wounded in

the head, had to leave Bohemia on his recovery. The Protestants continued resolutely to act as defenders of their country's liberty. They seized the imperial estates and revenues and drove out the Jesuits as the instigators of all oppression and discord. Later on the same fate overtook the members of this order in Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary. A commission of thirty directors was appointed in Bohemia to manage the affairs of the country, and Count Thurn was appointed commander-in-chief and chief burggraf, or magistrate; the latter position he had previously held, but lost it through the influence of the Catholics.

When these proceedings reached the ears of the emperor, he was at first seized with such fear that he did not know which way to turn, and was willing to make concessions. But the Jesuits and their pupil and tool, King Ferdinand, would not hear of this; they perceived that the rising of the Bohemians was directed against them and their statecraft, and they were consequently bent upon carrying out their designs by force. They urged the emperor to try the fortunes of war. The call to arms soon began to sound all over Germany, here for the Catholics, there for the Protestants; it was not long before the clank of weapons was also heard, and the two parties stood face to face impatient to cool in the blood of their antagonists the long-repressed fury unremittingly fostered by the clergy on each side. The evangelical states in Austria roused themselves after their long period of oppression and refused to give the emperor any assistance; the Silesians, Moravians, and Lusatians made common cause with the Bohemians, to whose national assembly they sent delegates. The leader of the rebellion, Count Thurn, defeated the imperial army. Count Ernst von Mansfeld, skilled in all the arts of war as was no one else in his day, was deputed by the elector palatine to bring the Bohemians a reinforcement of four thousand men. Success apparently favoured the cause of the Protestants and of liberty.

Shortly thereafter the emperor Matthias died suddenly (May 20th, 1619) and King Ferdinand ascended the throne under most unfavourable circumstances. The Austrian states refused to do homage to him until he had redressed religious grievances, and Count Thurn advanced with his army into Austria to their support. On June 5th he was already before Vienna, which he besieged. The Protestants in the city rebelled. Ferdinand was in sore straits, flight or captivity being apparently his only alternative.

But presently Count Thurn received news that Boucquoi had beaten Mansfeld and was rushing upon Prague. He then raised the siege of Vienna and marched back to Bohemia. In spite of this, Ferdinand's position was desperate. All the hereditary states of the house of Habsburg had forsaken him. Prince Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania rose in revolt and conquered Hungary with the greatest ease, for these countries, too, were greatly embittered by the religious tyranny of the Habsburgs. The delegates from the rest of the hereditary states, the Bohemians, Silesians, Moravians, Lusatians, Austrians, convened at a great assembly in Prague (July 8th, 1619), in which they once again asserted their rights and liberties as against the king, and more especially their right of electing the sovereign, universal religious freedom, and the privilege of the states to resort to force in defence of the constitution.

THE POWER OF THE HABSBURGS THREATENED

Simultaneously with these events the empire seemed doomed to slip from the grasp of the house of Habsburg. The most energetic party among the Protestants, instigated, pre-eminently by the clever and daring Prince Chris-

THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II REPELLING THE PROTESTANT INSURGENTS
(From the painting by Karl Wurzinger)

tian of Anhalt, bestirred itself eagerly to form a great league of all the adversaries of the house of Habsburg, with a view to its complete downfall. Protestantism and popular freedom were to be established in Germany, the ecclesiastical principalities were to be abolished, and at the head of the reformed empire a Protestant was to be installed as emperor, in the person of Frederick V of the Palatinate.

But these magnificent projects were doomed to be shattered, mainly through unfortunate discords in the Protestant party — more especially through the faithlessness of the elector John George of Saxony, who once again at the imperial election deserted his co-religionists and went over to the side of the Habsburgs and Catholics. The latter thereby gained the majority among the electoral princes: Ferdinand II was elected emperor of Germany (Frankfort-on-Main, August 28th, 1619) and crowned twelve days later.

This was the first great success won by the cause of the Jesuits. Ferdinand II immediately set about reconquering his hereditary domains. In order to effect his purpose, he purchased at a high price the support of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who amongst other advantages also stipulated that the electorate of the Palatinate should be transferred to him. On August 19th, before the imperial election, the diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia had declared that Ferdinand had forfeited the sovereignty of their lands; and, in accordance with ancient Bohemian rights, they elected a new king, the young elector Frederick V of the Palatinate. The latter, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, imagined that in his powerful father-in-law he would have a strong supporter. Therefore, after slight hesitation, he accepted the proffered dignity which was so flattering to his ambitions, and set off for Bohemia. On November 29th he was crowned in Prague amidst the great rejoicings of his new subjects. The question now was whether he would be able to defend the land against the emperor, for it soon became apparent that he had exaggerated his power. He had fondly believed that all would immediately fly to his assistance, whereas neither the Netherlands nor the king of England afforded him any appreciable help.

Bohemia was thrown upon its own resources, and matters were very badly managed. The nobles would make no sacrifices, but wanted the expenses of the war to be borne by king and people, although they had been the instigators of the rebellion. The king himself was undecided, reckless, and ill-advised; his court offended popular feeling by exhibiting its Reformed leanings, whereas the Bohemians were, for the most part, Lutherans or utraquists. In addition to all this, the military preparations, which had been mapped out very well by the prince of Anhalt, were but badly and partially executed. All the more energetically did the enemy act. Duke Maximilian proceeded with the greatest zeal and vigour to equip one of the armies of the league, and to march with it into Upper Austria. He had himself acknowledged as representative of the emperor, and after joining forces with Boucquoi advanced on Bohemia. Two Spanish generals, the marquis of Spinola and the marquis of Cordova, advanced with thirty thousand men upon the king of Bohemia's hereditary dominion, the Palatinate; and the elector of Saxony seized Lusatia, which had promised to assist Bohemia but which had been ceded to him by the emperor Ferdinand in recognition of the assistance he had given.

Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, with the armies of the league, now rapidly advanced into Bohemia, drove back Frederick's troops, and marched on Prague. Frederick's forces, twenty thousand strong, and led by Prince Christian of Anhalt, were disposed in battle array in a semicircle on the so-called White Mountain. Opposed to them was the army of the league, in

number almost twice as strong, and commanded by Duke Maximilian, Count Boucquoi, and General Tserclaes von Tilly. Tilly was by birth a Dutchman, an experienced old warrior, of stern morality. His appearance was sinister, his body powerful but lean, the wide brow full of wrinkles, the eyes large and gloomy, the cheeks sunken, the nose and chin long, the moustaches pointed and upturned, the grey hair disordered and bristling. He usually wore a green satin doublet and a little hat with a tall red feather.

In the council of war, held by the generals of the league in their camp before Prague, Tilly and the duke of Bavaria were in favour of immediate attack, but Boucquoi suggested rather the surrounding of the enemy. While the generals were thus disputing among themselves, a Spanish Carmelite [Father Dominicus] kindled their religious ardour by bringing before them an image of the Virigin with eyes put out, and calling upon them to go forth to battle against those who had profaned the holiest. The command to attack was given on the spot; and the army of the league advanced to the war-cry of "Holy Mary!" The battle began; it was November 8th, 1620. At first the battle was undecided. The Bohemians bravely bore the attack of the superior force for fully half an hour. But then the Hungarian cavalry took to flight and bore the Bohemian infantry along with it. Complete panic and disorganisation ensued. Counts Thurn and Schlick were the last to maintain the field with their Moravians; at last Schlick was made prisoner and Thurn had to take to flight. Four thousand Bohemian soldiers were left dead on the field; ten guns and one hundred colours were taken by the enemy. When King Frederick heard of the disaster, he lost all courage and confidence. He fled with his wife, with Thurn, and Christian of Anhalt to Breslau, thence to Berlin, and finally to Holland. Maximilian of Bavaria proudly entered the capital, and the fate of Prague decided that of Bohemia. Moravia and Silesia also made submission to the emperor now that their faint-hearted king had forsaken them. In derision the latter was henceforth dubbed the "winter king."

RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION

The emperor Ferdinand II then restored the Catholic religion in Moravia. With regard to Bohemia he behaved at first as if he meant to forget the past, and he kept up the deception until he had reassured the Bohemians. Then he suddenly began to wreak his vengeance with a cruelty which only the violence of his religious fanaticism can explain and which has branded for all time his memory and that of his spiritual advisers. On February 10th, 1621, he had all the unsuspecting leaders of the popular movement arrested, and on June 21st twenty-seven of the highest nobility were executed. They died cheerfully for their faith: the rector of the university had his tongue torn out, a celebrated scholar was beaten to death, 728 noblemen had their estates confiscated, and many were imprisoned for life. This abominable tribunal is called the "bloody diet of Prague."

The papal legate had absolved the emperor from the oath he had sworn to the Bohemian nation, and now he also abolished all their religious liberties. He brought back in triumph the expelled Jesuits and bestowed upon them the confiscated estates and the University of Prague. Then the golden age of the monks dawned in the once free Bohemia. First the Reformed party and then the Lutheran clergy were expelled. With the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion a reign of terror began for Bohemia, Ferdinand II believing that thus only could Roman Catholicism be firmly established. These horrors were perpetrated through the terrible delusion that they were done

"for the glory of God." No less than thirty thousand families forsook their unfortunate fatherland rather than become Roman Catholics, and henceforth the country declined both in wealth and culture.[e] It was said that Ferdinand tore up with his own hand the royal charter of Rudolf II as a sign that Bohemia's freedom was forever at an end. According to another report, the emperor tore the seal from the royal charter, and then cut it through the middle. "We are unable to state," says Gindely,[q] "whether this is so or not; but as a matter of fact the original of the royal charter has been preserved to the present day only in this damaged condition."[a]

The emperor had pledged Upper Austria, a part of his hereditary dominions, to Maximilian of Bavaria for his war expenditures, and Maximilian had already received a forced homage in 1620, when he installed Count Herbersdorf as magistrate in Linz on the Danube. Count Herbersdorf was to destroy the Reformation in Upper Austria, root and branch, and he governed with as much cruelty as the duke of Alva in the Netherlands. Thus he drove to desperation the people, as well as the privileged classes, whose charters he treated with scorn. In the year 1626 the peasants, eighty thousand strong, rebelled, and on their banners was inscribed "God grant us heroic courage, for our souls and lives are at stake." A clever and bold man, Stephan Fadinger, by trade a hatter, was chosen leader of the peasants. They defeated Count Herbersdorf near Waitzenkirchen and Peuerbach, seized several towns, and besieged Linz. Fadinger was shot while laying siege to this city. Achaz Wiellinger, a nobleman, took his place. Then the peasants suffered several defeats, but were again victorious over two new armies which Maximilian had sent out against them. The duke then placed the command of the war against the peasants in the hands of Count Gottfried Heinrich von Pappenheim, the stepson of Herbersdorf. Pappenheim (born in 1594 of a noble and ancient family) was a wild warrior who had from his youth loved war beyond everything; his body was so covered with scars that his soldiers called him "Jack o' Scars." Pappenheim brought the peasant war in Upper Austria to a rapid close. He defeated the peasants at Eferding, Gmunden, Vocklabruck, then at the castle of Wolfseck, and finally at Peuerbach. They submitted, and in 1627 their leaders were executed.

Thus had the emperor, with the help of the league, entirely subjugated all his hereditary dominions (except Hungary and Transylvania) and ruled over them more despotically than ever. The duke of Bavaria, however, had not won all these successes for the emperor out of mere religious zeal; he meant also to derive profit from them for himself. The war was therefore carried into Germany proper, first of all against the Palatinate, which was to fall to Duke Maximilian as his share of the spoils.

THE OUTLAWED ELECTOR PALATINE AND HIS CHAMPIONS

Soon after the battle on the "white mountain" the emperor outlawed the elector palatine, Frederick V, and all his followers. This decree was illegal, for he pronounced it arbitrarily, without summoning a council of princes. Maximilian, who was entrusted with carrying out the ban, at once invaded the upper Palatinate, while the Spaniards, under Spinola, marched from the Walloon Netherlands (Belgium), overran the whole of the lower Palatinate, and captured all important places, with the exception of the cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. None of the powers moved a finger to help the unfortunate exile, Frederick V. The union, which had watched his downfall without attempting anything for his relief, was now dissolved

(1621); it had, indeed, no skilful leader like the Catholic league, which Duke Max bore along with him to great deeds and conquests; only a few dashing partisans took up the cause of the Palatinate and bravely continued the war.

One of these was Count Ernst von Mansfeld, also an outlawed, landless nobleman but inexhaustible in bold schemes, dreaded for his methods of warfare wherever he appeared with his troops; for, as he could give his soldiers no pay, he always supported them at the expense of the country in which he happened to be, and when there was nothing more to plunder he moved on. This brave partisan fighter had turned from Bohemia to the upper Palatinate; driven thence by Tilly, he passed first into the Rhenish Palatinate, and, when he could no longer hold out there, into Alsace, returning again to the Rhenish Palatinate.

The second champion of Frederick V's cause was Duke Christian of Brunswick, a brother of the reigning duke Ulrich, and Protestant administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt. Christian was of the same stamp as Mansfeld, but his warlike spirit was fantastically chivalric. Inspired by the beauty and the misfortunes of the electress Elizabeth, when he met her at the Hague with her husband, he fastened her glove to his hat and swore that he would win back her throne for her. He lacked Mansfeld's ability as a general; he was only a bold fighter. His wild troops, nineteen thousand in number, most of whom were paid with Dutch money, were soon feared both far and near, even more than he himself. Wherever he went he was the scourge of the Catholics. At Paderborn he carried off the golden image of St. Liborius; at Münster he had the silver statues of the Apostles melted down, saying: "Go ye forth into all the world!" He then had them coined into thalers with the inscription, "God's friend, the priests' foe."

The third champion of Frederick V was the markgraf George Frederick of Baden-Durlach, also a brave and resolute warrior. He put the reins of government into the hands of his son and joined Count Mansfeld with an army of fifteen thousand men.

SUCCESSES OF TILLY

While some of the smaller princes thus rallied boldly on the field of battle, the more powerful Protestant princes still remained discouraged and inactive. And yet the Bohemian conflict had now become a general German question, and the ascendency which the Catholic party had won threatened all Protestants; besides this, the constitution of the empire and the freedom of the estates of the realm had become greatly endangered by the despotism of the emperor, which grew rapidly with his good fortune. But most of the Protestants allowed themselves to be persuaded that the matter concerned only the elector; many were pacified by intimidation, others by allurements and bribes. The three commanders, however, took the field in the spring of 1622 with great confidence; they had collected large armies, collectively superior in number to the army of the league. But Tilly, its commander-in-chief, made up by his skill for his lack of means. He succeeded in separating his adversaries and then defeated each individually. First he fell upon the markgraf of Durlach, who had thought to conquer without Mansfeld. The battle was fought at Wimpfen on the Neckar on May 6th, 1622. Tilly won the victory owing to an accident after a bloody battle. Some powder wagons had caught fire among the Protestant ranks and exploded, thus throwing the army of the markgraf into disorder; taking advantage of this, a Neapolitan

cavalry regiment of Tilly's broke through into the midst of the markgraf's troops, and decided the issue of the battle. The young duke Magnus of Würtemberg fell on the battle-field after receiving twelve wounds, and Duke William of Weimar and the count palatine, Christian von Birkenfeld, were also killed. The markgraf himself was in great danger; and it was entirely owing to the bravery and self-sacrificing devotion of one of his regiments (which tradition later translated into four hundred burghers of Pforzheim) that he escaped with his life and liberty.

Tilly then directed his forces against Christian of Brunswick, who, on his way to effect a junction with Mansfeld, was pillaging and ravaging the abbey lands of Fulda and the cathedral lands of Würzburg. But when Duke Christian reached the Main, conquered the city of Höchst, and constructed a bridge, he was attacked by Tilly (June 20th, 1622), and his whole infantry annihilated. Christian himself escaped with the cavalry and cut his way through to the Palatinate and to Mansfeld, with whom was the elector Frederick V.

England, Denmark, and Saxony were then negotiating with the emperor for the restoration of Frederick's hereditary dominion. Ferdinand II dictated as a primary condition that the elector should dismiss his two allies, Christian of Brunswick and Mansfeld. The weak, shortsighted elector actually did this, although their forces were still sufficiently strong to protect him, and he returned to Holland. For some time the two partisan leaders carried on the war on their own account — first along the Rhine, then in Lorraine; finally they advanced to reinforce the Dutch against the Spaniards, and cut their way through the army of the latter.

At last Tilly had free play in the Palatinate, which was entirely at his mercy. He successfully stormed the last three fortified cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal, and acted with all the arbitrariness of a conqueror. Heidelberg lost its celebrated and precious library, where the rare old manuscripts alone were valued at 80,000 crowns. Maximilian of Bavaria presented this library to the pope, and it was removed to Rome, where the greater part of it remains to this day. Under the protection of the victorious Tilly, the Jesuits, at Maximilian's instigation, returned to the Rhenish Palatinate over heaps of ruins and dead bodies; the Protestants lost their churches; the work of conversion began. A similar course was followed in the upper Palatinate.

MAXIMILIAN'S RECORD

The emperor was now victorious in upper Germany; every enemy had been crushed and he made use of this smile of fortune to reorganise the affairs of the empire according to his mind. First he fulfilled his obligations to the duke of Bavaria. The predominant position of this prince, at the head of the league, made him anxious, it is true, and there had always existed, openly or secretly, a certain jealousy between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach; but Ferdinand had been saved by Maximilian, who, moreover, could not safely be slighted or offended. Therefore the emperor fulfilled his original promise and made over the electoral dignity of the Palatinate to him, with the office of lord high steward for life. This was decided at an assembly of imperially disposed princes at Ratisbon, 1623. This act, too, was illegal, for not all the estates of the realm were represented.

The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg vainly opposed this proceeding; finally even they recognised the electoral dignity of Bavaria. The emperor showed his despotism in many other ways, and more especially in matters

of religion, in which the Protestants suffered greatly. The imperial papist party then attacked lower Germany. At the beginning of 1623 Mansfeld and Duke Christian had made their appearance there again with an army levied in the Netherlands, the former making his incursion into East Friesland, and the latter into Lower Saxony. The provincial diet of Lower Saxony had nominated Duke Christian to the command of their forces, for they were desirous to protect their faith against the despotic domination of the emperor and the Catholics. But after four weeks Christian resigned this position, on account of the sorry discords among the districts.

IMPERIAL VICTORIES AND FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

He had the intention of forcing his way into Bohemia and of joining hands there with Bethlen Gábor, the prince of Transylvania, in order to win back the Bohemian crown for the elector. But Tilly advanced to the Weser against him with superior forces. The elector of Saxony would not allow the Protestant army to cross his dominions. It therefore turned back towards Westphalia to effect a junction with Mansfeld, whose troops at that time were not numerous enough to enable him to carry out any great plans by himself. Near Stadtlohn in Münster, Tilly met and defeated Duke Christian, annihilating his army (August 6th, 1623). This blow put an end for the time being to Mansfeld's hopes. As he perceived that he could do nothing with his weak forces against Tilly, he disbanded them temporarily and hastened with uncurbed spirit to London; there he never ceased his efforts to move King James I to lend assistance to the cause of his son-in-law. He succeeded at last, collected a new army, and led it to Holland. Yet even that did not satisfy him, and he tried to unite France, England, Venice, Savoy, Holland, and part of Switzerland in alliance against Austria. The interests of all these countries were prejudiced by the emperor's great and unexpected success. The ascendency of the house of Habsburg in Europe seemed to have taken a new lease of life.[e]

Peace was still out of the question. All the bulwarks of the Reformation in the south had been destroyed. The north, that fondly deemed herself secure, was next to be attacked. The dread of the general and forcible suppression of Protestantism throughout Germany, and shame for their inaction, induced the circle of Lower Saxony to take up arms and to seek aid from their Protestant brethren in England, Denmark, and Sweden. Richelieu was at this time at the head of affairs in France, and, although as a cardinal a zealous upholder of Catholicism, he was not blind to the opportunity offered, by supporting the German Protestants against the emperor, for weakening the power of that potentate, partitioning Germany, and extending the French territory towards the Rhine.

The German Lutherans, ensnared by his intrigues, blinded by fear, and driven to this false step by the despotism and perfidy of the emperor, little foresaw the immeasurable misfortune foreign interference was to bring upon their country. Bellin, the French plenipotentiary, at first wishing to place the warlike Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of the German Protestants, entered into alliance with England, and gained over the elector of Brandenburg, who promised his sister, Catherine, to the Russian czar, in order to keep a check upon Poland, at that period at war with Sweden; but these intrigues were frustrated by Christian IV, king of Denmark, who anticipated the Swedes by taking up arms and placing himself at the head of the movement. Gustavus, at that time engaged with Poland, was unable to

[1625 A.D.]

interfere. The Russian match was broken off (1625), and the luckless bride was given in marriage to Bethlen Gábor.

THE RISE OF WALLENSTEIN

War with Denmark no sooner threatened than Ferdinand, to the great discontent of Bavaria, raised an army, independent of the league, by the assistance of a Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein (properly, Waldstein.) This nobleman belonged to a Protestant family, and had been bred in that faith. He had acquired but a scanty supply of learning at the University of Goldberg in Silesia, which he quitted to enter as a page the Catholic court of Burgau. Whilst here he fell, when asleep, out of one of the high castle windows without receiving any injury. He afterwards studied the dark sciences, more especially astrology, in Italy, and read his future destiny, of which he had had a secret presentiment from his early childhood, in the stars. He commenced his career in the emperor's service, by opposing the Turks in Hungary, where he narrowly escaped death from swallowing a love-potion administered to him by Wiczkowa, an aged but extremely wealthy widow, whom he had married, and with whose money he raised a regiment of cuirassiers for the emperor. His popularity was so great in Bohemia that the Bohemians, on the breaking out of the disturbances in Prague, appointed him their general.

He, nevertheless, remained attached to the imperial service and greatly distinguished himself in the field against Mansfeld and Bethlen Gábor. By a second and equally rich marriage with the countess Harrach and by the favour of the emperor, who bestowed upon him Friedland and the dignity of count of the empire, but chiefly by the purchase of numberless estates, which, on account of the numerous confiscations and emigrations, were sold in Bohemia at merely a nominal price, and by the adulteration of coin,[1] Wallenstein became possessed of such enormous wealth as to be, next to the emperor, the richest proprietor in the empire. The emperor requesting him to raise a body of ten thousand men, he levied forty thousand, an army of that magnitude being solely able to provide itself in every quarter with subsistence, and was, in return, created duke of Friedland and generalissimo of the imperial forces. A few months sufficed for the levy of the troops, his fame and the principles on which he acted attracting crowds beneath his standard. Every religion, but no priest, was tolerated within his camp; the strictest discipline was enforced and the greatest license permitted; merit met with a princely reward; the commonest soldier, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the highest posts; and around the person of the commander was spread the charm of mystery; he was reported to be in league with the powers of darkness, to be invulnerable, and to have enchained victory to his banner. Fortune was his deity and the motto of his troops. In his person he was tall and thin; his countenance was sallow and lowering; his eyes were small and piercing, his forehead was high and commanding, his hair short and bristling. He was surrounded with mystery and silence.

Tilly, jealous of Wallenstein's fame, hastened to anticipate that leader in the reduction of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Danish monarch, who held Schleswig and Holstein by right of inheritance, and Dithmarschen by that of conquest, whilst his son Frederick governed the bishoprics of Bremen and

[1] He purchased property to the amount of 7,290,000 florins, a fifth of its real value, and the coin with which he paid for it was, moreover, so bad that the emperor was compelled by an express privilege to secure him against enforced restitution.

Verden, attempted to encroach still further on the German Empire and long carried on a contest with Lübeck and Hamburg. During peace time, in 1619, he seized the free town of Stade, under the pretext, customary in those times, of protecting the aristocratic council against the rebellious citizens. He also built Glückstadt, and levied high customs on the citizens of Hamburg. The avarice and servility of the princes of Wolfenbüttel and Lüneburg-Celle had also at that period rendered them contemptible and deprived them of much of their former power and influence. After the defeat of Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn, the noble Danish bodyguard, that had been sent to Wolfenbüttel, was attacked and driven across the frontier by the enraged German peasantry; and the Hanse towns, flattered by the emperor and embittered against Denmark by the erection of Stade and Glückstadt, were almost the first to recall their troops and to desist from opposition, whilst George of Lüneburg, attracted by the report of the great arrondissements projected by the emperor, preferred gain to loss and formally seceded.

ALBERT VON WALLENSTEIN
(1583–1634)

The Danish monarch now found himself totally unprotected, and, in order to guard his German acquisitions in case Brunswick followed the example of the Hansa and embraced the imperial party, set himself up as a liberator of Germany, in which he was countenanced and upheld by England, Holland, and Richelieu, the omnipotent minister of France. He nevertheless greatly undervalued the simultaneous revolt of the Upper Austrians, to whom he impolitically offered no assistance. The German princes remained tranquil and left the Dane unaided. The Hessian peasantry rose in Tilly's rear, and those of Brunswick, enraged at the desertion of the cause of religion by the princes and the nobility, killed numbers of his soldiery in the Sollinger forest, captured the garrisons of Dassel and Bodenwerder, seized a large convoy near Einbeck, destroyed the castles of all the fugitive nobility, and hunted George's consort, the daughter of Ludwig of Darmstadt, from one place of refuge to another. The citizens of Hanover, where the magistrate was about to capitulate to Tilly, also flew to arms and appointed John Ernest of Weimar commandant of their city (1625).

Tilly, at first worsted at Nienburg by the Danish general Obentraut, who fell shortly afterwards at Seelze, spread the terror of his name throughout Hesse, Brunswick, and the rest of the Lutheran provinces. In the ensuing year, the approach of Wallenstein caused Tilly to bring the Danish campaign to a hasty close, and taking advantage of the state of inactivity to which the Danish monarch was reduced by a fall from horseback, he seized Hameln and Minden, where the powder magazine blew up during the attack and destroyed the whole garrison, consisting of twenty-five hundred men (1627). Havelberg, Göttingen, and Hanover next fell into his hands, and a pitched battle was fought near Lutter am Barenberge, which terminated in the rout of the whole of the Danish forces and the surrender of Holstein.

THE DEATH OF MANSFELD

Mansfeld and John Ernest of Weimar, too weak, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent to their aid by England and Holland, to take the field against Wallenstein, who, at the head of a wild and undisciplined army of sixty thousand men, was advancing upon lower Germany, attempted to draw him through Silesia into Hungary and to carry the war into the hereditary provinces of the emperor, but were overtaken and defeated on the bridge of Dessau. Mansfeld, nevertheless, escaped into Silesia, where his popularity was so great that in the course of a few weeks he found himself once more at the head of an army consisting of twenty thousand evangelical volunteers, four thousand Mecklenburgers, and three thousand Scots and Danes. Wallenstein pursued him, and the contending armies lay for some time in sight of each other on the Waag, without venturing an engagement. Wallenstein, meanwhile, gained over the Hungarian king, and Mansfeld, once more abandoned, attempted to escape to Venice, but, worn out by chagrin and fatigue, expired in Uracowicz, in Bosnia, 1626.[f]

A popular tradition relates that Mansfeld died standing upright in his armour. A more credible account of his death is given by Scharffenberg as follows:[a] As the night (of November 9th, 1626) wore away, the condition of Mansfeld became worse; his agony was intense. His loyal followers stood speechless round his couch powerless to afford him relief or consolation. The day began to dawn. Then, imbued with supernatural strength, the dying man raised himself on his sick-bed, called for his clothes, his armour, and his trusty sword. Amazed, his followers humoured him: "Up, up!" cried Mansfeld, "the parting is at hand; bear me to the open window, my faithful friends, that the morning air may refresh me once more: death shall not overtake me on a soft couch — it has always spared me on the battle-field. Standing, I will give back my soul to the Lord of hosts. Over the rocky heights the rosy dawn approaches, heralding the coming day — yours, but mine no longer. Yea, the coming day on which you are called upon to take up the struggle once more, while I must ignominously succumb!" Supported in the arms of two officers, or rather two friends, the dying man was brought to the open window; his transfigured gaze, oblivious of all earthly objects, was fixed on the first rays of the sun, which had dispelled the last grey mists of dawn. "Keep together, make a brave stand!" were Mansfeld's last words.[g] The fallen hero was buried at Spalatro. His ally, John Ernest of Weimar, died in Hungary. A body of his troops under Colonel Bandis fought their way, although opposed even by Brandenburg, to Denmark. Bethlen Gábor died in 1629, leaving no issue.

WALLENSTEIN'S POWER

The triumph of the Catholics seemed complete. Wallenstein became the soul of the intrigues carried on in the camps and in the little courts of northern Germany; and had not the Catholics, like the Protestants at an earlier period, been blinded by petty jealousies, Europe would have been moulded by his quick and comprehensive genius into another form. He demanded a thorough reaction, an unconditional restoration of the ancient imperial power, a monarchy absolute as that of France and Spain. In order to carry out his project for securing the submission of the southern provinces of Germany to the imperial rule by the firm and peaceable possession of those in the north, the seat of opposition, he invaded Holstein, defeated the markgraf of Baden

near Aalborg, and made Christian IV tremble in Copenhagen. Tilly, meanwhile, garrisoned the coasts of the Baltic and seized Stade, whilst Arnheim, with the Saxon troops sent by the elector to Wallenstein's aid, held the island of Rügen. Rostock fell into the hands of Wallenstein, John Albert and Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburg were driven out of the country, and the people were laid under heavy contributions. Wallenstein had already come to an understanding with Poland, and the Hanse towns were drawn into his interests by a promise of the annihilation of the Dutch, of the traffic of the whole world being diverted from Amsterdam to Hamburg, and of the monopoly of the whole of the commerce of Spain. The emperor, in order to counterpoise the power of the ancient princely families which threatened to contravene the schemes laid for his aggrandisement by his favourite, bestowed upon him the principality of Sagan, in Silesia, and the whole of Mecklenburg, whilst he in his turn proposed to gain the crown of Denmark for his master, to create Tilly duke of Brunswick-Calenberg and Pappenheim duke of Wolfenbüttel; and, in order to evade George's pretensions, that prince was sent to Italy under pretence of securing the succession of the petty duchy of Mantua for the emperor. *f*

In vain did the inhabitants of Mecklenburg supplicate to have their rightful dukes, whose family had reigned in their dominions for nearly a thousand years, restored to them. Ferdinand forgot again, this time, the laws of moderation in victory, and shamefully violated the constitution of the empire in thus banishing these princes from their territories without legally impeaching them before the electoral princes, and without giving them a hearing or pronouncing judgment against them. On the contrary, it was to him an object of great importance to secure for himself the presence of a Catholic prince of the empire on the coast of the Baltic Sea, who would thus be enabled to keep in check the north of Germany, and form a protective power to watch the proceedings of the Protestant kings of Denmark and Sweden; whilst from this point he confidently hoped to be enabled to re-establish the Catholic faith throughout the north. He also appears to have contemplated holding complete dominion over the maritime commerce of the Baltic from this quarter, for Wallenstein even assumed the title of admiral of the north and eastern seas, and it is seen by his letters addressed to Arnim, general-in-chief of the army in the north of Germany, during his absence, that the desire he had most at heart was to burn all the Swedish and Danish vessels that sailed within the range of his dominion, and to collect and establish a fleet of his own.

From Mecklenburg Wallenstein turned his attention to its neighbouring territory, Pomerania. The old duke, Bogislaw, was without any family, and after his death his duchy might be very conveniently united with that of Mecklenburg. What, however, was to this ambitious man of the utmost importance, was the possession of Stralsund, which, it is true, was in the dominion of the duke of Pomerania, but which, at the same time, as forming part of the Hanseatic League, enjoyed many privileges, and an independent administration in all its internal affairs. This city, as well as the whole country, had contributed very large sums towards the maintenance of the imperial troops; and now it was intended to furnish it with a garrison. This the citizens refused to receive; and in the spring of the year 1628 Wallenstein gave orders to General Arnim to march against and lay siege to the place. The citizens, however, defended their walls with determined courage and perseverance, whilst the kings Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Christian of Denmark furnished them with liberal supplies of troops, together with ammunition and provisions from the sea-side. Their obstinate resistance

excited the furious wrath and indignation of the imperious general, and he exclaimed: "Even if this Stralsund be linked by chains to the very heavens above, still I swear it shall fall!" He then advanced in person against the city, and repeatedly assaulted it; but he now learned to know what the heroic courage of citizens can effect under prudent guidance; for after having remained before the walls for several weeks, and suffered a loss of at least twelve thousand men in the various desperate assaults made, he was forced, to his no little mortification, to withdraw without accomplishing his object.

Meantime, the king of Denmark had demanded peace, which, contrary to all expectation, the emperor was advised by Wallenstein to conclude; from which it may be presumed that, as he was now himself a prince of the empire, he no longer considered it desirable to destroy further the power of the German princes. The king, through the mediation of the general, made on the 12th of May, 1629, in Lübeck, a very advantageous peace, and he received back all his lands, without paying the expenses of the war. But this peace did not add much to the glory of the king, inasmuch as for his own preservation he sacrificed in the dukes of Mecklenburg two faithful allies. He promised not to take any share in the affairs of Germany, otherwise than as a member of the imperial states, and thus resigned the right he possessed to protect the two dukes. Wallenstein now received from the emperor the investiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg, and was thus confirmed in his rank among the princes of the empire.

THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION

How rejoiced must the peacefully disposed inhabitants of Germany have been, after their long persecution, when they received the happy tidings of peace! The contest, indeed, could not now be continued any longer, for no enemy was left to oppose the emperor; whilst the duke of Bavaria had obtained quiet possession of the electoral dignity, and that portion of the Palatinate which had been promised to him as an indemnification for his expenses in the war. The Protestants were now so completely reduced and subdued that there was no longer cause to dread fresh hostilities on their part. The war had now reached its twelfth year, and every year had left behind it fresh traces of the ravages produced throughout the whole empire, turning flourishing provinces into deserts, and rendering once opulent citizens beggars and fugitives. The war, indeed, might now have easily been brought to a termination, had the victorious party only known when to fix the just limits of their course, and if the emperor, after having thus completely purified his states of the new doctrines and re-established his authority therein with all its original power, had secured religious peace in all its plenitude to all the other independent states of the empire, disbanded his army, and thus have delivered the reduced and miserable country from that especially heavy burden.

But nothing is more difficult to the human mind than to restrain itself in its course amidst prosperity. The Catholic party imagined this was a moment too favourable for them to neglect, and they determined, accordingly, to draw all the advantages they could from the fortunate state of circumstances in which they were placed. They demanded of the Protestants the restitution of all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the Treaty of Passau, in 1552; being no less than two archbishoprics, Bremen and Magdeburg, twelve bishoprics, and a multitude of inferior benefices and convents. Until this moment, the restitution of what it had been so long the acknowledged right of the Protestants to hold possession had never been for an instant contemplated; but now, however, urged on by the Catholics, the

emperor published a solemn edict, known under the title of the Edict of Restitution, dated the 6th of March, 1629. "The Protestants," says a distinguished historian, "were completely paralysed, whilst the more short-sighted portion of their adversaries hailed it with exultation." The cause, however, for such exultation produced eventually unutterable calamity all over Germany.

Under these circumstances, therefore, it was determined not to disband either of the two grand armies at this moment engaged in their devastations throughout the empire; their services were retained in order to bring into effect the execution of the Edict of Restitution, and orders were accordingly issued that they should assist, if necessary, with the force of their arms, the various imperial deputies authorised by the government to witness the due accomplishment of its decrees. Operations were immediately commenced, and the south of Germany was selected as the spot to receive the first visitation. The city of Augsburg was forced, amongst the rest, to acknowledge the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop and renounce the Protestant form of worship, whilst the duke of Würtemberg was obliged to restore all his monasteries. In addition to all this, the Catholic league, in a meeting which took place in Heidelberg, made a resolution "not to restore any of the possessions conquered by their arms, whether spiritual or temporal, unless they were indemnified beforehand for all their war expenses." Thence the Protestants were threatened with still greater danger from the league party than even from the emperor himself.

But the intolerable tyranny exercised by Wallenstein's army produced increasing indignation, and excited still more loudly the complaints and murmurs of both parties, which attained at length such a degree of irresistible power that the emperor could no longer shut his eyes against the universal ruin — no respect being shown for either party, friends or foes, Catholics or Protestants — caused by those overbearing, ruthless violators of right and justice. The emperor's own brother, Leopold, himself wrote him a long letter in which he gave a dreadful and harrowing description of the pillage, incendiarisms, murderous outrages, and other shameful oppressions inflicted by the imperial troops upon the peaceful inhabitants.[a]

THE DISMISSAL OF WALLENSTEIN

While Gustavus Adolphus was embarking for the purpose of brandishing the war torch, which was scarcely extinguished in Germany, the emperor Ferdinand II left his royal residence in Vienna to open his first diet at Ratisbon. The opening took place on the 3rd of July, 1630. The elector of Bavaria and the three ecclesiastical princes were present; Saxony and Brandenburg excused themselves. The emperor first dealt with the cause of the count palatine, Frederick V, and foreign politics; before all things, the electors demanded redress against the Friedland soldiery by the dismissal of the general. All present contended against the unlimited power of Wallenstein, "who forced everyone to do his will without right, even without just pretexts," and against the unbearable pressure of his warriors. The electors did not rest at the dismissal of the over-powerful general. At the time that the duchy of Mecklenburg had been given over to him they had protested against the act. This matter, which had not troubled the emperor, they now brought up for discussion. They demanded that the empire should become constitutional. This would require that justice should be open to the dukes of Mecklenburg, and that defence should be granted them.

After long opposition Ferdinand II finally declared on August 13th that he wished to alter the command of his army. Nevertheless a new difficulty arose. The landing of the Swedish king made the appointment of a new commander-in-chief an immediate necessity, and for a long time the emperor and the elector could not agree. The emperor's attention was next drawn to Tilly. The ancient hero at first refused the acceptance of the imperial command; then, hesitatingly, he took up with the imperial offer. The confederate princes urged the emperor to accelerate the dismissal of Wallenstein. The emperor entrusted the serious task of informing the mighty man of his dismissal to two of the latter's old friends, the chancellor Von Werdenberg and the war councillor Von Questenberg. It was not without fear that they approached him. Wallenstein received them with great politeness and entertained them with great splendour. After the conversation had for long run on ordinary matters, they took heart and began to execute their mission. The duke, who for a long time had already been informed through his adherents and paid friends of everything that had taken place at Ratisbon, immediately interrupted them. "These papers," said he, taking a Latin manuscript off the table, "contain the horoscope of the emperor and the elector of Bavaria. From them you can for yourselves see that I know your mission. The stars show that the spirit of the elector dominates the spirit of the emperor. I do not blame the emperor for this. I am truly sorry that the emperor espouses my cause so little; but I will obey."

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS
(1594–1632)

He dismissed the deputies with rich presents. He thanked the emperor by letter for all the trust he had conferred on him up till now, and begged him to protect him in his possessions. The emperor, yielding to the requests of the electors, had decided to institute an investigation of the affairs of the duke of Mecklenburg, and ordered Wallenstein to betake himself to his possessions in Bohemia until it was over. Wallenstein willingly acceded to this: in his banishment he nevertheless thought to carry away the sure hope that the course of events was preparing a complete triumph for him over his enemies, and that the emperor would be obliged to recall him.[b]

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

The power of the Protestant princes had now become much weakened, and the Edict of Restitution was carried into effect generally. Those who knew the character of Ferdinand might easily foresee what were his designs against the new church, and it was scarcely necessary to question whether or not his grand object was to annihilate its entire existence, for the proceedings adopted throughout the empire clearly showed what its party had to expect. But amidst this growing danger, and indeed almost in the very moment itself when the minds of the Protestants, as they beheld the crisis gradually approaching, had sunk into that state of despondency and settled gloom which the sad succession of events must naturally produce, they received, most unexpectedly, assistance from a nation hitherto but little known and living in uninterrupted seclusion within the frontiers of their northern territory. This people, the Swedes, were nevertheless distinguished for their bravery, whilst they were steadfast and faithful in their religious principles, being the descendants of the Goths, the noblest of all those nations most justly entitled to boast of their German origin. In the year 1611 Gustavus Adolphus succeeded to the Swedish throne, and he it was who was destined to lead his people upon the grand scene of this eventful period. It was this firm conviction, so deeply emplanted in his mind, by which Gustavus felt inspired to undertake the mighty contest against the powerful house of Austria.

His great plan was immediately demonstrated in the first moment of his appearance upon the scene. Previous to the war in Germany he had already conquered from the Russians and Poles the provinces along the coast, Ingermanland, Karelia, and Livonia, together with a portion of Prussia. Various important motives compelled him now to take a share in the affairs of Germany. He had been very seriously provoked and mortified by the emperor Ferdinand; his intercession in favour of the Protestants and his cousins the dukes of Mecklenburg, as well as his mediation for peace with Denmark, had been treated with great contempt, and disdainfully rejected; whilst, in addition to this, Wallenstein had even sent ten thousand imperial troops to the aid of the Poles against him. Beyond all these causes of complaint, however, which might perhaps still have been peacefully adjusted by negotiation, his presence was summoned by the danger which now hovered over the Protestant church, and the fear he entertained lest, in the person of Wallenstein, a fresh power might usurp the coast of the Baltic Sea, and thus strengthen and extend the cause of Austria and Catholicism.

The danger to which the city of Stralsund was exposed had already produced his co-operation in favour of that place. He not only yielded to its wishes in this respect, but formed an alliance with it, by which it placed itself under his protection, and it was indebted to the succour he afforded especially for its preservation when besieged by Wallenstein. Now, however, when he beheld that the cause of Protestantism was menaced more seriously than ever throughout the whole of Germany, he took the decisive step, and formally declaring war against the emperor, he on the 24th of June, 1630, landed on the coast of Pomerania with fifteen thousand Swedes. As soon as he stepped upon shore, he dropped on his knees in prayer, whilst his example was immediately followed by his whole army. Truly he had undertaken, with but small and limited means, a great and mighty enterprise!

When the emperor was informed of his landing, he, in his feeling of confidence, inspired by his continual success, appeared to treat the affair with much indifference. All the Catholic party throughout the empire turned the

fact of the arrival of the petty king of the north, as they termed him, into ridicule, and styled him, in contempt, the snow king, who would speedily melt beneath the rays of the imperial sun. But these fifteen thousand men constituted an army of heroes, a phalanx of hardy warriors, belonging as it were to another world; their ranks were regulated by strict discipline and religious principles, whilst those opposed to them knew nothing of war but barbarism, and that licentious exercise of its worst passions which under no circumstances would be curbed or submit to reason. The imperials were a mixture of all nations and creeds, and bound together by no other ties but those of common warfare and pillage; the Swedes, on the other hand, were strengthened in the confidence they felt that God fought on their side, and to him they offered up their prayers regularly twice a day, each regiment possessing its own chaplain. Besides this, the inventive genius of Gustavus had introduced the exercise of some new military tactics into his army. He surprised his enemies by the novelty and boldness of his positions and order of battle-attacks. Hitherto it had been their practice to form the line of battle ten rows deep, but Gustavus reduced it to six in the infantry and four in the cavalry; whence his little army gained considerably in extension, and was more easy and rapid in its movements when in battle, whilst the balls from the enemy's artillery committed less damage among their ranks, thus less densely crowded. The Swedish troops, especially the foot soldiers, were likewise less heavily supplied with armour and other accoutrements, by which they were enabled to fire off their muskets with much more ease and despatch, they being also constructed of far lighter materials than those of the imperials.

The imperials, whose forces were by no means strong in the vicinity of the coast, were soon driven out of Rügen and the smaller islands at the mouth of the Oder, and Gustavus now marched against Stettin, the capital of the duchy of Pomerania. The duke, who was both old and timid, would not venture to decide upon joining the king of Sweden, and yet he could not resolve to oppose him. After long hesitation, during which Gustavus used every means of persuasion in firm but mild and consoling language, he at length surrendered to him the city, which the king intended at once to convert into a principal military dépôt during the war.

The Protestant princes of the empire, like the duke of Pomerania, appeared quite undetermined how to receive their new ally. The king had invited them all to unite and form one grand alliance; but many felt too much afraid, and dreaded the vengeance of the emperor, others were jealous of all foreign dominion in case of success, whilst the rest felt disposed rather to remain faithful in their allegiance to the empire and government than to risk any change whatever. Gustavus was by no means pleased with the disposition thus shown: "We evangelicals," he said, in his address to the inhabitants of Erfurt, "are placed in a position similar to a vessel when in a storm. In such a moment it does not suffice for a few only to labour with zeal for the general safety whilst the rest of the crew look quietly on with their arms folded; all ought to work together, and each ought to assist with all his might in the particular part assigned to him." The Protestants, however, possessed no such spirit of union, neither did they cherish that conscientiousness of purpose so necessary. As usual they were divided among themselves by jealousy and prejudice. The Palatinate was entirely subjected; and Saxony, which for a length of time had kept aloof from the evangelicals, and at times, during the period of the palatine's influence, had even adhered to Austria, was now vacillating between its dread of Austria and a foreign prince.

The king of Sweden, now reinforced by a large number of enlisted troops, advanced with rapid marches direct through Pomerania, and completely beat and put to flight the whole of the imperials before him. The latter in their retreat devastated the country, pillaged all the towns, many of which they burned, and ill-treated and murdered the inhabitants. This dreadful war now resumed all its horrors. The Swedes, so steady and strict in their discipline, appeared as protecting angels, and as the king advanced the belief spread far and near throughout the land that he was sent from heaven as its preserver.

Gustavus desired to march in security step by step, and not to leave any fortified place in his rear; after he had carried by assault Frankfort-on-the-Oder, which contained a garrison of eight thousand imperials, he desired the elector of Brandenburg to surrender into his hands the fortified towns of Küstrin and Spandau. The elector, although related by marriage to Gustavus, who had married his sister, hesitated; but the king marched on towards Berlin, and invited him to a conference on the plain between Berlin and Cospenik. Here, however, the prince still continued to hold out, when, at length, the king exclaimed with warmth: "My roads leads to Magdeburg — at this moment closely besieged by Tilly — whither I must hasten, although not for my own advantage but solely for that of the evangelicals. If none, however, will lend me their aid, I will free myself from all reproach and return to Stockholm; but bear in mind, prince, that on the last day of judgment you yourself will be condemned for refusing to do aught in the cause of the Gospel, and perhaps even in this world you may receive the punishment due from God. For if Magdeburg be taken, and I withdraw, imagine what must happen to you!" This appeal produced its effects; the elector surrendered Spandau into his hands at once. The distance thence to Magdeburg was but short, and the inhabitants of that hard-pressed city were most urgent in their prayers for assistance; unhappily, however, Gustavus found it quite impossible to cross the Elbe in face of the enemy so as to proceed by the direct road. Accordingly he requested permission from the elector of Saxony to pass through his territory, his object being to proceed to Wittenberg; but the prince refused to grant the accommodation desired. Whilst, however, the king was engaged in endeavouring to prevail upon the elector to accede to his request, the dreadful, fatal day of conquest arrived, and the devoted city was lost.

The city of Magdeburg, which from the commencement had continued to distinguish itself for its zeal in the cause of the Protestant faith, was likewise the first in the list to throw itself into the arms of the preserver of religious liberty. The people urgently invited him to direct his march towards the Elbe, and promised not only to throw open their gates to him, but enlisted at once a number of soldiers for his service; whilst Gustavus, who perceived the great importance of such a grand dépôt, accepted their offers with eagerness, and lost no time in endeavouring to meet their wishes. Tilly, however, who was equally aware of the advantage to be derived by his adversary from the occupation of such an important place, used all diligence to make himself master of it before the king's arrival. He commenced the siege in the month of March, 1631, seconded by General Pappenheim, a brave and determined officer. In the city itself there were only two hundred Swedes, under the command of Melcher of Falkenberg, whom Gustavus had shortly before despatched as commandant of the city; but the inhabitants, full of courage and religious zeal, united in defending the place with determined perseverance. They had even erected two strong entrenchments in front of the city walls,

which, in testimony of their undaunted resolution, they styled Trutz-Tilly (defiance to Tilly), and Trutz-Pappenheim (defiance to Pappenheim).[d]

THE CAPTURE OF MAGDEBURG DESCRIBED BY SCHILLER

The outworks were soon carried, and Falkenberg, after withdrawing the garrisons from the points which he could no longer hold, destroyed the bridge over the Elbe. As his troops were barely sufficient to defend the extensive fortifications, the suburbs of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, now separated from Tilly, crossed the Elbe at Schönebeck, and attacked the town from the opposite side.

The garrison, reduced by the defence of the outworks, scarcely exceeded two thousand infantry and a few hundred horse — a small number for so extensive and irregular a fortress. To supply this deficiency, the citizens were armed — a desperate expedient, which produced more evils than those it prevented. The citizens, at best but indifferent soldiers, by their disunion threw the town into confusion. The poor complained that they were exposed to every hardship and danger, while the rich, by hiring substitutes, remained at home in safety. These rumours broke out at last in an open mutiny; indifference succeeded to zeal; weariness and negligence took the place of vigilance and foresight. Dissension, combined with growing scarcity, gradually produced a feeling of despondency; many began to tremble at the desperate nature of their undertaking, and the magnitude of the power to which they were opposed. But religious zeal, an ardent love of liberty, an invincible hatred to the Austrian yoke, and the expectation of speedy relief, banished as yet the idea of a surrender; and divided as they were in everything else, they were united in the resolve to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Their hopes of succour were apparently well founded. They knew that the confederacy of Leipsic was arming; they were aware of the near approach of Gustavus Adolphus. Both were alike interested in the preservation of Magdeburg, and a few days might bring the king of Sweden before its walls. All this was also known to Tilly, who, therefore, was anxious to make himself speedily master of the place. With this view, he had despatched a trumpeter with letters to the administrator, the commandant, and the magistrates, offering terms of capitulation; but he received for answer that they would rather die than surrender. A spirited sally of the citizens also convinced him that their courage was as earnest as their words, while the king's arrival at Potsdam, with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, filled him with uneasiness, but raised the hopes of the garrison. A second trumpeter was now despatched; but the more moderate tone of his demands increased the confidence of the besieged, and unfortunately their negligence also.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the fortifications from the abandoned batteries. One tower was entirely overthrown, but this did not facilitate an assault, as it fell sidewise upon the wall, and not into the ditch. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much; and the fire-balls which were intended to set the town in flames were robbed of their effect by the excellent precautions adopted against them. But the ammunition of the besieged was nearly expended, and the cannon of the town gradually ceased to answer the fire of the imperials. Before a new supply could be obtained, Magdeburg would be either relieved or taken. The hopes of the besieged were on the stretch, and all eyes anxiously directed towards the quarter in which

the Swedish banners were expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to reach Magdeburg within three days; security grew with hope, which all things contributed to augment. On the 9th of May, the fire of the imperials was suddenly stopped, and the cannon withdrawn from several of the batteries. A deathlike stillness reigned in the imperial camp. The besieged were convinced that deliverance was at hand. Both citizens and soldiers left their posts upon the ramparts early in the morning, to indulge themselves, after their long toils, with the refreshment of sleep; but it was indeed a costly sleep and a frightful awakening.

Tilly had abandoned the hope of taking the town, before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means which he had hitherto adopted; he therefore determined to raise the siege, but first to hazard a general assault. This plan, however, was attended with great difficulties, as no breach had been effected, and the works were scarcely injured. But the council of war assembled on this occasion declared for an assault, citing the example of Maestricht, which had been taken early in the morning, while the citizens and soldiers were reposing. The attack was to be made simultaneously on four points; the night betwixt the 9th and 10th of May was employed in the necessary preparations. Everything was ready and awaiting the signal, which was to be given by cannon at five o'clock in the morning. The signal, however, was not given until two hours later; during the interval Tilly, who was still doubtful of success, again consulted the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to attack the works of the new town, where the attempt was favoured by a sloping rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth. The citizens and soldiers had mostly left the walls, and the few who remained were overcome with sleep. This general, therefore, found little difficulty in mounting the wall at the head of his troops.

Falkenberg, roused by the report of musketry, hastened from the town-house, where he was employed in despatching Tilly's second trumpeter, and hurried with all the force he could hastily assemble towards the gate of the new town, which was already in the possession of the enemy. Beaten back, this intrepid general flew to another quarter, where a second party of the enemy were preparing to scale the walls. After an ineffectual resistance he fell in the commencement of the action. The roar of musketry, the pealing of the alarm-bells, and the growing tumult apprised the awakening citizens of their danger. Hastily arming themselves, they rushed in blind confusion against the enemy. Still some hope of repulsing the besiegers remained; but the governor being killed, their efforts were without plan and co-operation, and at last their ammunition began to fail them. In the meanwhile, two other gates, hitherto unattacked, were stripped of their defenders, to meet the urgent danger within the town. The enemy quickly availed themselves of this confusion to attack these posts. The resistance was nevertheless spirited and obstinate, until four imperial regiments at length, masters of the ramparts, fell upon the garrison in the rear, and completed their rout. Amidst the general tumult, a brave captain, named Schmidt, who still headed a few of the more resolute against the enemy, succeeded in driving them to the gates; here he fell mortally wounded, and with him expired the hopes of Magdeburg. Before noon all the works were carried, and the town was in the enemy's hands.

Two gates were now opened by the storming party for the main body, and Tilly marched in with part of his infantry. Immediately occupying the principal streets, he drove the citizens with pointed cannon into their dwellings, there to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; Tilly's indifference decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even a more humane general

would in vain have recommended mercy to such soldiers; but Tilly never made the attempt. Left by their general's silence masters of the lives of all the citizens, the soldiery broke into the houses to satiate their most brutal appetites. The prayers of innocence excited some compassion in the hearts of the Germans, but none in the rude breasts of Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarcely had the savage cruelty commenced, when the other gates were thrown open, and the cavalry, with the fearful hordes of Croats, poured in upon the devoted inhabitants.

Here unfolded a scene of horrors for which history has no language — poetry no pencil. Neither innocent childhood nor hapless old age, neither youth, sex, rank, nor beauty could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents; and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. No situation, however obscure or however sacred, escaped the rapacity of the enemy. In a single church fifty-three women were found beheaded. The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons, with stabbing infants at their mothers' breasts. Some officers of the league, horror-struck at this dreadful scene, ventured to remind Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "Return in an hour," was his answer; "I will see what I can do: the soldier must have some reward for his danger and toils." These horrors lasted with unbated fury till at last the smoke and flames proved a check to the plunderers. To augment the confusion and to divert the resistance of the inhabitants, the imperials had, in the commencement of the assault, fired the town in several places. The wind rising rapidly spread the flames, till the blaze became universal.

Fearful indeed was the tumult, amid clouds of smoke, heaps of dead bodies, the clash of swords, the crash of falling ruins, and streams of blood. The atmosphere glowed; and the intolerable heat forced at last even the murderers to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours, this strong, populous, and flourishing city, one of the finest in Germany, was reduced to ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The administrator, Christian William, after receiving several wounds, was taken prisoner, with three of the burgomasters; most of the officers and magistrates had already met an enviable death. The avarice of the officers had saved four hundred of the richest citizens, in the hope of extorting from them an exorbitant ransom. But this humanity was confined to the officers of the league, whom the ruthless barbarity of the imperials caused to be regarded as guardian angels.

Scarcely had the fury of the flames abated, when the imperials returned to renew the pillage amid the ruins and ashes of the town. Many were suffocated by the smoke; many found rich booty in the cellars, where the citizens had concealed their more valuable effects. Horrible and revolting to humanity was the scene that presented itself: the living crawling from under the dead, children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; and infants still sucking the breasts of their lifeless mothers. More than six thousand bodies were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number had been consumed by the flames. The whole number of the slain was reckoned at not less than thirty thousand.

Tilly himself appeared in the town, after the streets had been cleared of ashes and dead bodies. The entrance of the general, which took place on the 14th, put a stop to the plunder, and saved a few who had hitherto contrived to escape. About a thousand people were taken out of the cathedral, where

they had remained three days and two nights, without food and in momentary fear of death. Tilly promised them quarter, and commanded bread to be distributed among them. The next day, a solemn mass was performed in the cathedral and *Te Deum* sung amidst the discharge of artillery. The imperial general rode through the streets, that he might be able, as an eye-witness, to inform his master that no such conquest had been made since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem. Nor was this an exaggeration, whether we consider the greatness, importance, and prosperity of the city rased, or the fury of its ravagers.[h]

TILLY MEETS GUSTAVUS

After the conquest of Magdeburg, Tilly was very desirous of having a battle with the king of Sweden, for his troops suffered much in that ravaged district from want of supplies; Gustavus, however, considered he was not yet in sufficient force to risk a meeting, and he continued to keep himself entrenched in his camp of Werben, in Altmark. He was, likewise, extremely anxious to restore his cousins, the banished dukes of Mecklenburg, to their hereditary possessions. Accordingly, he furnished them with the necessary troops, with which they reconquered their dominions and made their solemn entry into their town of Güstrow, in which Wallenstein had previously established his court residence. The king heightened the interest of the grand festival given upon the occasion by attending it in person, and he ordered that every mother with a suckling child should attend in the open square, and that each infant should receive some of the wine there generally distributed, in order that the children of their children might forever remember the day of the return of their own legitimate princes.

Tilly, meantime, now turned his eyes towards the rich provinces of Saxony which had hitherto escaped the devastation of war, and in the vicinity of which he had now taken up his position. At the same time, however, it was certainly an act of injustice and ingratitude to inflict the burden of war upon the elector of Saxony, who had shown so much fidelity towards the house of Austria; but Tilly very soon found a pretext for the proceeding. He referred to the imperial decree which ordered that all the members of the Leipsic League should lay down their arms; and, as he found that the elector, in spite of this command, still continued on the defensive, he immediately marched into Saxony without even making any declaration of war; and taking possession of and pillaging the cities of Merseburg, Zeitz, Naumburg, and Weissenfels, he advanced to Leipsic itself. This unjust act of violence effected more than all the persuasive eloquence of the king might have produced, for the elector threw himself immediately and without any reserve into his arms, concluded with him a firm and definitive alliance, offensive and defensive, and joined him with his army at Düben on the 3rd of September, 1631.

On this same day the imperial general made his attack upon Leipsic, which had closed its gates against him, and he took possession of it the next day; but the king now advanced with his united forces to recover the city, and the day had at length arrived on which the decisive trial was to take place between the old and hitherto unconquered general of the emperor, and the royal and youthful hero of Sweden. Gustavus, who knew how necessary it was that he should succeed by a grand action to secure and command the confidence of Germany based upon his genius and good fortune, felt deeply the importance of this day, and wavered in his determination. He still

doubted the prudence of staking the fate of the war upon a single battle; for there was too much reason to believe that the loss of this action must put an end to all his hopes on that side of the ocean, whilst it would produce the ruin of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the complete and final destruction of the Protestant church throughout the whole empire.

The elector of Saxony, however, who could no longer endure to behold his country thus demolished by the hands of a pitiless and ruthless foe, urged the king in the most forcible language to give battle, and Gustavus accordingly yielded and marched on to Leipsic. The two armies met in the fields of the village of Breitenfeld, on the 7th of September, 1631, and there fought the decisive battle. Gustavus divided the Saxons from the rest of his troops, and posted them on his left wing, for as they were only recently enlisted he could not put entire trust in them.[d]

BATTLE OF BREITENFELD, OR LEIPSIC (1631)

Until mid-day between one and two nothing decisive had taken place. Then the actual battle began, for the left wing of the enemy advanced against the right wing of the Swedes, endeavouring to penetrate its right flank and thus gain the wind. In consequence of the displacement of the Swedish front farther to the right, the Pappenheim cavalry, which had to left-wheel so as to attack the enemy's wing, lost connection with their centre. Instead of restoring this connection, they committed a new error, in drawing still further to the west (calculated from their standpoint) when engaged with the Swedish right wing. The king realising this movement strengthened his right wing by fresh troops, which were soon broken by the enemy and compelled to take to flight.

Now the centre of the enemy, the whole compact mass of its infantry, flanked on both sides by cavalry, began to descend the heights. It was Tilly's plan to throw himself with all his weight on to the newly recruited and inexperienced Saxons, and only after having overcome them to deal with the more terrible enemy. Tilly's battalions held the Saxons for a long time. The Saxon cavalry and artillery tried to defend themselves, but when their best constable [gunner] had fallen, they could no longer be controlled. The artillerymen deserted their guns, the infantry retreated in company form, and even the cavalry took to flight. The elector himself fled, surrounded by his bodyguard, and did not halt till he reached Eilenburg. As they fled, the Saxons spread the report that they were beaten and all was lost. The Swedish troops, who were behind the line of battle with the convoy and baggage, with terror heard the cry; they immediately turned and hastened in great disorder to Düben.

Having repulsed the Saxons, Tilly's infantry attacked the exposed left flank of the Swedes, and the regiment of Fürstenberg moved out to attack them in the rear. It is proof of the progress of the Swedish art of manœuvring that Horn was able at this threatening moment to wheel round the whole left wing, by which he fronted the enemy. Out of the second line of the centre, Gustavus Adolphus in person led the two brigades which stood next to Horn's left wing, and opposed them to the superior force of the enemy.

In this place the battle raged long and furiously; on the imperial side the Fürstenberg cavalry of the right wing especially distinguished themselves. The imperial infantry stood as a rock, and bravely repelled all attacks of the Swedish cavalry. Then, at the command of Gustavus Adolphus, the East Gothic cavalry came from the right wing. Field-Marshal Horn placed himself at their head, divisions of musketeers joined them, and thus they advanced

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for the decisive attack. First of all occurred a couple of furious musketry salvos, then a terrible mêlée with the enemy. Horn's ranks were broken through, the Spanish battalions scattered. The Swedes afterwards retook the Saxon cannon, and conquered the enemy's own battery. When evening came, the Swedes were conquerors, the forces of the enemy were all destroyed except four regiments, which succeeded in escaping, veiled by the thick clouds of dust raised by the mêlée. The Swedish cavalry pursued the fugitives until dark.

The loss of men on both sides was considerable. The number of wounded and dead on the Swedish side was given at twenty-one hundred; that of the imperials, in battle and in the pursuit, at from ten to twelve thousand. So many prisoners were taken that not only could broken regiments be filled up with them, but new regiments were formed. A report mentions seven thousand prisoners. In any case, as Gustavus Adolphus wrote, the enemy's infantry was completely destroyed; entire regiments, as that of Holstein, had been cut to pieces. Both sides had heavy losses in superior officers.[p]

After Breitenfeld the progress of the Protestant army was a triumphal march through south Germany. The castle of Würzburg was stormed, the Spanish garrison of Oppenheim put to the sword; Christmas of 1631 was spent at Mainz in feasting and drinking. Louis XIII began to be alarmed at the successes of Gustavus. "It is high time," he observed, "to set a limit to the progress of this Goth." But the "Goth" entered Nuremberg in March, 1632, and was idolised as the saviour of the Protestant cause and a descendant of the old hereditary burggrafs of the town. The imperials were driven out of Donauwörth on the 5th of April. On the 14th the Swedes encountered Tilly, who was guarding the passage of the Lech. The river was crossed in the teeth of the enemy, and Tilly was mortally wounded. He was carried to Ingolstadt, only to die. At Augsburg Gustavus even demanded an oath of obedience, as from subject to sovereign.

Bavaria claimed attention next. With Frederick, the exiled elector palatine, at his side, Gustavus rode into Munich. It was not the fault of Gustavus if Frederick was not again ruling at Heidelberg. Gustavus had offered him his ancestral territories on the condition that he would allow Swedish garrisons to occupy his fortresses during the war, and that he would give equal liberty to the Lutheran and Calvinist forms of worship. Against this latter demand Frederick's narrow-hearted Calvinism steeled itself, and when, not many months later, he was carried off by a fever at Bacharach, he was still, through his own fault, a homeless wanderer on the face of the earth.

All Germany, except the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, was at the feet of Gustavus. The position of the emperor was growing desperate. It was at this critical stage that the Spaniards recommended the recall of Wallenstein. The secret hopes of Wallenstein had risen at the reluctance with which John George and the Saxons had forsaken the emperor. True, they had marched through Bohemia after their disorderly flight from Breitenfeld, and had entered Prague amid almost universal enthusiasm; but Wallenstein hoped they might be won from their new allies by sacrificing the Edict of Restitution. All Germany could then resist Swedes and Frenchmen, nominally under the sway of Ferdinand but practically under that of the general who had become indispensable.

The articles of Znaim, in which Wallenstein agreed to resume command, have been called an unparalleled document in history. They were finally agreed upon in April, 1632, and provided that no army could be introduced into the empire except under Wallenstein's command. He alone was to

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possess the right of confiscation and pardon. He could then create a new class of princes, who would owe their existence entirely to him. If Mecklenburg was not recovered he was to have a princely territory elsewhere. The power of Wallenstein, like that of Napoleon the Great, was largely due to his military supremacy. Like Napoleon, upon that military supremacy he attempted to found an indisputable sovereignty. His power for raising armies was truly prodigious. From Italy, from Scotland, from Poland, from every German land between the Baltic and the Alps, men flocked to his standard. With Wallenstein's acceptance of the permanent command in April, the emperor was practically retiring before the tyranny of a dictator.

Wallenstein began by attacking the Saxons in Bohemia, forcing the garrison in Prague to surrender on the 22nd of May, 1632. Soon not a Saxon remained in Bohemia. John George was now between two fires of negotiation — one from Gustavus, the other from Wallenstein. He knew not whether to favour the Swedish king's *Corpus Evangelicorum* or Wallenstein's plans for unity of empire. Before John George's hesitating answer could reach Gustavus, the war blazed out afresh; Wallenstein fell upon Nuremberg, into which Gustavus had thrown himself to defend the town. Along the Rhine from Alsace to Coblenz, Pappenheim and the Spaniards were carrying on the war.[q]

THE SIEGE OF NUREMBERG

It soon became apparent in which direction the enemy would turn. Wallenstein and the allied forces followed him from Eger and reached Nuremberg a few days after Gustavus Adolphus. But he had no battle in view, although Maximilian of Bavaria urged one upon him. The imperial general declared, not without reason, that he could not put the force, of which he had only just assumed command and which was not yet sufficiently disciplined, to such a test. He preferred to set ten regiments and nine companies to work uninterruptedly at a strongly-fortified camp, which was ready in three days. It stretched on the left bank of the Rednitz for two and a half miles round, from Stein to Fürth. It was an entrenchment such as had never before been seen in Germany. His strongest point was the so-called old castle stable, or "the old fortress," near which was a forester's house. In this stronghold Wallenstein, with his force of from sixty to eighty thousand men, now waited grimly immovable with the intention, no doubt, of starving out the Swedes. He declared that he wished to teach the Swedish monarch, who until now had boldly and steadily advanced, another aspect of warfare; he was to break his head against these impregnable fortifications. Gustavus Adolphus tried once more, and again in vain, to entice his enemy from his stronghold, and win him to an open encounter in the field.

For months these two generals, the greatest of their time, faced each other before the walls of the old free city, without any serious encounter taking place. Only now and then there were skirmishes around newly arriving provision-convoys, in one of which the Swedes succeeded in taking prisoner Colonel Sparre, afterwards general and master of the ordnance, who was repeatedly employed by Wallenstein in his negotiations with Saxony. Considering the enormous number of troops assembled on a disproportionately small piece of ground, it was inevitable that after a time, first within the town itself, but afterwards in both encampments, there should be a very serious scarcity of foodstuffs. Soon the resources of the whole country for miles around were completely exhausted. The mortality, particularly in the town

itself, rapidly increased; numbers of horses succumbed, polluting the air of the camp with the odour of putrefaction.

The situation became all the more serious for Gustavus Adolphus, because whilst he was condemned to absolute inactivity his generals in Bavaria and along the Rhine were pressed harder and harder by the enemy. In order to put an end to this intolerable position, Gustavus Adolphus decided to attempt what most of those experienced in warfare considered an impossible enterprise, namely an attack upon the entrenchments of Wallenstein's camp. From all sides he drew his detached corps together into one central force without Wallenstein's doing anything to hinder him. Then, after making one more fruitless attempt to move the imperial forces to a battle, on September 3rd, he ordered the attack to be made. With indomitable courage he hurled his Swedish troops, hitherto unvanquished, upon those terrible fortifications. A most murderous battle raged round the "old fortress." Three times the valorous Swedes scaled the walls, to be repulsed each time by Colalto's men. Bernhard of Weimar succeeded, it is true, in storming a neighbouring hill, from which the main fortress might have been commanded by the guns; but as a steady rain set in, which thoroughly soaked the ground, it proved an impossibility to drag the cannon up into place. In spite of the most admirable bravery the effort was unsuccessful, and Gustavus Adolphus was compelled, towards evening, to withdraw his troops.

He had suffered no actual defeat. But for the first time he had failed to carry out a military enterprise which he had taken in hand. Wallenstein wrote a triumphant report of the successful repulse to Vienna. He had reason to feel proud, as it was the first occasion upon which the "Invincible" had been withstood with effect. Gustavus Adolphus determined to try to renew the negotiations with Wallenstein, which had formerly been broken off. For this purpose he employed the prisoner of war, Sparre, who was first to try and arrange a treaty for the exchange of prisoners, and then to propose new conditions of peace, over which delegates from both sides would meet to consult. If desired, the king also volunteered to meet Wallenstein in person — no doubt an attractive proposal. But Wallenstein now maintained a persistently firm and irreproachably correct attitude towards the emperor. He communicated the offer of Gustavus Adolphus to the elector Maximilian, and replied to the king that he could give no answer without instructions from Vienna. By this it is evident that the full powers to treat for peace, with which Wallenstein had been invested when resuming the generalship of the army, referred in the first place only to Saxony and could not be applied to Sweden without further endorsement. Wallenstein informed the emperor on September 10th of the offer Gustavus Adolphus had made. But, as the emperor temporised before replying, the negotiations were broken off at this point.

The Withdrawal of Gustavus Adolphus

A few days later, on the 18th of September, Gustavus Adolphus, having the day before once again failed to draw the adversary to open combat, at last determined to withdraw from Nuremberg, finding as he did that a longer stay in a neighbourhood so denuded of supplies was well-nigh impossible. The impatient temper of the king had spent itself for the first time in vain against the immovable calmness of an enemy very different from himself, but his equal in strength.[1] He marched away past Wallenstein's encampment; but Wallenstein let him go, broke up his camp, and went northwards, establishing himself firmly in Saxony, where he burned and plundered in the

hope of at last detaching the elector of Saxony from his alliance with the Swedes when he should see how little protection they could give his country. Had the imperial commander been able to gain the positions of defence he needed, all might have gone well with him. Wallenstein always sought to take up an impregnable position of defence. At Nuremberg he had succeeded; in Saxony he was destined to fail. Gustavus was upon him before he could gain the necessary positions. Erfurt was saved from the imperials. At Naumburg Gustavus was welcomed as a saviour, after the cruelties of Wallenstein. The Saxon army was at Torgau and Wallenstein at Lützen. Pappenheim obtained permission to attempt a diversion upon the Rhenish bishoprics, and accordingly left the main army. The division of forces when Gustavus was close upon them was a ruinous policy. On the evening of the 15th of November Gustavus came in sight of Wallenstein's position at Lützen.[a]

THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN (NOVEMBER 16TH, 1632)

The evening being far advanced, the Swedes, fatigued by a long march in miry ground and impeded by a morass which was only passable by a single bridge, the king deferred his attack, and permitted his troops to repose till the morning, although the night was spent in skirmishes between the irregulars of both armies.

Wallenstein, aware that a retreat in the night, before so skilful and vigilant an adversary, would be attended with the utmost danger, if not the ruin of his army, and that his name would be irretrievably disgraced by giving way before a far inferior force,[1] condescended to call a council of war and applied to his favourite astrologer, the confidant of all his secrets and the director of his plans. His officers unanimously advised him to accept the combat, should the Swedes venture to attack a force superior in strength and position; but his resolution was more decidedly fixed by the opinion of his astrologer, who declared that during the month of November the stars were unpropitious to Gustavus. In conformity with this advice, Wallenstein determined to maintain his position, made the concerted signals for the recall of Pappenheim, and employed the remainder of the night in widening the trenches[2] on both sides of the high-road in front of his army, throwing up redoubts, and taking measures to strengthen his position. On the ensuing dawn he drew up his army, and ordered mass to be celebrated throughout his whole camp; after encouraging his soldiers, by suggesting every motive of hope, honour, and greatness, he quitted his coach, mounted a bay jennet, and prepared to receive the attack, which was every moment expected to commence.

Fortunately for Wallenstein the morning of this important day, the 16th of November, was lowering and overcast, and an impenetrable fog suspended the movements of both parties till an hour before mid-day. When the gloom dispersed, the two armies were discovered in order of battle on each side of the high-road which skirts the extensive plain of Lützen. The king, adopting the same order as at the battle of Leipsic, drew up his troops in two lines, intermixing platoons of musketeers with his cavalry. On the other side, Wallenstein appears to have formed his in one line, according to the pre-

[1] Many authors have supposed, after the authority of Khevenhiller, that the forces of Wallenstein did not exceed twelve thousand men. Such a supposition is disproved by the accounts of other contemporary writers, and by the amount of his forces before his retreat from Weissenfels. From a comparison of various authorities, we may justly estimate his force at thirty thousand men, exclusive of the corps under Pappenheim.

[2] As the country was open, these trenches were dug as fences for the corn fields.

vailing tactics of the times, the cavalry on the wings, and four ponderous squares of infantry in the centre; the trenches in his front were lined with musketeers, and flanked with cannon, and the rest of his artillery was distributed principally along his centre and on his right flank, to bear obliquely on the centre and left of the enemy. The wings of both armies were supported on one side on the Flussgraben, and on the other stretched to Lützen, which was occupied by the imperials.

The cannonade and skirmishing commenced with the dawn, but from the darkness of the fog it was eleven before the king could put his army in motion. After a public prayer, he gave out the fortieth psalm, "God is our refuge and strength," which was sung by the whole army, accompanied by all the military music, and then led forward his troops. The Swedish infantry first advanced against the imperial musketeers posted along the trenches, but were received with such a galling fire that they gave way. In this extremity the king himself leaped from his horse, flew to their head, and seizing a pike encouraged them by his voice and gestures to renew the combat; at the same time Wallenstein advanced to animate his men, fresh reinforcements crowded to the point of attack, and the two parties, encouraged by their respective chiefs, fought with unparalleled desperation. The Swedes, though frequently repulsed, as frequently returned to the assault; and at length the imperial infantry were driven from the trench back on their own cavalry.[o]

The Death of Gustavus Adolphus

Gustavus Adolphus was already confident that the day was won. But whilst he was trying to break and destroy the left wing of the imperial forces an unexpected message came — "The whole of the conquered ground is lost!" It was near mid-day. The fog floating overhead came down from time to time and settled in dense banks upon the plain. This was the king's undoing. He was at the head of the Småland cavalry, meaning to come to the help of his centre under Nils Brake by attacking the imperial centre on the left flank. His impatience carried him forward in advance of the regiment, a cloud of fog came down and covered him, he lost the direction, wandered a little to the right, and suddenly coming upon an imperial regiment of cuirassiers was met by a volley of pistol shots. One bullet hit his horse in the neck, a second shattered the king's left arm. Turning to the left to get out of the way — a very small following with him — he was overtaken and shot through the back, the shot being fired by Falkenberg of the Florentine regiment. The king reeled in the saddle, fell backwards from his horse, and still hanging in the stirrups was dragged along, falling at last in a dying state upon the ground; his horse galloped away towards the trenches and across the road. A cuirassier fired again at the king and shot him through the temples, and the page Leubelfing, who tried to conceal the king's identity, was stabbed. The rest of the king's attendants, including Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, made their escape under cover of the fog.

The duke of Friedland (Wallenstein) knew nothing of this occurrence. He had withdrawn from the front as soon as the enemy was driven over the trenches, and had retired near his litter. [Wallenstein in this battle had a kind of litter drawn by two mules, as his gout prevented his mounting a horse.] The physical pain he suffered became unbearable whenever the counterbalancing moral tension was relaxed. News was now brought from the right wing — and the news was favourable. The assaults on the windmill heights had been sternly repulsed by the Colloredos and the Piccolomini, and Hagen

sent a request to the duke that he would allow an attack to be made by the right wing, as he believed such an attack would have a wonderful result.

Then an officer came galloping up from the left wing; his message was encouraging; the enemy was driven across the trenches, and had lost its leader. It was supposed their leader was the king himself. Wallenstein's eyes flashed like an eagle's. "What's going on there?" he called out to the front, where disturbance and shouting could be heard. The reply came: a pair of deserters from Nuremberg said they recognised the king's white horse galloping about riderless on the battle-field.

"Ride to Hagen," cried Wallenstein with visible excitement; "tell him to hold himself in readiness with the Benninghausen regiment. As soon as Pappenheim's force is seen in the distance, and as soon as he hears us attacking here, he must wheel to the right with his own and Benninghausen's regiments, and fall on the enemy's flank from the other side of Lützen."

The messenger hastened away, not noticing that from the imperial front came sounds of great tumult and agitation, and officers rode hurriedly up to the duke's litter. They brought him information that the enemy's line was boisterously and clamourously re-forming for the attack. And this was actually the fact. A chamberlain, or truchsess, of the king's suite had brought the news of the king's fall to Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. After the first great shock of dismay, both officers and troops were seized with furious rage, and Duke Bernhard, who assumed the supreme command, took advantage of this temper and at once ordered a general attack.

The Renewed Attack

This new attack, threatening destruction to the whole line from the centre up to the windmill heights, opened the third bloody act of the battle of Lützen. Meanwhile the conditional orders of the duke of Friedland were communicated to Hagen. Hagen, a man of sanguine temperament, listened to the condition with only half an ear, but took in with both ears the permission to attack, and hearing the sound of renewed conflict thought that Wallenstein was attacking.

It was the attack of the Protestant army he heard. With wild cries of vengeance it closed in upon the imperial army, and fatally broke into Friedland's position. The battery in the centre, which Wallenstein had seized only half an hour earlier, was now taken at the first assault; and Wallenstein's whole centre, as well as the whole right wing, was driven inwards by the enraged Swedes. Duke Bernhard himself led the Swedish and German troops towards the windmill heights and took the guns by storm. He had anticipated Hagen's idea of a flank attack and opposed it with superior force. Protestant regiments, with sharpshooters interspersed in all gaps, were pressing forward with a rush under the windmills just where Hagen wanted to wheel about. Hagen lost his head, and retired in disorder. The enemy shot volley after volley into his midst, and turning to the right imperial flank broke into the Tertska, Piccolomini, and Defur regiments stationed there. At that moment a terrible explosion was heard. Several powder wagons behind them were shot up into the air, a panic of terror spread through Hagen's and Benninghausen's troops; neither of the two leaders could pull himself together in time to regain command.

The duke of Friedland himself and his staff were completely surprised by the impetuosity of the attack. As has been already said, the battery of the centre was taken in a moment, and the violence of the assault threw back the

centre in such a way that Wallenstein had neither time nor space to get himself put on to his horse. He was obliged to content himself with being drawn by his mules to a less dangerous spot. He would only allow them to take him a very little way back, however; he called on them to halt, crept out of the litter, and in spite of excruciating pain got upon his legs and drew his sword, stabbing without ado any of the fugitives who came within his reach as they fled past him. He even tried to mount his horse unaided, but the effort nearly threw him into a swoon. His servants caught hold of him and put him on to a small brown horse, spotted like a tiger, whose skin was afterwards stuffed, and is preserved to the present day at Prague.

He was scarcely in the saddle, when he was again engulfed by the seething turmoil which became ever more impetuous and close-compacted. From the right the new shock came, and with it a cry which rang out high above all the din and confusion: "The windmill heights are taken! The enemy breaks into our right flank!" There was no stopping them, and the commander-in-chief was borne powerless along with the fleeing troops. Niemann, at his side, managed to keep a clear space in front of the duke, by slashing about with his sword and by making his horse curvet and prance, until they came to Goltz's infantry, still untouched by the panic, still fronting towards the enemy's lines. He cried out to the officers, "Pikemen forward!" and they, seeing the commander's litter before them in the midst of all the confusion, took up the order and immediately executed it. The pikemen drew forward their pikes, and divided the stream of fugitives, driving them right and left.

The commander halted again before another regiment, which still kept its front to the foe, and he gave orders that the cavalry regiments of Lamboy, Lindels, and Drost should be fetched up from the left wing. Scarcely had his three officers disappeared through the crowd to execute this order, when Pappenheim arrived on the field of battle with seven thousand cuirassiers, dragoons, and Croatians. The fourth act of the battle of Lützen opened.

The fog had cleared away and the sun shone out. Pappenheim came galloping up at the head of his cuirassiers, his thin sharp face with its piercing eyes looking as if it were springing upon the enemy from out of the black helmet; his own trumpeter, Ehinger, on a white horse close to the black-harnessed leader, sounded the fanfare on the gallop — which was repeated by the trumpets behind. Pappenheim drew his sword, turned to look at his cuirassiers, swung the sword over his head and shouted to Ehinger, the trumpeter, "To the charge!" Ehinger blew the short vigorous notes, the trumpters behind repeated them, and like a thunderstorm the seven thousand horsemen burst upon the enemy, overthrowing all before them.

Wallenstein on his part made good use of this favourable turn of affairs. The panic was checked. He was riding everywhere, giving orders; troops had been brought up from the left wing, and under cover of Pappenheim's victorious advance he led his own troops forward at the double towards the entrenchments. Within a quarter of an hour all lost ground was won back, the artillery again in the hands of the imperial forces, and sixty standards and ensigns — among them the king's own standard — were taken from the enemy. The sun, hastening to the west, shed its faint, wintry rays upon the scene of Friedland's victory.

THE DEATH OF PAPPENHEIM; WALLENSTEIN RETREATS

But the last act was still to come; the battle was not over with the setting of the sun. Pappenheim's spirit was not content with the recapture of lost

ground; he pursued the wavering enemy inexorably, heedless of a bullet in his hip. "Forward!" he cried to Ehinger. Ehinger again sounded the charge, the exhausted horses were again spurred on; then a falconet ball hit Pappenheim. Ehinger caught the horse by the bridle and Pappenheim slid to the ground, still shouting with dying voice, "Forward, forward!" But this fall at sunset was as momentous an event for the Catholic side as the death of Gustavus Adolphus in the morning for the Protestant side — only with a totally different result.

The death of the Swedish king had roused his army to a fury of revenge; the death of Pappenheim caused dismay and bewilderment. The wild cavalry charge had lost the presence and voice of its leader: it split up, faltered, lost sight of its common aim — and on the instant Duke Bernhard was aware of it. He collected his stricken troops and rallied the entire force of the Protestant army once more to the assault on the entrenchments. It crossed them, recaptured the guns, struggled and fought and massacred with superhuman energy.

Such were the last scenes, which exacted the largest sacrifices. The imperial army stood its ground with steady endurance, its leaders fighting in the midst of the turmoil side by side with the common soldiers and falling like heroes. Hieronymos Colloredo fell dead and Colonel Berthold von Wallenstein, a cousin of Friedland; General Breuner, of the ordnance, was thrown from his horse by a shot in the face, Count Harrach likewise; and Colonel Piccolomini, who had assumed command at the windmill heights, became a target for the enemy's fire. Ball after ball resounded from his cuirass; he was bleeding from four wounds, three horses had been shot under him, but again and again he appeared high on horseback, leading the broken regiments against the enemy over the bodies of the blue and yellow regiments of the Swedes which covered the ground like a blue and yellow cloth. Friedland himself rode up and down like a ghost amidst the carnage, with drawn sword, pointing, urging, commanding — to all appearance invulnerable. The bullets pierced through his cloak, but seemed to make no impression on him. Just as he disregarded the pain he suffered from gout, so he disregarded the pain of his wounds. He was hit in the left hip, and had to defend himself against a Swedish captain of horse, bent upon capturing or killing him, like a common trooper. Everything was at stake, and he was the man to hold on to the very last.

The sun had set, darkness fell over the plain; but he was resolved not to yield, not if high and low — not if he himself should go down in the slaughter. The troops could no longer see him, but they could hear him; they could hear his terrible voice, now here, now there: "Jesus Maria![1] Steady, steady, we are winning!" No one won. The darkness was now complete; the battle had to come to a standstill, for no one could tell whether he fought friend or foe. Deep silence followed the terrible uproar. Night now lay over the field of battle, which was as though sown with the bodies of the dead and wounded. Nine thousand men lay there, never to rise again.*j*

During the night Wallenstein retired, leaving the field to the enemy, with all his artillery. The Swedes were deliberating a retreat, when the ensuing morning saw them masters of the field. Their victory was dearly purchased by the loss of their beloved monarch. His body, which was discovered stripped, mangled, and covered with gore, under a heap of slain, was conveyed to Naumburg and afterwards to Wolgast, whence it was transported to Stockholm.*o*

[1] "Jesus Maria" was Wallenstein's battle cry.

THE WAR CONTINUES

It now became a question whether or not the Swedes, after the death of their king, would continue to carry on the war. If they did not, the Protestant allies had good reason to be apprehensive that Wallenstein would visit them with a heavy retribution. The Swedish council, however, to whom the guardianship of Christina, the daughter of Gustavus, was entrusted, resolved to continue the war which might entitle Sweden to some of the provinces of Germany; and the late king's friend, the chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, was determined to fill his place — a man whose comprehensive and prudent mind knew how to hold the strength of his party together. Nevertheless, he had not the suavity and generous magnanimity of his late master. The electoral princes, especially Saxony, found it irksome to yield obedience to the dictates of a Swedish nobleman, and although he succeeded in uniting the Protestant states of the four upper circles, Swabia, Franconia, and the upper and lower Rhine, in the Treaty of Heilbronn in the spring of 1633, it was soon manifested, by the indecision of some, the opposition of others, and the want of union amongst the leaders of the army, that the genius of Gustavus Adolphus no longer presided over the whole.

Wallenstein alone, whose genius surpassed all others, might have availed himself of this moment of doubt and hesitation by bringing the war to a decision, and making the emperor triumphant; but he was occupied with other cares, and remained in a state of incomprehensible inaction. After the battle of Lützen he summoned a court-martial, in order to remove from his own shoulders all responsibility for the loss of that action, and as he possessed the power of life and death over all those under his orders, he forthwith condemned several of his generals and superior officers to the axe, and adjudged a great number of private soldiers to be hanged; finally, he ordered more than fifty names of absent officers to be nailed to the gallows in Prague, as those of traitors and cowards. He then enlisted fresh troops, replaced his artillery by melting down the bells of the churches, and was soon in possession of an army as powerful as his former one. Instead, however, of directing his march through the imperial states, and advancing against the Swedes under Gustavus Horn and Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who were masters of the frontiers of Germany, he marched on to Silesia, where such a large army was not at all required, and negotiated with the Saxons for a length of time upon the subject of a separate treaty of peace, after he had already concluded an armistice with General Arnim, in command of the Saxon army. At the same time, according to the subsequent accusations brought against him, he endeavoured to ascertain what amount of indemnification the enemy would allow him in case he went over to their side, for he had long since believed he read in the stars that it was his destiny to reign and hold unlimited sway as king.

Meantime, in order by more active proceedings to prevent the emperor from suspecting his intentions, he attacked the Saxons and Swedes, and drove them out of Silesia, taking prisoner the old count of Thurn, the originator of the war. The whole of Vienna was in a state of excitement, and fully expected that the man they so much hated would be led through their streets as the most culpable of all those connected with the dreadful scenes of the revolution. Wallenstein, however, to the astonishment of all, gave him his liberty, and when he was remonstrated with by the emperor for releasing his prisoner he replied: "What use was I to make of such a fool? I wish the Swedes possessed no better generals than this Thurn, for at the head of the

Swedes he will do more service for the imperial cause than he could if in prison."

During this interval Bavaria was very hard pressed by Horn and Bernhard of Weimar; and, urged by the elector's earnest demands for aid, the emperor had already repeatedly summoned his general to march to the relief of that country. Wallenstein, however, delayed doing so for a considerable time; at length he advanced slowly through Bohemia, arrived in the upper Palatinate and marched back again into Bohemia, where he fixed his winter quarters. He gave strict orders to all his generals, in command of distinct divisions of the army, under the most severe penalties, not to obey the orders of the emperor; and when the latter caused a Spanish army to march from Italy into Germany without placing it under the orders of Wallenstein, and even commanded that a portion of the grand army should be detached from the main body in order to form a junction with the Spanish division, the generalissimo complained loudly and indignantly at this violation of the treaty made between himself and the emperor.

Wearied with these mortifications, and tormented by his attacks of gout to such an extent that he was obliged to have pieces of flesh cut out of the excoriated foot, he resolved to resign the supreme command; but he was determined to do so in such a manner as to place himself in a position to command the fulfilment of the promises originally made to him. He endeavoured, therefore, to attach the leaders of his army still more closely to himself, and to that end summoned them all to assemble, at the commencement of the year 1634, at Pilsen. It was by no means difficult for him to gain them over to his exclusive interest, for it was upon his promise, and in the hope of being completely indemnified through his recommendation, that they had all raised and equipped regiments at their own expense, and, in some instances, staked their whole fortune. If, therefore, he fell, they were in danger of losing all compensation. Consequently, on the 12th of January, 1634, forty superior officers, having at their head field-marshals Illo and Count Terzka, assembled at a dinner — at which, however, through severe illness, Wallenstein himself could not preside — and entered into a solemn compact to adhere faithfully to the duke in life and death as long as he should remain in the emperor's service, or as long as the latter should require his services in the war; and they at the same time made him promise them to remain with them for some time longer, and not to withdraw from the supreme command without their privity and consent. Field-marshal Piccolomini, who subsequently betrayed his general, attached his signature to this agreement likewise, with the rest.

Wallenstein's enemies availed themselves of this certainly important circumstance to bring him more and more under the emperor's suspicion, and carried out their designs to such an extent as to make Ferdinand resolve, at length, to divest him of the supreme command, and to transfer it into the hands of Gallas. It is not to be at all doubted that an Italian-Spanish conspiracy was firmly established against Wallenstein in the imperial court, and was joined by the elector of Bavaria, who continually complained, in most bitter terms, against the general. The principal agent in these secret proceedings was an Italian, Colonel Caretta, marquis of Grana.

These intrigues against Wallenstein were conducted so secretly — the emperor Ferdinand himself being in actual correspondence with him on official business twenty days subsequently to that of the 24th of January, when he had issued the instrument for Wallenstein's dismissal — that the latter only first learned it when Gallas, Piccolomini, and Aldringen published their ordinances, in the name of the emperor, in which they interdicted all the

leading officers of the army from accepting further orders from Wallenstein, Illo, and Terzka. Wallenstein drew up immediately a solemn declaration, signed by himself and twenty-nine of his generals and colonels, in Pilsen, in which it was stated that the compact entered into between himself and officers on the 12th of January contained nothing whatever that was hostile to the emperor or the Catholic religion. He also despatched two officers to the emperor, with the declaration that he was ready to resign his office of generalissimo, and would appear to justify himself before any tribunal the emperor might be pleased to appoint. These two officers, however, were met and detained on the road by Piccolomini, and the message they bore only reached the emperor after the death of Wallenstein.

Piccolomini marched with his own troops against Pilsen, and Wallenstein was obliged to withdraw to the citadel of Eger, of which the commandant, Colonel Gordon, was especially attached to him from motives of gratitude for favours he had conferred upon him. Here, three days previous to his death, having too much reason to feel assured of the hostile intentions of his enemies, he was impelled by necessity to seek for aid from Duke Bernhard of Weimar, who was now encamped in Ratisbon, and whom he urgently requested to advance with some of his troops towards the Bohemian frontiers. It is historically proved that Wallenstein's brother-in-law, Count Kinsky, banished from Bohemia on account of his Protestant faith, was in treaty with the French ambassador, Feuquières, for the engagement of his relative's services in the cause of France and against the emperor, and that Cardinal Richelieu promised Wallenstein the crown of Bohemia as a recompense; and, according to the Swedish writers, similar negotiations were carried on with their party. But no written document, nor any direct act of Wallenstein himself, corroborates these statements or proves that he did charge Count Kinsky with the execution of such commission, whilst both the French and the Swedes remained to the last moment in doubt as to whether or not Wallenstein was merely playing with them in order to gain their confidence. At the same time it is not unlikely that this extraordinary and incomprehensible man, anticipating the probable loss of the emperor's favour, was desirous not to refuse altogether the propositions of the enemy, but rather to hold this resource in reserve in case of being again overturned, as he was before at the diet of Ratisbon.

WALLENSTEIN MURDERED (1634 A.D.)

Wallenstein quitted Pilsen on the morning of the 22nd of February, borne along in a litter, and suffering excruciatingly from the gout. He was accompanied by only ten followers, including Colonel Butler, by whom he was subsequently betrayed; and at the end of the second day's journey he reached Eger, taking up his quarters in the house of the burgomaster, Pechhelbel, in the market-place. On the following evening, Terzka, Illo, and Kinsky, with Wallenstein's secretary Neumann, proceeded to the citadel to sup with Colonel Gordon, the commandant. Whilst they were dining, thirty dragoons, commanded by captains Deveroux and Geraldin, suddenly burst into the hall from the anteroom in which they had been waiting, and falling upon their victims, pierced them to death; not, however, before Terzka, who bravely defended himself, had killed two of the band of assassins. Immediately after this murderous act, Deveroux proceeded with six dragoons to complete the sanguinary plot by assassinating Wallenstein himself. It was now midnight, and the duke had already retired to rest. Having, however, been roused by the shrieks of the countesses Terzka and Kinsky, who had just learned the

WALLENSTEIN FLEEING TO EGER, 1634 A.D.
(From the painting by K. von Piloty)

By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.

fate of their husbands, he rose, and opening the window asked the sentinel what had happened? At the same moment, Deveroux forced open the door of the chamber, and rushing upon him exclaimed, as he stood at the window, "Death to Wallenstein!" The latter, without uttering a word, laid bare his breast, and received the fatal blow.

Thus silent and reserved to the hour of his death, all the profound and mysterious thoughts and sentiments of his soul remained hidden from the world, and a veil of obscurity was cast over his whole life and actions. He was one of those men whose deep-laid plans and motives it is impossible to fathom, and of whom little or nothing can be said in explanation of their views or ideas.

After his death his estates were confiscated, and a great portion of them were transferred as a reward into the hands of his enemies, and even to those by whom he had been murdered. Gallas received the duchy of Friedland, Piccolomini had the principality of Nachod, whilst Butler and the actual assassins were rewarded with others of his estates and large sums of his money. The major part of his possessions, however, was retained by the emperor himself. The value of Wallenstein's landed property alone was estimated at 50,000,000 florins. His widow received the principality of Neuschloss; and his only surviving child, Maria Elisabeth, became shortly afterwards the wife of Count Caunitz.[d]

"His imperial majesty," says the chronicler Khevenhiller, "also showed compassion for the soul of Friedland [Wallenstein] and had three thousand masses said at Vienna for him and the others who were killed, in the hope that in their last moments they regretted and repented of their sins."[k]

THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN (1634 A.D.)

Wallenstein's army, a few regiments excepted, which dispersed or went over to the Swedes, remained true to the emperor. The archduke Ferdinand was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, which were placed under the command of Gallas. Another army was conducted across the Alps (1634) by the cardinal infante Don Ferdinand, brother to Philip IV of Spain. Had Bernard been aided by the Saxons or by Horn, the whole of the imperial army might easily have been scattered during the confusion consequent on the death of its commander, but the Saxons were engaged in securing the possession of Lusatia, and it was not until May that Arnim gained a trifling advantage near Liegnitz. Horn laid siege to Ueberlingen on the Lake of Constance, with a view of retarding the advance of the Spaniards. A small Swedish force under Banér retook Frankfort-on-the-Oder and joined the Saxons. The little town of Höxter was plundered, and all the inhabitants were butchered by Geleen, George of Lüneburg delaying to grant his promised aid in the hope of seizing Hildesheim for himself. Hildesheim capitulated in July. The country swarmed with revolutionary peasant bands, whom hunger had converted into robbers. The upper Rhenish provinces were equally unquiet. Bernhard remained inactive on the Danube, alone disturbed by Johann von Werth, who once more drove him from his quarters at Deggendorf. Feuquières, meanwhile, strenuously endeavoured to win the Heilbronn confederation over to the interests of France, and to dissolve their alliance with Sweden. Löffler had abandoned the Swedish service for that of France, and his master, the young duke Eberhard of Würtemberg, was, like William of Hesse, in the pay of that crown.

The whole of the Protestant forces was thus scattered when the great

imperial army broke up its camp in Bohemia and advanced upon Ratisbon, with the design of seizing that city and of joining the Spanish army then advancing from Italy. Bernhard vainly summoned Horn to his aid; the moment for action passed. When too late, he was joined by that commander at Augsburg, and the confederates were pushed hastily forwards to the relief of Ratisbon. Landshut was taken by storm and shared the fate of Magdeburg. Aldringer, whilst vainly attempting to save the city, perished in the general conflagration. The castle, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was blown up (1634). The news of the capitulation of Ratisbon, on the 26th of July, reached the victors midway. Arnim and Banér appeared on the same day before Prague. The imperials, nevertheless, indifferent to the fate of Bohemia, continued to mount the Danube. The advanced Croatian guard committed the most horrid excesses.

At Nördlingen, a junction took place with the Spanish troops. The imperial army now amounted to forty-six thousand men under the archduke Ferdinand, the cardinal infante, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Lorraine, generals Gallas and Johann von Werth. The Protestants, although reinforced by the people of Würtemberg, numbered but thirty thousand. Bernhard, too confident of success, and impatient to relieve the city of Nördlingen, at that time vigorously besieged by the imperials, rejected Horn's advice to await the arrival of the Rheingraf,[1] and resolved to hazard a battle. On the 26th of August, 1634, he made a successful attack and gained a favourable position, but was on the following day overwhelmed by numbers. The explosion of his powder magazine, by which numbers of his men were destroyed, contributed to complete his defeat. Count Thurn the Younger vainly endeavoured to turn the battle, and led his men seventeen times to the charge. Horn was taken prisoner, and twelve thousand men fell. Bernhard fled. His treasures and papers fell into the hands of the enemy. The Rheingraf, who was bringing seven thousand men to his aid, was surprised and completely routed by Johann von Werth and Charles of Lorraine. Heilbronn was plundered during the retreat by the Swedish colonel Senger, who fled out of one gate with his booty as the imperials entered at another to complete the pillage.

The horrors inflicted upon Bavaria were terribly revenged upon Swabia. The duke of Würtemberg, Eberhard III, safe behind the fortifications of Strasburg, forgot the misery of his country in the arms of the beautiful markgrafin von Salm. Waiblingen, Nürtingen, Kalw, Kirchheim, Böblingen, Besigheim, and almost every village throughout the country were destroyed; Heilbronn was almost totally burned down; the inhabitants were either butchered or cruelly tortured. To pillage and murder succeeded famine and pestilence. The population of the duchy of Würtemberg was reduced from half a million to forty-eight thousand souls. The Jesuits took possession of the old Lutheran university of Tübingen. Osiander, the chancellor of the university, unmoved by the example of his weaker brethren, who recanted in order to retain their offices and dignities, bravely knocked down a soldier, who attacked him, sword in hand, in the pulpit. The Catholic service was in many places re-established by force.

The whole of Würtemberg was either confiscated by the emperor or partitioned among his favourites: Trauttmansdorf received Weinsberg; Schlick, Böblingen and Tuttlingen; Taupadel, who had been left by Bernhard in Schorndorf, was forced to yield. Augsburg was again distinguished amid the general misery by the loss of sixty thousand of her inhabitants, who were

[1 This was Otto Ludwig, count of Rheingau, who had fought under Christian IV of Denmark and in 1623 entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus.]

swept away by famine and pestilence. The remaining citizens, whom starvation alone compelled to capitulate, were deprived of all their possessions, forced to recant, and refused permission to emigrate. Würzburg, Fulda, Speier, Philippsburg, the whole of Rhenish Franconia, besides Mainz, Frankfort, and Coblenz, fell into the hands of the emperor. The whole of the Palatinate was again laid waste, and the inhabitants were butchered in such numbers that two hundred peasants were all that remained in the lower country. Isolani devastated the Wetterau with fire and sword, and plundered the country as far as Thuringia. The places whither the Swedes had fled for refuge also suffered incredibly. The fugitive soldiery, without provisions or baggage, clamoured for pay, and Oxenstierna, in order to avoid a general pillage, laid the merchants, assembled at the fair held at Frankfort-on-the-Main, under contribution. The sufferings of the wretched Swabians were avenged by the embittered soldiery on the Catholic inhabitants of Mainz.

The imperial army, although weakened by division, by garrisoning the conquered provinces, and by the departure of the infante for the Netherlands, still presented too formidable an aspect for attack on the part of Bernhard, who, unwilling to demand the aid he required from France, remained peaceably beyond the Rhine. The Heilbronn confederacy had, independently of him, cast itself into the arms of France. Löffler, the Swedish chancellor and the chief leader of the confederation, had contrived to secure to France, without Bernhard's assent, the hereditary possession of Alsace, for which he was deprived of his office and banished by Oxenstierna. The celebrated Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, replaced him as Swedish ambassador in Paris. Würtemburg and Hesse had long forwarded the interests of France.

THE PEACE OF PRAGUE (1635 A.D.)

The sin committed by the Heilbronn confederation against Germany by selling themselves to France is alone to be palliated by the desperate situation to which they were reduced by the defection of the Protestant electors. Saxony and Brandenburg again concluded peace (1635) at Prague with the emperor, to whom they abandoned all the Protestants in southern and western Germany and the whole of the Heilbronn confederation, under pretext of the urgent necessity of peace, of the restoration of the honour of Germany, and of the happiness of the people by the expulsion of the foreigner. Saxony was reinstated in the territory of which she had been deprived by the Edict of Restitution, and received Upper Lusatia as a hereditary fief. Augustus, elector of Saxony, was also nominated administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in the room of the archduke Leopold. A Saxon princess, the daughter of the electoress Magdalena Sibylla, was given in marriage to Prince Christian of Denmark as an inducement to that kingdom to take the field against Sweden. Brandenburg received the reversion of Pomerania, whose last duke, Bogislaw, was sick and childless. The princes of Mecklenburg and Anhalt, and the cities Erfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, also conformed to the treaty for the sake of preserving their neutrality, for which they were bitterly punished.

Had the emperor taken advantage of the decreasing power of Sweden, of the procrastination on the part of France, and of the general desire for peace manifested throughout Germany, to publish a general amnesty and to grant the free exercise of religion throughout the empire, the wounds inflicted by his bloodthirsty policy might yet have been healed, but the grey-headed hypocrite merely folded his hands, dripping in gore, in prayer, and demanded fresh

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victims from the god of peace. Peace was concluded with part of the heretics in order to secure the destruction of the rest. The last opportunity that offered for the expulsion of the foreign robber from Germany was lost by the exclusion of the Heilbronn confederation from the Treaty of Prague by the emperor; and although they in their despair placed the Empire at the mercy of the French, and their country for centuries beneath French influence, their crime rests on the head of the sovereign, who by his acts placed the empire on the brink of the precipice, and on those of the dastardly electors, who, for the sake of securing an enlarged territory to their houses, basely betrayed their brethren. The elector of Saxony, for the second time unmindful of his plighted faith, abandoned Protestant Silesia to the wrath of the Jesuits, and the fate of the remaining Protestant provinces, excluded from the Treaty of Prague, may be read in that of the Palatinate and of Würtemberg.

Oxenstierna hastened in person to Paris for the purpose of making terms with Richelieu, and of thereby counterbalancing the league between the emperor, Saxony, and Brandenburg; and Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar was compelled passively to behold the dispute between Sweden and France for sovereignty over Protestant Germany. The French soldiery were, moreover, so undisciplined and cowardly that they deserted in troops. Bernhard was consequently far from sufficiently reinforced, but nevertheless succeeded in raising the siege of Heidelberg. The death of the energetic and aged rheingraf took place just at this period.

Whilst matters were thus at a standstill on the upper Rhine, success attended the imperial arms in the Netherlands. The French, victorious at Avein, were forced to raise the siege of Louvain by the infante and Piccolomini (1635). The Dutch were also expelled from the country. Bernhard, fearing to be surrounded by Piccolomini, retired from the Rhine into upper Burgundy. Heidelberg fell; two French regiments were cut to pieces at Reichenweier by Johann von Werth; Hatzfeld took Kaiserslautern by storm, and almost totally annihilated the celebrated yellow regiment of Gustavus Adolphus. Mainz was closely besieged, and France, alarmed at the turn of affairs, sent the old cardinal De la Valette to reinforce Bernhard, who advanced to the relief of Mainz and succeeded in raising the siege, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French, who were forced by threats to cross the Rhine. Johann von Werth, meanwhile, invaded Lorraine, and, with Piccolomini and the infante, made a feint to cross the French frontier. De la Valette and Bernhard instantly returned, pursued by Gallas and already surrounded by Colloredo,[1] who was defeated by Bernhard at Meisenheim, where he had seized the pass. Hotly pursued by Gallas and hard pushed by the Croatians, Bernhard escaped across the Saar at Walderfingen on a bridge raised on wine-casks, before the arrival of the main body of the imperials, which came up with his rearguard at Boulay, but met with a repulse. After a retreat of thirteen days, the fugitive army reached Metz, in September, 1635. Gallas fixed his headquarters in Lorraine, but the country had been already so completely pillaged that he was compelled to return in November, and to fix his camp in Alsace-Zabern, where he gave himself up to rioting and drunkenness, whilst his army was thinned by famine and pestilence. Mainz was starved out and capitulated, after having been plundered by the Swedish garrison.

In the commencement of 1636 Bernhard visited Paris, where he was courteously received by Louis XIII. The impression made upon his heart

[1] The Colloredo are descended from the Swabian family of Walsee, which, in the fourteenth century, settled in Friuli, and, at a later period, erected the castle on the steep (*collo rigido*).

by the lovely daughter of the duke de Rohan was no sooner perceived than a plan was formed by the French court to deprive him of his independence as a prince of the empire. Bernhard discovered their project and closed his heart against the seductions of the lady. The aid promised by France was now withheld. Both parties were deceived. France, unwilling to defray the expenses of a war carried on by Bernhard for the sole benefit of Protestant Germany, merely aimed at preserving a pretext for interference in the political and religious disputes agitating that country, and, for that purpose, promised Bernhard a sum of 4,000,000 livres for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men.

The reconquest of Alsace followed: at Zabern, which was taken by storm, Bernhard lost the forefinger of his left hand, and the bed on which he lay was shattered by a cannon ball. He returned thence to Lorraine, where he carried on a petty war with Gallas and took several fortresses. The humanity evinced by him at this period, so contrary to the license he had formerly allowed his soldiery from a spirit of religious fanaticism, proceeded from a desire to please the French queen, the celebrated Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III of Spain. He surprised Isolani's Croatians at Champlitte, and deprived them of eighteen hundred horses and of the whole of the rich booty they had collected (1636).

THE DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH

In the beginning of the year, Johann von Werth had, independently of Gallas, ventured as far as Louvain, where a revolution had broken out. The Gallo-Dutch faction, nevertheless, proved victorious, and the imperials were expelled. Werth, unable to lay siege to the town with his cavalry, revenged himself by laying the country in the vicinity waste. In April he joined Piccolomini with the view of invading France and of marching full upon Paris. This project was, however, frustrated by Piccolomini's timidity and by the tardy movements of the infantry. This expedition, undertaken in defiance of the orders of the elector of Bavaria, forms one of the few amusing episodes of this terrible tragedy.

Werth, advancing rapidly with his cavalry, beat the French on every point, forced the passage of the Somme and Oise, and spread terror throughout France. The cities laid their keys at his feet, the nobles begged for sentinels to guard their houses, and paid them enormous sums. Paris was reduced to despair. The roads to Chartres and Orleans were crowded with fugitives, and the metropolis must inevitably have fallen had Werth, instead of allowing his men to remain behind plundering the country, pushed steadily forward. By this delay, Richelieu gained time to levy troops and to send the whole of the disposable force against him. A part of the French troops was, nevertheless, cut to pieces during a night-attack at Montigny, and it was not until the autumnal rains and floods brought disease into his camp that Werth retired. He remained for some time afterwards at Cologne, where he wedded the countess Spaur (of an ancient Tyrolese family). Ehrenbreitstein, still garrisoned by the French, who had long lost Coblenz, was closely besieged by Werth, and forced by famine to capitulate (1637).

William of Hesse, instead of joining Bernhard after the battle of Nördlingen, had raised troops with the money received by him from France and had seized Paderborn, which was retaken by the imperialists in 1636. George von Lüneburg, who had, in 1634, become the head of the Guelfic house on the death of Frederick Ulrich of Wolfenbüttel, long hesitated to give in his adhe-

sion to the Treaty of Prague, but Oxenstierna, on becoming acquainted with his intercourse with the emperor, depriving him, by means of Sperreuter, of his best regiments, his hesitation ceased and he acceded to the emperor's terms. Sperreuter, who had deserted with the lower Saxon regiments to the Swedish general Banér, now went over to the emperor, and Baudis to Saxony. A reaction took place in all the German regiments under the Swedish standard, of which the Prague confederation failed to take advantage, and their commanders were bribed by Kniphausen to remain in the pay of Sweden. This general fell, in January, 1636, at Haselünne, during an engagement with Geleen, who was beaten off the field. Minden was betrayed, in May, to the Swedes, by the commandant Ludingshausen, Kniphausen's son-in-law.

The remnant of the old Swedish army under Banér found itself exposed to the greatest danger by the conclusion of peace at Prague. Banér, together with the elector of Saxony, had advanced upon Bohemia, whence he was now compelled to retreat. On the alliance between George von Lüneburg and Saxony, Baudissin was despatched against him, November, 1635, but was defeated at Dömitz, and Banér, dreading to be cut off by an imperial corps under the Bohemian Marzin, who had taken Stargard by storm and pillaged that town, withdrew to Pomerania. During this autumn, the French ambassador, Avaux, had succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between Wladislaw of Poland and Sweden, and in terminating the long war between those countries. The Swedish regiments under Torstenson consequently evacuated Livonia and Prussia and united with those under Banér; whilst, on the other hand, a wild troop of Polish Cossacks marched to the aid of the emperor.

This cunning policy on the part of France caused the war to rage with redoubled fury. Banér and Torstenson defeated the Saxons in the depth of winter at Goldberg and Kiritz, and, in February, Banér again invaded Saxony and cruelly visited the defection of the elector on the heads of his wretched subjects. The arrival of Hatzfeld at the head of a body of imperials compelled him to retire behind Magdeburg, where Baudissin was severely wounded and relinquished the command. Each side now confined itself to manœuvring until the arrival of reinforcements. The Swedish troops arrived first, and Hatzfeld and the Saxons, being drawn into an engagement at Wittstock, before Götz was able to join them, were totally defeated. Hatzfeld was wounded, and the elector lost the whole of his baggage and treasure. Saxony was again laid waste by Banér's infuriated troops. The gallant defence of Leipsic increased their rage. All the towns and villages in the vicinity were reduced to ashes. A similar fate befell Meissen, Wurzen, Oschatz, Colditz, Liebenwerda, and several smaller towns. The peasants fled in crowds to the fortified cities and to the mountains, and, to complete the general misery, famine and pestilence succeeded to sword and fire-brand. A bloody revenge was taken by Derflinger with a Brandenburg squadron on a thousand Swedish horse that ventured into the province of Mansfeld.*f*

DEATH OF FERDINAND II (1637 A.D.)

In the midst of these military operations all things proclaimed the returning ascendency of Ferdinand in Germany, and proved the advantage which he had derived from his reconciliation with the two chief Protestant princes, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. An electoral diet was assembled at Ratisbon, by the emperor in person, on the 15th of September, 1636, for the ostensible purpose of restoring peace, for which some vague negotiations

had been opened under the mediation of the pope and the king of Denmark, and congresses appointed at Hamburg and Cologne, but with the real view of procuring the election of his son Ferdinand as king of the Romans. Some attempts were made by the Protestants to hasten the negotiations, by requiring that Ferdinand, though elected, should not be crowned till after the termination of hostilities, and by the English ambassador in favour of the unfortunate princes of the palatine house. But the superior influence of the emperor overruled all opposition; the benefits of the armistice were offered only to the duke of Würtemberg, on the most rigorous terms, and the instances for the restoration of the prince palatine evaded by requiring impracticable conditions. The alarms of the diet were excited by an artful rumour that the king of France fostered designs on the imperial crown, in case of an interregnum, which from the declining health of the emperor was soon likely to happen, and Ferdinand was elected with only the fruitless protest of the palatine family and the dissenting voice of the elector of Treves, who was still in custody at Vienna. His capitulation contained no stipulation of importance except a few temporary regulations occasioned by the war, with the declaration that the exclusion of the elector of Treves should not operate on any future occasion. He was accordingly acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, except France and Sweden.

The emperor did not long survive this happy event. He died on the 15th of February, 1637, soon after his return to Vienna, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, of a decline, derived from incessant anxiety and continual fatigues of body and mind.

When we review the awful period of his reign, pregnant with such extraordinary events and stupendous revolutions, we cannot but admire, in Ferdinand II, the great qualities which have distinguished the greatest men of every age and nation: penetration and sagacity, unbroken perseverance, irresistible energy of character, resignation and fortitude in adversity, and a mind never enervated by success. But these great qualities were sullied and disgraced by the most puerile superstition, inveterate bigotry, and unbounded ambition. In many features of his public character, Ferdinand resembled his relative Philip II — in his talents for the cabinet no less than in his incapacity for the field; in elevation of mind as well as in bigotry, persecution, and cruelty; in fortitude in adverse, and arrogance in prosperous circumstances. But it is a satisfaction to record that in his private character he differed essentially from the gloomy tyrant of Spain. He was a good and affectionate father, a faithful and tender husband, an affable and indulgent master; he was easy of access to the meanest of his subjects, compassionate and forgiving, where his religious prejudices were not concerned. From a principle of superstitious humility, he admitted into his presence the poor of all descriptions; and even beggars who were suspected of being infected with the plague were not repulsed. He purchased the liberty of many Christian slaves from their Asiatic or African masters, gave public entertainments to the needy, at which he assisted in person, and appointed advocates, at his own expense, to plead the cause of the indigent and the helpless in the courts of justice.

As the virtues of his amiable predecessor and uncle, Maximilian II, were principally derived from early habits and education, so the failings of Ferdinand may be attributed to the early impressions which he received from his mother and his uncle William of Bavaria, and to the prejudices instilled into him by the Jesuits, which strengthened with his years and grew with his growth. Had he not been influenced by the narrow and jaundiced views of superstition and bigotry, he might have maintained the peace and happiness

of his hereditary dominions; might have ruled the empire — not as the head of a sect or the chief of a party, but as the sovereign and friend of all; and might have saved Germany and Europe from thirty years of anarchy, persecution, and terror, devastation and carnage. In fine, the defects of education and erroneous principles rendered him the misfortune of his family, the enemy of his country, and the scourge of his age.

A prince of so superstitious a character as Ferdinand was not likely to be sparing in his benefactions to the clergy. He endowed many religious establishments, and enriched others: for the Jesuits he founded sixteen colleges, and convents for the Barnabites, Capuchins, Camaladunes, Paulines, barefooted Carmelites, reformed Augustins, Benedictines of Montferrat, Servites, and Irish Franciscans. He settled an annual pension of 24,000 florins on the archbishopric of Prague, the twenty-eighth part of the produce of the gold and silver mines in Hungary on the archbishopric of Gran, and 40,000 florins annually on the Austrian prelates. He founded also four bishoprics in Bohemia, many schools for the education of the clergy, numerous hospitals and almshouses, and gave great presents to the secular clergy of the hereditary countries.

When we consider that his ordinary revenue did not exceed 5,400,000 florins, and reflect on the enormous expenses of his wars and the charges of his splendid establishment, it is scarcely necessary to observe that, notwithstanding the sums he drew from the confiscated property of his adversaries and rebel subjects, these benefactions contributed to exhaust his resources, to load him with pecuniary embarrassments, and often to retard or prevent the success of his military operations.[o]

ACCESSION OF FERDINAND III (1637 A.D.)

Ferdinand II was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand Ernest of Hungary, as Ferdinand III. Soon afterwards the last duke of Pomerania died, on March 20th, 1637. The elector of Brandenburg issued a patent of seizure (*Besitzergreifungspatent*) and demanded the homage of the Pomeranian estates, which they, however, were unable to render, as the greater part of the country was in the hands of the Swedes. To enter into effective possession of his inheritance the elector had first to conquer it for himself; and he was therefore obliged to put forth all his strength in the struggle with Sweden and to throw himself completely into the arms of the emperor, Ferdinand III. To this end (proceeding along the road marked out by Schwarzenberg) he concluded a treaty with the emperor at Prague, by which he obtained the right of enlisting soldiers to the number of six thousand foot and one thousand horse for the purpose of gaining possession of Pomerania. These men took the oath of fealty to both the emperor and the elector, and thus occupied an anomalous position, which soon proved fraught with ominous consequence for the electorate; for the officers, most of whom were ill-disciplined and strong adherents of the Habsburgs, and General Klitzing more than any of them, appealed perpetually from the authority of the elector to the oath they had sworn to the emperor, and established in the mark of Brandenburg a military anarchy, which Schwarzenberg did nothing to prevent and which brought the country to the verge of ruin. Brandenburg had finally returned into the channel of Habsburg influence, which was equally prejudicial to her territorial and religious interests. The prospect of winning lower Germany back to the cause of Sweden and the Gospel had been dissipated utterly; Banér was once more completely isolated.

Nevertheless he would probably have succeeded in maintaining the commanding position on the lower Elbe, which was the advantage the battle of Wittstock had given him, if he had been able to work hand in hand with Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, as the latter most earnestly desired; that is to say, if Bernhard could have returned to the right bank of the Rhine and stayed there, thus arresting the imperial troops stationed in the west. Instead of so doing he was constrained by the French first to clear Franche-Comté of the enemy in concert with the duke de Longueville, so that it was August before he could appear on the right bank of the Rhine, and then only for a short time. This made it possible for Gallas to advance against Banér from the Rhine; and as Hatzfeld and Götz were also marching against him from Westphalia and Hesse, he very soon found himself more and more closely hemmed in at Torgau by a force of more than double the strength of his own, and could see no way of escape except to retire into Pomerania and there join hands with Wrangel's troops. Even this was in the highest degree difficult, and was only effected by an operation carried out with masterly skill for the purpose of misleading the enemy. Banér artfully spread the report that he was planning an attempt to cut his way through at Erfurt. The enemy's attention being thus diverted to this quarter and part of his troops detained on the left bank of the Elbe, Banér suddenly turned eastwards, passed through Lusatia to the Oder in forced marches, crossed it at a shallow place near Fürstenberg, and then marched to Landsberg-an-der-Warthe, that by means of this important passage of the Warthe he might secure his junction with Wrangel, who wished to press forward to Küstrin by the right bank of the Oder.

But when he reached Landsberg on the 4th of July he found that the enemy had promptly marched after him, had outstripped him by taking a shorter way through Jüterbog, Baruth, and Küstrin, and were already posted in complete order of battle on the heights behind the town. Being too weak to cope with them in the field, he hurriedly returned to the Oder; crossed it again at a place called Göritz, repulsed the Brandenburg troops under Klitzing after a stubborn engagement, and joined hands with Wrangel behind the Finow. By the masterly strategy of this retreat he had evaded the superior force of the enemy; but he was nevertheless obliged to give ground before them and to retreat to the strongly fortified town of Stettin. The greater part of Pomerania fell into the hands of the imperials.

After these reverses, what did it signify if, in the face of the intrigues of the French and in spite of their lukewarm support, Bernhard — after gaining some advantage over the duke of Lorraine — contrived to cross the Rhine at Rheinau, exactly halfway between Breisach and Strasburg, on the 6th of August? The project of concerted action with the Swedes, which he had most at heart, was now entirely out of the question, for they had been driven back to the Baltic coast; while on the other hand, himself isolated, he found his position so menaced by the numerical superiority of the enemy under Johann von Werth that, although he successfully repulsed several attacks upon his entrenchments on the Rhine, he was ultimately compelled to retreat to the left bank of the river (in September) and to take up his winter quarters in the territory of the see of Bâle, during which process he was forced into many unfriendly and vexatious explanations with the Swiss confederates.

THE TREATY OF HAMBURG (1638 A.D.)

On the whole, at the end of 1637, the imperials had gained a very decided advantage, in spite of the victory won by the Swedes at the beginning of the

year. Up to this time the intervention of the French had not affected the progress of the war to any material extent. Marshals La Valette and La Meilleraie had indeed succeeded in taking up a series of positions on the lower Rhine, at the end of September Prince Frederick Henry of Orange had taken Breda after a long siege, and the duke de Schomberg had defeated the Spaniards at Leucate in Languedoc. But all these advantages gained over the Spaniards could not be placed in the balance against the unfavourable state of affairs in Germany, the principal theatre of war. Here the imperials appeared to have finally attained a crushing superiority. They had even succeeded in expelling from his own dominions the gallant landgraf William of Hesse — the only German prince beside Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar who had manfully maintained the struggle against the emperor — and forcing him to flee into East Friesland, where he succumbed to the agitations and exertions of a harassing military career in the year 1637. There was not the shadow of a doubt that great efforts would be required of the powers still in arms against the emperor if they were to carry their resistance to any successful issue.

The two foreign powers which were implicated in the war were by no means blind to this fact. Although during the previous year Oxenstierna had repeatedly entered into negotiations for peace with the imperials at Hamburg, yet now that both were in danger of succumbing they concluded, on the 6th of March, 1638, a new treaty of alliance, by which both pledged themselves to persevere in the common cause, and not to make peace with the emperor except conjointly.

VICTORIES OF BERNHARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR

But at the very time when the forces arrayed against the emperor's supremacy entered into closer political union by this treaty, a complete reversal of the military situation in favour of the Protestant and anti-Habsburg cause was brought about by the only prince who, throughout the war, held the banner of that cause aloft under the most arduous circumstances from motives of the loftiest idealism and patriotism, Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.

Devoted as he was with equal fervour to his country and his religion, the valiant duke had felt it bitterly that in the previous year he had been able to do so little to support Banér's gallant exertions. His loyal devotion to the whole of his beloved native land of Germany was, he protested, at all times the purpose and guide of all his undertakings. Thus he had written at Strasburg in November of 1636. But in order to continue his resistance to the emperor's policy, which he believed to be prejudicial to the interests of his country, this prince, inspired by sentiments so truly German, had been obliged to take the pay of a foreign power. This fact sets in a strong light all the perversity of circumstances which had been brought about by this unhappy war. And France, which furnished the pay for him and his army, insisted that his first duty was to protect the French frontier, and did little or nothing to provide him with an opportunity of taking effective part in the war within the empire. Tardily, and without even approximate fulness, she met the obligations which she had undertaken towards the duke. The promised French auxiliaries came in driblets and in nothing like the promised strength; and, what was even worse, they were extremely loth to carry the war over to the right bank of the Rhine.

What did the war in the empire yonder matter to France or to Richelieu? The army which they subsidised was to serve, in the first instance, for the

maintenance of the positions on the left bank of the Rhine which the cardinal hoped to gain for France. The new alliance with Sweden made no difference to this state of things; it was merely intended to keep the war going, because the private aims of France were only to be attained by that means. What Richelieu desired was to extend French dominion on the left bank of the Rhine while Sweden conducted the war within the empire. He could with difficulty be induced to furnish French troops for the campaign on the right bank, and when he did so they were not placed under Bernhard's command, as the latter wished, but remained independent and were commanded by French marshals.

Capture of Laufenburg (1638 A.D.)

Then Bernhard, who had been waiting in his winter quarters in vain for the French succours, determined to do what he could by himself. On January 28th, 1638, in the middle of winter, he started from Zwingen with his little army of barely eight thousand men all told, marched along the upper Rhine, past the important fortress of Rheinfelden, to a place called Stein, which lay on the left bank of the river opposite Säckingen, where they crossed in a couple of small boats on the 30th of January. The imperials, who thought that the fortress of Rheinfelden gave them the command of the whole upper course of the Rhine, had for some incomprehensible reason left Säckingen without a garrison. The town consequently opened its gates to Bernhard immediately, Laufenburg was taken by a *coup de main* on the 31st, and a fine covered bridge thus secured. When Waldshut also had fallen, Bernhard resolved to make an attack upon Rheinfelden itself, which was strongly fortified and held by Major Rödel, a gallant commander. The siege commenced on the 2nd of February, the bombardment on the 10th. But in spite of the best progress the besiegers could make with their mines and parallels the brave garrison held out. Bernhard then determined to carry it by storm, and fixed the 28th of February for the assault.

On that very day, however, a hostile force advanced to the relief of the fortress, the value and importance of the command of the Rhine which it gave being fully appreciated by the imperials. For this reason the emperor had summoned Savelli from Lorraine and requested the elector of Bavaria to despatch that gallant cavalry leader, Johann von Werth, in support of the relief expedition. The united forces of the two arrived before Rheinfelden on the 28th of February. A hot engagement ensued, in which Bernhard, whose forces were not only the weaker but were split up by the Rhine into two divisions, though not actually defeated, suffered such losses that he was obliged to retire and leave the way to the fortress open to the enemy. While he withdrew to Laufenburg they supplied the fortress with provisions and ammunition; and, fancying that they had put it out of Bernhard's power to harm them, they disposed their forces in widely scattered positions without the slightest apprehension as to the result. In addition to this, no real concord prevailed between the two commanders. Bernhard turned these circumstances to his own profit; two days later he ventured to leave Laufenburg once more, and march against the imperial and Bavarian forces. On March the 3rd he succeeded in taking them completely by surprise and inflicting a crushing defeat upon them. The most obstinate resistance was made by Johann von Werth, but ultimately he and Savelli, together with all the other generals and most of the colonels of their army, were taken prisoners by Bernhard. The army itself was utterly annihilated, scattered remnants were

all that found refuge in Bâle. In spite of this disaster the brave garrison of Rheinfelden held out for fully three weeks longer, ultimately capitulating on the 23rd of March, on condition that they were allowed to retire with the honours of war to Breisach.

By this victory Bernhard had made himself master of the upper Rhine all the way to Breisach. His position was already such that he could venture to detach Taupadel with the bulk of the cavalry to the upper Danube, to oppose the new imperial army which was being collected there and prevent it from coming down through the Black Forest to the Rhine valley to relieve Breisach. For the task which Bernhard now set himself was to take this very strongly fortified town, which was considered the most important stronghold in the empire and was the point of greatest strategic importance to the imperials.

Siege of Breisach (1638 A.D.)

Breisach, with its substantial bridge over the Rhine, was as a matter of fact the point in the whole valley of the Rhine which, in the case of war between the emperor and France, it was of the utmost consequence for either side to possess. For the emperor it constituted the main bulwark of the provinces of anterior Austria and the best approach for the invasion of Lorraine; for the French it was the best crossing-place for an attack upon the empire. The emperor declared that the holding of Breisach was the most important undertaking of the whole war, and sent orders to Reinach, the commandant, to defend it to the last drop of his blood. The imperial leaders had instructions to try and relieve it, should it be invested, though the whole army should perish in the attempt. Even Götz, who was in Westphalia, received orders to hasten thither. It was a foregone conclusion that the most stubborn fights of the campaign would be fought around this fortress. Therefore, when Bernhard marched down the Rhine after the taking of Rheinfelden, he addressed an urgent petition to Richelieu to send him an auxiliary force under Guébriant and to pay at least a portion of the subsidy that was due to him. For he could not venture to cherish the hope of discharging a task of such extreme difficulty with his little army, which, small as it was, he had to divide in order simultaneously to undertake the siege and ward off the attempts at relief which were sure to be made from all quarters.

Relying on the anticipation of the French reinforcements, Bernhard's first endeavour was to isolate Breisach. He took the strong castle of Rötteln in the early days of April, and then proceeded to take Neuenburg and Freiburg. But a strong relieving force was already assembling about Nördlingen, and Taupadel, who had fixed his quarters in Würtemberg, in the valley of the upper Neckar, became involved in difficulties, from which he was forced to appeal to Bernhard to extricate him. To this request the latter could not respond until he had received the promised reinforcements from France. When they did reach Neuenburg on the Rhine, under the command of Guébriant on May the 2nd — not indeed in the promised strength, but only to the number of three thousand men — Bernhard sped into the mountainous country of the Black Forest to effect a junction with Taupadel and repulse the imperial army under Götz. The latter evaded him and made a wide *détour* to reach the Rhine through the valley of the Kinzig.

As a matter of fact, although Bernhard also returned in hot haste to the Rhine, Götz succeeded in reaching Offenburg and sending a fresh supply of provisions into Breisach. The situation thus underwent a change very much

to Bernhard's disadvantage, for he was obliged at one and the same time to keep his front towards the imperial relieving force and to blockade the fortress, before which he sat down at the beginning of June. For this his forces were wholly inadequate. On the 18th of June he was again compelled to raise the blockade and to beg for additional help from France. He had to send a special embassy to Richelieu — the conduct of which he entrusted to the Swiss colonel Hans Ludwig von Erbach, who had entered his service as a major-general — before he could attain his end; but at length Turenne was despatched to his assistance, though with only two thousand men, and arrived at Kolmar on the 27th of July.

No sooner had he obtained these succours than Bernhard set his army in motion to attack Götz, who had meanwhile brought reinforcements to General Savelli (who had escaped from captivity) and was about to throw a fresh convoy of provisions into Breisach. On August 9th, a sanguinary battle was fought at Wittenweier, in which the imperial troops, though surprised on the march by Bernhard in an awkward defile, offered a most vigorous resistance but were nevertheless thoroughly beaten. Only two or three thousand men escaped from the field.

Now (by the middle of August) Bernhard was able for the first time to devote himself seriously to the siege of Breisach. He made his engineer, Thomas Kluge, girdle the fortress with a row of strong entrenchments. On the night between the 6th and 7th of October he succeeded in occupying the Island Redoubt, the outermost defence of the fortress. Breisach was now completely cut off from the outer world, and all that remained to do was to starve out the garrison, who refused to discuss terms of capitulation. But the enormous importance ascribed by the imperials to the possession of this fortress urged them on to fresh attempts to relieve it, in spite of their previous defeats. Its relief was to have been undertaken simultaneously in the middle of October by the duke of Lorraine from the west and Götz from the east. Bernhard would then have been reduced to a position of the utmost difficulty. But Götz, whose incapacity became daily more apparent, hesitated too long, and Bernhard succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon the duke of Lorraine, who was first in the field, at Sennheim (Cernay) in Alsace, on the 15th of October, and then hurried back to the right bank of the Rhine, where Götz had appeared before Breisach on the 22nd. On the 24th an extremely fierce engagement was fought in the lines round the fortress, and ultimately resulted in the defeat of Götz. This sealed the fate of the fortress, for it could now no longer count upon relief from any quarter. At the beginning of November the last outworks were taken, and the ring of besiegers drew closer and closer. It was absolutely impossible to get provisions into the town. A famine ensued among the inhabitants and the garrison, and gradually assumed more and more hideous proportions. When all the provisions had been consumed the unfortunate people had recourse to the most unnatural and loathsome articles of diet. Rats and mice became costly luxuries. The cup of anguish inseparable from a siege was emptied to the dregs, and still the commandant showed no disposition to accept the terms of capitulation which Bernhard offered. He held his post as long as it was humanly possible, and beyond the limit imposed by the laws of humanity. Not until the last horrible extremity was reached and repeated cases of cannibalism had occurred among a populace driven by hunger to madness and despair, did Reinach resolve (on December 20th) to accede to terms by which the garrison marched out with the honours of war. But those who left the fortress were mere shadows of humanity, broken down in body and mind. It was not without good reason that Duke

[1638-1639 A.D.]

Bernhard wrathfully reproached Reinach for having let matters come to this pass.

Bernhard, now at the zenith of his military reputation, was regarded by the Protestants of Germany as their saviour and deliverer in time of utmost need, and was lauded in extravagant encomiums as a second Gustavus Adolphus. The forces ranged against the emperor were everywhere on the alert, drawing fresh life and vigour from the amazing successes of the hero of Weimar. The decisive effects of the victories of Wittenweier and Rheinfelden had been felt even in the north; the imperial forces had been withdrawn from Westphalia, Hesse, and Thuringia to go to the relief of Breisach, and the road was thus left open to Banér, who drove the emperor's forces back from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and once more menaced Brandenburg. The imperial troops, which were few in number, had to retire into Silesia and Bohemia. In the following year (1639) Banér was able to venture far on the way towards Bohemia after gaining a victory over the imperials at Chemnitz. Both he and Bernhard indulged in the boldest plans for the campaign of 1639, in which they were at last to act in concert and to subdue the emperor by tremendous blows from the north and west; after which they might hope to compel him to conclude the universal peace so long desired, upon the basis of true religious liberty.

THE TREACHERY OF FRANCE

From one quarter alone Bernhard was confronted with difficulties and attempts to withhold from him the fruits of his victories, and that was from France, the very power in whose service he had gained them. By the agreement of October, 1635, Richelieu had pledged himself to hand Alsace and the government of Hanau over to him with all the rights which the house of Austria had enjoyed in those territories. On the flimsiest pretexts he now raised objection after objection to the carrying out of this compact, and more particularly to the surrender of the fortress of Breisach which had just been conquered with such difficulty. After dropping his original contention that Breisach did not belong to Alsace, as too perverse and repugnant to the facts of the case, Richelieu proceeded to argue that this important stronghold could never be maintained by so small a force as Bernhard would have at his disposal as landgraf of Alsace. The troops which he had commanded had been in the service of the king of France, the king of France had paid him, and the king was therefore entitled to share in the fruits of victory.

Bernhard, who had promptly set to work to construct a properly organised government in Alsace, vainly endeavoured by means of repeated embassies to bring the French to recognise the contract of 1635. In consequence of the warnings of his friends in Paris he refrained from going thither in person. But when Guébriant, acting on instructions from Richelieu, conveyed to him the suggestion that he should hold Alsace "under the suzerainty of the king of France," *i.e.* that he should become that king's vassal, he flew into a violent rage and declared that he would not be the first to dismember his country. His relations with France grew more and more strained and unfriendly as the perversity of their nature became more and more apparent. What might not this prince have accomplished, with his high military abilities and his ardent patriotism, if his victories had been achieved by the help of his German co-religionists and not by the subsidies of France! To the German nation he would have become what Wallenstein might have become had he not been a general in the emperor's service.

Meanwhile on the imperial side there was no lack of tempting offers, by

[1639 A.D.]

which it was hoped that he might be won over and induced to give in his adherence to the Peace of Prague. But in spite of his dismal experience of the French, Bernhard indignantly rejected all such overtures, the acceptance of which would have brought him into conflict with the whole tenor of his past career. From first to last he believed that the chief task of his life was to bring the emperor to terms in a lasting peace, based upon sound principles and satisfying the just demands of his co-religionists. With all the vehement optimism of his character he clung to the hope that now that he had done such great things he would find adherents and supporters among his Protestant compatriots. He had already entered into an alliance with the high-spirited landgrafin Amalia Elizabeth of Hesse, and had tried to win her over to take part again in the war from which, by the agreement of Mainz of 1638, she had withdrawn in her capacity of guardian to her infant son William VI, at the urgent request of the estates of her dominions.

THE DEATH OF BERNHARD (1639 A.D.)

The valiant duke was making preparations for transferring the theatre of war once more to the right bank of the Rhine and joining hands with Banér for concerted operations; his troops had even crossed the Rhine at Neuenburg, when he fell a victim to a malady of the nature of plague at that place, on the 18th of July, 1639. His death happened so opportunely for the French, who had long been jealous of his proud independence, as to give rise among his contemporaries to a wholly unfounded rumour that he had been poisoned at the instigation of France.[1]

In these days of the fatherland's deepest need and degradation Duke Bernhard of Weimar had alone stood forth as truly great and honourable, and above all a German at heart.

LAST TEN YEARS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

With the successive deaths of Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, and Bernhard of Weimar there was an end of the generals who were at the same time statesmen, and whose military operations were conceived on a large scale, commensurate with the magnitude of their political conceptions. From now on the hordes of soldiers marched to and fro, from one end of Germany to the other — without any coherent plan, but merely with a view to small advantages and plunder. Germany, already exhausted, was now completely devastated. The foreign powers, France and Sweden, sent gold and generals to Germany. There they organised armies of their own which should subsist on plunder; and with these armies as support they were able to play the master in the realm. The emperor and the states which upheld him were the enemy, and it was their lands which were to be ravaged in such a barbarous manner. The emperor's forces, on the other hand, attacked with equal fury the states allied to France and Sweden. For the rest the soldiery treated friend and foe alike; they robbed and pillaged everywhere without license. During the long-continued war, with its numerous vicissitudes, numberless places were plundered and laid waste by Swedes, French, and imperial troops until they became a wilderness. The wretched, impoverished people became stupid and brutal under so much misery. All escaped who could and concealed themselves in the woods or in caves; many joined the soldiery, while still others became thieves and murderers.

All cried for peace: but no power was great enough to overcome the

others, nor would any abate a bit of its own self-seeking. Foreigners demanded indemnification; the Germans were still in controversy over religious questions. The emperor and the Catholics, even the obstinate Lutherans, would hear nothing of universal religious freedom; the reformed church should forever remain outside the pale. This solution was not of a nature to please the reform party, while the emperor and the Catholics were willing neither completely to raise the unfortunate restitution edict, nor to grant a general amnesty.

Bavaria had no desire to give back the electorate and Palatinate: and the emperor would not listen to any proposals of indemnification to Bavaria, Sweden, or France. Many princes of the empire expected largely to increase their territorial possessions of land by a continuance of the war. All negotiations for peace were, therefore, fruitless, and the German people was compelled to continue to pay the foreign invader and the domestic destroyer with its goods and its blood, with the sacrifice of its power and its honour, its freedom and its rights.

While the French entrenched themselves in the southwestern part of the empire, the Swedish general Banér fought bravely in northern Germany against the forces of the emperor, which in the beginning were led by Gallas, and afterwards were commanded by the brother of the emperor, Archduke Leopold William. The latter drove Banér, who had been ravaging Bohemia with fire and sword (1640), into Meissen and Thuringia, which he mercilessly devastated because of the desertion of the elector of Saxony. It was the unhappy people of those princes who had upheld the peace negotiations at Prague who must now atone most fearfully; for what had been left undisturbed by the imperial allies, the Swedes now overran and destroyed. Then Banér joined forces with the French general Guébriant; and while the emperor was at Ratisbon, discussing in the diet the best means of driving foreigners from the empire, he drew near by forced marches and came unexpectedly upon the imperial army from behind, wishing to take the emperor prisoner. Fortunately for the latter, a thaw suddenly set in which broke the ice in the Danube and swelled the waters to such a height that it was impossible to construct a bridge of boats, and the Swede was obliged to retreat, thus leaving the emperor untouched. At the same time Guébriant became separated from Banér, and the imperial army now followed on the latter's retreat through the Palatinate. Yet he fought his way bravely through Bohemia to Saxony, where Guébriant again joined him. Banér died suddenly on the 20th of May, 1641, at Halberstadt. He was a brave soldier; but overindulgent in eating and drinking. It was his debauchery that carried him to the grave.

Torstenson Succeeds Banér

General Lennart Torstenson now took the chief command of the Swedish army. Torstenson was frail in body and could scarcely stand upon his legs because of the gout. However, his spirit was vigorous and healthy and not to be broken by any reverses; he passed his days and nights conceiving daring plans for war. Torstenson immediately marched fresh troops out of Sweden into Germany, restoring military discipline first of all. In 1642 he suddenly carried the war into the emperor's land — Silesia and Moravia. From there the archduke William and the imperial general Piccolomini drove him back to Saxony, and on the 2nd of November, 1642, a decisive battle was fought on the plain before Breitenfeld, not far from Leipsic. The Swedes were again victorious, after the bravest resistance by the imperial troops.

Suddenly Torstenson, who despite his gout was like a flash of lightning in his military operations, opened a campaign in Bohemia and Moravia, and penetrated even to the gates of Vienna. This daring exploit would have decided the war in favour of the Swedes, if at the same time Guébriant had advanced on Bavaria. However, Guébriant was killed at Rottweil and another general of the French army, Rosen, was defeated by General Johann von Werth, at Tuttlingen, on the 24th of November, 1643.

Meanwhile, negotiations for peace had been going on for a long time between the emperor and Sweden, and Denmark had interfered as a mediatory power. Prompted wholly by her jealousy of Sweden, it was her secret intention to weaken the political power of that state. As soon as the bold and vigilant Torstenson realised this, he marched, straight as an arrow, out of Moravia into Holstein. He then occupied Jutland, and held Denmark in terror. The emperor then sent an army under Gallas to the relief of the Danes. However, Torstenson by a dexterous manœuvre hastened past the imperials near Rendsburg, and when the latter followed him, he overwhelmed Gallas' force in a severe battle at Jüterbog; afterwards, in 1644, he swept back swiftly with sixteen thousand men to Bohemia. There, in 1645, he won a decisive victory over the imperial army at Jankau, and then marched upon Vienna, in the hope that Prince Rákóczy of Transylvania would support him while the French army was marching through Swabia to Franken and advancing on Bavaria. By this move Emperor Ferdinand III was placed in great danger; but his courage remained unaltered, and soon the luck of war turned in his favour. Rákóczy made peace with him, and the French army, although victorious over the imperial in an important battle near Allersheim, was nevertheless so weakened by its great losses that it was compelled again to return to the Rhine. At this point Torstenson, who had beleaguered the city of Brünn in Moravia was forced to raise the siege, by which he suffered the loss of many brave soldiers.

Wrangel Succeeds Torstenson

Denmark, on the other hand, and the elector of Saxony decided to make peace with Sweden, the latter for the reason that the Swedes had so fearfully ravaged his lands. About the same time Torstenson relinquished his command of the Swedish army, his frail body being no longer able to withstand the hardships of war. The chief command of the Swedish army then devolved upon the brave Karl Gustaf Wrangel. In 1646 he joined forces with the French general Turenne, and both armies now occupied Bavaria; and in 1647 the elector Maximilian, who for twenty-nine years, during innumerable changes of fortune, had upheld the cause of the emperor and the Catholics, was compelled to accede to an armistice until the consummation of peace. It was out of anxiety for his territories, which he wished to save from ruin, that the aged prince thus held himself neutral.

The outlook for the emperor was very dark about that time. He had only twelve thousand men remaining in his army, and after the death of Gallas he appointed for commander-in-chief a Protestant, Peter Holzapfel, called Melander — a Hessian by birth. It was the jealousy which France bore towards Sweden which saved the emperor. The French suddenly marched their troops back to the Rhine, while Wrangel remained firm before Eger. When Bavaria saw that the tide of war had turned, the truce with Sweden was broken, and the Bavarian forces rejoined those of the emperor. Soon after, Wrangel was forced back to the Weser, and the imperials and the

Bavarians followed. France now feared that the emperor might retrieve some of his past ill-fortune and the command was given to General Turenne to unite again with the Swedes. This reunion did in fact take place at Gelnhausen.

Then Wrangel determined to scourge Bavaria for its defection. He crossed the Danube at Lauingen and defeated the imperial forces, which were commanded by General Melander, on the 17th of May, 1648, at Zusmarshausen. Melander himself fell in the battle. Wrangel then crossed the Lech with the intention of carrying the war through Bavaria into Austria. The Swedes now devastated poor Bavaria, while the old elector fled to Salzburg. Wrangel, however, could not maintain himself in the wasted land, where moreover Johann von Werth successfully attacked him; so he returned to Swabia.

Meanwhile the Swedish general Königsmark had entered Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, and mastered a portion of the city. The count palatine of Zweibrücken, Charles Gustavus [afterwards Charles X of Sweden], who had brought fresh troops from Sweden, joined him, and Prague was now besieged by the united Swedish armies. Eight thousand imperial troops came to its relief; but in their wake flew messengers from Westphalia (October, 1648), bearing the glad tidings that peace was proclaimed. Thus after thirty years of continuous, prolonged misery, and after Germany had lost by it two thirds of its population, the war terminated on precisely the same spot which in 1618 had been the scene of the original outbreak.

Peace was proclaimed throughout the empire to all the armies, to all the besieged cities, to the trembling princes, to the wailing people. The wild soldiery was roused to fury at the news. At Feuchtwangen, Wrangel dashed his cocked hat to the ground and gave orders to let loose all the furies of war during the retreat. The beautiful city of Liegnitz in Silesia was wantonly set on fire by one of his men. The neighbouring city of Jauer was similarly treated by the imperial troops, who, shortly before the peace, had attacked the Swedes in that place. Turenne, the idol of France, acted in the same manner. Neresheim was sacked, and Weil was laid in ashes by his soldiery. This robber band at length disappeared behind the Vosges (1649). Had the disputes between the royalists and cardinalists in France been turned to advantage, a peace more favourable for Germany might have been concluded; but no one — with the exception of the indefatigable Charles of Lorraine, who joined the French princes, carried on the war at his own cost, and, in 1649, defeated Mazarin's troops at Cambray — appeared conscious of the fact.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1643–1648 A.D.)

Plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers had, since 1643, been assembled at Osnabrück and Münster in Westphalia, for the purpose of concluding peace. The hatred subsisting between the different parties in Germany had insensibly diminished, and each now merely aimed at saving the little remaining in its possession. Misery and suffering had cooled the religious zeal of the people, license that of the troops, and diplomacy that of the princes. The thirst for blood had been satiated, and passion, worn out by excess, slumbered. Germany had long sighed for the termination of a struggle solely carried on within her bosom by the stranger. The Swedes and French had, however, triumphed, and were now in a position to dictate terms of peace favourable for themselves, and a long period elapsed before the jealous pretensions of all the parties interested in the conclusion of peace were satisfied. The procras-

tination of the emperor, who allowed three quarters of a year to elapse before giving his assent to the treaty of peace, the tardiness of the French and Swedish ambassadors in appearing at the congress, the disputes between the members about titles, right of precedence, etc., carried on for months and years, are to be ascribed not so much to the pedantry of the age, to Spanish punctilio, and to German tedium, as to the policy of the belligerent powers, who, whenever they expected a fresh result from the manœuvres of their generals, often made use of these means for the sole purpose of prolonging the negotiations.

The fate of the great German fatherland, the prospects of the immense empire over which Charlemagne and Barbarossa had reigned, lay in the hands of Avaux, the shameless French ambassador, who cited the non-occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by France as an extraordinary instance of generosity, and of Salvius, the Swedish envoy, who, ever dreading to be outwitted by his principal antagonist, Avaux, vied with him in impudence. At the side of the former stood Servien, at that of the latter John Oxenstierna, the son of the great chancellor. Trauttmansdorf, the imperial envoy, a tall, ugly, but grave and dignified man, alone offered to them a long and steady resistance, and compelled them to relinquish their grossest demands. By him stood the wily Volmar of Würtemberg, a recanted Catholic. The Dutch ambassador, Paw, vigilantly watched over the interests of his country, in which he was imitated by the rest of the envoys, who, indifferent to the weal of Germany as a whole, were solely occupied in preserving or gaining small portions of territory from the great booty. Barnbühler of Würtemberg, whose spirit and perseverance remedied his want of power, and the celebrated natural philosopher, Otto von Guericke, the inventor of the air-pump, burgomaster of ruined Magdeburg, might also be perceived in the background of the assembly, which had met to deliberate over the state of the empire under the presidency of foreigners and brigands.

The misery caused by the war was, if possible, surpassed by the shame brought upon the country by this treaty of peace. In the same province, where Arminius had once routed the legions of Rome, Germany bent servilely beneath a foreign yoke. At Münster, Spain concluded peace with Holland. The independence of Holland and her separation from the empire were recognised, and Germany was deprived of her finest provinces and of the free navigation of the Rhine — a fatal stroke to the prosperity of all the Rhenish cities. The independence of Switzerland was also solemnly guaranteed. Peace was concluded between France and the empire. France was confirmed in the possession of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace, with the exception of Strasburg, of the imperial cities, and of the lands of the nobility of the empire situated in that province, in consideration of which Breisach and the fortress of Philippsburg, the keys to upper Germany, were ceded to her, by which means Germany was deprived of one of her finest frontier provinces and left open to the French invader, against whom the petty princes of southern Germany were thus left unprotected, and fell, in course of time, under the influence of their powerful neighbour. At Osnabrück, peace was concluded with Sweden, which was indemnified for the expenses of the war by the payment of £1,000,000 and by the cession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, the objects of Danish jealousy, of the city of Wismar, the island of Rügen, and Stralsund, and consequently of all the important posts on the Baltic and the North Sea.

One portion after another of the Holy German Empire was thus ceded to her foes. The remaining provinces still retained their ancient form, but hung

too loosely together to withstand another storm. The ancient empire existed merely in name; the more powerful princes virtually possessed the power and rendered themselves completely independent, and the supremacy of the emperor, and with it the unity of the body of the state, sank to a mere shadow. Each member of the empire exercised the right of making war, of concluding peace, and of making treaties with every European power, the emperor alone excluded. Each of the princes possessed almost unlimited authority over his subjects, whilst the emperor solely retained some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The petty princes, the counts, knights, and cities, however, still supported the emperor, who, in return, guarded them against the encroachments of the great princes. The petty members of the empire in western Germany would, nevertheless, have preferred throwing themselves into the arms of France.

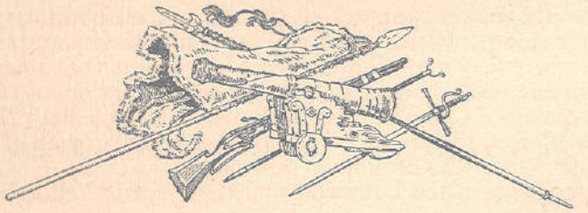
Every religious sect was placed on an equal footing, their power during the long war having been found equal, and their mutual antipathy having gradually become more moderate. The imperial chamber was composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and, in order to equalize the power of the electoral princes, the Rhenish Palatinate, together with the electoral office, was again restored to its lawful possessor. Bavaria, nevertheless, retained both the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate, notwithstanding the protest made by Charles Louis, the son of the ex-king of Bohemia, against this usurpation. All church property, seized or secularised by the Protestants, remained in their hands, or was, by the favour of the princes, divided among them. The emperor and the Catholic princes yielded, partly from inability to refuse their assent, and partly because they began to perceive the great advantage gained thereby by the temporal princes; nor was it long before they imitated the example. The pope naturally made a violent protest against the secularisation of church property. Innocent X published a bull against the Peace of Westphalia. The religious zeal of the Catholics had also cooled, notwithstanding the admonitions of the Jesuits; the princes, consequently, were solely governed by political ideas, which proved as detrimental to the papal cause after, as religious enthusiasm had been during the Reformation. The authority of the pope, like that of the emperor, had faded to a shadow.

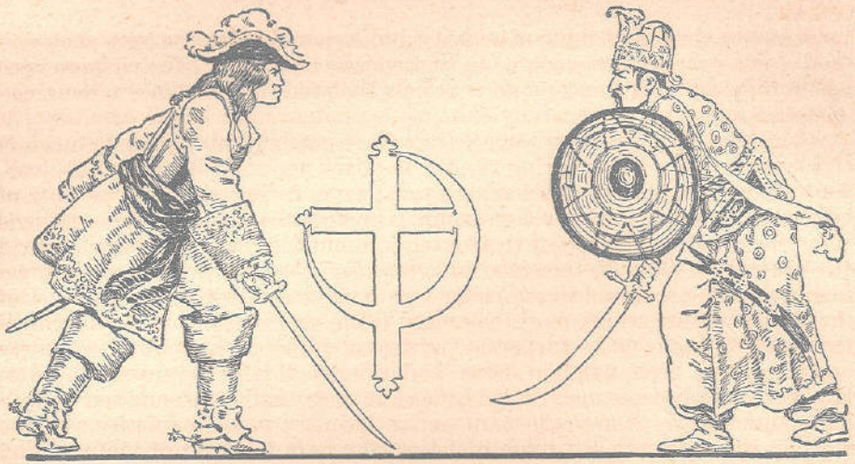
All secularised property reclaimed by the Catholics since the Normal year, 1624, consequently since the publication of the Edict of Restitution, was restored to the Protestants; and all Protestant subjects of Catholic princes were granted the free exercise of the religion professed by them in the said year, which, happening to have been that immediately after the battle on the White Mountain, and the emperor declaring that, at that period, his Reformed subjects no longer enjoyed liberty of conscience, caused the protests made by the emigrated Austrian Protestants to remain without effect. The Silesian princes, still remaining in Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Ols, Münsterberg, and the city of Breslau, were allowed to remain Lutheran, and three privileged churches were, moreover, permitted at Glogau, Jauer, and Schweidnitz. The ancient system was strictly enforced throughout the rest of the hereditary provinces. The sole favour shown towards the Protestants was their transportation to Transylvania, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The Jesuits were invested with unlimited authority in that portion of the German empire which remained Catholic after the Peace of Westphalia. In 1652 an imperial edict enforced the profession of Catholicism, under pain of death, by every individual within the hereditary provinces.

The disputes between the Lutherans and the Reformed church were also

brought to a close, and the senseless law by means of which the faith professed by the prince was imposed upon his subjects was repealed. The violence with which the doctors of theology defended their opinions, nevertheless, remained unabated.

Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one half, by others, two thirds of her entire population during the thirty years' war. In Saxony, nine hundred thousand men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia, the number of inhabitants at the demise of Ferdinand II, before the last deplorable inroads made by Banér and Torstenson, had sunk to one fourth. Augsburg, instead of eighty, had eighteen thousand inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the empire had suffered at an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers and had enjoyed the deepest peace during this period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost totally disappeared. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire; industry and commerce had passed into other hands. The products of upper Germany were far inferior to those of Italy and Switzerland, those of lower Germany to those of Holland and England. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees repeopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery. The original character and language of the inhabitants were, by this means, completely altered. In Franconia, which, owing to her central position, had been traversed by every party during the war, the misery and depopulation had reached to such a pitch that the Franconian estates, with the assent of the ecclesiastical princes, abolished (1650) the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, and permitted each man to marry two wives, on account of the numerical superiority of the women over the men. The last remains of political liberty had, during the war, also been snatched from the people; each of the estates had been deprived of the whole of its material power. The nobility were compelled by necessity to enter the service of the princes, the citizens were impoverished and powerless, the peasantry had been utterly demoralised by military rule and reduced to servitude. The provincial estates, weakly guarded by the crown against the encroachments of the petty princes, were completely at the mercy of the more powerful of the petty sovereigns of Germany and had universally sunk in importance. Science and art had fled from Germany, and pedantic ignorance had replaced the deep learning of her universities. The mother tongue had become adulterated by an incredible variety of Spanish, Italian, and French words, and the use of foreign words with German terminations was considered the highest mark of elegance. Various foreign modes of dress were also as generally adopted. Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future. *f*





CHAPTER X

NEITHER HOLY, NOR ROMAN, NOR EMPIRE[1]

[1648–1748 A.D.]

To the empire, as a great political body, the Peace of Westphalia can appear scarcely in any other light than as a fatal blow to its strength and influence. To a few of the greater states this peace became the foundation of independence; but to the smaller it was the ultimate cause of weakness and degradation, and led to the subjugation of most of the imperial towns, once the chief seats of German wealth, prosperity, and commerce.—COXE.

IT will not require many words, nor will it prove a task of much difficulty to represent the sadly depressed state of the country after a war of such devastation. Two thirds[2] of the population had perished, not so much by the sword itself as by those more lingering and painful sufferings which such a dreadful war brings in its train: contagion, plague, famine, and all the other attendant horrors. For death on the field of battle itself is not the evil of war; such a death, on the contrary, is often the most glorious, inasmuch as the individual is taken off in a moment of enthusiastic ardour, and whilst he is inspired with the whole force of his vital power; thus he is relieved from the anxious and painful contemplation of the gradual approach of his last moments. But the true curse of war is based in the horrors and miseries it spreads among and with which it overwhelms those who can take no active share in it — women, children, and aged men, from whom it snatches all the enjoyments, all the hopes of life; thence the germ of a new generation becomes poisoned in its very principle, and can only unfold itself with struggling pain and sorrow, without strength or courage.

Nevertheless, in Germany the natural energy of the people speedily aroused

[1 It is perhaps hardly necessary to remind the reader that the famous phrase is Voltaire's.]
[2 According to Simeh from one half to two thirds.]

[1648 A.D.]

itself among them, and a life of activity and serious application very soon succeeded in a proportionate degree to that which had so long been characterised by disorder and negligence; and it is thus that the two extremes often meet. The demoralisation so generally existing — produced on the one hand by the warriors who, on their return home from the camp, introduced there much of the licentiousness they had previously indulged in, and, on the other hand, through the juvenile classes having grown up and become matured without education, and being by force of example in almost a savage state — obliged the princes now to devote all their attention and care towards re-establishing the exercise of religious worship, and restoring the schools and ecclesiastical institutions — measures which never fail to produce beneficial results. But it was agriculture which more especially made rapid strides in the improvements introduced, and which was pursued with an activity hitherto unexampled. As a great number of the landowners had perished during the war, land generally became materially reduced in price, and the population accordingly showed everywhere the most active industry in the cultivation of the soil; so that within a short space of time the barren fields were replaced by fertile meadows, and fruitful gardens amidst smiling villages greeted the eye in every part. The moment had now arrived, likewise, when the claims of the peasantry to the rights of freeborn men were acknowledged more and more, and the chains by which they had been hitherto bound were gradually relaxed, until at length the final link which held them fell to the ground. Thus Germany might have become more flourishing than ever by the prosperous state of its agriculture, for it is from the maternal earth that a nation draws its source and strength of life, when it devotes its powers to that object; but essential and general causes interfered, unhappily, to prevent the fulfilment of this desirable object.

In the first place, the declining state of the cities operated in a special degree to destroy the beneficial results of agriculture. The prosperity of the cities had received a vital blow, by the complete change which had been introduced into the whole system of commerce; its decline, however, was only partial until the period of the Thirty Years' War. Shortly previous to the commencement of the war, a foreign writer placed Germany still at the head of every other country, in respect to the extent and number of its cities, and the genius, talent, and activity of its artists and artisans. They were sent for from every part of Europe. At Venice, for instance, the most ingenious goldsmiths, clockmakers, carpenters, as well as even the most distinguished painters, sculptors, and engravers, were at the end of the sixteenth century all natives of Germany. But it will suffice to mention the names of such celebrated artists as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein, and Lucas Kranach, to form an idea of the prosperous state of the arts in the cities of Germany at the commencement of the sixteenth century. This terrible war, however, gave them their mortal blow; numerous free cities, previously in a flourishing state, were completely reduced to ashes, others nearly depopulated altogether, and all those extensive factories and institutions which gave to Germany the superiority over other nations were through loss of the workmen, completely deserted and left in a state of inactivity.

Thence, at a meeting of the Hanseatic League in Lübeck, in 1630, those few cities which still remained in existence declared they were no longer able to contribute towards the expenses of the league. Economy and strict industry might perhaps have raised them gradually from the state of misery into which they had thus fallen, but their ancient prosperity and importance were both forever gone; and, as is stated by an early writer, on the foreheads of

these once wealthy citizens might be traced in characters too clearly expressed how fallen was their state, reduced as they now were to endure a painful and laborious existence. Many of the cities, some voluntarily, others through the necessity of the times, saw themselves compelled to submit to the power of the princes, as, for instance, Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen made himself master of Münster, in 1661; the elector of Mainz, of the city of Erfurt, in 1664; the elector of Brandenburg, of the city of Magdeburg, in 1666; and the duke of Brunswick, of the city of Brunswick, in 1671; whilst those which retained the title of free cities — how poor and miserably did they drag on their existence, until at length, in more recent times, they likewise lost their privilege altogether.

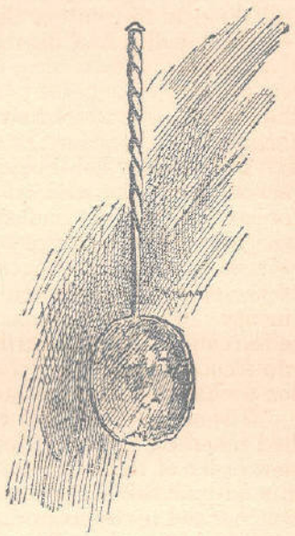
The nobility had likewise lost much of their ancient dignity and lustre. Ever since they had ceased to form more especially the military state of the empire, and their noble cavaliers no longer conferred exclusively glory upon the nation; ever since they had abandoned their independence, by attaching themselves to the court, or wasted all their strength in a life spent in indolence and without any noble object in view; and, finally, ever since they had commenced imitating and adopting the manners, customs, and languages of foreign nations, and substituted their effeminacy and refinement for the ancient energy and sincerity for which Germany had ever been so renowned — ever since these changes and innovations had been introduced, the nobles of the empire had gradually degenerated and lost all their consequence and dignity. Thus were eclipsed two of the most important and essential orders of the empire, the two which, in spite of all their other defects, had above every other contributed to give to the Middle Ages the grand and vigorous character for which that period was so much distinguished.

It is true that during the last few centuries changes of a similar nature had taken place in other countries of Europe, which, by thus substituting a new order of things, obliterated all that had characterised the Middle Ages. But with all this, ample compensation was found in the wealth and prosperity commanded by commerce, whilst in this respect Germany was now deprived of all such resource. The share which a few of the cities still took in the commerce of the world could not establish or effect a balance of the whole; whilst, on the other hand, instead of restricting themselves to that simple order of life so especially necessary among an agricultural people, and thus trying to avert the coming indigence, they launched out more and more into a luxurious state of living; and accordingly, in exchange for precious and exotic articles of merchandise, they gave up to foreign nations all the rich fruits of agriculture and industry produced at home at the expense of so much toil and anxiety. For however fertile the soil of their country, and however varied its produce, it could not possibly equal in value the rich wares imported from all parts of the world. When, however, the love of luxury and sensual pleasure has gained the upper hand, nothing can restrict or check its extravagant and insatiable demands.

This evil, however, was not one originally implanted in the nature of the German: it was communicated by those foreigners whom they sought to imitate in everything — even in their degeneracy. The excursions now made beyond Germany, and especially to France, and its metropolis; the imitation more and more indulged in of the fashions and manners of the French, and even of their immorality itself; the introduction and reception of French professors and governesses into various German families for the education of the juvenile members; the contempt more and more shown and felt for their own native language; the enthusiasm indulged in for that French

philosophy, so superficial, and yet at the same time so easily adapted to render the individual wholly indifferent to his religious, moral, and social duties — all these causes had operated more and more injuriously amongst the higher, as well as the middle classes of society, and thence, at the present period, their influence presented the most baneful effects.

On the other hand, however, it is not to be denied that relations with foreign countries have materially promoted the civilisation of Germany; and it is impossible not to recognise in the course of modern history a tendency to render more and more firm and durable the bond of union between all the nations of Christendom. Placed as the German Empire is, in the centre of the principal nations of Europe, it has ever warmly sympathised with, and the forms of its political constitution have ever encouraged the movement of moral and intellectual progress. For in most other countries, each of which was constituted into one homogeneous kingdom, the chief city was the first to set the example in the adoption of all that it might judge worthy of patronage and dissemination, and thence it established the rule or law for the co-optation thereof generally throughout the provinces: by this means, however, the progress made became gradually subjected to certain fixed forms, whence it could not be exempt from partiality. In Germany, on the contrary, science and art have marched together full of activity and independence as in a free dominion. The superior, equally with the lesser states rivalled each other in their patronage; no single town, no particular individual, was empowered to impose laws; and, finally, no favouritism, no exception of person, was shown, but everything bearing within it essential and sterling merit was sure sooner or later to meet with due acknowledgment and appreciation; and thence it is that the German nation has made such progress in all the sciences.



German Spoon, Seventeenth Century

Nevertheless, this moment must be regarded as teeming with dangerous error. Nothing is more difficult for human nature than to maintain the one direct and central path without diverging to one side or the other — nothing more difficult than to combine civilisation and enlightenment with religious and moral strictness, to unite an acute sensibility for all that is really good and valuable in genius, wherever found, with honesty and constancy of principle, and to conjoin independence of spirit with self-denial and submission. The period we are about to trace will show us in what degree this object was alternately approached or receded from by the German nation; whilst, at the same time, it will present us with all those vicissitudes to which mankind is subject.

This series of good and bad fortunes is, we shall find, more especially shown in external relations. Days of prosperity and peace were succeeded by those of distress; but the latter down to and during this period continued in their degree to outweigh the former. In no period of German history do we find presented such melancholy pictures as during the long reign of Louis XIV of France, nor has German state policy ever shown so much weakness

and pusillanimity as when suffering from his ambitious designs. During the short interval of tranquillity from the time of his death to the war of the Austrian succession, the arts of peace once more revived a little, but the progress of their development was again checked by the storms of that contest, and more especially by the still more ruinous Seven Years' War which immediately succeeded. The interval of twenty-five years, from the conclusion of this war to the commencement of the French Revolution, was the longest period of tranquillity Germany had hitherto enjoyed; and during this space of time art and science once more came into activity, and made such flourishing progress that, in spite of the war of twenty-five years by which the French Revolution was succeeded, their development, although much checked, was not altogether destroyed.

DEATH OF FERDINAND III (1657 A.D.)

The emperor Ferdinand III lived nine years after the Peace of Westphalia; he reigned with moderation and wisdom, and until his death the peace of Germany remained undisturbed. He had already procured the decision of the princes in favour of his son Ferdinand as his successor to the imperial throne, when unfortunately that young man, who had excited the most sanguine hopes, and towards whom all eyes were turned with confidence, died in 1654 of the small-pox. Ferdinand was, therefore, forced to resume his efforts with the princes in favour of his second son, Leopold — although he was far from possessing the capacity of his deceased brother — but he himself died on the 2nd of April, 1657, before the desired object was fully obtained.

The election of the new emperor met with considerable difficulty, because the government of France was anxious to avail itself of this moment to obtain possession of the imperial dignity, to which it had long aspired. It had in fact already succeeded in gaining over the electoral princes of the Rhine; but all the rest of the German princes felt the shame and disgrace such a choice must bring upon the nation, and decided at once in favour of Leopold, archduke of Austria, although this prince was only eighteen years of age; and he was accordingly elected at Frankfort on the 18th of July, 1658.

Meantime Cardinal Mazarin, the prime minister of France, had already formed an alliance which, under the name of the Rhenish Alliance, had for its object the total annihilation of the house of Austria, although ostensibly its only aim was the conservation of the Peace of Westphalia. The parties included in the alliance were France, Sweden, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, the bishop of Münster, the palatine of Neuburg, the elector of Hesse-Cassel, and the three dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg: a singularly mixed alliance of Catholic spiritual and lay princes with the Protestant princes and Swedes, who had only so recently before stood opposed to each other in open warfare. A learned historian of that period unfolds to us what were the real intentions of France in forming this alliance, as well as the motives by which she was guided throughout her proceedings against Germany: "Instead of resorting to open force, as in the Thirty Years' War, it appeared more expedient to France to hold attached to her side a few of the German princes, and especially those along the Rhine, by a bond of union — and, as it is said, by the additional obligation of an annual subsidy — and, above all things, to appear to take great interest in the affairs of Germany; thus the princes might be brought to believe that the protection of France would be more secure than that of the emperor and the laws of the empire. This means of paving the

way for the destruction of all liberty in Germany was, as may be easily judged, by no means badly conceived."

France very soon showed that she only waited for an opportunity of seizing her prey with the same hand which she had so recently held out in friendship. The long reign of Leopold I was almost wholly filled up with wars against France and her arrogant prince, Louis XIV; and unhappy Germany was again made the scene of sanguinary violence and devastation. Leopold, who was a prince of a mild and religious disposition, but, on the other hand, of an equally inactive and pusillanimous character, was by no means fitted to enter the field against the French king, in whom were united great cunning, unlimited ambition, and insolent pride. France now pursued with persevering determination the grand object she had in view, of making the Rhine her frontier and of gaining possession of the Spanish Netherlands — which, under the name of the Burgundian circle, belonged to the Germanic Empire — Lorraine, the remaining portion of Alsace, not yet in its occupation, together with all the lands of the German princes situated on the left bank of the Rhine. This spirit of aggrandisement was shared equally by king and people. Already, during the reign of Louis XIV, the French authors began to write in strong and forcible language upon the subject of conquest, and one among them, a certain D'Aubry, even went so far as to express in a pamphlet his opinions founded on the theory — at that moment a novel one, but which afterwards became of serious consideration, and was nearly carried into execution — that the Roman-Germanic Empire, such as it was possessed by Charlemagne, belonged to his king and his descendants; and the abbé Colbert, in an address to the king, in the name of the clergy, adds the words: "O king, who giveth laws to the seas as well as to all lands; who sendeth thy lightning wherever it pleaseth thee, even to the shores of Africa itself; who subjecteth the pride of nations, and forceth their sovereigns to bend the knee in all humility before thee in acknowledgment of the power of thy sceptre, and to implore thy mercy," and so forth.

Accordingly, Louis now commenced operations by conquering the Netherlands, pleading his ancient hereditary right to the possession of that country. The Spaniards appealed for aid to the other circles of the Germanic Empire, but not one of the princes came forward to assist them — some through indifference, others from fear, and the rest again from being disgracefully bought over by French money: such were the results of the Rhenish Alliance. Abandoned thus by all, the Netherlands fell into the hands of the king, and at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), in 1688, the Spaniards saw themselves forced to surrender a whole line of frontier towns to France, in order to save a portion only of the country.

THE GREAT ELECTOR

In addition to this, in the year 1672, France with equal injustice invaded Holland itself, and had she succeeded in her plans she would very soon have been in a condition to hold dominion over the European seas. This new danger, however, produced as little effect upon the princes of Germany as the preceding one; they paid little or no attention to it; nay, the elector of Cologne and the warlike bishop of Münster, Cristoph Bernhard von Galen, one of the most distinguished men of his day, actually concluded an alliance with France. One only of the princes of Germany, the elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, known likewise under the title of the Great Elector acted with the energy so necessary; and, completely aware of the exact

condition of the nation, felt the necessity of preventing the total subversion of the equilibrium of Europe. Accordingly, he made immediate preparations for placing his territories of Westphalia in a state of defence, exposed as they were in the immediate vicinity of the scene of action; for by the definitive arrangement of the inheritance of Jülich, in 1656, he had received the duchy of Cleves and the provinces of Mark and Ravensberg, whilst to the count palatine of Neuburg had been allotted the duchies of Jülich and Berg.

Frederick William likewise induced the emperor Leopold to adopt measures for opposing the further progress of the French invaders, and both together raised an army which they placed under the orders of the imperial general, Montecuculi; but the co-operation of the Austrians became almost nullified through the influence of Prince Lobkowitz, the emperor's privy councillor, who, gained over by France, opposed all the plans of the imperial general. Thence the elector beheld his fine army harassed and worn out by hunger and sickness, and in order to prevent the French from completely destroying his territories in Westphalia, in 1673, he concluded with them a peace in their camp of Vossem near Louvain. His possessions were restored to him, with the exception of the castles of Wesel and Rees, which the enemy resolved to retain until a general pacification was permanently established.

Now, however, the emperor, after having lost his best allies, determined to pursue the war with more vigour. Montecuculi gained some advantages along the lower Rhine, and, amongst the rest, he succeeded in making himself master of Bonn; but all along the upper Rhine and in Franconia, the French redoubled their ravages, and more especially in the Palatinate, which was now made the most sanguinary scene of the whole war, as it was subsequently, and where the French have left eternal monuments of their cruel proceedings. As they thus continued to invade even the very empire itself, the princes now united to resist them, and the elector of Brandenburg renewed his alliance with the emperor. On this occasion Austria was distinguished especially for her energy and activity. At the diet of Ratisbon, long discussions were held upon the subject of the war, but nothing was concluded; and Austria, having discovered that this delay was produced by the French ambassador, who there endeavoured by every means to deceive first one and then another of the princes, that power immediately commanded him, without waiting for any other formality, to quit Ratisbon within three days, and on his departure a declaration of war was forthwith made by the emperor against the king of France.

The war was carried on with varied success and loss, but altogether the advantage was on the side of the French, whose generals were completely successful in their object of making the German soil alone the field for their operations; whilst, on the other hand, the leaders of the allied forces were without activity or union. In order to furnish occupation in his own land for the most powerful of the German princes, namely the elector of Brandenburg, Louis XIV concluded an alliance with the Swedes, in 1674, showing them the great advantage they would derive by the invasion of that territory. This they accordingly did, severely handling the country; nevertheless, the elector would not abandon the Rhine, but contributed his assistance, and remained as long as his presence was necessary; and it was only in the following year, 1675, that he at length did withdraw from that seat of war, and hastened to the aid of his suffering country.

To the astonishment of both friends and foes, the elector suddenly arrived before the city of Magdeburg, and passing through it continued his march, until he came right in front of the Swedes, who believed him to be still in

Franconia. They immediately retired, and sought to form themselves into one body; but he pursued them, and came up with them on the 28th of June, 1675, at Fehrbellin. He had only his cavalry with him, his infantry not having been able to follow quickly enough; nevertheless he determined to attack the enemy at once. His generals advised him to await the arrival of his foot soldiers before he gave battle; but every moment of delay appeared to him as lost, and the action began forthwith. It was attended with the most brilliant success; the Swedes, who ever since the Thirty Years' War had been regarded as invincible, were now completely overthrown and put to flight, directing their course towards their own Pomerania. Thither they were pursued by the elector, who conquered the greater portion of the province. This elector may be regarded as the founder of the Prussian monarchy,[1] and his successors only built upon the basis he laid down.[b]

ILL-TREATMENT OF THE IMPERIAL CITIES

Louis XIV, while carrying on his attacks externally against the empire, exerted every effort for the destruction of the remaining internal liberties of Germany. His invasion of Holland had been undertaken under the plausible pretext (intended as a blind to the princes) of defending the monarchical principle, and, whilst secretly planning the seizure of Strasburg, he sought to indispose the princes towards the free imperial cities. He accordingly flattered Bavaria with the conquest of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Ulm; Bavaria was, however, still apprehensive of the emperor and contented herself with retaining possession of the old imperial city of Donauwörth, notwithstanding the Peace of Westphalia, by which the freedom of that city had been guaranteed.

In 1661 French troops aided the bishop, Von Galen, in subjugating the provincial town of Münster and in depriving her of all her ancient privileges. In 1664 French troops, in a similar manner, aided the electoral prince of Mainz to place the city of Erfurt under subjection. Erfurt belonged originally to Mainz, but had long been free and Protestant, and stood under the especial protection of Saxony. The demand made by the elector of being included in the prayers of the church being refused by the Protestant citizens, the emperor, who beheld the affair in a Catholic light, put the city under the ban of the empire, which was executed by Mainz, backed by a French army, whilst Saxony was pacified with a sum of money. The unfortunate citizens opposed the Mainz faction within the city with extreme fury, assassinated Kniephof, the president of the council, and beheaded Limprecht, one of the chief magistrates, but were, after a gallant defence, compelled to capitulate.

In 1665 Louis reduced the imperial cities of Alsace, Strasburg excepted, to submission. In 1666 the Swedes, under Wrangel, made a predatory attack upon Bremen and bombarded the town, but withdrew on a protest being made by the emperor and the empire. In the same year, Frederick William of Brandenburg annihilated the liberties of the city of Magdeburg, the archbishopric having, on the death of Augustus of Saxony, fallen, in consequence of the Peace of Westphalia, under the administration of Brandenburg. In 1671 the ancient city of Brunswick had been seized by Rudolf Augustus, duke of Wolfenbüttel, and robbed of all her privileges. Most of the merchants emigrated. In 1672 Cologne was subjugated by the elector, the city having, at an earlier period, favoured the Dutch. The citizens,

[1 See volume XV.]

tyrannised over by the council dependent on the elector, revolted, but were reduced to submission (1689). The rebellious citizens of Liège were also reduced, by the aid of the elector of Cologne, and deprived of their ancient privileges (1684). A similar insurrection, caused (1685) at Brussels, by the heavy imposts was suppressed by force.

Hamburg had been a scene of disturbance since 1671, on account of the narrow-minded despotism of the aristocratic council, which, in 1673, fraudulently obtained a decision, the Windischgrätz Convention, from the emperor, who rebuked the complaining citizens and recommended them to submit. The syndic, Garmer, who had been principally implicated in the affair of the convention, intriguing with Denmark, became suspected by the emperor and was compelled to fly from Hamburg (1678). The burgomaster, Meurer, was also expelled. The convention was repealed, and Meurer was replaced by Schlüter, who was assisted by two honest citizens, Schnitger and Jastram. The Danes, on the failure of Garmer's intrigues, sought to seize Hamburg by surprise and to annex that city, under pretence of its having formerly appertained to Holstein, to Denmark. The citizens were, however, on the watch; Brandenburg hastened to their aid, and the Danes were repulsed. The ancient aristocratic faction now rose and falsely accused Schnitger, Jastram, and Schlüter of a design to betray the city to Denmark; the two former were quartered, the third was poisoned in prison; Meurer was reinstated in his office, and the Windischgrätz Convention reinforced. The ancient pride of the Hansa had forever fallen. In 1667 the Dutch pursued the English merchantmen up to the walls of Hamburg, captured them, and injured the city, which, in order to escape war with England, compensated the English merchants for their losses.

THE LOSS OF STRASBURG (1681 A.D.)

Strasburg, the ancient bulwark of Germany, was, however, destined to a still more wretched fate, and, deserted by the German princes, was greedily grasped by France. The insolence of the French monarch had greatly increased since the Treaty of Nimeguen. In 1680 he unexpectedly declared his intention to hold, besides the territory torn from the empire, all the lands, cities, estates, and privileges that had thereto appertained, such as, for instance, all German monasteries, which, a thousand years before the present period, had been founded by the Merovingians and Carlovingians, all the districts which had, at any time, been held in fee by, or been annexed by right of inheritance to, Alsace, Burgundy, or the Breisgau, and for this purpose established four chambers of *réunion* at Besançon, Breisach, Metz, and Tournay, composed of paid literati and lawyers, commissioned to search for the said dependencies amid the dust of the ancient archives. The first idea of these chambers of réunion had been given by a certain Ravaulx to Colbert, the French minister, and the execution of their decrees was committed to bands of incendiaries, who, in Alsace, the Netherlands, and the Palatinate, tore down the ancient escutcheons and replaced them with that of France, garrisoned the towns, and exacted enormous contributions from the citizens, with which Louis purchased three hundred pieces of artillery for the defence of the territory thus arbitrarily seized.

The whole of the empire was agitated, but, whilst a tedious discussion was as usual being carried on at Ratisbon, the French carried their schemes into execution and suddenly seized Strasburg by treachery. This city, according to her historian Friese, had made every effort to maintain her liberty against

France. The citizens, since the Thirty Years' War, had lived in a state of continual apprehension, maintained and strengthened their fortifications, kept a body of regular troops, and, in their turn, every third day had mounted guard. For sixty years they had been continually on the defensive, and immense sums had been swallowed up in the necessary outlay. Trade and commerce declined. The bishop of Speier levied a high duty on the goods of the Strasburg merchants when on their way through Lauterburg and Philippsburg to the Frankfort fairs, whilst France beheld the sinking credit of the city with delight, exercised every system of oppression in her power, and promoted disunion among the citizens. There were also traitors among the Lutheran clergy. The loyalty of the citizens was, however, proof against every attempt, and Louis expended £60,000 in the creation of a small party. Terror and surprise did the rest. The city was secretly surrounded with French troops at a time when numbers of the citizens were absent at the Frankfort and other fairs, September, 1681, and the traitors had taken care that the means of defence should be in a bad condition. The citizens, deluded by promises or shaken by threats, yielded, and Strasburg, the principal key to Germany, the seat of German learning and the centre of German industry, capitulated, on the 13th of October, to the empire's most implacable foe. Louis made a triumphal entry into the city he had won by perfidy and was welcomed by Franz Egon von Fürstenberg, the traitorous bishop, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!"

The city was strongly garrisoned by the French, and the fortifications were rapidly improved to such a degree as to render it one of the strongest places in Europe. The great cathedral, belonging to the Protestants, was reclaimed by the bishop, and the free exercise of religion was, contrary to the terms of capitulation, restricted. All the Lutheran officials were removed, the clergy driven into the country. The Protestants emigrated in crowds. The chief magistrate, the venerable Dominicus Dietrich, fell a victim to private enmity and was cited to appear before Louis at Paris, where he was long detained prisoner. Louvois, on his steady refusal to recant, sent him into the interior of France, where he was long imprisoned. He was, towards the close of his life, allowed to return to Strasburg, where he expired (1694). His memory has been basely calumniated by many German historians. Numbers of French were sent to colonise Strasburg, Alsace, and Lorraine. Many of the towns and districts received fresh names; the German costume was prohibited, and the adoption of French modes enforced.

A DISGRACEFUL PEACE

The elector of Brandenburg, influenced by his wife, entering into alliance with France, and the Turks, at Louis' instigation, invading Austria, that monarch found himself without an opponent, and, after conquering Luxemburg, destroyed Genoa, which still remained faithful to the empire, by bombarding her from the sea (1684). The emperor, harassed by the Turks and abandoned by the princes, was again compelled (1684) to sign a disgraceful peace [which arranged a truce of twenty years], by which France retained her newly acquired territory, beside Strasburg and Luxemburg. Among all the losses suffered by the empire, that of Strasburg was the most deeply felt. For almost two centuries the possession of that powerful fortress by France neutralised the whole of upper Germany or forced her princes into an alliance with their natural and hereditary foe.

VIENNA BESIEGED BY THE TURKS (1683 A.D.)

Louis, whilst thus actively employed in the west, incessantly incited the sultan, by means of his ambassadors at Constantinople, to fall upon the rear of the empire. In Hungary, the popular disaffection excited by the despotic rule of the emperor had risen to such a height that the Hungarian Christians demanded aid from the Turk against their German oppressors. A conspiracy among the nobility was discovered in 1671, and the chiefs, Frankopan, Nadasdy, Zrinyi, and Tattenbach, suffered death as traitors at Neustadt. Zrinyi was the grandson of the hero of Sziget. His wife died mad. No mercy was extended to the heretics by the triumphant Jesuits and by the soldiers of fortune educated in their school. The magnates were induced by fear or by bribery to recant. The people and their preachers, however, resisted every effort made for their conversion, and a *coup d'état* was the result.

In 1674 the whole of the Lutheran clergy were convoked to Pressburg, were falsely accused of conspiracy, and two hundred and fifty of their number were thrown into prison. These clergymen were afterwards sold, at the rate of fifty crowns per head, to Naples, were sent on board the galleys, and chained to the oar. Part of them were set at liberty at Naples, the rest at Palermo, by the gallant admiral De Ruyter shortly before his death. The defenceless communes in Hungary were now consigned to the Jesuits. The German soldiery were quartered on them, and the excesses committed by them were countenanced as a means of breaking the spirit of the people. The banner of revolt was at length raised by the Lutheran Count Tököly, but the unfortunate Hungarians looked around in vain for an ally to aid them in struggling for their rights. The only one at hand was the Turk, who offered chains in exchange for chains. The emperor, alarmed at the impending danger, yielded, and (1681) granted freedom of conscience to Hungary; but it was already too late.

Louis XIV redoubled his efforts at the Turkish court and at length succeeded in persuading the sultan to send two hundred and eighty thousand men under the grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, into Hungary, whilst he invaded the western frontier of the empire in person. Terror marched in the Turkish van. The retreat of the weak imperial army under Duke Charles of Lorraine, under whom the markgraf Ludwig of Baden, who afterwards acquired such fame, served, became a disorderly flight. The Turks reached the gates of Vienna unopposed. The emperor fled, leaving the city under the command of Ernst Rüdiger, count von Starhemberg, who for two months steadily resisted the furious attacks of the besiegers, by whom the country in the vicinity was converted into a desert and eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants were dragged into slavery.

Starhemberg, although severely wounded, was daily carried round the works, gave orders, and cheered his men. The Turkish miners blew up the strongest part of the walls, and the whole city was surrounded with ruins and heaps of rubbish; still the Viennese, unshaken by the wild cries, the furious attacks, and immense numbers of the enemy, gallantly resisted every attempt. The wounded were tended by the bishop Kolonits, who so zealously fulfilled his duty as to draw a threat from the grand vizir that he would deprive him of his head.[1] The numbers of the garrison, meanwhile, rapidly diminished, and the strength of the citizens was worn out by incessant duty. Starhemberg

[1] Kara Mustapha was subsequently strangled on account of his defeat, and his head, found on the taking of Belgrade, was sent to the bishop, who sullied his fame by his cruelty towards the Hungarian Protestants.

was compelled to punish the sleepy sentinels with death. Famine now began to add to the other miseries endured by the wretched Viennese, who, reduced to the last extremity, fired, during a dark night, a radius of rockets from the tower of St. Stephen's, as a signal of distress to the auxiliary forces supposed to be advancing behind the Leopold and Kahlenberg. The aid so long awaited was, fortunately, close at hand. The vicinity and greatness of the danger had caused an imperial army to be assembled in an unusually short space of time; the emperor had 20,000 men under Charles, duke of Lorraine; the electors of Bavaria and Saxony came in person at the head of 12,000 men each. Swabia and Franconia sent 9,000 into the field. John Sobieski, the chivalrous king of Poland, brought an auxiliary troop of 18,000 picked men from the north. The German princes ceded to him the command of their united forces, and on Saturday, the 11th of September (1683), he climbed the Kahlenberg, whence he fired three cannon as a signal to the Viennese of their approaching deliverance; and on the following morning fell upon the camp of the Turks, who had thoughtlessly omitted taking the precautionary measure of occupying the heights, and who, confident in their numerical strength, continued to carry on the siege whilst they sent too weak a force against the advancing enemy.

The Germans, consequently, succeeded in pushing on; the imperial troops on the left wing, the Saxons and Bavarians in the centre, leaving the right wing, composed of Poles, behind. The Germans halted and were joined at Dornbach by the Poles. A troop of 20,000 Turkish cavalry, the indecision of whose movements betrayed their want of a leader, was routed by Sobieski's sudden attack, and the Germans, inspirited by this success, fell upon the Turkish camp; 30,000 Christian prisoners were instantly murdered by command of the enraged vizir, who, instead of turning his whole force against the new assailants, poured a shower of bombs and balls upon Vienna. The Turks, already discontented at the contradictory orders, refused to obey and were easily routed. The grand vizir's tent and an immense treasure fell into the hands of the Poles, the whole of the Turkish artillery into those of the Germans. The secret correspondence between Louis XIV and the Porte was discovered among the grand vizir's papers. Forty-eight thousand Turks fell during the siege; 20,000 in the battle.

On the following day, the Polish king entered Vienna on horseback and was greeted by crowds of people, who thronged around him to kiss his stirrup. The emperor, who had taken into deep consideration the mode in which a meeting with Sobieski could be arranged without wounding his own dignity, had at length resolved to come to his rencounter mounted on horseback, and, after bestowing an amicable greeting upon his deliverer, remained stiffly seated in his saddle, nor even raised his hat, on his hand being kissed by Sobieski's son or on the presentation of some of the Polish nobles. The Polish army was also ill provided for, and the Poles evinced an inclination to return; Sobieski, however, declared his intention to remain, even if abandoned to a man, until the enemy had been entirely driven out of the country, and unweariedly pursued the Turks, 20,000 of whom again fell at Parkany, until they had completely evacuated the country, when he returned to Poland.

Charles of Lorraine, aided by Ludwig of Baden, carried on the war during the ensuing year and attempted to recover Hungary. Still, notwithstanding the fate that had been meted out, at the sultan's commands, to Kara Mustapha, and the inability of his successors, who were either too deeply absorbed in the intrigues of the seraglio or too unskilled in war to take the command of a second expedition, the Turkish commandants and garrisons

retained possession of the Hungarian fortresses and offered a brave and obstinate resistance. Every attempt against Buda failed, notwithstanding the defeat of the relieving army at Handzabek by Duke Charles. Ibrahim, surnamed Satan, maintained the city during a protracted siege, which cost the Germans twenty-three thousand men (1684). In the ensuing campaign, Caprara, field-marshal of the imperial forces, besieged the fortress of Neuhäusel, which, after being desperately defended by Zarub, a Bohemian nobleman, who had embraced Islamism and been created a pasha, was finally taken by storm. The whole of the garrison, the pasha included, fell. The whole of upper Hungary fell into Caprara's hands. The unfortunate count Tököly was carried off in chains by the Turks, and his valiant wife, a daughter of the decapitated Zrinyi and the widow of a Rákóczy, long defended her treasures in the rocky fastness of Munkács. Most of her husband's partisans, however went over to the triumphant imperials, and the greater part of the fortified towns capitulated (1685).

Buda, defended by Abdurrahman Pasha and by a garrison, ten thousand strong, who were favoured by the inhabitants, all of whom were Turks, was again besieged by the elector of Bavaria, whilst Charles of Lorraine marched against the Turkish army advancing to its relief. The contest was carried on with equal fury on both sides. The Germans were repulsed with a loss of three to four thousand men. The grand vizir was, meanwhile, kept in check by Duke Charles, and Buda, after a terrific struggle, was finally taken by storm, September the 2nd, 1686, without an effort being made on the part of the terror-stricken vizir. The Turks defended themselves even in the courts and apartments of the ancient castle, where they were slain together with their women and children. The brave Abdurrahman fell. Two thousand men, who had taken refuge in one of the castle squares, alone received quarter. The grand vizir fled. A fearful revenge was taken by the emperor upon Hungary. A tribunal, known as the slaughter-house of Eperies, was held by General Caraffa. Every Hungarian suspected of having sided with Tököly was thrown into prison and cruelly tortured, and a great number were executed. Vengeance fell upon all who refused implicit obedience to Austria; the national right of election was annulled, and the hereditary right of the house of Habsburg proclaimed throughout Hungary. Charles of Lorraine was again victorious over the Turks at Mohács, 1687. He was succeeded in the command by Ludwig, markgraf of Baden, who, in 1691, again beat the Turks at Slankamen, but who was compelled to yield his post to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699 A.D.). The incapacity of this prince induced the emperor to bestow the command on Eugene, prince of Savoy. In the battle of Zenta, Eugene entirely broke the power of the Turks; he took Belgrade, and, by the Peace of Karlowitz, confirmed Austria in the possession of the whole of Hungary. Rákóczy (1699) again set up the standard of rebellion in Hungary, but was reduced to submission, and the next emperor, Joseph I, sought to conciliate the people by a great show of lenity.

FRENCH DEPREDATIONS

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, published by Louis XIV in 1685, had driven eight hundred thousand of the Reformed out of France. Servile Switzerland repulsed them from her inhospitable frontiers, and they emigrated to Holland, England, and, more particularly, to Brandenburg, where they were permitted by the great elector to settle at Berlin (1685). Their gradual intermixture with the natives produced the peculiarly boastful and shrewd character

THE BATTLE OF ZENTA, SEPTEMBER 11, 1697
(From the painting by Blaas, in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna)

[1685–1686 A.D.]

for which the people of Berlin are proverbial. Louis, at the same time, continued his encroachments, seized Treves, harassed Lorraine and Alsace, and erected the fortress of Hüningen,[1] opposite to Bâle. The Swiss murmured, but, ever mercenary, furnished him with all the contingents he required, and during the subsequent war their number amounted to 28,700 men. Valckenier, the Dutch envoy to Switzerland, at the same time succeeded in raising 8,500 men from the Reformed cantons.

The possession of the Palatinate had long been the principal object of Louis' ambition. The count palatine, Charles Ludwig, who had been deprived of his inheritance by French intrigue, laboured throughout the whole of his life to reconcile the various religious sects. At Friedrichsburg he built a church, named by him the Temple of Concord, in which he had the service successively performed according to the three Christian forms of worship, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic. He also abolished the severe laws against the anabaptists. His toleration drew colonists from every part of Germany, who again cultivated his wasted lands and rapidly restored Mannheim, in particular, to a state of prosperity. The capricious conduct of his consort, Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, provoked a divorce, and he married Loysa von Degenfeld, by whom he had thirteen children, who, on account of the inequality of their mother's birth, were excluded from the succession. Of his two children by his former wife, the prince died early, and his daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, he was in 1671 persuaded by Louis XIV to bestow upon Philip of Orleans, as security against all further attacks on the part of France. Louis' insolence was, however, thereby increased, and, under pretext of Charles Ludwig's having aided in again depriving him of Philippsburg, he demanded 150,000 florins by way of reparation and sent troops to Neustadt in order to enforce payment. Germersheim was declared dependent upon France, and the unfortunate elector, unsupported by the empire, died of chagrin (1685).

THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG (1686 A.D.)

Louis instantly claimed the inheritance for Philip, Charlotte's husband, without regard to the right of the house of Wittelsbach. The German princes, who had unscrupulously deserted the imperial free towns and the nobility of the empire in Alsace, and the Dutch Republic were, at length, roused by this insolent attack on their hereditary rights, and, entering into a close confederacy, formed (1686) the great league of Augsburg against France. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, who, under the guidance of Marshal Villars and of his mistresses, imitated all the vices of the French court, saw his family interests endangered by the destruction of the Palatinate, ranged himself on the emperor's side, and dismissed Villars, who, on quitting him, loaded him with abuse. The pope also, terrified at the audacity of the French monarch, once more pronounced in favour of Germany. Each side vied with the other in diplomatic wiles and intrigue. On the demise of Maximilian Henry of Cologne, William von Fürstenberg, who had, by Louis' influence, been presented with a cardinal's hat, had been elected archbishop of Cologne by the bribed chapter and resided at Bonn under the protection of French troops. The citizens of

[1] Over the gateway stood the following inscription: "*Ludovicus Magnus, rex Christianissimus, Belgicus, Sequanicus, Germanicus, pace Europæ concessâ, Huningam arcem, sociis tutelam, hostibus terrorem, exstruxit.*" [Louis the Great the most Christian king, conqueror of Belgium, the Sequani and Germany, having given peace to Europe, erected the citadel of Hüningen as a guardian to his allies, a terror to his foes.] Louis carried his contempt of the Bâlois so far as to have a cannon founded for this fortress, with the inscription, "*Si tu te remues, Bâle, je te tue.*" [Bâle, if thou stirrest, I will slay thee.]

Cologne, however, closed the gates against him and were aided by Brandenburg troops from Cleves and by the Bavarians. The election was abrogated by the emperor, the empire, and the pope, by whom Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria was installed as archbishop of Cologne instead of the cardinal. The great league was (1688) considerably strengthened by the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England in the place of his Catholic father-in-law, James II, who took refuge in France.

Louis XIV, foreseeing the commencement of a fresh and great struggle, hastened to anticipate the league, and, in the autumn of 1688, sent fifty thousand men, under General Montclar, into the Palatinate, which was left totally unprotected by the empire. The cities were easily taken; Treves, Speier, Worms, Offenburg, Mainz, and the fortress of Philippsburg, which offered but a short resistance, also fell. The electorates of Treves and Mainz were overrun and plundered. Coblenz and the castle of Heidelberg alone withstood the siege. Louis, meanwhile, unsatisfied with occupying and plundering these countries, followed the advice of his minister, Louvois, and as far as was in his power laid waste the Palatinate and the rest of the Rhenish and Swabian frontier provinces, partly to avenge his non-acquisition of these fertile territories, partly with a view of hindering their occupation by a German army. Montclar and Melac, the latter of whom boasted that he would fight for his king against all the powers of heaven and of hell, zealously executed their master's commands. Worms, Speier, Frankenthal, Alzei, Oberwesel, Andernach, Kochheim, and Kreuznach were reduced to ashes, the inhabitants murdered or dragged into France and compelled to recant. In Speier, the imperial vaults were broken open, and the remains of the emperors desecrated. Similar scenes were enacted on the right bank of the Rhine. Mannheim, Oppenheim, Ladenburg, Weinheim, Heppenheim, Durlach, Bruchsal, Rastatt, Germersheim, Baden, Bretten, Pforzheim, were burned to the ground. Heidelberg greatly suffered; the castle held out.

The French advanced thence up the Neckar, plundered Heilbronn, Esslingen, Swabian Hall, took the Asberg and plundered the arsenal, but were repulsed from Göppingen and Schorndorf, where the women inspirited the men by their example. Würzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, etc., were threatened with destruction and heavily mulcted. Frankfort-on-the-Main, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, the latter of which was surrounded by seventeen villages in flames, made a valiant defence. Feuquières was routed before Ulm, and numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the enraged peasantry. Ehingen was, in retaliation, burned to the ground. Tübingen was taken and sacked by Montclar, who was, in his turn, deprived of his booty before Freudenstadt by the peasants of the Black Forest. The authorities of Stuttgart, struck with terror, opened the gates to the French against the wishes of the people, who loudly demanded arms. Melac attempted to fire the city, but was expelled by the infuriated peasantry and by the Swabian *Landwehr*, under Charles, duke of Baden, and succeeded with difficulty in carrying off his booty and the hostages he had taken as security for the payment of the fine imposed by him upon the city. The French also penetrated into upper Swabia and burned Villingen. They overran the lower Rhine, laid the territories of Liège, Jülich, etc., waste, and burned Siegburg, where they practised every atrocity. A list of twelve hundred cities and villages, that still remained to be burned, was exhibited by these brigand bands. In the spring, the Bohemian cities, Trautenau, Braunau, Klattau, were completely destroyed, and on the 21st of June four hundred houses were burned in Prague. Five of the incendiaries were taken, and before their execution confessed that the authors of the conflagration, one hundred and fifty in number, were accompanied by a Bohemian captain and by a merchant, the secret emissaries of France. With such tools did Louis work. He attempted the life of William of Orange, the newly-elected monarch of England (1689).

POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA. LIBRARY

The phlegmatic emperor was at length roused and hurried the long-delayed levy of imperial troops. The great elector was dead, and his son Frederick, unable to cause his will, by which his possessions were divided among his other children, to be invalidated without the concurrence of the emperor, openly declared against France and ceded the district of Schwiebus to the emperor. The petty princes, alarmed for their ancient privileges, now threatened to be trodden under foot by the despotic French monarch, also followed the general impulse for defence, and hence originated the decree of the Ratisbon diet, which, with unusual energy, expelled (1689) every French agent from Germany and prohibited the reception of French servants and intercourse of any description with France, the emperor adding these words: "Because France is to be regarded not only as the empire's most inveterate foe, but as that of the whole of Christendom, nay, as even worse than the Turk." Leopold, for the sake of promoting the unity of Germany, even laid aside his ancient religious prejudices and bestowed the eighth electoral dignity upon Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Hanover, which placed the Protestant electors on an equal footing with their Catholic brethren — Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover — Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, the new elector of the Palatinate, Philip, belonging to the Catholic branch of Neuburg. Wolfenbüttel, actuated by fraternal jealousy, protested against the elevation of Hanover to the electoral dignity. The emperor also turned to Switzerland and revived the memory of her former connection with the empire; how easily might she not have prevented the devastation of the Rhenish province by falling upon the enemy's flank! But she no longer sympathised with her German kindred and even threatened the emperor in case he refused to draw his troops off her frontiers to the upper Rhine, whilst she continued to furnish the French king with his most valuable soldiery. Dr. Fatio, who (1691) raised a rebellion against the bribed and tyrannical government of Bâle, was arrested, cruelly tortured, and executed with two of his companions.

The war commenced; but the dulness and disunion of the great league threw every advantage on the side of Louis. William of Orange, occupied in confirming his possession of the English crown, neglected Holland with a view of flattering his new subjects. The states-general remained devoted to him both under their president Fagel, who died 1688, and his successor, Heinsius; these men were, however, no military leaders, nor was the princely count of Waldeck, the Dutch commander-in-chief; and the emperor, intent upon following up his success in Hungary, had sent thither his best generals and troops. Caprara, whom he despatched into Holland, fell into a dispute with Schöning, the Brandenburg marshal, and they were, consequently, merely in each other's way. The elector of Bavaria, insincere in his professions, held back, and even when elected governor of the Spanish Netherlands discovered equal indifference. The elector of Saxony regained Mainz but died in camp, and Mainz fell under the command of General Thungen, the greatest patriot of the day, who, in order to strike terror into the French emissaries, condemned the first French incendiaries who fell into his hands to be burned alive. Schöning, in conjunction with Saxony, drove the French out of Heilbronn; and Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, aided by the Dutch, took Bonn (1689), which had been ceded by the archbishop of Cologne to France. Waldeck was, nevertheless, defeated (1690) at Fleurus by a French

force, his superior in number, under Marshal de Luxemburg; and Cornelius Evertsen was also beaten off Bevesier by a superior French fleet under Tourville, who was, in his turn, defeated (1691) by the English under Almonde; notwithstanding which, the French took Namur and bombarded Liège.

In 1692 the Dutch gained a brilliant victory at La Hogue, but William, who had returned from England, was defeated by Marshal de Luxemburg at Steenkerke, and the French under Catinat were at the same time victorious in Savoy and again penetrated into and devastated Swabia, turning their chief rage upon Heidelberg and the splendid castle commanding that city, the residence of the count palatine, whose mighty towers were blown up and converted into the ruin now the delight of the traveller. The incendiary bands then mounted the Neckar. The duke, Charles Frederick, the administrator of Würtemberg, was taken captive; his ransom was fixed at half a million livres. The mother of the infant duke, Eberhard, was threatened in Stuttgart, which mainly owed its preservation to the courage of the peasantry; the whole of the country was plundered; the magnificent monastery of Hirschau, the cities of Kalw, Marbach, Vaihingen, etc., were laid in ashes, and numbers of hostages, taken as security for the payment of the enormous sums levied upon the inhabitants, were starved to death on account of the delay in the payment of the money. These predatory incursions were renewed in the ensuing year, and Winnenden and Baknang were burned. Rheinfels, nobly defended by the Hessians, was long and fruitlessly besieged. Numbers of the French fell. Ludwig, markgraf of Baden, was now sent by the emperor from Hungary to the Rhine, and that general instantly invaded Alsace; but on his attempting to penetrate into the heart of France (1693), the imperial troops, more particularly the Saxons, refused to follow, and he was compelled to return. William of Orange also suffered a second defeat in the Netherlands, near Neerwinden. Villeroi followed in the steps of Luxemburg, who had bombarded Brussels. The allies regained Namur, 1695, but gradually displayed less energy.

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK (1697 A.D.)

The French, on the other hand, made considerable progress in Spain, where, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by George, landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, they took Barcelona. Savoy was also compelled to sue for peace. Mainz was again attacked, and a popular insurrection, caused by the heavy war-taxes, took place simultaneously at Amsterdam (1696). A disgraceful peace was, consequently, concluded at Ryswick, 1697, by which Louis XIV, besides Lorraine, the Palatinate, Breisach, Freiburg, and Philippsburg, retained all his conquests, among others Strasburg. The French language was, at this period, made use of in transacting all diplomatic affairs, the French ambassadors no longer tolerating the use of Latin.

Philip of the Palatinate instantly enforced the maxim, "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*," throughout his new possessions and emulated Louis XIV in tyranny towards the Protestants, who emigrated in great numbers; and Louis, notwithstanding the peace, marched troops into the Würtemberg county of Montbéliard, where he established the Catholic form of service, (1699). The Jesuits, at the same time, recommenced the persecution of the heretics in the imperial provinces, and numbers of Silesians abandoned their native soil. The complete neglect of the imperial fortresses on the upper Rhine was, after such cruel experience, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the age.

GERMAN PRINCES ON FOREIGN THRONES

Whilst Germany was thus a prey to external foes, a number of the reigning families in Europe became extinct, and, by a strange whim of fate, bequeathed their thrones to German princes. This circumstance, however, far from proving beneficial to the German Empire, greatly contributed to estrange her native princes and to render their hereditary provinces dependent upon their new possessions.

The house of Oldenburg had long reigned in Denmark and directed its policy against the empire. Schleswig and Holstein were, as provinces subordinate to Denmark, governed by a prince of this house in the Danish interest similarly with Oldenburg, when, in 1666, the elder branch became extinct. In Sweden, the Palatine dynasty, raised (1654) to the throne, also pursued an anti-German system, that of Oxenstierna, for the aggrandisement of the north. The house of Orange was no sooner seated (1688) on the throne of England, than the interests of Germany were sacrificed to those of Great Britain.

Frederick Augustus, brother to John George IV, elector of Saxony, travelled over the half of Europe during his youth. A giant in size and strength, he took delight in the dangers and pleasures pursued by the French gallants of that period. On his arrival at Madrid, he mingled with the combatants in a bull-fight, seized the most savage of the bulls by the horns, and dashed him to the ground. No woman withstood his seductions, and, after escaping all the dangers with which he was threatened by the jealous Southerns, he returned to Saxony, where (1694) he succeeded his brother on the electoral throne. Louis XIV was his model, and, aided by his favourite, Flemming, on whom he had bestowed the title of count, he began to subvert Saxony. The extravagance of his predecessor was economy when compared with his. One mistress supplanted another; all cost incredible sums. His household was placed upon an immense footing: palaces, churches, retreats (as, for instance, Moritzburg, the Saxon Versailles, notorious for its wanton fêtes) were erected; the most costly chef-d'œuvres were purchased with tons of gold; the "green vaults," a collection of useless treasures, was swelled with fresh valuables and curiosities of every description. And for all this his little territory paid. Not a murmur escaped the people until the elector, instead of raising his numerous army as usual from volunteers, levied recruits by force, and a revolt ensued (1696). The rebellion was quelled, and the recruits were forced by the infliction of torture to swear fealty to the colours.

The ensuing year found the elector at the summit of his ambition. He was elected, by means of bribing the *waiwodes* and gaining Russia and the emperor of Germany over to his interests, king of Poland. Russia was at that period under the rule of Peter the Great, who raised her power to a height destined at a future period to endanger Europe. Sweden was at that time Russia's most formidable opponent, and Peter, with the view of paralysing the influence of that monarchy over Poland, favoured the elevation of the elector of Saxony. The emperor was won over by the recantation of the new sovereign. The reception of the successor of John Frederick, the sturdy opponent to Catholicism, into the bosom of the ancient church was indeed a triumph. Shortly previous to this event, Augustus had been involved in some intrigues at Vienna, where he is said to have watched unseen the raising of an apparition intended to work upon the imagination of the archduke, afterwards the emperor, Joseph I and to have thrown the priest who personated the ghost out of the window into the palace court. He also gained

over the Jesuits by favouring their establishments in Poland. The elevation of the house of Saxony, on the other hand, deprived it of its station as the head of the Protestant princes and of all the advantages it had thereby gained since the Reformation, and Brandenburg became henceforward the champion of Protestantism and the first Protestant power in Germany.

The frustration of the schemes of Louis XIV upon Poland and the ignominious retreat of the prince of Conti, the French competitor for that throne, after the expulsion of his fleet under Jean Bart from the harbour of Dantzic, were the sole advantages gained on this occasion by Germany. Augustus was (1697) elected king of Poland. Still, notwithstanding his knee being kissed in token of homage by the whole of the Polish nobility, and the magnificence of his state (his royal robes alone cost a million dollars), he was compelled to swear to some extremely humiliating *pacta conventa* and to refrain from bringing his consort, who steadily refused to embrace the Catholic faith, into the country. The privileges of the Poles were secured; Saxony was taxed to meet the expenses incurred by her sovereign and was compelled to furnish Poland with money and troops, whilst the Catholic prince, Egon von Fürstenberg, the governor during the absence of her sovereign, drained the coffers of the Protestants; and, these sources proving insufficient, some of the hereditary demesnes were sold, among others the ancestral castle of Wettin. Augustus was finally reduced to the necessity of issuing a debased coinage. Alchemists were also had recourse to. One, named Klettenberg, was beheaded for failing in the discovery of gold; another, Böttger, whilst imprisoned at Königstein, invented porcelain, by the fabrication of which the elector realised immense sums.

The loss of the inheritance of Saxe-Lauenburg, whose last duke, Julius Franz, expired 1689, was severely felt by Saxony. The house of Anhalt, a branch of that of Lauenburg, had the first claim, but was too weak to compete for its right. That of Saxony had been confirmed by the emperor Maximilian I, but John George, neglecting to take possession of it, was superseded by George William of Brunswick-Celle, who occupied the duchy with his troops, and Augustus, too much occupied with Poland to assert his claim, consented to receive an indemnity of 1,100,000 florins.

On the death of the great elector of Brandenburg (1688) his will was declared invalid by his son Frederick, who maintained the indivisibility of the territory of Brandenburg against the claims of the children of his stepmother, Dorothea, on whom he bitterly avenged himself. Frederick's mean and misshapen person, the consequence of an accident in his infancy, gained for him the sobriquet of the royal Æsop. His government was at first highly popular. Danckelmann, his prime minister, who had formerly saved his life, was severe but just. The elector had, however, a taste for pomp and luxury, in which he was encouraged by his favourite, Von Kolbe, who placed his wife in his master's arms. This notorious person was the daughter of a publican at Emmerich, and, notwithstanding the title of Countess von Wartenberg, bestowed upon her by the elector, often caused him extreme embarrassment by the coarseness of her manners. It was by her means that her husband succeeded in his base machinations. Danckelmann was suddenly arrested and thrown into a dungeon at Spandau, and Kolbe succeeded him as minister, with unlimited authority, under the name of Count von Wartenberg. Ignorant and mean, he solely retained his office by flattering the weak vanity and ambition of the elector. The elevation of William of Orange to the throne of England, and of Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland, roused Frederick's jealousy, of which Kolbe took advantage to inspire him with a desire for the

possession of a crown; and the transformation of the duchy of Prussia, then no longer a Polish fief, into a kingdom was resolved upon, and its recognition was effected by means of 6,000,000 dollars. The Jesuits in Vienna received 200,000 dollars. They treated the petty kingdom with ridicule, but Prince Eugene, who foresaw that the successors of this new monarch would increase in power and arrogance, said, "Those ministers by whom the king of Prussia has been recognised deserve to be hanged." The pope also strongly protested against the weak concession made by the emperor. A solemn coronation and the creation of the order of the Black Eagle took place (1701) at Königsberg. Frederick placed the crown on his own brow, and then on that of his consort.[c]

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Two sovereign families, at that period, had the government of the greater part of Europe — the houses of Austria and Bourbon. The former had separated into two branches, the Austrian proper and the Austro-Spanish branch; but the moment had now arrived when both could again blend together in one. Louis XIV had, it is true, married the eldest sister of the deceased king of Spain, but she had by a solemn covenant renounced her right to the Spanish succession. The second sister was married to the emperor Leopold; she had made no such renunciation; her daughter, however, consort of Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria, was obliged before her marriage, like her aunt, to renounce all her hereditary claims to Spain. The emperor Leopold, however, by a second marriage with a princess of the palatine house of Neuburg, had two sons, Joseph and Charles; Leopold demanded the crown of Spain on behalf of the latter, on the ground that Leopold's mother was an aunt of Charles II. France, however, as well as Bavaria refused to allow that the renunciations of these princesses affected their families, because they had given up only their own claims, and had no power to renounce the rights of their posterity. Each of these powers now endeavoured, through their ambassadors, to induce King Charles II of Spain, during his lifetime, to make a will in their favour; and Charles, with the view of maintaining the independence of Spain as much as possiple, named Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, the son of Maximilian Emmanuel, his successor. This child, however, died of the small-pox, even before the king, in the year 1699, and the contest between the houses of Bourbon and Austria commenced afresh.

Leopold could easily have obtained the victory if he had been represented by a more able envoy at Madrid, and if he himself had possessed more decision of character; for both the Spanish queen and Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, the most influential man at the court, were favourably disposed towards Austria. But Leopold's ambassador, Count von Harrach, a haughty, avaricious blunderer, left the field quite clear for the adroitness and cunning of the French agent, the marquis d'Harcourt; this man gained over the most considerable of the Spaniards one after another, and, at last, even the cardinal, and through him the king himself. Charles made a secret will, and when he died, on the 1st of November, 1700, it was discovered that he had named therein the grandson of Louis XIV, Philip, duke of Anjou, heir to the whole Spanish monarchy. The emperor was thoroughly confounded by this unexpected blow; but he had to thank himself alone for it, for previously, during the former war with France, when the Spanish court had repeatedly pressed him to let his son, the archduke Charles, come into

[1700 A.D.]

Spain with a small army, the emperor, owing to his want of resolution, refused to give his consent.

LOUIS XIV AND PRINCE EUGENE

Louis XIV knew well that, notwithstanding the will of the late king, to take possession of Spain for his grandson without war was not possible; for Austria had been too severely injured, whilst the other states of Europe likewise viewed with great jealousy the excessive power of the house of Bourbon.

MAXIMILIAN (II) EMMANUEL MARIA
(1662–1726)

William III, king of England and stadholder of the Netherlands, an active and very able man, who considered it his province to preserve the due balance of the powers of Europe, and therefore had always been the enemy of Louis, concluded an alliance between both of his dominions and Austria; this was the more important as England and Holland were the wealthiest and most powerful rulers of the sea. Hence Louis considered a while whether he should accept the Spanish king's will; he then called his council together, and as they unanimously concurred, he resolved to do so; accordingly, he proclaimed his grandson king of Spain and of both the Indies, in the presence of a brilliant assembly of his court.

This was the signal for a new and direful struggle in Europe. Germany was, alas! divided in itself; Prussia, Hanover, the Palatinate, and a few other states were, from the beginning, for the emperor. Maximilian Emmanuel, elector of Bavaria and also governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was on the side of the French, and Louis, in consideration of his claims to the Spanish succession, had already made a secret promise to him of the Netherlands; whether seriously or not is difficult to say. The brother of Maximilian, the elector of Cologne, followed his example and received French troops into his territory, "for the good of the Germanic Empire and the preservation of its peace," as it is expressed in the official declarations.

[1701 A.D.]

The emperor Leopold determined without delay on sending an army into Italy, to take possession of the Spanish territories in that country, Milan and Naples. He placed at its head Francis Eugene, prince of Savoy, one of the first of the warriors and statesmen of his time, as well as of all history. He sprang from a collateral branch of the house of Savoy, and was intended in his youth for the clerical profession; but his genius led him to the study of history and its great examples, and this again impelled him into the rapid current of active life, where the skill of such as aspire to glory is put to the test in sight of waving laurels. When in his twentieth year, he offered his services to Louis XIV. The latter, not deeming him worthy of notice on account of his diminutiveness, treated his offer with ridicule, and advised him to continue in the clerical profession. Eugene immediately turned to Austria, where the Turkish war seemed to favour his wishes, and he soon distinguished himself so greatly that, after the deliverance of Vienna, in 1683, on which occasion he fought gallantly, the emperor gave him the command of a cavalry regiment. Charles, duke of Lorraine, already recognised him as a hero, and predicted what he would one day become in relation to the imperial house; and in 1693 Leopold appointed him field-marshal. Louis would now gladly have gained him over to himself, and for which object he sent to him an offer of the governorship of Champagne, and the dignity of a marshal of France; but Eugene answered the envoy: "Tell your king that I am an imperial field-marshal, which is worth quite as much as the staff of a French marshal."

Eugene was in every respect a great general; his mind embraced at once the most important enterprise, together with all its details, and whilst engaged in forming his plan of battle, and all its accompanying operations, he never neglected to provide for the most minute wants of his army, which consequently placed the greatest confidence in its commander. His eagle eye eagerly seized with the greatest promptitude the advantages of the moment, and the errors of his adversary were speedily caught at and made available for his own object. He was, however, not less distinguished in his private character as a man; for his spirit rose superior to the religious and political prejudices of his day, and he esteemed more highly the arts of peace than the dazzling glories of war: whilst, at the same time, he was so modest and unpretending, and estimated his own qualifications with so much moderation, that he not only regarded the promotion of others without envy, but, on the contrary, he willingly occupied a subordinate post, if by so doing he could promote the general good. In person Prince Eugene was under the middle size, and as he walked amidst the tents of his camp, enveloped in his gray military cloak, it may be supposed that few would recognise in his small figure the renowned leader of armies, except those to whom the brilliant fire of his dark eye betrayed his presence.

In the month of March, 1701, Eugene marched against Italy with the imperial army, together with ten thousand auxiliary troops from Prussia, and a division of Hanoverians. The forces assembled at Roveredo, and ascended the mountain chain; but all the passes on the other side were already occupied by the French, so that it appeared impossible to descend. The imperial general, however, ordered his men, who always obeyed him with enthusiastic ardour and alacrity, to cut a passage over the rocks and precipices to the extent of thirty miles, in which they marched, and thus, before the enemy could be at all aware of it, his army poured forth from the terrific passes of the mountains, and encamped on the plains of Verona. By two victories gained at Carpi and Chiari, Eugene drove the French from a part of upper Italy, and established his winter quarters there.

THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND, HOLLAND, AND AUSTRIA (1701 A.D.)

As early as the autumn of 1701, an alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Austria. The maritime powers stipulated that they should retain possession of all the conquests they might make in the Spanish Indies; and in return they promised the emperor to assist him in conquering the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily. The English would not have taken so active a part in the war if Louis XIV himself had not foolishly and impudently provoked their exasperation. England had just succeeded in driving from the throne the family of the Stuarts, on account of their zeal for the Catholic religion, and had transferred it to William of Orange. Louis received the exiled family and gave them his protection, and in 1701, on the death of James II (who died at St. Germain), he recognised his son as James III, king of Great Britain; and it was even reported that the prince was about to effect a landing in England at the head of a French army. The English were so incensed that a stranger should thus presume to dispose of their throne, that King William, instead of ten thousand men, now obtained from parliament a vote for forty thousand.

William placed at the head of this army the earl of Marlborough, created afterwards a duke. He had not deceived himself in making this selection of his commander-in-chief; Marlborough had learned the art of war in the school of the great Turenne, and as a general stood second to none of his day. Nature had formed him for a martial leader, he being tall, handsome, energetic, and of such noble deportment and superior genius that the most elevated in rank and distinguished men of every country involuntarily did homage to him. In individual feeling he stood inferior to Eugene; he did not possess that integrity and nobleness of mind which in the contemplation of grand objects loses sight of self, whilst he is also accused of an immoderate thirst for gain.

In March, 1702, Marlborough landed in the Netherlands and placed himself at the head of the Anglo-Dutch army; his immediate object was to drive the French out of the electorate of Cologne. King William III died the same month in consequence of a violent fall from his horse whilst hunting, but his successor, Queen Anne, implicitly adhered to all his plans, and the war was continued.

With this firm determination shown on the part of foreigners, the states of the Germanic Empire resolved upon taking a decisive part in this war of vengeance against their hereditary enemy. The declaration of war followed on the 6th of October, 1702, and it concluded thus: "France has done everything in her power to humble and crush the German nation, in order that she might the more easily effect what she has so long and zealously been aiming at — the establishment of a universal monarchy." The conduct of the elector of Bavaria had likewise provoked the decision of the other members of the empire in favour of the same cause; for, obstinately adhering to France, he had collected a considerable force, with which he suddenly attacked and took possession of the free, imperial city of Ulm, on the 3rd of September — an act severely condemned by the other states.

The dukes of Brunswick also, in consequence of their continued indignation against the elector of Hanover, forgot themselves so far as to raise troops for the service of France; and as they paid no regard to the reiterated warnings given to them, they were forcibly disarmed, in 1702, by the elector of Hanover, and thenceforth compelled to submit to the will of the emperor and the nation.

The fortress of Landau on the Rhine was also this year besieged and captured by the imperial general, Ludwig of Baden. The Roman king, Joseph, came himself into the camp, and evinced great courage and resolution. In Italy, Eugene was as yet too weak to attempt anything of importance; and it appeared as though the hostile parties had determined to test each other's strength merely in skirmishes. The following year was one more rich in exploits. Marlborough employed it in the conquest of several fortified places on the borders of the Netherlands, and captured Bonn, Tongres, Huy, Limburg, and Gelderland.

In southern Germany affairs were not so prosperous, for the emperor was obliged to withdraw a considerable part of his army from the Rhine, in order to suppress the dangerous insurrection headed by Count Rákóczy, which had been raised in Hungary by French influence. The protracted struggle in that country had the effect generally of greatly hindering the Austrian powers from making anything like a demonstration against France. In the year 1703 the French marshal Villars succeeded in crossing the Rhine and uniting with the elector of Bavaria. The latter now devised the plan of making an incursion into the Tyrol, and possessing himself of that country, situated for him so conveniently. He marched thither with about sixteen thousand of the flower of his army, and the French marshal remained behind to cover Bavaria. Owing to a fire which unfortunately broke out in Kufstein, that strong mountain fortress fell immediately into the hands of the elector, and in their first terror several other places surrendered, and amongst the rest even Innsbruck itself. Thence the Bavarians ascended the Brenner pass to make their way into Italy. Here, however, they were anticipated by the brave Tyrolese, a people ever ready to lay down their lives and their all in the cause of their beloved country, who on the present occasion were strengthened by a large reinforcement of Austrian soldiers, under the leadership of the gallant *Amtmann*, Martin Sterzing. They climbed up the rugged heights on the sides of the passes, and hurled trees and rocks down upon their foes, as they defiled beneath them, who, finding it impossible to continue their march, retreated in all haste. A Tyrolese sharpshooter in a ravine lay in ambuscade for the elector himself, but deceived by a rich uniform he shot the count of Arco in his stead. The Bavarian army suffered still greater loss on its retreat, and after two months the elector returned to his territory with only half the forces he had taken with him. As a sort of indemnification he succeeded, during the winter of the same year, in taking possession of the opulent town of Augsburg, as well as of that of Passau, the frontier fortress of Austria, and on the Rhine the French had in the meantime conquered the strong fortresses of Breisach and Landau.

BATTLES OF DONAUWÖRTH AND BLENHEIM (1704 A.D.)

To counterbalance these losses, the allies proposed the following year to try with all their forces united for better success, and according to the plan laid down it was determined that the three generals, Marlborough, Eugene, and Ludwig of Baden, should fight in conjunction in southern Germany, and that General Starhemberg should remain in Italy to carry on a defensive war. The three generals met at Heilbronn on the Neckar, and Marlborough, with the markgraf of Baden, directed his course to the Danube, and Eugene marched along the Rhine. The Bavarians had stationed a part of their army in an advantageous position on the Schellen mountain, near Donauwörth, to dispute the passage of the imperials over the Danube; but they were attacked

there themselves, and after a brave defence compelled to fly, their entire camp falling into the hands of the enemy.

After this engagement the united powers made overtures of peace to the elector, and promised him considerable advantages if he would withdraw from the alliance of France. He began to waver, and was on the point of signing the articles of peace, when a messenger informed him that Marshal Tallard was advancing with a fresh army to his assistance. On receiving this news, the elector threw the pen out of his hand and refused to sign the treaty. The marshal came, but with him came likewise Prince Eugene, who had followed at his heels and now joined Marlborough. They sent the old, unyielding prince of Baden away to the siege of Ingolstadt, lest he should derange their plans of battle; and the English general cordially fought hand-in-hand with the unpretending Eugene, as the latter was ever ready to sacrifice his own personal renown for the success of the common cause.

On the 12th of October both generals took up their position immediately in front of the French and the Bavarians near the small town of Höchstädt; and on the 13th they began the battle. The enemy was far superior in numbers, and commanded a highly advantageous situation, whilst they were well defended by morasses. Marlborough led the right wing, composed of the English, Dutch, and Hessians, against the French; Eugene with the left advanced against the Bavarians. The battle was most fierce, and the assailants were several times driven back by a most terrible fire from the enemy's artillery. The contest was most severe on the left wing, where Maximilian fought with the utmost bravery, skilfully availing himself of his covered position in the bog.

Eugene perceived that something extraordinary must be hazarded; careless of his own life, he rushed forward, animating his men, when a Bavarian dragoon close by levelled his piece at him; but one of the prince's orderlies cut him down. At that moment Prince Leopold of Dessau, with a number of Prussian infantry, pressed forward to his aid, and to him Eugene himself ascribes the determination of the contest in favour of this wing. Meanwhile Marlborough likewise had with his wing routed the French, and when the elector saw them flying from the field, he also retreated with his division. Twenty-eight battalions and twelve squadrons of French still sought to defend themselves in the village of Blenheim, but they were surrounded and forced to yield themselves prisoners. Thus a great and decisive victory was gained by the allies; 20,000 French and Bavarians lay on the field of battle, 15,200 were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Marshal Tallard himself, with his son and 818 officers. As to booty, the victors had won a rich military chest, 117 cannon, 24 mortars, and 300 stand of colours; and besides this, 5,000 wagons, 3,600 tents, and two pontoon bridges. From this day the name of Marlborough became the theme of heroic song throughout Germany, and the emperor created him a prince of the empire.

The elector of Bavaria saw himself compelled to cross the Rhine with the French, and take up his position in Brussels; his territory was occupied by the imperials, and his consort retained for her support only the town and revenue of Munich. Thus, unhappily for him, terminated the campaign of 1704.

DEATH OF LEOPOLD I; ACCESSION OF JOSEPH I (1705 A.D.)

In the following year, 1705, the emperor Leopold I died of dropsy on the chest, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; few of his subjects mourned for him, for he by no means possessed that affability with which princes so easily win

the hearts of those who surround them; and what rendered him still more unpopular was that he was too fond of intrenching himself behind the bulwark of the severest Spanish court etiquette, then still in practice. His dress was always black, whilst the colour of his stockings and the plume of his hat were of scarlet, and on his head he wore a peruke with long descending ringlets. His form was insignificant, his deportment serious and frequently gloomy, whilst his countenance was disfigured by a large projecting under lip. The most marked trait in his character was a severe, austere tone of piety, but it was of such a nature that it placed him completely under the direction and sway of the will of his clergy. In other respects he was conscientious, good-natured, and very charitable to the poor, but from want of judgment his liberality was severely imposed upon. Leopold I was not a sovereign equal to the times in which he lived, neither was he at all a match for an antagonist like Louis XIV.

Leopold I was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph, who was in his twenty-seventh year and was endowed with an energetic and aspiring mind. During a short period it was doubtful whether or not the new emperor would continue the war with equal energy in favour of his brother Charles, who had proceeded to Spain in 1704, where he had since continued, and had been actually acknowledged as king in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. Joseph, however, declared his determination to prosecute the war with vigour, and he kept his word.

MARLBOROUGH IN THE NETHERLANDS; EUGENE IN ITALY

Nevertheless, there was nothing of importance accomplished anywhere during the campaign of 1705. Eugene was sent to Italy, in order to reorganise the army there, which had fallen into great disorder; but more than this he was not able to do this year. Marlborough had returned to the Netherlands, where he was obliged to collect fresh forces. In Bavaria, meantime, a violent tumult broke out, in consequence of the oppressive measures adopted by the Austrian officers and garrisons. They forced the youth of the country into the Austrian service, and this outrage led to a revolt on the part of the sturdy and independent Bavarians. They took up arms, liberated the young men who had been pressed into the service, attacked several bodies of the Austrian troops, and, encouraged by their first success, they collected about twenty-thousand of the bold peasantry under the orders of a young and fiery student named Mainl. They proceeded at once to make an assault upon the fortresses of Braunau and Schärding, and forced the small garrisons to surrender. The Austrians were obliged to negotiate with them and to conclude an armistice not as with rebels, but as with men defending their independence.

They however availed themselves of this circumstance by collecting a small imperial army from the neighbouring districts, and with this assistance they routed the peasants, recovered from them one town after another, and in some measure re-established order. This, however, was attended with many acts of severity, and the feeling of bitter animosity between the two parties increased more and more. The elector himself, being looked upon as the first mover in the insurrection and an enemy of the empire, was, together with his brother, the elector of Cologne, now formally declared an outlaw, and his territory escheated as a fief of the empire. At the urgent request of the elector palatine, the emperor restored to him the upper Palatinate, which his family had lost in the Thirty Years' War, and which had been transferred to Bavaria, together with its ancient seat in the assembly of electors. About this time also the princes, who had hitherto disputed the electoral dignity of

[1706 A.D.]

Hanover, at length yielded; it was universally acknowledged, and the elector palatine resigned to the new elector of Hanover the office of grand treasurer.

France had determined to turn her chief force in the succeeding campaign against the Netherlands, in order that she might, if possible, obtain in wealthy Holland the means of continuing the war. Accordingly she sent into the field the finest army that had as yet appeared in this war; but its general, Marshal Villeroi, was no match for the daring Marlborough. Actuated by vain confidence, he left his strong position at Louvain on the 22nd of May, in order to attack the enemy on the plains of Ramillies.[1] This was exactly what Marlborough desired; his position was excellently defended by a morass and some ditches filled with water, so that when the enemy advanced to the attack, it was impossible for them to approach the weaker and more exposed points in his order of battle, protected as they were by a natural defence; whilst he, on the other hand, could turn his whole force upon their separate points and break through them. Before the battle, a French officer declared their army to be so superior that if they did not conquer that day they ought never again to show their faces before the enemy. Nevertheless they were defeated; for no bravery can atone for the faults of a general. More than twenty thousand men were lost, and eighty standards, together with the drums and colours of the royal guard itself; and two months elapsed before the French army was able to repair its losses. The conqueror marched through Brabant and Flanders, took possession of all the towns, made them swear allegiance to Charles III as their rightful sovereign, and a council of state was established at Brussels in the name of the new king.

Prince Eugene on his part would not allow this year to pass without some great action in Italy. He undertook one of the most daring expeditions to be found in the annals of war. With not more than twenty-four thousand German troops he completed a march of more than two hundred miles, ascending mountains and crossing rivers, through a country wholly occupied by the enemy, in order to effect a junction with the duke of Savoy, who was closely pressed, and whose capital city, Turin, was at that moment besieged by the enemy. To the astonishment of everyone the expedition succeeded. Eugene arrived in time to aid the duke, and hastened to the relief of Turin. Although his army was much inferior in strength, and only indifferently equipped, he nevertheless ventured an attack upon the French lines on the 7th of September at four o'clock in the morning. He was received by a terrific cannonade, which, however, did not prevent his men from bravely rushing forward. Prince Leopold of Dessau, subsequently known by the name of the old Dessauer, led the Prussians on the left wing against the intrenchments, followed in the centre by the Würtembergers and the troops of the Palatinate, and those of Gotha on the right wing; at the same time Count Daun made a sally with his men from the citadel. The battle was extremely obstinate; two assaults made by the Germans were repulsed, when at length, after two hours' fighting, the Prussians[2] succeeded in mounting the ramparts first, and were soon followed by the others.

The confusion of the enemy was greatly increased through their rear line

[1] This field is almost identical with that on which the great battle of La Belle Alliance and Waterloo was fought, and the latter name was employed to designate the engagement above referred to more than a century ago.

[2] In a letter to Count Singendorf, Prince Eugene himself says: "The prince of Anhalt has once more done wonders with his troops at Turin. I met him twice in the thickest fire, and in the very front of it, and I cannot conceal it that in bravery and especially in discipline his troops have far surpassed mine." The emperor Joseph himself wrote to Prince Leopold, as well as to Prince William of Saxe-Gotha, letters of thanks.

[1706–1707 A.D.]

being attacked by the garrison of Turin, and the loss of both their chief generals, the duke of Orleans and Count Marsin, who were severely wounded and obliged to leave the field of battle. Marsin was taken prisoner and died next day at Turin; 5,000 dead, and a yet greater number of wounded covered the field of battle, and the rest fled in such disorder over the mountains into France that of the whole army, originally 80,000 strong, scarcely 16,000 men escaped. All the immense supplies they had brought with them, 213 pieces of cannon, 80,000 barrels of gunpowder, together with a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The results of the battle, however, presented still greater advantages than all this booty, for the French lost rapidly one place after another in Italy, and were forced to conclude a general capitulation, according to the terms of which they evacuated Italy entirely, and engaged to send no more troops there during the whole war. The heroic conduct of Prince Eugene during this memorable campaign had produced such glorious results that his fame resounded from one end of Europe to the other, and in token of his high regard for his great and distinguished merits, the emperor presented him with a valuable sword and appointed him governor-general of Milan.

In the year 1707 France lost a third portion of the Spanish inheritance, which fell into the hands of the emperor; Lombardy and the Netherlands had already been secured to him by the two great battles of the preceding year. Naples, where only a small body of Spanish troops was quartered, was taken possession of without any difficulty, and thus France lost its last hold in Italy; whilst in the Netherlands not a single place was now left for Marlborough to take. The only compensation left to Louis XIV was in the upper Rhine, where he availed himself of the slow progress made by the imperials in their operations. The old general, Ludwig of Baden, who died in 1707, was succeeded by the markgraf of Bayreuth, who was as inactive in his movements as his predecessor and who by his irresolution allowed the French to cross the Rhine at Strasburg and to resume their whole system of relentless devastation in Franconia and Swabia. It has been calculated that, in the space of only two months, they levied contributions to the amount of 9,000,000 florins. The markgraf, to the satisfaction of all, did not long delay giving in his resignation as commander-in-chief, and he was replaced by a more active leader, George Ludwig, elector of Hanover. The ill condition of the imperial army, however, prevented him from undertaking anything important; he was obliged to content himself with forcing the French, through want of supplies, to recross the Rhine and with opposing their passage a second time in the following year.

An expedition which Prince Eugene had to make, by desire of the maritime powers, in the same year, 1707, from Italy to the south of France, in order to take possession of Toulon, succeeded no better than those previously undertaken by Charles V in the same quarter, whilst King Louis had the satisfaction to see his grandson Philip V once more master of nearly the whole of Spain. The archduke Charles had been, it is true, extremely fortunate in his operations in Spain the preceding year: his army, which consisted chiefly of Portuguese auxiliaries, had succeeded in taking the capital, Madrid, and he had there been proclaimed king of Spain; but his own natural indolence, the dissension existing amongst his generals, the hatred of the Castilians towards him and the Aragonese, as well as towards the English and Portuguese, together with other causes, assisted gradually to deprive him of his conquests, so that in the year 1707 he retained nothing more beyond Catalonia.

Meantime Louis XIV had already suffered such severe losses in this war,

and his country was so exhausted, that he most anxiously longed for peace, and by controlling his innate feeling of pride, he made attempts to purchase it even at great sacrifices. His adversaries, however, determined to punish him severely this time for all his former arrogance; Eugene and Marlborough especially, being hostilely disposed to the vain monarch, used all their influence equally both in Austria and England to prevent any pacificatory measures, being resolved to reduce him to the most humiliating condition, in which object they succeeded.

FURTHER SUCCESSES OF EUGENE AND MARLBOROUGH

These two generals, after Eugene had regulated affairs in Italy, formed a junction once more in the Netherlands; and thus united, they gave battle to and completely defeated the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme — between whom there was great disunion — on the 11th of June, 1708, at Oudenarde. After this victory, Eugene boldly attacked the citadel of Lille, which was regarded as impregnable, and of which he made himself master.

The ill success experienced by France in this campaign was made still more grievous by its being followed by an unparalleled, severely cold winter, 1708, and the consequently serious injury produced thereby. The cold was so intense that the very animals in the forests and the birds in the air were frozen to death, and the vines and fruit-trees completely destroyed; whilst the inhabitants themselves, already suffering so acutely from the war, were driven completely to despair by this terrible visitation of nature; their lamentations were heartrending, and all resources for the supplies of the army in the next campaign were entirely destroyed. Thence the king, being now completely discouraged and crestfallen, was obliged to humble himself once more, and make overtures of peace; he declared, accordingly, that he was willing to renounce Spain, India, Milan, and the Netherlands, if they would leave to Philip V Naples and Sicily. But the two generals, who appeared at the Hague, in the midst of these negotiations, declared briefly that the house of Austria should not lose even a single village of the Spanish monarchy, and when this severe exaction was at length agreed to, they demanded still further concessions from the territory of France itself: "Alsace," they said, "must be given up, and an entire line of strong places in the Netherlands, as well as in Savoy, must be surrendered, to secure these countries for the future against the crafty proceedings of France." All this the French envoys successively conceded; they only refused their consent to one proposal of their enemies, and which was in truth of a character highly derogatory and dishonourable: that, in case his grandson, Philip, would not resign Spain of his own accord, Louis should himself assist in expelling him therefrom by force of arms. To such an indignity the French monarch would not submit, and the war was commenced again.

Part of the summer of 1709 had already passed away in these negotiations and Eugene and Marlborough hastened to avail themselves of the remaining portion of the season. They took possession of Tournay, and marched against Mons. This place Marshal Villars wished to protect, and had accordingly taken up a strong position at Malplaquet, in front of the city. The two victorious generals, however, attacked him in his intrenchments without delay, on the 11th of September, and after a battle, the most obstinate and sanguinary during the whole war, victory declared in favour of the allies. Eugene himself, at the very outset of the action, was grazed on the head by a shot; but he very calmly folded his handkerchief round his head, and led on his troops into

the very hottest fire. Mons was now closely besieged, and shortly afterwards taken.

Another campaign was now lost, and Louis XIV was again forced to renew his offers of peace. He agreed to everything that was demanded, excepting that in order not to be obliged to send an army to assist in the expulsion of his grandson from Spain, he promised to furnish the allied powers with a sum of money instead for that purpose. But Louis was now to experience in his own person what others had but too often felt through him — how acutely severely the haughty insolence of the conqueror pierces the heart of him whom misfortune has laid prostrate at his feet. He was now forced to witness what was but too clearly manifested — how by the duplicity he had himself formerly practised in all his negotiations he had alienated from him the confidence of all the other European nations. He was answered that, as long as Philip V remained in Spain, they could put no trust in the promises of his cabinet; and if he seriously desired peace, he must commence by satisfying all the demands made by the allied powers, and fulfil all the conditions of the treaty within the period of two months.

After such a declaration expressed in terms so haughty and overbearing the humbled monarch was forced to recommence war, at whatever sacrifice, and Eugene and Marlborough succeeded without much difficulty in capturing one town after the other on the frontiers of France; whilst in addition to this the news now arrived from Spain that Count Starhemberg, Charles's general, had completely defeated the army of Philip V, and that on the 28th of September, 1710, Charles had made his triumphal entry into Madrid. Louis XIV, already old and feeble, was now reduced to the last extremity, and was left without one resource. After so many wars, and the consequent sacrifice of so many thousands of lives, together with such large sums of money, he was forced to behold the destruction of the whole of the fabric built to perpetuate the grandeur of his name and government, and he was even called upon to offer up a portion of his own ancient patrimonial realm.

RECALL OF MARLBOROUGH; ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI (1711 A.D.)

Never did fate appear to have dealt more hardly with one who felt secure in the conviction that he had elevated himself to the highest pinnacle of monarchical greatness and imperial glory. But his adversaries had themselves now lost sight of moderation in the moment when its influence would have saved them; they had likewise become arrogant through their good fortune, whence they lost a great portion of the fruits of their victories. Three favourable circumstances at once rescued France from the great extremity to which she was reduced, and gained for her more liberal conditions of peace. These fortunate events were the recall and dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the triumph of the French partisans in Spain, and the death of the emperor Joseph I.

In England, where the friends of Marlborough had hitherto governed the state, an opposite party had, during his absence, gradually and secretly formed itself into a powerful body, and adopted the term tories or royalists, in contrast to the other, the Marlborough party, which represented the whigs or friends of the people. The efforts made by Marlborough in the war were now regarded as suspicious by Queen Anne, and his wife, who had hitherto held great sway over her mind, was now supplanted by another influential person, Lady Masham. A new parliament was elected in 1710, of which the tories formed the majority, and thence measures for peace were loudly advocated in

substitution for those of war. Marlborough was allowed to hold command for a short time longer, but with such restrictions that he almost immediately afterwards resigned it altogether.

The death of the emperor Joseph I, on the 17th of April 1711, contributed not a little to establish a peace. He died of the smallpox, in his thirty-third year, and is represented in history as a prince of an active and prompt character, and far superior to his father and brother. His mind was capable of entertaining the most noble and enlarged ideas, and thence it was that his penetrating eye selected Eugene, with his extraordinary genius, as worthy of his entire confidence.

As the emperor died without heirs, he was succeeded on the throne by his brother, the archduke Charles. The question now arose respecting the equilibrium of the powers of Europe, as in the time of Charles V: whether or not it were advisable that the present Charles, if elected by the Germans as their emperor, under the title of Charles VI, should be allowed to preside over the half of Europe, and the power of the house of Austria thus become so preponderating? For Charles VI would possess the same domination as Charles V, if he united the whole of Austria to the Spanish monarchy. Such a predominance appeared dangerous to the other states, especially to the maritime powers, and they accordingly promoted the election of Charles as emperor, with the view of afterwards depriving him of a portion of the Spanish succession. He was therefore crowned at Frankfort, on the 22nd of December, 1711. Charles, however, had in the meantime lost all he had gained in Spain. Defeated several times by the able French general, the duke of Vendôme, all his possessions there were reconquered, and Philip V was re-established in his kingdom.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713 A.D.)

During this interval the English ministers had been secretly negotiating with France, and the preliminary conditions of peace were already signed; so that the allies found themselves forced to agree to stipulations by no means advantageous to them — so little honourable had been the conduct of England in her proceedings with regard to her confederates. The conferences for a general peace now commenced, and Utrecht was chosen as the place of assembly. Upon the subject of the main point to be discussed, the Spanish inheritance, they were soon agreed, notwithstanding the protestations of the emperor. Philip V was to have Spain and the Indies, and Charles the remainder; at the same time Philip was to renounce all claim to the throne of France, so that the two crowns of Spain and France could never be placed upon the same head.

France ceded to England Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, and moreover, by desire of that power, she demolished the whole of the fortified works of Dunkirk. To Portugal she gave up likewise various territories in South America; to Prussia the possession af Spanish Gelderland, and the sovereignty of Neuchâtel and Valengin, and she acknowledged its prince as king of Prussia. Savoy obtained important fortresses on the French frontiers, and as that country could also lay claim to the Spanish crown the island of Sicily was resigned to her as an indemnification. Holland, which had adhered to the league more faithfully than all the others, and had always refused the advantages offered by a separate peace with France, received but very poor amends, whilst she was forced to relinquish the strongest fortresses she had conquered, being allowed to retain a few only of the weaker places, to her of little service. Spain eventually surrendered to England the stronghold of Gibraltar and the

island of Minorca, and thus England reaped the greatest benefit from this treaty of pacification.

The emperor and the imperial states, deserted now by their allies, found themselves obliged either to negotiate a peace or prosecute the war alone. The stipulations made by the French were of the most shameful and humiliating nature; inasmuch as Louis, in order no doubt to prove himself extremely generous towards his ally, the elector of Bavaria, demanded that all the estates of that prince should be restored to him, and that the territories of Burgau and Nollenburg, together with the island of Sardinia, as a kingdom, should likewise be ceded to him — a truly royal recompense for him who had been the faithful ally of the empire's foe. To have agreed to such conditions would have been too dishonourable; accordingly the war was resumed — but with what chances of success? Eugene with his forces, now reduced to a mere handful of imperials, was not in a condition to face the entire French army under the command of Villars, nor even to maintain his ground in defence of the banks of the Rhine; whence the adjacent circles of that territory were again devastated, and the important fortresses of Landau and Freiburg again fell into the hands of the French.

In this state of things, Eugene and Villars, in November, 1713, met in the castle of Rastatt, and recommenced negotiations. These two great generals, who had already more than once confronted each other on the field of battle, were now equally desirous of being distinguished as the promoters of peace, and after overcoming the difficulties thrown in their way they at length signed the treaty of peace, on the 7th of March, 1714.[b]

The Treaty of Ryswick was made the basis of the peace. Charles was also guaranteed in the possession of Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, under the condition of ratifying the Barrier Treaty; he obtained the restoration of Breisach, Freiburg, and Kehl; in return he reinstated the electors of Bavaria and Cologne in their dominions and dignities; he agreed to leave the princes of Italy in the peaceable enjoyment of the territories which they actually possessed, and permitted the important fortress of Landau to be retained by France.

"Thus," justly exclaims marshal Villars, "after a war of fourteen years, during which the emperor and the king of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed their sovereigns; a war which had desolated the greater part of Europe was concluded almost on the very terms which might have been procured at the commencement of hostilities."

THE BARRIER TREATY (1715)

Among the most difficult points which remained for future adjustment was the transfer of the Netherlands in the possession of the Dutch to the emperor, and the final ratification of a barrier treaty.

The pretensions of the two parties were so opposite and contradictory, and the mediation of England was so lukewarm, that all compromise seemed impracticable; even the death of Anne during these negotiations, though it changed the conduct of England, did not overcome the reluctance of the emperor, and George I in vain despatched generals Stanhope and Cadogan to Vienna, the first from his personal credit with the emperor, and the other from his friendship with Prince Eugene, who had the greatest preponderance in the Austrian cabinet.

Many motives influenced the conduct of the emperor in declining to ratify

this treaty. Towards the close of the reign of Anne he had entertained an opinion that the party of the pretender was paramount in England, and had affected to listen to overtures for a match between the exiled prince and one of his nieces. Even the accession of George I did not wholly dissipate this illusion; Charles imagined that his establishment on the British throne would be of but temporary duration, and was unwilling to involve himself in an engagement to guarantee the Protestant succession. He therefore dismissed Stanhope with great marks of personal regard, but without gratifying him in the object of his mission.

Both the emperor and his ministers treated Lord Cobham, who succeeded General Stanhope, with studied neglect; and Prince Eugene testified the utmost reserve and indifference to his friend and fellow soldier, General Cadogan, who repaired to Vienna in the character of ambassador. In various conferences he bitterly inveighed against the harsh and degrading conditions which the maritime powers attempted to impose on his imperial master, and declared that the revenues of the Netherlands would be inadequate to the support of the civil establishment, after the payment of the subsidies to the Dutch.

Charles, aware of the weakness of the Dutch government, and of the embarrassments of England by the rebellion of 1715, which was magnified almost into a new revolution, and encouraged by the secret overtures of France, delivered an ultimatum by his minister, Count Königsegg, to the congress at Antwerp, and threatened to march his troops into the Netherlands, unless in six weeks his demands were complied with. These disputes delayed the conclusion of the treaty until the total defeat of the rebels in England, the death of Louis XIV, and the dread of a Turkish war changed the politics of the emperor; while Prince Eugene suddenly promoted the ratification, from a jealousy of the Spanish council, who obstructed the treaty, and from resentment against the deputies of the Netherlands, who desired an archduchess for their governess. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 15th of November, 1715. Prince Eugene was appointed governor, and the Dutch, on the 4th of February, 1716, delivered the Netherlands to Count Königsegg, as plenipotentiary of the emperor.

By the Barrier Treaty the States agreed to yield to the emperor the provinces possessed by Charles II, as well as those ceded by France at the Peace of Utrecht. A corps of from thirty thousand to thirty-five thousand men was to be maintained in those countries, of which the emperor agreed to furnish three fifths, the states the remainder; and in case of war a further augmentation was to be arranged by the two parties. The emperor allowed the states the sole right of garrison in Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and the fort of Knocque; but the garrison of Dendermonde was to be furnished jointly, the governor to be nominated by the emperor, and to take an oath that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the states. In like manner, in the garrisons belonging to the states, their officers were to preserve to the house of Austria the sovereignty of the places committed to their care, and not to intermeddle in civil affairs. The Dutch troops were also allowed the free exercise of their religion in the different garrisons; but were to establish no churches, nor annex any exterior distinctions to their places of worship.

The states were permitted to repair the fortifications of the different towns, but not to erect new works without previous notice to the governor-general, nor to charge the emperor with the expenses without his consent. Different cessions also were made to the states for the security of their frontiers; and the emperor engaged to pay the annual sum of 500,000 crowns for the maintenance of the Dutch troops, and charged himself with the debts of Charles II to the United Provinces. Their rights and privileges of commerce were to remain on the same footing as established by the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, and the ships, commodities, and merchandise from Great Britain to the Netherlands, or from the Netherlands to Great Britain, were to pay the same duties of export and import as were established at the conclusion of the treaty, till new regulations should be made by the three powers in a treaty of commerce which was to be arranged as early as possible. The emperor also engaged that these provinces should never be transferred to a prince of the house of Bourbon by marriage, sale, or otherwise. England guaranteed this treaty, and engaged, should the Netherlands be attacked, to furnish ten thousand men, with twenty ships of war, if necessary, or to act with her whole force.

But notwithstanding the signature of the treaty, the mutual jealousy of the emperor and the Dutch did not subside; the emperor deemed the conditions on his part too severe, and exhibited evident signs of a resolution not to fulfil the articles; while the Dutch, on theirs, retained possession of the districts which were restored by France.

A general consternation also prevailed among the natives of the Netherlands, who complained that the Dutch, jealous of their prosperity, wished to exclude them from all commerce. The states of Brabant and Flanders made strong remonstrances by deputies sent to Vienna; they represented the treaty as derogatory to the emperor's dignity, and fatal to the dearest interests of his subjects. They stated the impossibility of executing the treaty without annihilating their immunities, because subsidies were granted to the Dutch as a fixed revenue, whereas, according to their constitution, no subsidies could be granted without the consent of the states.

Hence the scruples of the emperor returned, and he opened new conferences with the states-general, in the hope of obtaining a modification of the conditions; but the negotiation was protracted by the discussions relating to the appointment of the magistracy in several of the towns garrisoned by the Dutch troops, the toleration of religion, the extension of the limits, the arrears of the subsidies; and the convention which finally settled these and a few other contested points was not concluded till the 22nd of December, 1718, by the imperial and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the Hague.

EUGENE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TURKS (1715–1718 A.D.)

During the negotiations for the Barrier Treaty, several events occurred of great importance to the house of Austria. Among those the most remarkable was the Peace of Passarowitz, which terminated the war with the Porte, and by the acquisition of Belgrade secured the frontiers of Hungary from Turkish invasion.

The good effects of the fortunate change which had taken place in the minds of the Hungarians, from the pacification of Szatmár, were displayed in this war; when the native troops had no inconsiderable share in driving the Turks beyond the Danube, and in conquering the Banat of Temesvár and the territory of Belgrade.

In 1715 the Turks broke the Peace of Karlowitz, declared war against the Venetians, conquered the Morea, and laid siege to Corfu. These rapid successes, which recalled to recollection the former preponderance of the Ottoman power, spread general alarm among the princes of Europe; and the

king of Sardinia projected a confederacy of the Italian states under the protection and guidance of France. But Charles, jealous lest this confederacy should give pre-eminence to the house of Bourbon and Savoy, counteracted the league; and when the Venetians appealed to him as a guarantee of the Treaty of Karlowitz, made preparations for immediate hostilities. After an offer of mediation, which the Porte rejected with disdain, he despatched Prince Eugene into Hungary at the head of a small, but well-disciplined army, flushed with victories in the Netherlands and on the banks of the Rhine. Eugene passed the Danube in sight of the Ottoman army of 150,000 men, and encamped near Peterwardein behind the very intrenchments which he had occupied in his former campaign, and which, by an unaccountable negligence, the Turks had not destroyed. Without delay he led his troops against the enemy, routed their numerous and undisciplined forces, who could only oppose to the military skill of Eugene, and the deliberate courage of the imperial army, a blind and impotent valour, killed the grand vizir and 30,000 Turks, took 50 standards, 250 pieces of heavy artillery, and an immense booty. This action was fought on the 5th of August, 1716, near Karlowitz, in the very camp wherein, seventeen years before, the Turks had signed the truce of twenty years, which, by attacking the Venetians, they now broke. The capture of Temesvár, the last of the ancient dependencies of Hungary retained by the Turks, secured the possession of the Banat and the conquest of Wallachia.

These conquests, which distinguished the campaign of 1716, were followed by still greater successes in the ensuing year. In the month of June, 1717, Eugene invested Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman dominions on the side of Hungary. The place, which contained a garrison of 30,000 men, was vigorously defended, and supported a blockade of two months, till the arrival of an immense army under the command of a new grand vizir, gave hopes to the besieged, and alarmed the besiegers. The Turkish troops advancing, intrenched themselves in the form of a semicircle, stretching from the Danube to the Save, and thus confined the imperial army in the marshy grounds between those two rivers.

In this exposed and unwholesome situation, numbers of the imperials daily perished from the fire of the enemy, and more fell victims to the ravages of a contagious disorder. Yet the troops supported these accumulated evils with the most exemplary patience, anxiously expecting that the Turks would be compelled, for want of provisions and forage, to break up their camp; but these hopes were frustrated by the perseverance of the enemy, who pushed their lines and batteries to an eminence commanding the bridge over the Save. Eugene now found himself in a critical situation; the enemy by destroying the bridge might prevent his retreat, or might send a corps across the Save to surprise the detachments intrenched at Semlin, and cut off the parties employed in bombarding the lower town of Belgrade. The imperial troops also, daily diminishing in number, would be soon unable to guard the lines; and the emperor and empire, exhausted by the war which they had just concluded with France, could not support the enormous expense of another campaign. The danger was still further increased as the enemy had advanced their trenches and raised batteries within musket-shot, and were even preparing to storm the lines. Eugene was therefore aware that a decisive victory alone could relieve the army from their dangerous situation, and preserve Hungary and Transylvania.

Under these circumstances Eugene summoned a council of war, and being unanimously supported in his opinion, issued orders for a general engagement.

During the anxious night preceding this action he visited the posts, instructed the officers, exhorted the soldiers, and distributed with his own hands refreshments to fortify them against the fatigues of the ensuing fight, and as he passed from post to post, cries of exultation resounded from every quarter. "Lead us," they exclaimed, "against the enemy! Eugene commands! the safety of our country and the interests of our religion are at stake; we will conquer or die!"

Capture of Belgrade; Peace of Passarowitz

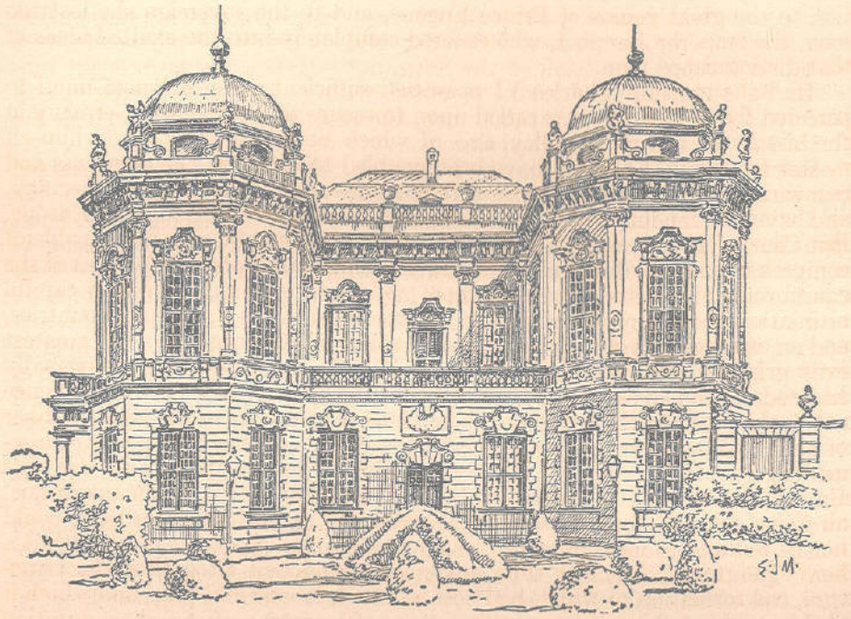
The imperial army consisted of 60,000 men; but as 20,000 were stationed to keep in check the garrison of Belgrade; and as several detachments were posted on the opposite bank of the Save, not 40,000 could be brought into action, to storm intrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery, and defended by not less than 200,000 men, the most complete army which the Porte had ever sent into the field since the siege of Vienna.

Before midnight Eugene was on horseback; three bombs were discharged as a signal, and the whole army was instantly in motion. About two, the right wing, advancing in order and silence under cover of the darkness, burst upon the enemy's works, and surprised the guard, who were reposing in negligent security. But the same darkness which had at first favoured their attack, was so much increased by a thick fog, that part of the right wing fell by mistake upon some intrenchments which the enemy had raised that night, and meeting with a desperate resistance were thrown into confusion. As long as the fog lasted this confusion was irreparable, and the imperials, ignorant of the ground, and harassed by the impetuous assaults of the enemy, suffered extremely. At length the sun rose and dispelled the mist; Eugene discovered part of the right wing separated from the centre, taken in flank and rear, and exposed to imminent danger. To see and remove the danger was the effort of a moment. Placing himself at the head of the second line, and followed by a corps of volunteers, he charged the enemy sword in hand, and though wounded, forced his way through their ranks, mowing down all before him. The troops, alarmed for the safety of their intrepid leader, pressed forward, redoubled their efforts, and drove the Turks back to their intrenchments. At this moment, Eugene surveyed the lines with awful apprehension. Aware that the spirit of the army had led them to be too precipitate in the attack, he endeavoured to curb their impetuosity, and to give a more certain and solid direction to their force. But his own example overbore a deference even to his orders. The impulse was given, and nothing could restrain the ardour of the troops. The infantry made the attack with irresistible violence, forced the intrenchments, carried the batteries, and turned the Turkish cannon against the banners of the crescent. From that moment all was rout and dismay; before midday the imperialists were in possession of the intrenchments artillery, and camp; and the enemy fled with such disorder and precipitation that those who were in the rear killed those who impeded their flight.

The immediate consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Belgrade, which was followed the next year by the Peace of Passarowitz, so called from a small town in Servia, where Eugene and the grand vizir opened the conferences, and signed the preliminaries, on the 21st of July, 1718, under the mediation of Great Britain and the United Provinces. This treaty established a truce of twenty-five years, and secured to the house of Austria the Banat of Temesvár, and the Banat or western part of Wallachia and Servia, together with the town and territory of Belgrade and part of Bosnia.[9]

CHARLES VI AND THE NEW POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM

In the important war concluded by the Peace of Utrecht, France lost her ascendency; whilst for Austria and Germany in general it produced that favourable moment by which they were enabled to occupy, once more, their ancient honourable position in the world's history. As it was to be feared since Louis XIV had manifested such desire for conquest, that if left to itself a single state must be too weak to resist the preponderating power of France, King William III of England strenuously laboured, single-handed to oppose



THE BELVEDERE, ERECTED BY PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY, 1724; NOW THE IMPERIAL ART MUSEUM

by means of a convention of several states a barrier to that ambition, so that in future the laws of justice and equity should alone govern nations among themselves. Thence he was the founder of the new system of political equilibrium, and merits the appreciation due to a great man; for he effected great things with small means, and was, in truth, the shield of Europe. Beyond everything else, however, he founded his hopes for the maintenance of lasting peace and security upon the union of England with Austria — an alliance, to use the expression of that period, of the most independent Protestantism with the most legitimate Catholicism. This union, in fact, produced an entire new form in the development of all the relations of the different European states. But one of its most important results has been to render the principles of tolerance, reciprocal esteem, and moral dignity more prevalent among nations; and it is in this respect especially that the first moiety of the eighteenth century distinguished itself, in spite of its many imperfections. Thence, by this means, Austria was placed once again in the centre of Europe, as the power destined to establish relationship among all other nations, and to maintain

amongst them order and union; whilst with respect to Germany itself she was called upon to defend, with still greater power, the pristine dignity and the ancient constitution of that empire. The glory and the acquisitions that had fallen to her share through the late war appeared indeed as an indication of the favour of divine providence, and as a ratification of the rank she was to hold in order to bring into operation the objects she was destined to realise. She was, in fact, more powerful now than even if she had succeeeded in uniting the Spanish crown with that of Austria; for the reign of Charles V himself had already shown that such an extension of dominion is anything but real augmentation of power. Austria was chiefly indebted for her present state of elevation to the great genius of Prince Eugene, and to the sovereign she lost too soon, the emperor Joseph I, who entered completely into the exalted ideas of that distinguished man.

Had the emperor Charles VI possessed sufficient penetration of mind to perceive the position he was called upon to secure to Austria and Germany in the history of European policy, and of which he might have made himself master forthwith, he would have been enabled to establish the greatness and renown not only of his own portion of the empire, but of the whole of Germany, and have laid the foundation for a long and glorious peace throughout Europe. But Charles' genius, as well as that of the age he lived in, was not capable of comprehending, much less executing such an important plan. The idea of the equilibrium of the states became more and more materialised into a careful estimation of the physical powers, a measurement of the produce of countries, and an exact census of their subjects and soldiers. Thence one of the greatest evils originating in the reign of Louis XIV became now more universally adopted, inasmuch as sovereigns sought for the security of their independence not in the love of their subjects, where alone it rests, but in the great number of their soldiers, ever ready to strike the blow. Whenever one state augmented its mercenaries, its neighbour followed the example, and this was almost the only scale of proportion between nations; whilst, at the same time, all moral and intellectual power was accounted as nothing, because it could not be reduced to measurement. Such a state of things must bring with it a heavy judgment; intellect thus misprised abandoned altogether the structure, the formation of which had cost so much labour and pain, and which it alone could uphold, and hence this system of equipoise, after a short duration of splendour in the time of Eugene and William, and an extended period of doubtful existence, finally fell, a victim to itself, at the end of the same century in which it took its rise.

In consequence of this system, and the position therein occupied by the house of Austria, Germany found itself implicated in the wars of that dominion; besides which, it was forced to share in all the commotions of Europe, without reaping any advantage by them, until the venerable and tottering fabric of the empire, completely overcome by continual concussion, fell to pieces. For in the existence of nations, as in that of individuals, there is no pause; if they do not press onwards they retrograde incessantly, and Germany had just shown itself frigidly indifferent and unwilling to embrace a favourable opportunity for its elevation.

Meantime, the last twenty years of the reign of Charles VI were, with trifling exceptions, a period of peace. He more especially devoted himself to the internal administration of his extensive and beautiful provinces; and this, after an epoch of so much suffering and calamity, operated gratefully and beneficially. As he had no male issue he had drawn up a solemn law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which he transferred to his daughter,

Maria Theresa, the peaceful possession of his hereditary lands. This he was extremely anxious to have confirmed by the leading states of Europe, and in this object, after many abortive endeavours, he succeeded; but this sanction, nevertheless, did not serve to secure his daughter, after his death, from the attacks of a host of enemies, who hoped to make good their pretensions by force of arms.

The emperor himself carried on a war from the year 1733 to 1735, on behalf of Augustus III of Saxony, who had been elected king of Poland, against the French, who were desirous of dethroning him, and substituting in his place Stanislaus Leszczynsky, father-in-law to the French monarch, Louis XV. This war, however, was not favourable to Austria and Germany; Augustus III continued, indeed, by the subsequent treaty of peace, king of Poland, but in return for this Germany was obliged to sacrifice to its rapacious neighbour a new province — Lorraine being ceded to Stanislaus, and through him it came into the hands of France; Francis Stephen, then duke of Lorraine, being made grand duke of Tuscany, whilst the Spanish infante, Don Charles, was indemnified for Tuscany by the cession of Naples and Sicily. The Austrian army was equally unsuccessful against the Turks, and at the conclusion of peace in 1739 the government was forced to give back the important fortress of Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had conquered, and which had served as a frontier stronghold in that quarter.

DEATH OF CHARLES VI; ACCESSION OF MARIA THERESA (1740 A.D.)

The emperor Charles VI died October 26, 1740, and his daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, took possession of the government in all his dominions. But immediately after the decease of the emperor an envoy of the elector of Bavaria arrived, furnished with a declaration from his master, in which he said he could not acknowledge the young queen as the inheritress and successor of her father, because the house of Bavaria had legitimate claims to the hereditary Austrian provinces. These pretensions the elector founded upon his descent from the eldest daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I, whose posterity ought to insist upon their title to those possessions, seeing that the male line of the house of Austria was now extinct. This claim, however, it was evident could only be made valid in case the late emperor had not left a daughter; but, as he had done so, she must take precedence of all collateral female relations. The law advisers of the elector attempted to justify the claims of their sovereign, upon several grounds; but what, however, influenced the elector in his proceedings beyond everything else was the encouragement he received from France, who secretly promised him her aid in the dismemberment of the Austrian inheritance.[b]

Basing herself on the above-mentioned law, which had been accepted by all Austrian realms and states, sanctioned by the German Empire, and guaranteed by the European powers in special treaties bought at considerable sacrifice, Maria Theresa, as rightful heiress to her imperial father, immediately after his death took possession of all the Austrian lands with the title of queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The rich heritage consisted of the kingdom of Hungary and the lands united to it, namely Transylvania, the banat of Temesvár, Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia; the kingdom of Bohemia with the markgrafschaft of Moravia and all the Silesian duchies; the grand duchy of Upper and Lower Austria; the inner Austrian lands, namely the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the countship of Görz and Gradiska, and the lands on the coast; the Tyrol and the anterior Austrian provinces; the

Italian duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Piacenza; finally the Austrian Netherlands.

After Maria Theresa had been proclaimed sole ruler of all these lands, on the 28th of October, 1740, the usual succession ceremony followed in Vienna on November 22nd, accompanied by the same solemnities which had been usually observed at the succession of a male ruler, except that the queen was carried in a litter, whereas the former as a rule appeared on horseback or in a carriage. Her beauty, her youthful grace (she was then in her twenty-fourth year), and her fascinating affability drew all hearts to her, and from all the states and provinces whose ruler she now was there reached her, through deputations, one voice of love and devotion. Within the next four years Maria Theresa received the homage of the remaining states and provinces, according as the affairs of state permitted. On the 25th of June, 1741, the coronation in Hungary took place; on the 12th of May, 1743, that in Bohemia; on the 20th of April, 1744, the homage of the Austrian Netherlands was solemnised. On the 21st of November, 1740, the queen conferred upon her husband, the grand duke Francis Stephen of Tuscany, the electoral vote of Bohemia and appointed him co-ruler in all her states, thereby preparing for him the way to the imperial throne; she did not, however, thereby place a limit on her own plenitude of power, nor did she abrogate any of the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction.

THE ATTACK ON MARIA THERESA'S HERITAGE

The young princess, in spite of her great determination and strength, required a male protector; for on all sides covetous demands were raised against her, with menacing hints on the arbitrament of the sword. Her good right alone could give the queen courage to repel these unjust claims, and only courage could save her. The demands of Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, aimed at nothing less than the whole of the inheritance, although on his marriage with the daughter of the emperor Joseph I, the archduchess Maria Amalia, he had expressly renounced all claims. He based his claims on a will of Ferdinand I of the 1st of June, 1543, by which the latter, in the event of the extinction of all male heirs, reserved the succession for his daughters, and especially for the eldest. (Ferdinand's daughter, Anna, in 1546, married Albert V, duke of Bavaria, one of Charles Albert's forefathers.) His second claim he derived from his wife, and the third from the alleged former connection of Austria with Bavaria, which in fact had only existed with regard to the lands above the Enns and had been put an end to by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa whose Golden Bull of 1156 excluded female successors, excepting the daughter of the last possessor.

The Bavarian ambassador in Vienna, Count Törring-Seefeld, had the audacity immediately after Charles VI's burial to issue decrees calling upon all the heads of the court officers to report to him, and to demand obedience from them as the representative of his master, who was now the ruler of Austria. But his letters were returned to him unopened, and he was advised to leave Vienna within six hours, which he did all the more willingly as the opinion of the people, who were enthusiastic for their new ruler, began to express itself in menacing form against him.

France, believing that the moment had now come for carrying out her old plan, perseveringly fostered for the destruction of Austria, showed herself extremely active in encouraging the other powers to lay claim to Maria Theresa's inheritance, and spared neither eloquence nor promises. Assuming

the mien of a mediator or arbitrator, Louis XV of France hoped to divide the inheritance between Spain and Bavaria, out of which business he himself would not come empty-handed, as the marriages of his predecessors Louis XIII and XIV with Spanish and Habsburg princesses easily offered a pretext on this side. Influenced by France, King Philip V — as representative of the extinct Spanish-Austrian line from which he descended on the maternal side from Anna, Philip II's wife and Emperor Maximilian II's daughter — also raised a claim to the entire Austrian inheritance; for his ministry had planned to obtain the remaining Spanish-Austrian heritage in Italy, namely Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Piacenza, for the second infante (the eldest Charles was already king of the Two Sicilies).

Count Henry von Brühl, the all-powerful minister of Augustus III, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, seemed disposed at first to maintain his promise inviolate, and even brought about an alliance with Russia for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction. But as Maria Theresa's affairs became more and more troubled, Brühl also changed his policy, and the claims which Augustus' wife, Queen Maria Josepha, the emperor Joseph I's eldest daughter, had renounced at her marriage were suddenly brought to the fore; although Augustus had not only acknowledged the renunciation of his wife, but had also, for the sake of the Polish crown, which he had obtained by the assistance of the emperor Charles VI, given up all the claims of his wife, in the most formal and solemn manner, and without reservation. Finally Charles Emmanuel III of Sardinia also demanded the duchy of Milan, because he was descended from a daughter of King Philip II of Spain, the infanta Catherine, who had married Charles Emmanuel I, duke of Savoy, in 1585.

The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748 A.D.)

But the greatest danger was threatening from quite another side. After King Frederick William's death (March 31st, 1740) Frederick II — whose life, when he was yet crown prince, Austria's intercession had once saved from his infuriated father — ascended the throne of Prussia. Unexpectedly Frederick again took up the ancient claims of the house of Brandenburg to the Silesian principalities of Liegnitz, Wohlau, Brieg, and Jägerndorf, which his predecessors had expressly renounced in 1688 and 1694. Well aware that such an unjust claim must be supported by the force of arms and that he could only win his case by the sword, Frederick began at once to make military preparations. These armaments were effected with all possible precaution and secrecy, but were not hidden from the observant eye of the Austrian ambassador, Damrath, at Berlin. But trusting in the guarantee which Prussia had assumed, they would not for a long time believe in Vienna in the hostile intentions of the king, until all doubt was dispelled by the proposal which he made in Vienna, through his ambassador Gotter, and the invasion of the Prussian army into Silesia, which took place two days before Gotter's arrival in Vienna.

In his king's name Gotter promised a close alliance with Austria, Prussia, England, and Holland to ensure Maria Theresa in the possession of her inherited lands; further, the payment of 2,000,000 gulden, to facilitate and hasten the Austrian armaments, and the employment of the whole weight of his authority and army to help place the archduke Francis Stephen on the imperial throne of Germany. In return for this Frederick demanded lower Silesia, on account of the alleged rights of Brandenburg, and, in addition, the remainder of Silesia as compensation for the expense of his armaments.

The queen was advised on many sides to enter into this proposal and thus to assure herself the support of a brave and influential prince against the enemies of the Pragmatic Sanction, especially since Frederick subsequently declared himself satisfied with lower Silesia. But, however threatening the moment may have seemed, Maria Theresa considered her father's legacy too sacred to allow any of it to be torn away without a struggle. The substance of Maria Theresa's earnest and dignified reply was to the effect that the king of Prussia's invasion of Silesia with an armed force was not the way to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, but rather to destroy it. The king's friendship was valuable to her, and she had done nothing to lose it; his offer of help was already stipulated for in the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had assumed together with all Europe. The alliance with Russia, England, and Holland had already existed before the invasion of Silesia, and certainly it had never occurred to those powers to expect the queen to lose part of her states in order to fortify the alliance, which ought rather to contribute towards keeping these states undivided. War had never yet been undertaken in order to compel a power to accept proffered money; the sums which Frederick had already drawn from Silesia far exceeded the two millions, to the payment of which he offered to bind himself. The queen acknowledged with gratitude the good opinion the king had of her husband; but the choice of an emperor must take place freely and without compulsion, and nothing could hinder it more than these agitations caused in the midst of the empire. On no account would she begin her reign with the dividing up of her states; therefore she could not consent to the cession of all of Silesia or a part of it, and before a settlement could be arrived at, the army of the king must evacuate Silesia.

Frederick made the same declaration to the marquis of Botta that Gotter had to make in Vienna. The marquis entreated him to desist from this plan, and when Frederick would not hear of it, he concluded with the words, "I grant that your majesty's troops are fine; but the Austrians have seen the wolf [the Turks]." Gotter was ordered to leave Vienna within twenty-four hours, and war was declared.[d]

The First Silesian War (1740–1742 A.D.)

Austria was not ready for war, but preparations were hurriedly carried forward, and the following spring the army under Marshal Neipperg entered the field against the Prussian forces. The troops came in contact on the 10th of April, 1741, at Mollwitz, and a memorable and decisive battle was fought — a battle which was fraught with important consequences to Austria, and which served also to introduce into the arena of war the great captain who was to be known in future as Frederick the Great of Prussia. We shall have occasion to treat the incidents of this battle in detail in our history of Frederick the Great;[1] here we shall be concerned chiefly with the internal consequences to Austria of the war now under consideration and of the so-called Second Silesian War that followed it a little later. These two wars served as stepping stones by which Frederick II rose to power, and their history forms an integral part of the story of his life. In the course of that story we shall learn how the Prussian king succeeded, soon after the battle of Mollwitz, in effecting an alliance with France. We are told that there was consternation in Austria when the news of this alliance reached that capital. We must now learn how Maria Theresa rose to the occasion; we must witness the heroic but futile efforts by which she strove to resist the Prussian encroachments.[a]

[1] See volume XV.

[1741 A.D.]

Maria Theresa Calls the Hungarians to Arms

It had long been one of the fundamental principles of the domestic policy of the house of Austria not to put into the hands of the Hungarians weapons which they might sooner or later be induced to turn against the crown; a very real danger in view of their national tendency to tumult. The many insurrections which had taken place in the course of centuries might have stood for a warning example, the fierce and intemperate speeches heard at Pressburg only a few weeks before proved clearly that the old refractory temper was still alive and ready to break out in revolutionary movements on the slightest provocation. Many therefore shrank from the hazardous experiment of calling the Hungarians to arms *en masse;* one person only had no fear, and that was the queen.

On the morning of the 7th of September, 1741, Maria Theresa summoned the chief magnates of Hungary to a consultation in the imperial castle. She herself explained to them the perilous situation, lamenting her subjects' misfortunes, not her own. She told them that the defence of the crown, of the empire — nay, possibly of all the dominions of the house of Austria rested with the Hungarians alone. With incomparable eloquence she called upon them to take up arms. Carried away by the flood of the queen's emotion, they all declared unanimously that they would devote themselves, their sons, and their revenues to the service of Maria Theresa. It was determined to enrol an army of forty thousand Hungarians, and the necessary orders were issued to the *comitat* [administrative districts] that same day. They entreated the queen to go to Raab, and to trust herself and her son to the Hungarians without reserve.

Without refusing this offer, Maria Theresa postponed the acceptance of it till she should be constrained by necessity. For she realised how essential it was to oppose a bold front to danger and to buoy up the courage of others by her own. It was also necessary to give to the movement to which the leaders of the nation had so joyfully pledged themselves the impetus and scope by which alone a decisive result could be achieved. The whole of Hungary was to be called upon for the *insurrectio* (general levy of the militia) decreed by the laws of the land in the last extremity. The queen's German counsellors still raised a thousand objections to this course, but the queen set them all boldly aside; she felt in herself a spirit capable of electrifying and inspiring a whole people.

She did indeed act upon the happy inspiration of her own heart when she summoned the members of both tables[1] to meet her on the 11th of September. At eleven o'clock in the morning they streamed towards the royal castle, full of eager expectation. When they were assembled in the hall of audience Maria Theresa entered, robed in mourning garments and wearing the crown of St. Stephen. Her mien was grave and melancholy as she slowly and majestically passed through the ranks of the Hungarians, ascended the steps of the throne, and took her place there. In accordance with the legal procedure observed in laying royal propositions before the diet, the Hungarian chancellor, Count Louis Batthyányi, first addressed the members assembled. He described the unlawful attacks of foreign princes, their invasion of the queen's hereditary dominions, the danger of the capital, the menace to Hungary itself. He proclaimed Maria Theresa's intention of confiding her person, her house, and her crown, to the care of the Hungarians. He expressed the queen's confident hope that the members of the diet would without delay address their energies to setting up a strong barrier against the unjust attempts of greedy foes, in order that by such a deed the fame of the Hungarian nation should shine forth with its ancient lustre before the eyes of the world. When the chancellor had finished Maria Theresa herself spoke from the throne.

[1] The tables are the two divisions of the Hungarian diet, the magnates and the deputies.]

[1741 A.D.]

"The distress of our situation," she said in a voice full of feeling, "has moved us to lay before the loyal estates of our well-beloved kingdom of Hungary written information concerning the invasion of our hereditary dominions of Austria by the enemy, the danger which menaces Hungary itself, and the measures to be taken to meet it. The matter concerns the kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, the crown itself. Deserted by all, we rely wholly and solely upon the loyalty of the Hungarians and the valour for which they are famed of old. We entreat the estates, in this extremity of peril, to care zealously for our person, our children, the crown, and the empire. We ourselves will do all that in us lies to restore the former happy state of Hungary and its people and the glory of its name. In all things the loyal estates shall feel the effects of our favour."

Towards the end of this speech, and especially when she referred to her children, Maria Theresa, overcome by profound emotion, burst into tears. Weeping she held her kerchief to her eyes; but quickly regaining self-control she listened to the words in which the primas (primate) answered her in the name of the assembly. He assured the queen of the joyful support of the whole nation and of their firm determination to devote their lives and property to her cause. An indescribable emotion took possession of the Hungarians, whose pride was not a little flattered by the thought that Maria Theresa should take refuge with them. Compassion for the queen's grief and the charm of her presence filled all who were there with enthusiasm, and from many hundred throats the unanimous acclaim thundered through the hall — "*Vitam nostram et sanguinem consecramus*" (we dedicate our lives and our blood).

The whole proceeding strikingly illustrates the extraordinary ease with which the Hungarians can be excited to love or hate. For while some, their utterance choked by tears, exhausted themselves in outcries of devotion and homage to Maria Theresa, others broke out into loud maledictions upon her German counsellors. The members of the diet listened in joint session to the royal declaration, which set forth first of all the danger which menaced not the queen alone but Hungary itself from the seizure of Silesia by the king of Prussia and the advance of a Franco-Bavarian army upon Vienna. The bulk of the Austrian army being in Silesia, in the field against King Frederick, there was no adequate force to oppose the French and Bavarians. Therefore it was that Maria Theresa had recourse to the valorous spirit of which the Hungarian nation had for centuries given proof. That nation, Maria Theresa as their lawfully crowned sovereign was convinced, would reject by force of arms the claim upon Hungary set up by the elector of Bavaria, and would repel his threatened invasion of the realm. Therefore, in accordance with the law to that effect, she summoned them to the *insurrectio* in their own defence. Mindful of the nation's ancient fame, the diet should determine without delay the number of troops to be levied, and should take such other measures as were necessary to prevent an invasion of Hungary by the enemy. Till this had been done Maria Theresa would remain in Hungary and contribute to the fullest extent of her powers towards the desired end.

When the prothonotary, Pecsy, had finished reading the declaration, the primate, and after him the palatine, took up the word. They produced the

letters which the elector of Bavaria had addressed to them and in which he laid claim to the crown of Hungary. The judex curiæ, the personal (deputy) Grassalkovics, and the two Erdödys spoke to their countrymen, all supporting the queen's request in vehement terms. Not a single dissentient voice was raised, and the diet unanimously determined to appoint a deputation, which should forthwith propose the measures to be taken to save the country and the queen.

Another sitting was held in the afternoon of the 11th of September, and the answer of the diet to the royal declaration (which had been drawn up in the interval) was unanimously adopted. It expressed unqualified acquiescence, and flatly rejected any claim upon Hungary on the part of the elector of Bavaria. Unanimous, too, was the acceptance of the proposals submitted to the diet by the deputation on the 13th of September, by the mouth of its president, the palatine. It was decided to levy thirty thousand foot, to be divided into thirteen regiments. Every member of the nobility who was under the obligation of taking part in the *insurrectio* was either to take horse in person or to send a substitute. It was estimated that by this means 15,000 horsemen could be put in the field by Hungary alone, 14,000 by Croatia and Slavonia, and 6,000 by Transylvania. Counting the troops expected from the banat of Temesvár and from the Jazygian, Cumanian, and Haiduk districts, they could reckon upon 100,000 men.

With regard to the resolution of the diet of the 11th of September, the extraordinary expectations of success which had been indulged in were very imperfectly realised. In various quarters the plea was raised that the number originally fixed was too large. The infantry sank from 30,000 to 21,600, the number of regiments from 13 to 6. Tedious negotiations on the subject of the levy of troops ensued, not only with the diet but with the separate *comitats*, and frequently led to no result. To such an extent were they carried that up to the end of the year 1741 — that is, nearly three months later — only a few hundreds of the soldiers promised by the diet had been sent from Hungary to join the Austrians who were fighting the enemy. And (with the exception of the hussars) those who were finally got together left much to be desired in the way of efficiency, as the Hungarian troops who took the field before the resolution of the diet had done. The bodies of volunteers from the southern Slavonic provinces, in particular, were alike a terror to the neighbourhood they approached and a torment to their officers. Towards the inhabitants of the former they allowed themselves the most unbridled license, towards the latter they showed neither discipline nor subordination. Cruel to the defenceless country-folk even in Maria Theresa's own states, they were of small service in the open field, and the reports of the Austrian generals are full of complaints of the sort of reinforcements with which their commands had been supplemented. Only by degrees did exceptionally gifted leaders, like Trenck and Menzel, succeed in bringing some order into these undisciplined hordes, and thus making them more efficient; though Trenck himself was once put under arrest by Neipperg for insubordination and tried by court-martial.

If, in addition to this, we bear in mind that the levy of even small sums of money for the equipment of the forces was accompanied by far greater difficulties than the levy of the troops themselves, no one will venture to deny that the material result of the resolution which seemed so satisfactory must be confessed to be trifling. The more sagacious Austrian statesmen were by no means blind to the fact, nor can we say that from this time forward they looked to the future with less anxious eyes. Even Maria Theresa could not

steel herself for long against the recognition of the fact, and the subsequent transactions of the diet were of a character to fill her with the most melancholy anticipations for the time to come.[e]

The Peace of Breslau (1742 A.D.)

Early in 1742 the Bavarian elector was chosen emperor, under the title of Charles VII. On the very day of his election the Austrian troops, under Charles of Lorraine, suffered defeat at Chotusitz, near Czaslau, at the hands of Frederick; and nothing remained to Maria Theresa but to negotiate terms of peace. The resulting Peace of Breslau (ratified later at Berlin) gave to Prussia Upper Silesia and Lower Silesia and the principality of Glatz — "jewels from the crown" of Maria Theresa, to the loss of which she was never fully reconciled.[a]

THE GENERAL WAR CONTINUES

The Austrians had so long been accustomed to consider the imperial crown an appanage of the house of Austria, that they looked upon the election of Charles VII as a species of rebellion on the part of the German Empire, and turned with all the more energy to their warlike preparations. The sympathies of England had been greatly stirred on behalf of the heroic and hard-pressed Maria Theresa. Enormous sums were subscribed for her, the ladies of London alone contributing 1,500,000 gulden. But with a spirit truly royal Maria Theresa declared that she would accept no subsidies except from parliament. The movement in her favour was so strong that for the second time George II determined to defend the Pragmatic Sanction by force of arms. Parliament granted the distressed princess a subsidy of £300,000, and King George collected an army in the Netherlands and another in Germany to go to the succour of Maria Theresa. The states-general of Holland contributed money, and presently themselves took up arms. The Hungarians had kept their word. Two new imperial armies had taken the field; one was led into Bohemia by Maria Theresa's husband, and with the other General Bärenklau reconquered Upper Austria, invaded Bavaria, and occupied Munich, where only a few days before the elector had been solemnly chosen emperor. In Bavaria Trenck's pandours and other bodies of freebooters wrought frightful havoc.[f]

The next step was the expulsion of the French from Prague. Belle-Isle was closely shut up. A fresh French army under Harcourt approached to his relief and drove the Austrians out of Bavaria, but fell a prey to cold and famine. A third army under Maillebois penetrated as far as Bohemia, but retraced its steps, being forbidden by the miserable petticoat-government under Louis XV to hazard an engagement. Belle-Isle, driven desperate by famine, at length made a vigorous sally and fought his way through the Austrians, but almost all his men fell victims during the retreat to the severity of the winter. The Bavarians under Seckendorf and twenty thousand French under Broglio, who attempted to come to his relief, were defeated by Khevenhüller at Braunau.

Fortune declared still more decidedly during the campaign of 1743 in Maria Theresa's favour, George II, king of England (who, not long before, through fear of losing Hanover, had yielded to the counsels of France and Prussia and had voted in favour of Charles VII), actuated by a double jealousy, on account of England against France and on account of Hanover

against Prussia, bringing a pragmatic army levied in northern Germany to her aid. Notwithstanding his bad generalship, he was victorious at Dettingen not far from Aschaffenburg, over the French, who were still worse commanded by Noailles. In the ensuing year, Charles of Lorraine crossed the Rhine at the head of the whole Austrian army and laid waste Alsace and Lorraine.

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR

These successes were beheld with impatience by Frederick, who plainly foresaw the inevitable loss of Silesia, should fortune continue to favour Maria Theresa. In Austria, public opinion was decidedly opposed to the cession of that province. In order to obviate the danger with which he was threatened, he once more unexpectedly took up arms.[c]

Frederick exerted his genius for command to the full and successfully. The Prussians won the battles of Habelschwerdt and Hohenfriedberg, and then once more invaded Bohemia. They gained victories at Soor, Hennersdorf, and Kesselsdorf; but all these battles, the protests of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, and the victory of the French over the duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy did not suffice to keep the duke of Lorraine from being elected and crowned emperor of Germany. It was one of the happiest moments of Maria Theresa's life when she watched the coronation procession from a balcony in Frankfort and was the first to greet with plaudits the beloved husband whom her energy had raised to the imperial throne.

After the battle of Kesselsdorf the Austrian, Prussian, and Saxon ambassadors met at Dresden and peace was quickly concluded. The conditions were the same as those of the Peace of Breslau and Berlin. In a special document the king of Prussia expressed his concurrence in the election of Francis I to the imperial purple.

THE ALLIES IN ITALY

Both in Germany and Italy the war with France lasted for three years longer; but the most important engagements were fought at sea, where the English were generally victorious. But the issue was finally decided in the Netherlands, and a brief summary of the events of the Italian campaign will therefore be sufficient.

The pope and the republic of Venice remained unconcerned spectators of the struggle, though it was frequently waged on papal or Venetian soil; the grand duchy of Tuscany was declared neutral ground by both belligerents. The king of Sardinia seemed at first disposed to join Maria Theresa's enemies, but presently became apprehensive lest the victory of the French and Spaniards should give these two powers a supremacy dangerous to himself; and upon Maria Theresa's promise to give him certain Milanese districts and to resign her claims upon Finale (then held by the Genoese) in his favour, he came over to her side and was subsidised by the English. The cession of Finale, however, flung Genoa into the arms of the opposite party. The king of Naples, being a Spanish Bourbon, was also opposed to Maria Theresa.

The Italian campaign was opened by the Spaniards, who had sent Montemar, the victor of Bitonto, to Italy with an army; but its results were not worthy of his previous reputation. The king of Naples would willingly have joined the Spaniards, but an English fleet appeared off Naples and coerced him into neutrality by threatening to bombard the town. Montemar was recalled, and Gages, his successor, was defeated at Montesanto in Modena by Marshal Traun. Then Don Philip crossed the Alps, took Savoy, and pressed

forward into the heart of Piedmont. The Austro-Sardinian army tried in vain to relieve Coni; Prince Lobkowitz was defeated by Gages at Rimini; at Alessandria the Sardinians suffered serious losses at the hands of the French, and a great part of Piedmont, Milan, Parma, Piacenza, and Montferrat fell into the hands of the French and Spaniards.

The fortune of war changed when Austria made peace with Prussia and was thereby enabled to send reinforcements to the army in Italy. Maillebois was routed at Piacenza by Prince Wenzel Lichtenstein; Browne, master of the ordnance, repulsed the marquis of Castelar at Guastalla; Don Philip was defeated at Rottofrede by generals Botta and Bärenklau. The French and Spaniards were forced to evacuate the whole of Italy. Browne occupied the Bocchetta; the republic of Genoa paid the penalty of the support it had given to Maria Theresa's enemies. Beset by the English at sea and the imperials on land, it was forced to capitulate; all the artillery and munitions of war fell a prey to the imperials, four senators were given as hostages for the execution of the terms of surrender, and the doge and six senators went to Vienna to implore mercy of Maria Theresa.

After these brilliant successes, however, dissensions arose among the allies. The Austrians wished to attack Naples, which had allied itself with Spain, but this project was opposed by the king of Sardinia, who dreaded lest Austrian supremacy in Italy should be assured by victories in Neapolitan territory. The English propounded their favourite scheme of an invasion of the south of France; and after protracted negotiations this proposal was adopted. An attack was made upon Provence, but in this, as in the earlier instance during the war of the Spanish Succession, the attempt on the meridional provinces of France led to no good result.

The revolt of the Genoese contributed not a little to the unfavourable issue of the enterprise. Maria Theresa sent orders to General Browne, who was before Antibes, in Provence, with twenty-five thousand men, to return at once and recapture Genoa; but the united forces of Austria and Sardinia besieged the city in vain, and were forced to retire when the French and Spaniards advanced to its relief. Marshal Belle-Isle held Nice, Montauban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia. The most brilliant action of the Austrians during this campaign was the battle between Fenestrelle and Exilles, where, under General Colloredo, they successfully held their intrenchments against the French and Piedmontese. The sieur de Belle-Isle, one of the firebrands of the war, was left dead on the field. This was the last engagement of any importance in Italy, for Ferdinand VI, the new king of Spain, had not expressed his sentiments concerning the continuance of the war; his generals did not know how far he was prepared to sacrifice himself on behalf of his half-brother Don Philip, but they did know that he was averse to the French and that both his wife and his favourite, Farinelli, were favourably inclined towards Austria and England.

THE FRENCH IN GERMANY AND BELGIUM

In Germany and Belgium the issue of the campaign was, on the whole, favourable to the French. Louis XV joined the army; he was present at the taking of Freiburg in the Breisgau and when Marshal Saxe defeated the English at Fontenoy and conquered Flanders and Brabant. The French forces spread farther and farther over Belgium, Brussels fell into their hands, they took Mons and Namur, and Charles of Lorraine lost the battle of Rocoux in Liège to them. Count Löwendahl, a Swede in the French service, within a very short time took Sluys, Sas van Gent, and Hulst. These losses occasioned

a revolt in Holland, by which the existing government was overthrown, and Prince William of Orange was made stadholder. But the stadholder, general and admiral, was not able to hold the French in check, and (1747) the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had been thought impregnable, fell into Löwendahl's hands. In the same year the duke of Cumberland was defeated at Lawfeld by Marshal Saxe. Louis XV was present at the battle, but he was eager to be gone from the army; he longed for peace, as did the empress also. Negotiations were therefore set on foot that same winter, but before they could be concluded hostilities recommenced. "The peace is in Maestricht," said Marshal Saxe, and commenced the siege of that city. The empress Maria Theresa, for her part, had concluded an alliance with Russia; forty thousand Russians were on the march through Germany to the Netherlands, and Maestricht was reduced to the last extremity, when the preliminaries of peace were signed at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).

THE PEACE OF AACHEN; CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE WAR

Maria Theresa ceded some districts in Milan to Sardinia; Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla fell to the share of Don Philip, but with remainder to heirs male only, Austria retained the reversion of Parma and Sardinia, stipulating for that of Piacenza if Don Philip's male descendants should die out or if the crown of Naples should devolve on him or his heirs.

Such was the end of the war of the Austrian Succession. It had been begun by Maria Theresa's enemies in the hope of dividing the Austrian monarchy among themselves, but Maria Theresa had defended it successfully and their object had not been attained. The loss of Silesia was serious, but it bore no proportion whatever to the disasters which had menaced Maria Theresa at the beginning of the war. In these tempestuous times the Austrian monarchy had once more given proof of its power of resistance.*f*

With the exception of Austria, none of the states which took part in the war of the Austrian Succession had to lament loss of territory or subjects, while to some of them it brought important gains. Foremost among these was Prussia. By the acquisition of the greater part of Silesia and the countship of Glatz she obtained an accession so considerable that, in the place of one of the smallest of European kingdoms, there arose a mighty state whose decision henceforth frequently determined the turn of the scale.

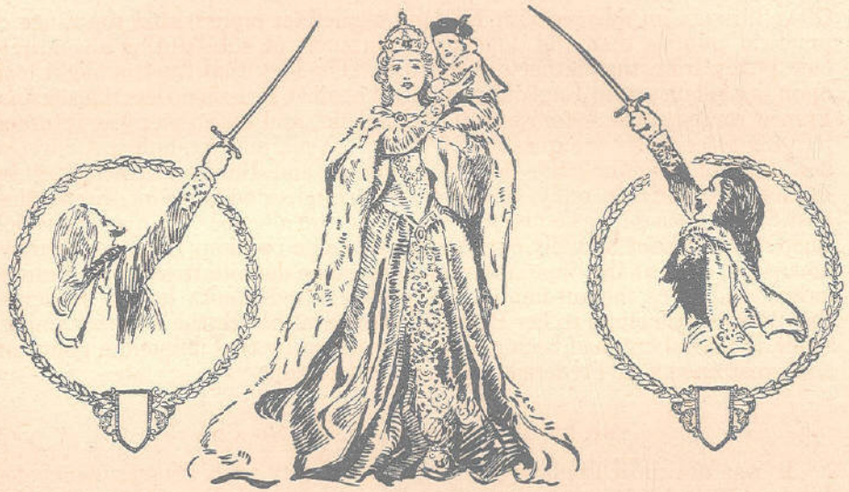
Next to Prussia, the kingdom of Sardinia gained the most important increase of territory, by the districts ceded to it under the Treaty of Worms. Spain was enabled to realise, in part at least, the idea for which she had taken up arms, the creation of a new Bourbon state in Italy; England did actually obtain the commercial advantages for the sake of which she had allowed herself to be dragged into a naval war. As for the rest, they withdrew from the struggle without any loss of territory, although in other respects the war had entailed many evil consequences upon them.

Austria alone emerged from the struggle with considerable loss. To Prussia she had forfeited the great part of Silesia and the countship of Glatz; to Sardinia, the whole region west of the Ticino; to the infante, Don Philip, Parma and Piacenza. Hence her power was impaired to what we must admit to be a very considerable extent, by loss of territory and subjects as well as of revenue; and yet, compared with the programme which the enemies of Austria had begun the war to accomplish, these losses appear almost insignificant.

The truth of this assertion will hardly be contested if we recall the far-reaching projects for the realisation of which a whole congeries of European

States waged war upon the daughter of Charles VI. The Austrian Netherlands and Luxemburg were destined for France. Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza were to fall to the lot of the infante of Spain; the Tyrol, the "Vorlande" (Austrian provinces in Swabia), the archduchy of Austria and Bohemia, to that of the elector of Bavaria. Saxony was to be extended by the addition of Moravia, Prussia by that of Silesia. Indeed, it is by no means certain that Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were not already, in imagination, annexed to Bavaria. Nothing was to be left to Maria Theresa except the Hungarian provinces, and it was held as a matter of course that the imperial crown had passed away from the house of Austria forever. In fact, there was no longer to be any house of Austria, and the word all too prematurely spoken by Cardinal Fleury, the aged director of French policy, "The house of Austria has already ceased to be," was to be fulfilled.

If we further take into consideration the advantage given to the enemies of Maria Theresa by the immense numerical superiority of the forces at their disposal for the furtherance of their schemes, we can understand that the wreck of these schemes was looked upon almost as a miracle. This consideration also helps to explain the attitude of Maria Theresa's allies. For while the empress could hardly bring herself to brook the loss of such considerable portions of her dominions as Silesia and the parts of Italy she had been compelled to cede, such losses did not seem to the maritime powers hard to endure, when compared with the ruin that had threatened Maria Theresa in the first two years of the war.



CHAPTER XI

THE LATER YEARS OF MARIA THERESA

[1748–1780 A.D.]

FEW periods in European history have been so variously judged as that which preceded the Seven Years' War. To the initial difficulty of finding a path through the chaos of diplomatic activity, the diverse attitudes of Prussian and Austrian historians have added the confusion of national prejudices. Certain it is that the new idea in Austrian policy developed slowly, and that the alliance with France, which was definitely concluded at Versailles in 1756 (May 11th), had been recommended as early as March, 1749, by Count von Kaunitz, the youngest member of the council summoned by the empress to consider Austria's policy. The Peace of Aachen had provided Austria with more than one occasion for displeasure with her traditional ally England, and the rapprochement between Austria and France began in earnest when Kaunitz became ambassador at Versailles (1751). He was recalled to Vienna to carry through the new policy upon which the empress was determined alike in home and in foreign affairs, and became chancellor in May, 1753. In 1754 England, preparing to go to war with France on the question of Acadia and the Ohio Valley, pressed Austria for a more effective maintenance of the Barrier (against France) in the Low Countries, and expected to find in her a willing ally. Kaunitz replied with a note demanding whether Austria might rely on English support in the event of an attack from Prussia.[a]

If Kaunitz were, as a matter of fact, already weighing the chances of an appeal to France in the event of England refusing the Austrian proposals, his project was not yet ripe; and at that time the idea of regaining Silesia and

[1754–1756 A.D.]

Glatz through an alliance with England seemed far more within the range of practical politics than the doubtful experiment of substituting an entirely new policy from that hitherto pursued.[b] The idea that Austria might look upon her alliance with England as directed against Prussia no less than against France roused much astonishment in England, and an answer was returned refusing to consider the question of Prussia at all, and reminding Austria of her duty of defending the Belgian provinces and Hanover if attacked by France. Kaunitz, in reply, openly told the English ambassador, Keith, that hostility to Prussia was a necessary factor in the alliance. To his note which suggested, without actually expressing, the same opinion, England returned no answer. Yet at this time Austria had made no definite treaty with France; indeed, as late as the autumn of this year (1755) Kaunitz had to recognise that France still clung to her Prussian alliance, although the Austrian ambassador, Starhemberg, had been graciously received by that influential politician and great enemy of Frederick, Madame Pompadour.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1756 A.D.)

It was not until England's Westminster Treaty with Prussia (concluded January 16th, 1756) was known, that France eagerly welcomed the Austrian advances. The treaty between the two countries was signed at Versailles in the May of 1756, and by the first of its two secret articles the empress-queen was guaranteed French help against an attack from Prussia.[a] The treaty has many points of resemblance with the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, in the sixteenth century, and with the intimate understanding between Maria de' Medici and the Spanish house of Austria in the seventeenth century.

People in a position to know the facts assert confidently that Louis XV intended to do the Catholic church a service by overpowering the king of Prussia; the feeling of their common Catholic faith contributed to remove the antipathy which had grown up between Versailles and the court of Vienna in the course of a struggle more than a century old. To aid this, the idea once more sprang up of a union between the Bourbons and the Austrian house. Princess Isabella of Parma, granddaughter of Louis XV and daughter of that marriage which had already exercised great political influence, had just reached her fifteenth year, and was now destined to become the wife of the archduke Joseph, the future emperor. The king, who was not wanting in fatherly tenderness for his daughter, was flattered at the notion of her becoming empress. The marchioness was encouraged and favoured this plan, thereby strengthening her position in the king's favour; she was the intermediary for both sides of these alliances, the religious and the dynastic. But thereby a way was cleared for a turn of events which filled the world with astonishment, and appeared to be of the utmost importance.

All the great events of the last historical epoch depended on the antagonism between Bourbon and Austria; the most important relations in Europe had sprung from it, the policy of both cardinals, of Louis XIV, the war of the Spanish Succession, and the establishment of the house of Bourbon in southern Europe; that this world-embracing antagonism should now be followed by an alliance between these two mighty houses was bound to alter all other existing relations.

The decision of April 19th, 1756, in which the French government recognised and accepted in principle the pending negotiations, still enveloped in deep mystery, must be reckoned one of the great turning points of modern history. In the two treaties which were now concluded and are known in

history as the Alliance of Versailles, there is still no complete agreement between the two persons; nevertheless their contents have great significance, and we have the less right to abstain from discussing them since we have before us an authentic discussion from the Austrian chancery of state concerning them. They were concluded on May 1st, not actually in Versailles, whence they are dated, but in Jouy, the neighbouring villa of the minister Rouillé, with whom the other two plenipotentiaries, Starhemberg and Bernis, were quartered, for the negotiations still bore the character of a private discussion.

The first treaty was a convention of neutrality, the second a defensive alliance. In the first, the court of Vienna promises to take no share, direct or indirect, in the struggle between France and England, which further means that the imperial power was not to be employed for the advantage of the king of England as elector of Hanover; otherwise the German Empire would have been excepted from the operations of the treaty. In return, the king of France agreed not to attack the empress-queen either in the Netherlands or in any other of her dominions — an imitation of the Treaty of Westminster, and, at the same time, its direct contradiction; for whilst that shielded Germany from the attacks of France, this left it open to them. Every word was weighed with the utmost care. When the king declared therein that he would involve no other government in his war with England, it was by the request of Vienna, so that it should not appear as if Austria desired to rid herself of other obligations.

So also in the second treaty, a deed of union and friendship for mutual defence, it was expressly stated that this had no offensive purpose against any power whatever; and a very moderate number of troops was named to be furnished on either side for this purpose — only twenty-four thousand men. Austria further expressly stipulated that she should not be expected on her side to furnish this help in the present war, because that would not be in accordance with her obligations of neutrality. But France was not only without such an exception to her responsibilities — they were so all-embracing that they even held good in the event of attack by the Turks. The French statesmen had long striven against this, but Count Starhemberg insisted on his point and knew how to carry it.

So far the treaty was divulged to the public. Understood literally, it could give no offence. Far less innocent is the tenor of the secret articles which were added to the defensive treaty. The true purpose of the alliance did not appear even here, but nevertheless some of the stipulations involved point to it.

Austria had demanded an especial guarantee, in case she should be attacked by Prussia during the war between the two western states. The French ministers did not see fit to specify the king by name, but were ready for a clause in which he was included. According to the reciprocal nature of the arrangement, however, it could not be constructed without tending also to the further advantage of France. In consideration of this, an article was added in which Austria finally promised that if, in consequence of the present war, France should be assailed by another power, Austria would aid her, and France undertook the same if Austria should be assailed in a similar way. The expressions are general, but the meaning is especially to insure for Austria the help of France in case of attack from Prussia.

In the second article, it is noticeable that among the powers which were to be invited to join this agreement only the Bourbons in Spain and Italy and the emperor, as archduke of Tuscany, are named. The Austrians would

have wished that the empress of Russia, their closest ally in this affair, should be included, but on the French side it was argued that then the allies of France, that is, Sweden, Denmark, and even the king of Prussia, would have to be named. This was the reason why only the very nearest blood relations on both sides were mentioned by name; and when it was further agreed that wider invitations should be extended only after mutual agreement, one to the Russian empress was at once decided upon. Another clause of the articles had reference to the privileges reserved in the cession of Parma.

We are aware of the reluctance with which Maria Theresa accepted the confirmation by the Treaty of Aachen of her territorial concessions, particularly the renewed guarantee of the surrender of Silesia; she must therefore have felt all the greater satisfaction at the third secret article of this treaty, in which the prospect was held out of a revision of the Treaty of Aachen in respect to the question of territory. She hoped by French aid to free herself from the onerous conditions imposed upon her by England. In a fourth secret article the two parties promised not only to undertake no new responsibilities towards other powers, but also not to renew old understandings, without first consulting with each other and coming to an agreement thereon. The court of Vienna had proposed a similar arrangement, in order to do away with the suspicion that its alliance with England had not yet been completely severed; but an even more important reason was that by this means all apprehension lest the understanding between Prussia and France should be renewed on any fresh basis was removed.

In the communication to the Russian court in which these articles were elucidated, there was even expressed the hope that the king of Prussia might be led by this treaty to take steps which would finally embroil him with the crown of France. As before shown, even here the final aims of the alliance were not expressed; even this understanding was only to be the precursor of one still more comprehensive.

The treaty was laid before a conference of the privy council in Vienna by Kaunitz. The emperor and the empress as well as the council of ministers took part in it. Kaunitz remarked that he did not expect the court of France to accept it so readily; there was now good ground for hoping that the secret convention would be brought about before long. Already France was compelled by the existing agreement to stand by Austria, which need not on that account be thrown into dependence upon her, as had admittedly been the case with Spain, though for all that France must be the first consideration in imperial policy. There was also no ground for objecting to the fact that mention was made in this treaty of the French guarantee of the Peace of Westphalia, for as far as the German Empire was concerned this guarantee was far more necessary for the Catholics than for the Protestants. Kaunitz pointed out as the greatest advantage to Austria that the aid of France against the Porte had been secured.

If we recollect that at the first council after the Treaty of Aachen it was agreed on all sides that Austria had three dangerous enemies — Prussia, the Porte, and France — it will now be seen that by this defensive alliance with France Austria had neutralised all three. What had, at that time, appeared desirable, but scarcely to be hoped for, had now, at the right moment, been accomplished by the chancellor. There were some among the Austrian statesmen who inclined to the contrary views as long as there seemed any chance of upholding the old alliance; but now they gave way before the accomplished fact, and there was not one dissentient voice. The empress expressed herself to the effect that she had never in the course of her reign signed any

convention with so much pleasure; she was congratulated on the conclusion of a transaction which would redound to the welfare of her country and also of her faith. Ratifications were exchanged on the 28th of May, and the two conventions were then communicated to all courts where there were French and Austrian ambassadors, the two ambassadors, in most cases, acting simultaneously.

The Alliance of Versailles gave to France this advantage: that all opposition from the Netherlands and from Spain, from Italy and Russia was ended by it, and the far-reaching influence of the Catholic church was bound up with her political interest. The concessions granted to the house of Austria were the price of the dissolution of her old bond of alliance with England. Whilst seeking to hold fast all the threads of the old alliance and to interweave them with the new understanding, Austria was forced, by the reaction of the later agreement, out of the existing system into dependency on the new ally, in whom confidence could hardly yet be placed with certainty. But, on the other hand, France lost by the Treaty of Versailles the federal position for which she had formerly striven — a change which was to lead to the gravest results.

MARIA THERESA

What was asserted in reference to Germany was not less true in regard to the north and the east. There the opposition against Russia, in which France was united with Prussia and Sweden, had to be given up; the relations to Poland, so long at least as Austria and Russia were united, were completely deranged; it might well be declared that, without this alliance, France could not have assented to the passive part she played during the first partition of Poland. And whereas, since the time of King Francis I, it had been a leading feature of French policy to support the Turks against Austria, this was now quite at an end. France did not actually connect herself with the principal tendency which bound the two imperial courts, but she connived at it, and allowed for it.

The political relations of the powers were in this way completely changed. The balance of European power had to seek another basis. Although in itself this bond between France and Austria was not against the natural order of things, seeing that it held, to the great advantage of Austria, more than a generation, still with regard to universal relations there lay in it even for Austria a new departure of the most questionable kind. It had been found necessary for a long time to form defensive alliances against the greed of new conquests which France was always manifesting. Even the transactions of that time showed that these were by no means given up; Austria decided not only to let them run their course, but even to support them. And how was this to be accomplished if France were once more to be actuated by this greed against Austria herself? The outbreak of the revolutionary wars begins with a popular reaction against the Treaty of Versailles, and coincides with its abrogation. But the powers of reaction were then divided among themselves. From this point of view, the Treaty of Versailles appeared pregnant with consequences for Europe.[c]

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–1761 A.D.)

The rupture of peace between Austria and Prussia towards which events had been trending, came about in 1756. The war that ensued was the famous Seven Years' War, through which Frederick II of Prussia won a place among the great captains of all time. The details of this war will of course be given in the history of Frederick (in Vol. XV); it will suffice here to give the barest synopsis of events, after which we shall deal more at length with the consequences to Austria of the great conflict.[a]

The Campaign of 1756

The war commenced with the sudden invasion of Saxony by Frederick. The Saxon army, too weak for resistance, withdrew to the fortified camp at Pirna in September. The king decided to starve out the Saxons. General Browne of the imperial army advanced to their relief. The king met him with thirty thousand men, and a battle was fought at Lobositz on the Saxon frontier (October 1st). Frederick asserted his position, and therefore won the battle. He could not follow up the Austrians, as he required his troops to subdue the Saxon camp. Browne made yet another attempt to support a sortie of the Saxons; but this also failed, and the Saxons, seventeen thousand strong, had to surrender (October 14th). Thus ended the first campaign. The Prussians took up winter quarters in Saxony.

In the winter the king made preparations for the next campaign. He dealt with Saxony as conquered land; he placed the common soldiers taken at Pirna in the Prussian regiments: this was small gain, for they deserted wholesale. His strongest ally was the king of England; he raised a considerable army in Hanover, and the duke of Cumberland was to be at its head.

Austria extended its alliance with France. Louis XV promised to place 100,000 men in the field, to take 10,000 Bavarians and Würtembergers into his pay and place them at the disposal of Austria, to contribute 2,000,000 gulden as subsidy to the war, and finally not to lay down arms before the conquest of Silesia and Glatz. Sweden promised to place 20,000 men in the field. The German Empire declared the invasion of Saxony to be a breach of the imperial peace, and declared war with Prussia. Of these allies, the Würtembergers were reluctant, for they thought it wrong to fight against the Protestant king for the Catholic empress; they thought the entire war was directed against Protestantism. They felt that the imperial army was incomplete and badly put together, as many imperial princes preferred to hire out their troops to the English than to place them at the disposal of the empress at their own cost. The Russians furnished 60,000 and the Austrians 150,000 men. These masses were to fight in the next campaign.

The Campaign of 1757

King Frederick came before the enemy. He advanced from Silesia and Saxony with four army corps, and on the appointed day the main forces took their stand not far from Prague (May 4th). To save Prague, Prince Charles of Lorraine had to give battle. He lost it, and with 50,000 men fell back on Prague, which the king immediately besieged. General Daun, who

with 29,000 men was only at the distance of a day's march from Prague, took up the defeated right wing of the main army, 14,000 strong, and retired to Moravia. Reinforcements advanced from all sides, whilst Prague was hard pressed by the king. Five hundred houses had already been destroyed in the bombardment, horse flesh was consumed, tin money was coined, the powder ran out. To save the town a battle had to be fought. With 50,000 men, Daun advanced to Kolin. He had thought of everything and even made previous arrangements for retreat, whence the erroneous tradition has arisen that he gave up the battle as lost and wished to withdraw.

The king had advanced to meet and attack him with 34,000 combatants (June 18th). For the first time Frederick was beaten; he lost 13,000 men, 45 cannon, and 22 banners. The imperial losses amounted to 8,000 men. Daun himself had two horses shot under him, received two wounds, but did not desert the battle-field.

The king immediately raised the siege of Prague and retired to Dresden. Luck seemed to have deserted him. The duke of Cumberland — who with an army consisting of troops from Hanover, Brandenburg, Hesse, Gotha, Lippe, Bükeburg, and a small Prussian force, was to cover north Germany — was beaten at Hastenbeck by Marshal d'Estrées (July 26th), and had to sign a convention at Closter-Seven in accordance with which the auxiliaries were dismissed to their homes, but the Hanoverians removed to the other side of the Elbe. Hereupon, the French occupied Hanover and threatened Magdeburg. The Swedes had invaded Prussian Pomerania. The Russians had conquered Memel, and beaten General Lehwald at Jägerndorf. The imperial general, Hadik, had successfully led an expedition to Berlin, and exacted 350,000 reichsthalers in war taxes and 25,000 thalers for the troops from the town.

The king rose up, marched against the French, and defeated them at Rossbach (November 5th). Then he turned to Silesia, which had been invaded by the Austrians under Prince Charles and Daun. Nadasti conquered Schweidnitz (November 11th). The prince of Bavaria, who was against the Austrians, was beaten and taken, and Breslau surrendered to the imperials (November 24th).

The king restored his fortunes by the battle of Leuthen. The Austrians, about 66,000 strong, were totally defeated (December 5th). They lost 20,000 men and 66 cannon. The result of this victory for the Prussians was the conquest of Liegnitz and of Breslau. Two other circumstances were favourable to the king. The king of England did not ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven: he recalled the duke of Cumberland, who was replaced by the able Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Russians suddenly withdrew, for the empress was very ill; General Apraxin was awaiting her end, and as her successor was in favour of the king of Prussia, Apraxin hoped to win approbation by withdrawal. The empress Elizabeth recovered, and Apraxin was cashiered, but the king was exempted by the Russians from blame in this campaign.

The Campaign of 1758

The fight between the French and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick led to no important results. The Russians had conquered Königsberg and almost all Prussia, and besieged Küstrin. The king defeated them at Zorndorf; they lost 20,000 men, and retired to the Polish frontier (August 25th).

The king had opened the campaign against the Austrians by the invasion of Moravia. He invested Olmütz. The maintenance of the Prussian army

by Moravia itself, which the king had intended, was impossible; as the imperials easily cut off all communications, provisions had to be brought from Silesia. The king sent for a large convoy of 4,000 wagons from Silesia; 10,000 men formed the escort, but Daun, receiving intelligence of this, sent generals Laudon and Ziskovitz to break it up. They completely succeeded. The convoy was attacked in the pass of Domstadl (July 30th); all wagons were seized. The Prussians lost 3,000 men. The king now raised the siege of Olmütz. The town had bravely defended itself for six weeks. As already stated, the king beat the Russians at Zorndorf and returned to Silesia.

The king encamped at Hochkirchen with 40,000 men. It was an unfavourable position. Before day-break Daun surprised him (October 14th). The Prussians resisted heroically, but succumbed to the well-ordered attack of the Austrians. They lost 10,000 men, 100 guns, 70 ammunition wagons, and 28 banners. Among the dead were the king's brother-in-law, Prince Francis of Brunswick, and Field-marshal Keith. The Austrian loss amounted to 7,000 men. The victory did not lead to the results which it might have had, for Daun did not attack the king again in the day-time. This was the greatest feat of arms in this campaign.

The Campaign of 1759

The French successfully opened the campaign. They repulsed the attack of Prince Ferdinand on Bergen near Frankfort, occupied the see of Münster, and conquered Hesse; but on the same day were beaten at Minden by Prince Ferdinand (August 1st), and at Gohfeld by the hereditary prince Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick, and thus all advantages were lost.

The Russians advanced in the field with 70,000 men. When General Wedel was beaten by them at Züllichau (July 23rd), they marched to Frankfort on the Oder, where they were joined by the imperial general, Laudon, with 18,000 men. Meanwhile the king had arrived. He fought the Russians near Kunersdorf (August 12th). He had thrown the right wing of the Russians into confusion, had already taken over 100 cannon, had already written to the queen, "Before two hours elapse, we shall have gained a complete victory." Meanwhile Laudon had advanced; the Prussians could not break through his ranks, the Russians rallied; the Prussians were defeated: it was their greatest defeat throughout the whole war; 20,000 men and all the artillery were lost. If the Russians, as Laudon advised, had followed the king, Prussia would have been lost; but Soltikov replied, "I have received no order to destroy the king of Prussia."

Soltikov had the same motive in this as had Apraxin when he suddenly withdrew from the first campaign — namely, the failing health of the empress and the preference of her heir for the king of Prussia.

The Austrian and imperial armies took Dresden, after a siege of twenty-seven days. As the king drew near, Daun dealt a vigorous blow. General Finck was at Maxen with 15,000 men. Daun unexpectedly burst upon him, surrounded him, and Finck was obliged to surrender with the whole force (November 21st).

The Campaign of 1760

In this campaign the Austrians were the aggressors. Laudon, who now commanded an independent force of 36,000 men, fell upon General Fouqué at Landshut, stormed the fortified camp, and took Fouqué and two other generals prisoners (June 23rd). The Prussians lost 8,000 men, 67 cannon, 38

ammunition wagons. Laudon just as eagerly attacked the fortress of Glatz (July) and took it by storm. A combined attack on the king by Daun, Laudon, and Soltikov was now to take place, but the king frustrated this by suddenly attacking Laudon and defeating him at Liegnitz. The imperials lost 10,000 men, 80 cannon, 23 banners.

In this campaign, the capital of Prussia was invested by the Austrians under Lacy and the Russians under Chernichev. When the king hastened to deliver Berlin, they drew back. A decisive battle was fought at Torgau in Saxony (November 3rd). At first the advantage was with the Austrians, but when in the evening Daun left the field wounded, the Prussians triumphed. The Austrians withdrew to Dresden. They had lost 20,000 men, and the Prussians 13,000. The king himself was slightly wounded.

The Last Campaign (1761–1762)

This campaign was less rich in deeds than the preceding. On the 1st of October Laudon surprised the stronghold of Schweidnitz and took it by storm; this was the only great feat of the Austrians in the campaign. The king of Prussia was so exhausted that he could no longer take the aggressive, but had to limit himself to the defensive. He would certainly have been defeated, except for the death of Elizabeth, the empress of Russia (5th of January, 1762). Her successor, Peter III, was an active admirer of Frederick's. He immediately concluded peace with him, returned all conquests, and allowed Chernichev to join the Prussian army with 20,000 men. The Austrians now felt how mistaken they had acted in dismissing 20,000 worthy soldiers, and among them 500 officers, in the expectancy that the king would suffer defeat through want of means and men.

Suddenly affairs took an unexpected turn. Peter III was overthrown by his wife Catherine, and the new empress recalled her troops. The king attempted to call them out. The Austrians, who were as yet unaware of the order received by Chernichev, had to oppose the Russian troops, and thus the king succeeded in displacing the Austrians from their entrenchments at Burkersdorf. Thereupon, he besieged Schweidnitz and conquered it after sixty-nine days. This was the last exploit of the war. At Fontainebleau peace was concluded between France, England, Spain, and Portugal.[d]

THE RESULT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

France renounced her intention of standing in the way of Anglo-American development beyond the ocean; and although England undoubtedly gained the maritime ascendancy in North America, she nevertheless refrained from accomplishing what she could certainly have achieved at that time — the simultaneous ruin of the French and the Spanish colonial power. Austria also relinquished her purpose of freeing her ancient authority in Germany from the restrictions which Prussian power had imposed upon it. She decided to grant to the king of Prussia that security the imperilment of which had caused him to take up arms. Although there might have been moments in which Frederick thought he could dictate laws to the Austrian power or overthrow it, he nevertheless seems never to have adopted such a plan, which certainly could not have been realised. During the years of the war Austria had developed its own fighting forces and remained intact. The provinces of the monarchy were still more closely united by the dangers and the strain of the war.

It is a notable fact that the independence of North America from France and the undiminished existence of the Prussian state were not only achieved at the same time but stood in very close relations to each other. The former opened out an immense future; the eyes of contemporaries were directed mainly to the latter. It was a success of eminent historical significance. All life must prove itself in strife and struggle. The Prussian state, based on ancient foundations which corresponded to those of the other states, although they were not exactly similar, had obtained a position of actual independence which represented a characteristic principle. But it had been attacked by overwhelmingly powerful opponents, and threatened with an amputation which would have destroyed it. For its power was its existence. This immense danger was now victoriously overcome by Frederick; the possession of that province by the acquisition of which the rank of a European power had been attained could now be considered to be maintained in perpetuity.

Such was the general state of affairs; but there were still questions of detail of a certain importance which awaited a decision. One of these concerned the Westphalian-Rhenish provinces of the house of Brandenburg, which had so often been the subject of general differences. In consequence of former transactions the intention of France was to concede them temporarily to the emperor, in his capacity as head of the empire. The Austrians only lacked troops which they could employ for seizing these provinces. To provide for all cases Starhemberg took care that in the preliminary articles which concerned the evacuation of the provinces, the restrictive clause "as soon as possible" should be admitted. The English consented to this eventual delay, but at the same time they intended to bring about a definite pacification between Prussia and Austria. The point in dispute, which might otherwise have caused new difficulties and complications, was finally settled by an independent declaration of the two leading powers. In order to protect these provinces and also the Austrian Netherlands against attack, the plan had been entertained of declaring them neutral territory. But in a conference of the 15th of January, 1763, the powers flatly ordained that the provinces were to be given back to Prussia.

Maria Theresa showed some displeasure at this, for it seemed as if an effort were being made to conclude the peace over her head, but she raised no serious objections, for she herself was determined to have peace. Her chief motive for this lay in her relations with the Ottomans. Although they had not entered into the proposals of the king of Prussia, they brought to mind that the Peace of Belgrade would shortly expire, and seemed ready to renew the war. The uncertainty of peace with the Turks made peace with Prussia doubly necessary.

France had already given her consent to direct negotiations between Austria and Prussia. The Viennese court, nevertheless, had some misgivings in opening them, as the king was not to be strengthened in the opinion that peace was indispensable to Austria; it was first desirable to find out whether he was disposed for it. Just at the right time an old Saxon councillor to the legation, of the name of Saul, well known from a former mission, arrived at Vienna; he came from Paris and was going to Warsaw. In conferences with him and the Saxon ambassador Flemming, Kaunitz requested the Saxons to ascertain whether the king of Prussia was in favour of peace. Kaunitz made use of the mediation of the Saxons in preference to any other, as they could not then put forward special demands on their own part, and also because their position made the speedy conclusion of peace an absolute necessity for them.

The king of Poland, Augustus III, who was still in Warsaw, consented to the proposal, and by the intervention of the crown prince the councillor Fritsch, a high Saxon official for whom Frederick had a certain esteem, was delegated to him. The king was then at Meissen; after a short interview he declared that he was ready to offer his hand to all that could lead to a lasting and fair peace. But he demanded that the Viennese court should make a declaration as to his claims.

The first overture on both sides gave little hope for an understanding. Maria Theresa demanded the cession of Glatz and the indemnification of Saxony. The king declared that, if he did not receive back all his states, there could be no peace, nor would he contribute a penny or a village towards the indemnification of Saxony. But these differences of opinion did not put an end to the conferences, which now almost by chance were transferred to Hubertusburg. We learn that the Austrian plenipotentiary Collenbach had some misgiving at seeking peace at the headquarters of the king, and while on the road to Leipsic, where these were, revealed his scruples to the Saxon ambassador, and caused the negotiations to be transferred to that hunting-seat. In Leipsic he would have to negotiate with Finckenstein; at Hubertusburg the king sent to him one of the ministry, the privy councillor of legation Hertzberg, who first gained some renown by this mission. In Hubertusburg there was again some talk of the cession of Glatz; Hertzberg urged, as Daun himself allowed, that in the hands of Austria it had some importance for the offensive, while for Prussia it had only a defensive value. The Austrians demanded the demolition of the fortress, but this was opposed by the same argument. On the 2nd of February, 1763, the court of Vienna consented to the restoration of Glatz.

The Austrians, with a view to the approaching settlement of the Franconian markgrafschafts, proposed the establishment of a Brandenburg secundogeniture, but this was quite contrary to the dynastical ideas of Frederick. He replied that this concerned his house exclusively and could not be made the subject of a treaty. On the other hand he interposed no objections to Austria's requests with regard to Modena; and as to the main point, the raising of the archduke Joseph to the Roman kingship, he had no further objections. The negotiations also concerned the demanded indemnification of Saxony. But the Saxon statesmen did not formulate their demands clearly and precisely; and it was observed that they were not on good terms with the Austrians. The crown prince let the matter drop.

The other states and estates of the German Empire which had held to the court of Vienna also longed for settlement. In his repeated invasions of the autonomous states of the empire, Frederick declared that his proceedings only concerned those whose contingents were still amongst the troops of the empress and that they would cease as soon as they withdrew their troops. The estates of the realm now found protection neither with France in consequence of the preliminaries, nor with Austria; and the emperor and empress released the estates from the promise given by them in 1757. After some individual treaties had been made, then followed the neutral declaration at the diet of Ratisbon on the 11th of February.

After manifold disputes, which however never compromised the main point, it finally came to the act of signing the articles agreed upon, which were no longer to constitute the preliminaries, as was the intention in the beginning, but a definitive treaty. Collenbach was again seized with anxiety, which arose as much from his subordinate position as from his personal characteristics; he went from the Prussian plenipotentiary to the Saxon, from one to the other; he even asked his secretary what he would do in his place; at last he signed.

In Vienna itself no doubt prevailed. In consequence of the decision of the Anglo-French conference, Maria Theresa was still more decided to urge on the peace. Deserted by Russia, threatened by the Turks, in the face of the impending superiority of Frederick, which might assert itself at any moment, she had no alternative. She had prepared for war, caused its outbreak, and with almost passionate energy directed the military operations and the negotiations. It was from her that the system of alliances proceeded, from which it was expected with certainty that Silesia would be reconquered. She had rejected all proposals of settlement and of peace, but her two great allies had been compelled by their own positions to conclude peace independently. The most important moment of her political life, considered as a whole, was that in which she had to consent and agree to the peace.

The events on both sides are at the same time personal and the greatest affairs of state: in Maria Theresa are represented the politics of Austria, which dominated Germany and occasionally the world; in Frederick II the independence and power of the Prussian state, to the acquisition of which he was the chief contributor.

To sum up, the peace amounted to this: the empress restored the Peace of Breslau, which in taking up arms it had been her purpose to destroy; she evacuated the provinces which at the outbreak of the war had belonged to Prussia; and the king in return withdrew his troops from Saxony.[e]

JOSEPH II AS CO-REGENT

Joseph, the eldest son, and the fourth child, of Maria Theresa, born March 13th, 1741, married in October, 1760, Isabella of Parma; to Joseph's great grief she died shortly after the birth of her second daughter (November, 1763), and he made, for state reasons, a second, and unfortunate marriage with Josepha, daughter of the emperor Charles VII (January, 1765). In the interval between the two events he was elected king of the Romans (March 27th, 1764), and crowned in Frankfort (April 3rd). His father, the emperor Francis I, died in August of the next year, a husband to whom Maria Theresa was deeply attached (her first words to her rival, Countess Auersperg, after his death were, "How much have both of us lost!"), a passionate huntsman and gambler, not without some qualities as a collector and a financier; a man whose extreme good nature did not always save him from the discomforts of his position — as husband of Maria Theresa — as he showed especially in his jealousy of the all-powerful and trusted Kaunitz.[a]

These family affairs, as is the case in all monarchical states, had a many-sided effect on the public life of the country; but the most important and most telling event was the co-regency of Joseph. Immediately after his father's death he styled himself German emperor, and assumed the government of the German Empire, so far as there was any government at all. Maria Theresa transferred to him all personal dignities and privileges to which, as the heir and male head of the dynasty, he could be entitled. On December 8th, 1765, only a few months after the death of her husband, she named him co-regent of Austria, without, as she expressed herself, relinquishing any portion of the rule which she possessed "over the perpetually inseparable Austrian states." She left him the arrangement of the imperial household, the direction of the military and finance departments; but she remained the reigning sovereign, and prescribed from time to time wider or

narrower limits to his activity as co-regent according to her own judgment and the advice of her ministers. A relation of this kind can subsist only when one or the other of the two parties possesses a wholly passive, acquiescent disposition; and this was the case neither with Maria Theresa nor her son. Conflicts between them were, therefore, unavoidable; all the more so since their views on religious and political matters differed widely.

First of all, the emperor broke through the bounds of the old stiff court ceremonial. He struck out of the court calendar all the gala days, the pilgrimages and processions, the Eastertide custom of washing the feet of the poor, and all ceremonious audiences. He dismissed the pages and the Swiss guards employed since 1745. He united his court household with that of the empress, and he did away with the old Spanish court dress. It is said that, the first time Joseph appeared at court in his military uniform, he remarked to those standing near him, "What will my lord steward say to this?" He drew tighter the strings of the "court purse," setting a limit to the distribution of gifts and pensions. He struck the item of hunting expenses out of his household budget. It was at his suggestion that in 1766 the Prater in Vienna, which up to that time had been reserved as a hunting ground for the court, was thrown open for the free use of the entire public; likewise the Augarten in 1765.

A new spirit was also noticeable in political and social life. Joseph's ideas of monarchical rule were quite different from his mother's. Maria Theresa, notwithstanding all reforms, represented the old Austrian governmental system with its provincial and feudal tendencies. Joseph longed to sweep away completely the remains of the Middle Ages which still lay like a rubbish heap on Austria. Maria Theresa dispensed favours to an extravagant degree; Joseph sought to accord honour only to merit. Maria Theresa set a great value upon ancient families and inherited privileges; Joseph estimated the value of a man by his work. Maria Theresa disliked to disturb the existing order of things; Joseph wanted to see the forces of the state refreshed and infused with new vigour.

The courtiers who dreaded his innovations accused him of violence, harshness, and rapid changes in his reforms; but those of his letters and opinions about his period in our possession prove how deeply the young emperor had thought on matters of state and government. He did not regard the state as a patrimony, but as *Rechtsstaat* — that is, a state where all administration is based on law. His whole being was penetrated by a consciousness of his responsibilities and by thoughts making for the good and the honour of Austria. The private fortune, amounting to about 8,000,000 florins, which he inherited from his father, over which he had a little disagreement with his brother Leopold, he surrendered to the state for the reduction of the public debt. In 1768 he wrote to his brother: "Love of the fatherland, the good of the monarchy, this is the only passion which I feel — it guides my every action. I am so penetrated by it that my soul is at peace only when I am convinced of the usefulness of our course of action. Nothing appears too trivial to me, everything interests me." His youthful spirit demanded work and activity, but he was early compelled to recognise the force that habit and inertia lend to existing institutions. His co-regency resolved itself into a consulting rather than an active office; so that he was often compelled to give his sanction to what he disapproved. He found himself often in contention even with Kaunitz, and as a rule the empress sided with the latter. In the first years Joseph was completely under his mother's rule; he carried submission to a degree of self-obliteration and personal humiliation; but as

time went on he could not bring himself to continue playing the part his father had played. As early as 1769 he desired that his signature might have an independent significance, and in 1773 and 1775 he openly requested to be permitted to withdraw from participation in the government.

As his mother was against both alternatives, he went more and more his own way; he expressed his real opinions with more decision in the council chamber, but was always inclined to yield. In 1773 and 1775 he wrote to his mother, "I love nothing on earth but you and the state. I have the will and strength to be obedient, but not to change my convictions and principles." The antagonism of principles continued to exist, but this did not prevent Maria Theresa from arriving at an understanding with her son and agreeing to "good and useful" innovations. From the retarding and accelerating movements, as represented respectively by Maria Theresa and Joseph, there issued the reform period of 1770–1780, which laid the foundation of the Josephinian system. This system discarded feudalism and the hierarchy in favour of the power of the state, remoulded the legal and military administration, created a new code, established the public school, freed the peasants from the crushing burden laid upon them by their landowners, and transformed not only the political structure but also the nation itself in its social organisation, its customs, and its habits of thought.

The portrait of Joseph II is well known — that open face with the blue eyes, now so mild and again so determined, the high forehead, the little mouth and soft lips, the full, rather sensuous chin, the powdered hair rolled into curls on the temples and worn in a bag behind. At that time, between 1770 and 1780, he was in the prime of life, strong and healthy, no work being too hard for him, no effort too great. He walked quickly, his gestures and action were rapid. On his journeys he always pressed forward with the speed of the wind, through night and mist, across torrents and over wild mountain passes. He was always ready to learn and delighted to enter into the minutest details. He paid far too little attention to the advice given him by the great Frederick at Neisse, not to let himself be oppressed by trifles, which wearied the spirit and hindered it from considering great matters. His household and his way of life were quite simple. He liked to affect independence of anyone's service. He was accustomed to command — strict, unsparing, often violent and crushing; and then again gentle and kindly, full of pity and sympathy for every kind of suffering, particularly for the sighs of the poor and oppressed. He was the first prince of his race in centuries who stepped forth into the common life, the first prince who spoke and wrote intelligible German. Wherever he appeared he charmed everyone, high and low, with his frank, friendly manner; he was during those years the most popular prince in all Germany, the joy and the hope of the new generation.

JOSEPH II ATTEMPTS REFORMS

As German emperor, Joseph II attempted to shake at least the highest functionaries of the administration out of their rigidity; but how was it possible to introduce the germs of progress into the dead mass of imperial federation? The German king had long been denuded of all actual rights, and real influence he possessed only through the aulic council of the empire, and even here it was difficult to accomplish anything actually affecting the power and the rights of the territorial sovereignties. The imperial law court was moreover overladen with business, and the members had little inclination for any continuous activity. They looked upon their position, as a state

councillor once expressed it, as on a farm, upon which time and labour are spent only in proportion to the yield.

Joseph had the honest intention to get rid of the glaring abuses. After he had assumed the direction of affairs in 1776, he plainly expressed to the members of the council his dissatisfaction with their manner of working. A decree dated October 21st, 1767, ordered four weekly meetings of the council and the settlement of all disputes within, at most, two years; in particular he denounced the evil of receiving and demanding presents.

"The slightest evasion or violation of my earnest command," ran the imperial decree, "I will punish — for the benefit of the honest and the terror of the selfish — in the severest way, even by dismissal, and this without regard to services rendered with no matter how great ability." In the same way Joseph endeavoured to check the corruption of the imperial supreme court in Wetzlar. In this court of highest instance, however, the administration of justice was not possible; the small numbers of the workers could not compass the amount of business, and those suits which were settled were not always decided according to equity. There had been no inspection of its work since 1588. Under Joseph I, one was planned but never carried out. Joseph II attacked the question once more, in order to make an end of the selling of justice and of general corruption. On the 11th of May, 1767, a commission of inquiry began its work. Prince Fürstenberg acted as principal, the old chancellor of Treves, Spangenberg, was commissioner, Baron Erthal, canon of Mainz, afterwards taking the latter's place.

The commission was active, but nothing was accomplished. In the imperial supreme court, as in the aulic council, everything remained in its former condition. The number of lawsuits in arrear in 1772 was not less than 61,233; one lawsuit, concerning the property of an imperial count, lasted 188 years.

Joseph II experienced here in matters of detail what he was to encounter later in his policy as a whole. The mass of stagnation was too enormous for him to be able to infuse the breath of life into it. The decay of the chief offices of the empire, of the military, financial, and law departments, was not to be attributed only to individual negligent councillors and corrupt agents; it lay deeper, in the complete collapse of the federation of the empire and in the utter absence of municipal character. In earlier generations there had still existed a communion of outward interests through the disposition of the German princes. At the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular, the combined action of Austria and Prussia had led to a new development of strength, and had revived the importance of the empire in the eyes of Europe. This union was destroyed by the enmity of Frederick II to Austria and by the new position which he had won for Prussia; and it was not evident how the federal arrangement of the empire could evolve a new order of things from its native strength.

In domestic matters the co-regent's reforming activity was directed, in the first place, to the affairs that were admitted to be his province — the military and the financial. After the death of Daun (1765) Joseph for a moment contemplated taking over the supreme direction of military affairs, but that the German emperor should at the same time appear as Austrian minister of war was impossible.

Laudon, in the opinion of Frederick II the only really capable Austrian general, was not elected as president of the council of war, but instead Count Maurice Lacy, a foreigner of low birth, who at the beginning of the Seven Years' War was one of the youngest colonels in the army, and who was now

raised over the heads of thirty generals into the foremost position. Daun had recommended him and the choice appeared, in fact, a fortunate one, for Lacy was a magnificent organiser. He provided a better dress, better weapons, and an improved equipment for the army; introduced improved exercises for the cavalry; united the commissariat administration to the ministry of war; founded the general staff; caused the fortresses of the empire to be restored, etc. His administration brought new life into the army, but caused great opposition in the civil administration. Lacy even got into slight differences with the emperor, and resigned in 1774. His successor was, again, not Laudon, but the cavalry general, Count Andrew Hadik.

Joseph had taken the liveliest interest in the military reforms, but seemed nevertheless dissatisfied. He complained to his mother that the army budget was only 17,500,000 and that scarcely half the men were fit for war. When the army took the field, in 1778, it was neither so large nor so well equipped, nor so prepared for war as Maria Theresa and Joseph had expected. Neither was Joseph II satisfied with the financial-economic condition of the state. He condemned with sharp words the short-sightedness of the state officials, who had no grip on the situation as a whole, and who could not draw their conclusions as to what was necessary for the state from their own private household and business experience.

Joseph II was an extreme protectionist, with physiocratic leanings. In a memorial written in 1765 he had already pronounced against the importation of all foreign goods, with the exception of spices and groceries. It is known that he once had many thousand gulden worth of foreign watches destroyed, and the foreign wines in his house were sent away to the hospital. "Agriculture and industry are of more importance than commerce," he wrote. Austria, he considered, having so little sea-frontage, would never drive a very brisk foreign trade, and the balance of trade would always remain a passive one, as in former times.

From year to year he laid before his mother comprehensive schemes of reform which he had drawn up, and which showed great keenness of insight and knowledge of details. In these he always laid stress on the general good and the necessity of thoroughgoing measures. "My ardour," he wrote to Maria Theresa, "for our fatherland and for your majesty will never cool; but to succeed in great things one must examine thoroughly and act in a determined manner, penetrating into the heart of things, else it will be, as we see, all patchwork that yields no results; consideration for too many special interests renders unavailing the efforts of the best intentioned."

But bold measures were not to the taste of the empress, especially in her later years. Joseph's reforms appeared rash to such an unheard-of degree that the courtiers who belonged to the good old times shook their heads doubtfully, and the empress herself shrank from them. One of the courtiers said to her that an effort was being made to disgust her with the government, to draw her away still further from business of state, and to wrest the sceptre wholly from her grasp; she should rouse herself to defend her rights with Christian strength.

Maria Theresa had no real intention of abdicating, and when the first mood had passed she took the reins of government into her hands again; but the old liveliness and inner cheerfulness did not return. From this time the complaint comes to us — "am no longer *en vigueur*, am alone and forsaken, my courage begins to fail me," etc.

Those whose strength had served her of old gradually died out, and she could not understand the new men. In the ideas and personalities of the

day, the contrast between the old time and the new mirrored itself; and this contrast made itself felt in the state council, in the ministerial bureaus, and in the relations of the provinces and the different classes of people. The peculiar relations existing between the royal mistress and the co-regent did not, indeed, bring divided councils into the centre of government, but certain essential reforms halted and foreign policy became uncertain and hesitating.

Although the empress often sanctioned the proposals made by Joseph, in all those where tolerance and the relation of church and state were in question, an understanding between them was impossible. Maria Theresa not only regarded the Catholic church as the only one which brought salvation with it, but also as the only one that had a right to exist. She hated tolerance, enlightenment, philosophy, and indifferentism. She lamented the corruption of manners, the spread of irreligion, the striving after universal freedom, and most of all the scholars and philosophers of the enlightenment, who in her opinion were immoral and made bad fathers, bad sons and husbands, bad ministers and citizens.

When Joseph II was travelling through Switzerland, and in one of his letters made use of the world "tolerance," she answered him: "Nothing is so wholesome or so necessary as religion. Would you have everyone form a religion after his own fancy — no prescribed cult, no submission? Peace and contentment would be at end, the right of might and other terrible effects would once more be among us. I desire no spirit of persecution, but still less one of indifference and tolerance. I wish to be gathered to my fathers with the knowledge to comfort me that my son thinks in religious matters as his ancestors did, that he has given up his false logic and his bad books; that he is not as those who sacrifice all that is holy and venerable so that their mere intellect may shine, and who desire an imaginary freedom which could only lead to unbridled license and confusion." But in these respects Joseph could not bring himself to alter his views.

When in Inner Austria in 1773, and in Moravia in 1777, many burghers and peasants confessed themselves Protestants, Joseph demanded freedom for all religions, and condemned in severe terms the proceedings of the government, which desired to take the harshest steps provided by the existing law for the punishment of the recalcitrants. "The orders of the government," he wrote to his mother, "against the Protestants in Moravia are against the principles of our religion and of good government — even against common sense. In order to convert the people the government would make soldiers of them, send them to the mines and to the public works. That was not done even when the Lutherans were first persecuted. I declare positively that whoever has written this order is unworthy to serve the government, and has, as a man, my contempt." As Kaunitz also advised moderation, Maria Theresa in 1779 and 1780 let herself be persuaded to milder measures; the leaders of the apostasy were to be exiled to Hungary or Transylvania; public worship was to be forbidden them, but the government was to endeavour to correct the people only by mild teaching and persuasion.[g]

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND (1772 A.D.)

On October 5th, 1763, Augustus III king of Poland died, and on the succession of the Russian candidate, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (September 6th, 1764), a civil war broke out between the Russian and the national parties, in which Catherine participated by sending troops into Poland to defend the Greek Christians (1767). The situation was further complicated

in the following year by a declaration of war from Turkey, whose territory had been invaded by Russian troops. In order to secure the strict observance of her neutrality, Austria marked out the Polish border, and in doing so (June, 1769) included the Zips district (which had once belonged to Hungary), and a little more of Polish territory. As early as 1771 Frederick had persuaded Catherine to favour his plan for enlarging their territories from Poland, rather than from Turkey, and desired Austria to participate. Maria Theresa, hostile to Frederick, resisted the idea. Joseph, who had met Frederick twice in 1769, was from the first for a forward policy in Poland and the East, and Kaunitz came round to his opinion. The situation which presented itself to Maria Theresa was indeed difficult. Her neighbours, Frederick and Catherine, were about to enlarge their borders at the expense of Poland, and self-interest, championed by her chancellor and her son, suggested that she should claim a corresponding increase of territory from one quarter or another — from Prussia, if Frederick would permit it — from Poland, which she shrank from robbing, or from Turkey, which trusted in Austria, and whose cause Joseph had taken up against Russia.[a]

Complaisant as Kaunitz usually proved when it was a question of acting upon the clearly expressed wishes of the empress, he could not make up his mind to yield in this instance. As Maria Theresa herself not merely acknowledged but averred with mournful insistence, for more than a year it had not been her opinion but Joseph's that decided the foreign policy of Austria. Joseph alone was answerable for the occupation of districts on the Polish border, for the levy of forces in Hungary, and for the convention with the Porte. Maria Theresa had strenuously opposed and strongly disapproved of all these measures; but Joseph had nevertheless carried his point. This being so, it was difficult, if not impossible, to take a diametrically opposite course at this stage of the proceedings. Kaunitz was glad that Joseph had at least desisted from his demand that the Porte should be forced to continue the war, and had assented to the proposal that Thugut should exert himself at Constantinople to gain acceptance for an armistice and permission to convene a peace congress. Maria Theresa, whose most earnest desire from beginning to end had been a speedy conclusion of peace, was of the same mind, and Kaunitz hastened to issue a commission to Thugut to that effect.

It was otherwise with the instructions which were to be sent to Van Swieten in Berlin; and the negotiations with the court of St. Petersburg were continued through the agency of Galitzin. At Potsdam, on February 4th, 1772, the audience took place in which Van Swieten discharged his mission to the king of Prussia. Frederick readily agreed in principle to the idea that Austria ought to gain an accession of territory proportionate to the acquisitions of Russia and Prussia. But he gave a start when Van Swieten remarked that the equality must not be confined to the extent and inherent value of the districts to be annexed, but must extend to their political importance, and that there was hardly any part of Poland that would be of the same importance to Austria as Polish Prussia was to Frederick. And when at length Van Swieten came to the point and proposed that the king should take all Polish territory that fell to Austria and indemnify the imperial house by the cession of Glatz and Silesia, Frederick rejected the idea with vigour.

Belgrade, Bosnia, and Servia

So decided and unmistakable was the king's determination, that Van Swieten was soon convinced that there was not the slightest prospect of indu-

cing him to change his mind on the point. He therefore brought forward the second proposal, that which referred to the acquisition of Belgrade and part of Bosnia and Servia by Austria. In the chancellor's opinion, the way to make the Porte accede to this was by the return of Russia — secure in her acquisitions in Poland — to the conditions of peace first proposed between her and Turkey, and by the evacuation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia to induce the Porte to make the concessions desired by Austria. Frederick received this proposal very favourably. He declared that he was ready to give it his warmest support at the Russian court; and Van Swieten, naturally, refrained from proceeding to the other alternatives.

The king of Prussia's letters to his brother show the duplicity of his conduct towards Austria. At the very time that he promised Van Swieten to employ all his influence at St. Petersburg in favour of the demands of the imperial court, he was writing to Prince Henry to the opposite effect. He called it a breach of trust on the part of Austria that she should propose to take from the Porte (a power which had confided in her and begged her mediation) a district the loss of which would weaken it on the Hungarian frontier to the same extent that it had already been weakened by the Russian occupation of the Crimea. He was convinced, he said, that Austria was afraid of war and would accept anything that was offered in order to avoid it.

Reprehensible as this proceeding on the part of the king of Prussia may be from the point of view of political honesty, it cannot be denied that the reflections in which he indulged and the accusations which he launched against Austria were not wholly without warrant. The opinion, which had always been professed by Maria Theresa, that it was impossible to take the course desired by Joseph and Kaunitz without being guilty of a breach of trust, steadily gained ground in Vienna. The chief credit for this must doubtless be attributed to the empress. In vigorous terms she once more repudiated the notion that Austria should enrich herself at the expense of the Porte, which had trusted her and with which she had just entered into a convention. Maria Theresa even went further and contested the justice of the principle which had been laid down — that if two states were in the act of enriching themselves by dishonest means a third must necessarily be driven, for weighty political reasons, to do the same. For this cause she declared afresh that she would take no part of the Polish dominions. If, however, this was not to be avoided, she could only assent on condition that Poland should receive Moldavia and Wallachia as compensation for the loss thus inflicted.

"I confess," she says, "that it costs me something to come to a decision in a matter of the justice of which I am by no means convinced, even if it were advantageous. But in all the three alternatives amongst which we have to choose I cannot discover the advantage. The easiest way would be to agree to the proposed partition of Poland. But what right have we to rob the innocent, whom we have always prided ourselves upon protecting and defending? To what end all these great and costly preparations, to what end so many blustering threats to maintain the balance in the north of Europe? The only motive — the advantage of not being left alone between the other two powers without gaining any advantage for ourselves — does not seem to me sufficient, does not seem even an honourable pretext for associating ourselves with two unjust usurpers in the design of still further injuring a third party without the slightest legal right."[h]

Since it was clear that Prussia and Russia would carry out their partition treaty whatever Austria might do, Maria Theresa submitted, though always with misgivings, and Austria chose as her share of the spoil Galicia and various

other districts in Poland which had once belonged to the Hungarian crown. The announcement of Austria's occupation of the country was not published till September 26th, 1772, by which time she was already in possession. No protests were raised anywhere either at home or abroad. Poland lost to the three powers 3,925 square miles of her best land out of a total of 13,500. Russia, having waged a successful war against Turkey (1768–1774), refused all intervention, and in spite of Austrian threats made her own peace at Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 16th, 1774). Austria, however, succeeded in getting from the Porte a little territory of 181 square miles, Bukowina, which she had occupied on Turkey's behalf against Russia while the preliminaries to peace were being settled.[a]

Provisions Made by the Treaty of Partition

According to the letter of this treaty, Austria should have taken possession of all the Polish territory that fell within the new boundary line, which was to run from Silesia along the right bank of the Vistula as far as Sandomir and the junction of the river San, thence in a straight line to Zamoste, and on through Hubieszow to the Bug, then along the course of that river and the frontier of Borussia to the environs of Sbrysh and from thence to the Dniester. Finally, Pocutia as far as the border of Moldavia was to fall to Austria.

The fifth article provided that the three powers should proceed in complete accord to bring about an agreement with the kingdom of Poland concerning the territories severally acquired by them, and to restore tranquillity and order in the interior of the kingdom. For the attainment of this end it appeared necessary to agree upon both the date and method of taking possession.

The question of issuing a manifesto now came into the foreground. Panin had sent the rough draft of such a manifesto to Vienna with his first proposals for a treaty of partition, but the idea had been vehemently opposed, especially by the empress. In spite of Kaunitz' advice to waive what was after all a minor consideration, she could not bring herself to do so. Kaunitz was therefore obliged to draw up a counter-project, in which Maria Theresa ultimately acquiesced, subject to certain alterations. At a later period she herself speaks of it as "very successful." It was also sanctioned by Russia and Prussia.

We are probably right in assuming that the great political triumph he had gained by getting his scheme accepted as it stood, both in Berlin and St. Petersburg, gave the chancellor the most lively satisfaction. But in the brief reports in which he announces to the emperor and empress the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition there is not a word of the impression it made upon himself. And while Joseph acknowledges the information in the words, "I am much obliged for this agreeable news," the empress, who was wont to be so communicative, refrains from any observation. On the report which Kaunitz sent her with the deeds of ratification for signature she only put the laconic words, "Have signed."

But we should be wrong in assuming that, in her grief for what she conceived the injustice done by the partition of Poland, Maria Theresa was blind to the advantages which would accrue to her own country from it. A short but remarkable note from the empress to Lacy bears testimony to this ambiguous mood, if we may so call it. And her words are of great interest also as proving that it was Lacy who had incited Joseph to such ambitious desires. "The courier from St. Petersburg," Maria Theresa writes to the field-marshal with her own hand, "has brought the wretched partition signed. I have you

to thank for this great advantage, if such it really is. One thing is certain — that it was you who sketched the plan of it, who dared to demand so much, and thus did the state this service, without entering upon the question of whether it were just or not." In such wise did the treaty for the partition of Poland become an accomplished fact.[h]

MARIA THERESA AND RELIGION

The spirit of monarchical absolutism guided Maria Theresa in the measures in which she dealt with the ecclesiastical affairs of her subjects. In the first years of her reign she was anxious to banish all Jews from the kingdom at six months' notice, and nothing but the intercession of the elector of Mainz, the kings of Poland and England, and the pope, who himself spoke on behalf of the unfortunate race, diverted her from this intention. She was not tolerant by nature, and she could not rise to the idea that tolerance is not a religious but a political measure, which becomes indispensable when a state includes professors of different creeds. Protestantism was kept in subjection; she ignored many private misdemeanours committed against Protestants, and often herself interfered in domestic concerns when it was a question of religion.

Although a strict Catholic, she maintained towards the pope the principle of absolute sovereign authority, and the last time the Roman curia was applied to for an indulgence to allow the clergy to be taxed was during the Seven Years' War. She prohibited the visitations of the apostolic nuncios in her dominions, and the publication of any papal bull without the royal warrant; many holy days were abolished as detrimental to agriculture and trade, the abuse of exorcism was strictly forbidden, trial for witchcraft might not be so much as mentioned, a limit was fixed to the fortunes which might be taken into monasteries and nunneries, binding vows were not to be taken before the age of twenty-four. She revived the old amortisation laws for religious committees; a special edict was issued on the subject of the absorption of money by the monasteries, their prodigality, and their investment of capital in foreign countries; restrictions were placed upon the use of prisons by the superiors of monastic establishments; a special edict dealt with the influence of the clergy upon wills and final dispositions, the right of sanctuary was abolished, and all correspondence with the Roman curia had to be conducted through the bureau for foreign affairs. With the pope's consent she revived the ancient title of "apostolic" which had been conferred on St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary, by Pope Silvester II, but which had fallen into desuetude by the lapse of time. In virtue of this title and the rights derived therefrom, she divided the large dioceses into smaller ones, and erected new bishoprics; she took from the Hungarian bishops the privilege of appointing prebendaries and vested it in the Crown.

The Dissolution of the Jesuits

The most important action of the empress in matters ecclesiastical was the dissolution of the Jesuits. The order had been gradually introduced into Austria under the emperors Rudolf II and Ferdinand, to maintain there, as everywhere in Europe, the struggle against the spread of Protestantism. The Protestants rightly recognised in the society their most serious and strongest opponent, and tried by every means in their power to check its prosperity. The Jesuits were repeatedly driven out of their colleges by the victorious

Protestants, but they always came back again, sometimes in singular fashion. Thus, when the archduke Charles, father of Ferdinand II, wished to introduce them into Gratz they could only get into the town in disguise; the day fixed for their coming was known, the Protestants sounded the alarm, the cry, "The Black Sow is coming!" rang through the streets; the carriage suspected of containing the Jesuits was stopped, and the Protestants were not a little surprised to see only two men in knightly garb inside. Somewhat out of countenance, they let the carriage pass — with the Jesuits in it. A life-and-death struggle was maintained between them and the Protestants, and the fact that Austria is in the main Catholic to this day must be largely ascribed to the activity of the Jesuits. Their influence upon the empire was due in great measure to the schools, which they gradually monopolised until not only the grammar schools (*Gymnasien*) but most of the higher educational institutions were in their hands. The universities of Prague, Vienna, and Tirnova were under their direction. They tried to enlist the ablest on their side and to inspire all their pupils with a strong affection for the order, and they usually succeeded in both objects.

The first traces of a spirit of opposition to the Jesuits are to be found in the reign of Joseph I. It sprang from many causes, first and foremost the jealousy of other religious orders, who either vied with them in learning, like the Benedictines, in proselytising zeal, like the Dominicans, or envied them their wealth and consequence. An antipathy also arose against them among the secular clergy on account of the lax morality they taught and allowed to the laity, for the Jesuits were only strict with themselves, not with others. Rummel, the emperor's religious instructor and afterwards bishop of Neustadt, was their avowed antagonist, and the emperor's confessor was no longer a Jesuit; which made a great difference in the position occupied by the order. Their Protestant adversaries were no longer dangerous; more formidable enemies had arisen among Catholics.

Thus matters stood when Maria Theresa came to the throne. By that time a glimmer of the philosophical principles of England and France had begun to penetrate to the Austrian empire; men began to find fault with the Jesuit system of education, and not without just cause, for in the grammar schools Latin was taught well, Greek hardly at all, and of other subjects there was practically nothing: religious instruction was directed rather to external form than to spiritual religion, and in the higher branches of study the Jesuits were biased. They had among them countless scholars in every department of knowledge, but they were unable to rise to the perception that no knowledge can be hurtful to the Catholic faith, but every fresh discovery must redound to its glory. They thought to serve religion by suppressing science, they had enlarged the bounds of knowledge up to a certain point, and suffered under the delusion that they could confine the spirit of inquiry within these limits. Thus they had ranged against them their old enemies the Protestants, the aversion of a section of the Catholic clergy, and the estrangement of the ruling powers; and were exposed to the attacks of unbelief on the one hand and of science on the other. One of the most eminent members of the order reproached it with having met the new demands of science with nothing but defiance and rigid adherence to old traditions; and he was right.

It is impossible to judge how subsequent circumstances might have shaped themselves for the Jesuits in the Austrian Empire under these conditions, if only they had stood alone. This they could not do, and they were consequently involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the society in other countries. In Spain, Portugal, and France it was compulsorily dissolved; the pope

continued to protect it, and inquired of Maria Theresa how she was disposed towards the Jesuits. She answered that she was not called upon to criticise the proceedings of other courts, but that she could give nothing but praise to the Jesuits in her dominions for their conduct, their zeal, and their labours, and was determined to maintain the existence of the order as serviceable to religion and the welfare of her people. But the Bourbon courts to which she was bound by ties of friendship, and where she had married two of her daughters, pressed her to consent to the dissolution of the Jesuit order; her son Joseph, as Roman emperor, and her minister Kaunitz were both in favour of the dissolution, and she yielded, though reluctantly. Thereupon Pope Clement issued the brief of abrogation, and the Jesuit order in the Austrian Empire was dissolved, its members were pensioned, and its property was formed into a fund for the endowment of learning.

The dissolution of the Jesuits made an entirely new system of education necessary. The details of the new scheme were arranged by Van Swieten, physician in ordinary to Maria Theresa; but learning had been so completely in their hands that the authorities found themselves constrained to fill up many professorial appointments with ex-Jesuits.[i]

MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH III
(1745–1777)

AUSTRIA AND THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION

As we turn back into the strictly political channel of events, only one important chapter of the history of Maria Theresa remains to be told. This has to do with the Bavarian Succession.[a] As we know, England and Prussia (the latter especially) were on no friendly footing with Austria. Prussia, suspiciously on the watch ever since the second war she had waged with Austria, regarded every acquisition of territory by that country as an injury inflicted upon herself. This feeling was most conspicuous in connection with the relations between Austria and Bavaria which led to the last Austro-Prussian War.

Maximilian Joseph, the elector of Bavaria, was childless, and had neither brothers nor collateral descendants. His next heir was the elector Charles Theodore of the Palatinate, by right of descent from Rudolf, eldest son of Ludwig the Stern, who had taken the Palatinate for his own share in the division with his brother Ludwig, leaving the dukedom of Bavaria to the latter. But Charles Theodore himself had no lawful issue, and the imperial court therefore entered into negotiations with a view to inducing him, after the death of Maximilian Joseph, to concede part of Bavaria to the house of Austria in compliance with ancient claims. Austria's claim was as follows:

When, in the reign of the emperor Sigismund, the duke of Bavaria died without issue, the emperor gave his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, a deed of enfeoffment upon lower Bavaria for himself and his heirs in the male and female line. This mortgage was never carried into effect; on the contrary, the emperor himself withdrew it in favour of the dukes of upper Bavaria.

Austria nevertheless argued that it was valid, for the reason that the withdrawal was made out of special favour to the dukes of Bavaria, and so did not hold good for the Palatinate line. She also laid claim to the principality of Mindelheim in Swabia, in virtue of a reversion bestowed upon the house of Austria by the emperor Matthias. Finally she demanded that all Bohemian fiefs in the Palatinate should be restored to the crown of Bohemia, the family of the feoffee being extinct. In these various ways Austria laid claim to nearly half of Bavaria.

Against these pretensions it might be argued that on the same day on which he conferred the fief of lower Bavaria on Duke Albert, the emperor also conferred it on three Bavarian dukes of the other line; that by a formal sentence he refuted the legal objections and defects of title advanced against the Bavarian dukes, and confirmed the partition of lower Bavaria made by them; and, finally, that Duke Albert himself executed a deed of renunciation in favour of these dukes, in which he resigned for himself and his heirs all claims that might be raised on the ground either of his maternal relationship to the house of Bavaria or of the aforesaid enfeoffment of the emperor.

The elector palatine, Charles Theodore, either felt the arguments of Austria unanswerable, or was afraid of being involved in tedious disputes by a refusal, or found sufficient temptation in the prospect which was held out of providing for his numerous illegitimate offspring by peaceful settlement; in any case, he agreed to the partition proposals.

Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, was much incensed by these negotiations, but he could do nothing to stop them, for he suddenly died of small-pox. Four days later the compact respecting the cession of lower Bavaria and Mindelheim and the lapse of the Bohemian fiefs in the Palatinate, with a clause providing for the exchange of the latter as suited the convenience of both contracting parties, was signed at Vienna by Prince Kaunitz and Freiherr von Ritter. The palatine ambassador at Munich, in ignorance of this compact, had the elector Charles Theodore proclaimed sovereign throughout the whole of Bavaria. But Charles Theodore himself, on his arrival at Munich, declared this proclamation premature, and confirmed the aforesaid agreement. The districts named in the compact were promptly occupied by Austrian troops, some in the name of Maria Theresa, and some in the name of the emperor Joseph. Whereupon antagonistic forces arose in various quarters.

The first of these was the Bavarian nation, which desired loyally to adhere to its ancient dynasty. This feeling was fanned by the courageous and gifted Duchess Maria Anna; she felt, however, that Bavaria alone was too weak for resistance, and therefore called upon the duke of Zweibrücken, heir-at-law if Charles Theodore died without lawful issue, to defend his rights and to appeal for protection to the king of Prussia.

The Potato War

The king of Prussia promised assistance and prepared for war. He was joined by Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony. For this last proceeding Austria had herself to thank; for when Frederick Augustus also put in a claim upon Bavaria, Maria Theresa had vouchsafed him no answer. The emperor Joseph had suggested that the matter should be referred to the law courts and to amicable composition, and, when Frederick Augustus declared his wish to remain neutral, had coupled his consent with the condition that the fortress of Königstein should be occupied by Austrian troops for two years, that the imperial army should have free passage through Saxony and free navigation

of the Elbe, and that the Saxon army should be reduced to four thousand men. The Austrians had set two armies in the field: one hundred thousand men under the emperor Joseph and Lacy were encamped in a strong position at Königgrätz; the second army, on the borders of Saxony, was commanded by Laudon. All Europe was in expectation of great military developments, but the event proved otherwise. Maria Theresa, who had never believed that it would actually come to fighting, exerted herself to prevent bloodshed. Without informing her son the emperor, or her chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, she sent Freiherr Thugut, in the guise of a Russian secretary, to the king of Prussia with an autograph letter, to set on foot peace negotiations. She told the king that she was filled with dismay to see the two of them in act to tear out each other's grey hairs.

The king returned a friendly answer, but the negotiations came to nothing, frustrated by the emperor's opposition. On hearing of them he wrote to his mother that if she made peace he would never come back to Vienna, but would set up his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) or some other place. But the result of the empress' attempt at pacification was that the war was very languidly conducted. No decisive blow was ever struck. The most important occurrences were that the Prussians pressed forward to Brüx and Braunau and captured large quantities of military stores, and that the imperial general Wurmser surprised the prince of Hesse-Philippsthal at Habelschwerdt, in the countship of Glatz, and took him and all his little force prisoners. In Austria and Prussia men mocked at this method of making war; the Austrians dubbed it the *Zwetschkenrummel* (a game played for points of no value), the Prussians the *Kartoffelkrieg* (potato war).

The Peace of Teschen

Both belligerents had deceived themselves in their hopes of being supported by their allies. The French made every kind of pretext to refuse Austria the substantial assistance to which they were pledged by treaty, and offered to mediate. The empress of Russia demanded an enormous sum of money from the king of Prussia in return for the prospect of slight assistance. Maria Theresa made use of the czarina's mood to bring about peace through her mediation. She wrote her an autograph letter ending with the assurance that, apart from any consideration but the pleasure she had in complying with the wishes of her imperial majesty, she left to her the sole choice of the measures of pacification which she, in concert with his most Christian majesty, thought fittest for the restoration of peace, being convinced that she could place her welfare and dignity in no better hands.

At Teschen the Russian prince Repnin and the French ambassador Breteuil met to treat of conditions of peace, and their terms were accepted by the Austrian ambassador Cobenzl, the Prussian ambassador Riedesel, the Saxon ambassador Zinzendorf, Töringsfeld representing the elector palatine, and Hohenfeld the duke of Zweibrücken. Austria received a small part of Bavaria, the present Innviertel, renounced all designs against the lapse of the two Franconian principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth to Prussia, and the claims of Saxony were settled with six millions. The emperor Joseph wrote to one of his intimates that he had assented to the peace in order not to distress the empress, that, like Charles V after his disastrous campaign in Africa, he was the last to go on board, and that he felt like a Venetian general, who was pensioned off after a campaign.

Frederick was annoyed too; the war had cost him 29,000,000 thalers and

twenty thousand men, and had jeopardised his military reputation. Maria Theresa alone was overjoyed. She thus expresses herself: "I have no liking for Frederick, but I must do him the justice to say that he has acted nobly. He promised to make peace on reasonable terms, and he has kept his word. It is an unspeakable pleasure to me to think that I have prevented further bloodshed."[1]

THE CLOSE OF MARIA THERESA'S REIGN

To the end of her reign the old opposition between Maria Theresa and Frederick continued to show itself. Desiring an establishment for her youngest son, and feeling the necessity also, perhaps, of strengthening Austria's vote in the empire, she put forward the archduke Maximilian, who was then only twenty-four years old, for election as coadjutor to the archbishop of Cologne and bishop of Münster, and consequently as successor to the electoral dignity. He was elected in preference to Frederick's candidate, Prince Joseph Hohenlohe, in August, 1780. The wish to compete with Frederick for Catherine's favour was also among the motives of Joseph's visit to Russia (June and July). Although politics were scarcely mentioned, the visit was the beginning of a Russian alliance which came about next year, in spite of Frederick's efforts to keep the first place in Catherine's sympathies for Prussia.

On the 29th of November Maria Theresa died, in the forty-first year of her reign and the sixty-fourth of her life. During the first twenty-five years of her reign she acted on her own judgment in all important decisions. A change came with the death of her husband — not that he had influenced her policy, but because Joseph won power immediately as co-regent. Thenceforward Maria Theresa was always wavering between her great love for this son — whom she ever valued above his brothers and sisters, for all the anxiety he caused her — between her deep-seated admiration for the extraordinary qualities he certainly possessed, and her no less lively disapproval of his point of view, a point of view which he championed to success often with a complete neglect of the feelings of those who thought differently. For the establishment of Austria as a great power she worked chiefly in two directions — centralisation of the very various lands over which she ruled, and increased effectiveness of the army. By her personality, as well as by her measures, she gave her subjects the feeling of belonging together in a common cause. In the first year of her reign Neipperg brought a force of 15,000 men into the field against Frederick: within two years of her death Austria could meet the same foe with an army of 170,000.

One of Joseph's first preoccupations after his mother's death was to pay out of his private fortune her legacy to the army, a very great expense which she obviously had intended should be defrayed not from her personal estate, which was far too small, but from state moneys.[a]

ESTIMATES OF MARIA THERESA

Very few sovereign women [says Wolf] have awakened so much devotion, love, and trust as Maria Theresa. The foreign ambassadors, Venetian, Prussian, and Dutch, soon began to carry reports of her mind and character, of her courage, and swift, sure judgment in public affairs. At the beginning of her reign she was looked upon as a weak young woman, but she soon taught the world its mistake. She grasped the helm of state with the strength of a man, and guided it firmly through times of weal and woe. She had not coveted her empire. "With joy," she wrote in a pamphlet, "had I been

insignificant and had remained simply grand duchess of Tuscany, if I could have believed that God so willed it; but as he has chosen me to bear the great burden of government, I hold it on principle and consider it my duty to apply all my resources to the task."

This sense of duty, the power of pious belief, proud self-consciousness, and reliance on the strength of their dynasty, are traits of the Habsburgs; and Maria Theresa excelled most of her predecessors in her power of endurance, her open mind, and her skill in dealing with mankind. She never succumbed to unnerving and fruitless discouragement, even when the cast of fate was most heavily against her. The tears she shed in the Presburg parliament were tears of emotion and excitement, not of meek despair. In her first war she inclined, even when forsaken by her allies, to continue the contest. Her great wish at that time was that she could take the field herself. Those sad years taught her to hate and to love, as well as the difficult task of dissimulation and negotiation. In foreign policy, when all treaties and guarantees failed, she took her stand upon "her good right." She then lost all confidence in the Areopagus of European powers, and her faith in the good of united action was only restored by her alliance with France and Russia, which gave her a renewed sense of confidence and security.

Her conception of royalty and monarchical power was formed from the blended ideas of two periods. She had inherited the sense of absolute power from her forefathers, but this absolutism was neither the capricious despotism of Louis XV, nor the military despotism of an autocrat like Frederick II. She combined her domestic interests with the interests of the state. "Dearly as I love my family and my children," she wrote, "so dearly that I grudge them no labour, care, grief, or anxiety, yet I preferred the good of my lands to theirs whenever my conscience told me that the welfare of the country demanded this; for of all these lands I am the common mother."

She herself had no liking for reforms, but did not disguise from herself the necessity of many alterations and improvements. She was the first of the Habsburgs to consider the empire before the provinces, the state before the estates, the whole before its parts. She centralised the administration rather than the constitution, and this only in order to strengthen the military and economic power of the state. It was she that made it possible to regard Austria as a monarchy which had the common interest of all the Austrian peoples at heart. The provinces gave their adherence to the authority of the new state. The new government, which had been at first considered a burdensome innovation, was looked upon as an achievement working for the public weal and for universal freedom. Even in Hungary, where Maria Theresa had acted since 1765 as a queen with absolute power, the feeling prevailed of a common interest and willing submission to authority. In German Austria, particularly, the estates and the nobility submitted unconditionally to the will of the sovereign. Her known love for military affairs made her popular with the army, the clergy appreciated her piety and reverence for the power of the church, the people were full of enthusiasm, love, and awe. Her reign was attended externally and internally with success. In 1775 the Prussian chancellor Fürst wrote: "When Maria Theresa ascended the throne she found everything in complete disorder, and the exchequer was embarrassed with an eight years' war. What other sovereign would have been able to bring the affairs of the realm to their present condition? Far into posterity mankind will recognise Maria Theresa as one of the greatest sovereigns the world has ever seen: the Austrian house has not produced her equal."

A great part of this success was due to the charm of her essentially human

personality. The portraits which Möller, Meytens, and Matthäus Donner have painted of her are still regarded with interest and admiration. The finest are by Meytens and his school of the period between 1747 and 1760. They show a round face with charming expression, light grey eyes, a finely chiselled mouth, a smooth forehead, and a rounded chin. A veil is thrown back over the wavy, slightly-powdered hair. The skin of the throat shows rosy-white. In one picture she wears a blue dress with gold embroideries and lace sleeves; one hand is extended in a gesture of command, the other rests on a table near the Hungarian crown. Her pose is full of a noble dignity, and the liveliness of earlier years is subdued. The later pictures, after 1765, represent her as a widow in black dress, with a gauze cap on her smoothly brushed hair. She has become stouter, the features are almost masculine, the eye cold and penetrating. Age and illness, many childbirths, the disappointments and experiences of life have obliterated the charm of youth, but up to her last days she could be irresistibly amiable.

In her early years she had very lively manners and used much gesture; when she was angry, irritated, or scornful her words came like a torrent in broken sentences. Her temper rose, if her ideas were not quickly carried out, or at the sight of injustice; but she was easily pacified. Whilst her father and grandfather withdrew from all publicity and surrounded themselves with a cloud of etiquette and ceremonial, Maria Theresa often broke through all forms and behaved according to her natural disposition; in Presburg, for instance, in 1741, when she took off the heavy Hungarian crown and put it on the table by her; and in Frankfort, in 1745, when she called out to the people, "Long live Emperor Francis!"; or in 1768, when she came into her box at the Burg theatre and called to the people in the pit: "Leopold has a boy." This hearty candour, this homely, wholesome tone is also to be found in her letters. Ideality, everything that tended to abstract thought, found no mercy at her hands. The delights of deep research were utterly unknown to her, to science and art she gave only a condescending attention. The homage paid to her by the poets of her own country was graciously received by her, but the poetry of the ideal was not to her taste. Philosophy and free-thought was disgusting to her; she would have nothing to do with it; in a letter written in 1779 she displays the temper of quite another century. Her religion was a genuine, firm, inward faith; it had supported her through many a heavy hour, and on this account she believed herself under the especial protection of the Almighty. "When the strong arm of God began to make itself felt on my side," she once wrote in reminiscence of the year 1742. All religious duties she fulfilled with the most scrupulous care. She even took part in the toilsome processions and pilgrimages introduced by her predecessors. She submitted to papal control in most cases, and assumed the title, "apostolic queen of Hungary." She supported monks and Jesuits; but she no longer had a Jesuit for her confessor, and did not allow them access to her children. The Catholic faith was for her the only one which brought salvation with it, and the true state religion for Austria.

From this conviction sprang her churchly zeal and her intolerance towards Protestants and Jews. In 1744 she ordered all Jews to be driven out of Prague and Bohemia, and only with great difficulty was she persuaded to withdraw this order. In 1754 a former ordinance of Charles VI was renewed, which ordained that renegades from the church should be rigorously punished. The transmigrations, that is to say the enforced removal of Protestants to Hungary and Transylvania, were continued. The religious committee in

Inner Austria took from the Protestants their books and put hinderances in the way of Protestant worship. It was only in the last years of her reign that she abated this spirit of persecution, and ordered milder measures.

With all this there was in her disposition a fine sympathy with everything moral and refined. She guarded the peace and honour of the home and demanded discipline and decency in all families. She even went too far in this direction. Her commissions of purity were ill spoken of and the innumerable marriages which they brought about were not always a success. Books she did not read, but hundreds of political documents which were often quite as voluminous. She found time for everything, great and small. The foreign ambassadors were often astounded at this. She wrote an enormous amount — letters, notes, short orders to her ministers and to her children, even to men and women not personally known to her. Many have been printed; they fill whole volumes. Their contents are the mirror of her soul, the account of her mental life. The orders to her ministers she generally wrote on little, insignificant pieces of paper; upon a proposal by a minister she would write her "*placet*" with some remarks on the method of carrying it out. Her sentences were half French, half German, badly spelled out, but always clear, decided, and to the point. Most of her letters are in French, but the thought is German. In her younger years she was very fond of fine toilettes, vivacious company, cards, and the theatre. She was a connoisseur in music and in her own domestic circle sang little Italian songs, especially after 1743, when the first dangers of the war were over. Until 1756 and even 1760 there were many festivities at court: balls and skating parties, merry-go-rounds, mythological plays, operas, and little comedies played by the children of the house. Metastasio composed the words, Gluck the music; and it was considered an extraordinary mark of favour to be bidden to one of these festivities.

The Vienna court was still the pre-eminent German court: the aristocracy was rich; much that had been irksome in the etiquette had been modified, and the style of the whole was magnificent and luxurious in the extreme. The court household was still organised and modelled after the traditional manner, a combination of Old-German and Austrian styles. Every archduke and archduchess received, on attaining majority, a separate retinue for exclusive service. From 1755 each one was given the title of *Königliche Hoheit* (royal highness). The crowd of courtiers, court officials, and court servants was very numerous. After the death of the emperor, the great festivals only took place on very special occasions, as at the New Year, at Carnival time, at the weddings of the imperial children, or on the reception of a prince.

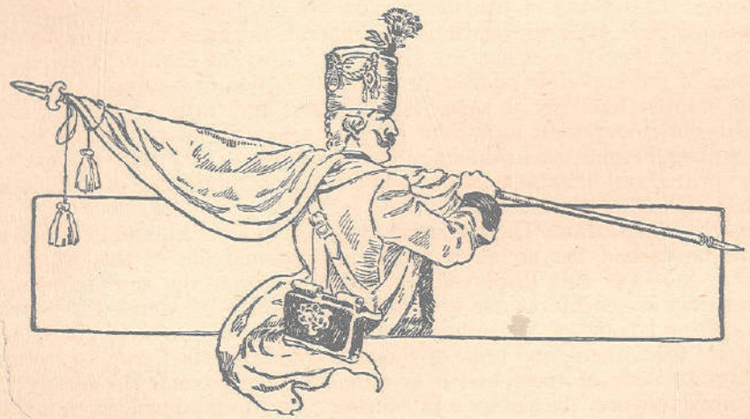
The empress liked giving presents; swindlers and traitors took advantage of this. She never went anywhere without a handful of gold coins to give away among beggars and soldiers. The consequence was that the empress yearly spent about 6,000,000 florins, while the economical king of Prussia was satisfied with 340,000 thalers.[g]

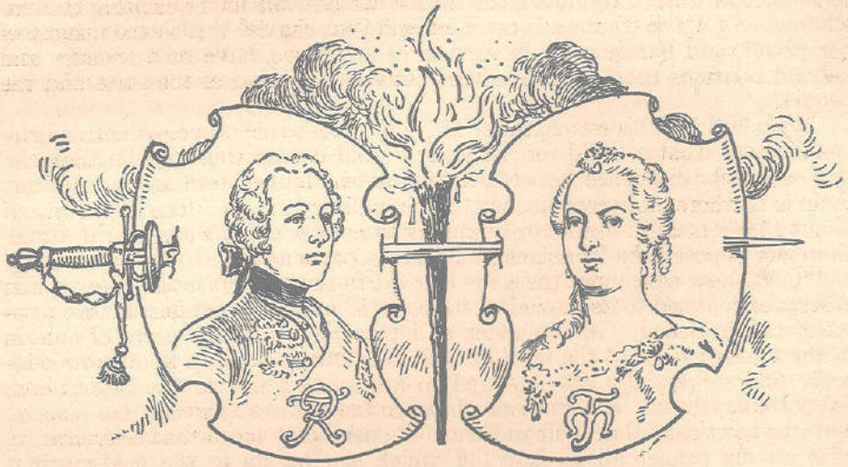
That in which Maria Theresa stood alone [says Arneth], and in which she perhaps never had her equal, is the rich emotional life of this wonderful woman. Nor was this displayed, as has often been the case in princely families, only in her intercourse with her own kindred; it extended to her subjects, rich and poor, of high and low degree. There had been kindly men among her forefathers, and none of the race could be called cruel or tyrannical. But to none of them had it occurred to step beyond the family and social circle, beyond the nobles and courtiers, and to go down, in thought if not in person, to the people, and out of pure human pity to sympathise with their sufferings and distresses, and to strive without intermission to improve

their lot and their surroundings as far as was possible under existing circumstances. Of Maria Theresa it must be said that she did this to the utmost of her power, and hardly ever, in Austria or elsewhere, have such friendly and natural relations been seen to subsist between the head of the state and the people.

We will bring this retrospect of Maria Theresa's rule to a close with a brief summary of what she did for her army. And it may well be said that the immeasurable difference between things as she found them and as she left them is nowhere more conspicuous than in military affairs. The little force of about 15,000 men, in itself hardly worthy to rank as a single corps, with which Neipperg opposed the Prussians at Mollwitz, bears no proportion to the army of 170,000 men which met the same foes thirty-seven years later. Nor is this difference confined to its numerical strength; it is equally manifest in its equipment and efficiency. It was under and through her that a corps of officers in the modern sense of the term came into existence, and we know how zealously and successfully she laboured to arouse and elevate the professional spirit among them. But she was affable to the soldiers as well as the officers, and was most careful of their welfare. We need only recall that conversation with an old soldier about Lacy, of which she boasts to the field-marshal himself; and she was indefatigable in thinking and doing all that was practicable to ameliorate the soldier's lot.

Such was the work that Maria Theresa, the sovereign, did for her people. The high place which is her right as woman and mother is known to all men. In her solicitude for her children she was without peer, and the wise counsels she gave them in her letters when they left her sheltering care are, in their ripe wisdom and homely simplicity, among the most beautiful things that have ever been written in such a case and from such a station. And from her correspondence with the queen of France we know that Maria Theresa's watchfulness over her children did not cease with the moment of parting, but followed them through life with an unchangeable devotion.[h]





CHAPTER XII

JOSEPH THE ENLIGHTENED

[1780–1790 A.D.]

> Although there have formerly been Neros and a Dionysius, although there have been tyrants who abused the power delivered to them by fate, is it on that account just, under pretence of guarding a nation's rights for the future, to place every imaginable obstacle in the way of a prince, the measures of whose government solely aim at the welfare of his subjects? I know my own heart; I am convinced of the sincerity of my intentions, of the uprightness of my motives, and I trust that, when I shall no longer exist, posterity will judge more justly and more impartially of my exertions for the welfare of my people. — JOSEPH II.

THE TOLERANCE EDICT (1781 A.D.)

THE moderating influence of Maria Theresa being removed, Joseph plunged into the full tide of reform. The ten years during which he reigned alone witnessed the most sweeping changes in every department of the administration, and the unfortunate consequences of their precipitate introduction were fully manifested during his lifetime.[a]

Joseph's clerical reforms were an outcome of increased government activity, but they were more comprehensive and thoroughgoing than those of Maria Theresa's time. They gave to his reign a stamp and to Austrian policy a basis, which remained unchanged till the middle of the nineteenth century. Not all these reforms were directly of the emperor's ordering; most of them were set in motion by the council of state, and, after 1782, by the clerical court commission; and others, but only a few, by the ministers.

The two persons actually concerned in working out the details of the laws altering clerical matters were Freiherr (or Baron) von Kressel, president

of the clerical court commission, and the court councillor Heinke, the first referendary of the commission. They were supported by Kaunitz, by the vice-chancellor Greiner, by Gebler, by the abbot Rautenstrauch, by the younger Van Swieten, and by the free-thinking professors of the Vienna University, particularly by Sonnenfels. Among the princes of the church, the following showed themselves friendly to the reforms — the cardinal Count Herzan, the bishops of Laibach, Gratz, and Königgrätz, the counts Herberstein, Ario, and Leopold Hay; besides the archbishop of Salzburg, Count Hieronymus Colloredo, with many abbots and prelates.

In opposition to these were the archbishops of Vienna, Olmütz, and Gran, Count Migazzi, Rudolf Colloredo, Joseph Batthyanyi, and particularly the papal nuncios in Brussels and in Vienna; all these declared themselves openly opposed to Joseph's policy. The nuncio in Vienna, Monseigneur Garampi, in 1781 complained of the renovations in the church and added: "Till now no regent of Austria has laid a finger on the laws of the church or interfered with rights which concerned the pope only; but we received a short and sharp answer from the chancellor of state that the sovereign of the country alone had the right to command the state; that the emperor had no intention of depriving the holy chair and the church of their lawgiving rights, so far as dogma and the soul were concerned, but that he would not permit foreign interposition in matters which belonged to the imperial power, and that these embraced all questions which, although of the church, proceeded from man and not from God, as for instance the direction of the outward discipline of the clergy, particularly the spiritual orders, and others."

It must be remembered that at this time the movement against the old state of the church was in force throughout Europe, and was part of the effort of humanity in the direction of enlightenment, characteristic of the time. Even in Rome the clergy, who feared nothing so much as schism, seemed inclined to concessions. The pope, Pius VI, yielded every point if it was put to him earnestly and with confidence. The state secretary was timid and half deaf, the cardinals Borromeo and Zelada were on the Austrian side. It was only after 1786 that the Romish opposition became more definite and energetic.

The introduction of religious tolerance is the crowning point of these clerical reforms, because it conquered the old Catholic Austria and because through it Austria took the lead of most of the German states, of England, and of France. In Maria Theresa's time, recognition of Protestants and Jews was not yet possible; the first were subjects "liable to notice," for, according to the laws passed in 1752, 1758, and 1778, they could at any moment be expelled; and Jews appear to have been completely without rights or claim for protection.

On Von Kressel's instigation, at the end of 1781, Joseph forbade missions and the whole pursuit of heresy; and when the court chancery advocated merely mitigating the severity of the old laws, the emperor insisted that the senseless "religious patent" of 1778 should be abolished, and that from this time, with the exception of public practice of religion, no difference should exist between Catholics and Protestants. The court chancery and the majority of the state council expressed doubts, whilst Kaunitz and Gebler defended the abolition of all difference between Catholics and Protestants without reserve, on the score of humanity and justice. The emperor joined them and informed his ministers that his intention was to insist upon religious tolerance throughout his dominions.

The editing of the law and the form of the proclamation gave the state

council occupation for some time longer, until on the 20th of October the "patent" or Edict of Tolerance was established; and on the 23rd of October it was imparted to the court chancery "for observance in future." The same edict guaranteed to the Augsburg and Helvetian religions, and to the unattached Greeks, the right of privately practising their religious observances; the Catholic religion retained the prerogative of public forms of worship; the non-Catholic subjects might, wherever one hundred families were together in a community, build a school and a house of prayer, but without a tower, a bell, or public entrance on the street — "that the building might not be mistaken for a church." They might install their own schoolmasters and pastors, the right of wearing a surplice being reserved for the orthodox priest.

In mixed marriages all children of a Catholic father were to be Catholic, but, should the father be Protestant and the mother Catholic, the children followed then according to sex. The old bond to educate all children as Catholics was annulled. The non-Catholics received the right of admission to the rights of citizenship and to become masters, admission to academical honours and to civil and military service.

All statutes, charters of guilds, or paragraphs of general ordinances, which conflicted with these preceding, were annulled. The non-Catholics could be summoned to take an oath only if it were consonant with their professed religion, and they could not be compelled to take part in any procession or function of the "dominating religion." Special points were provided for by special conditions; as, for instance, in the case of the Protestants in Asch and in Silesia, who kept their ancient privileges, in the case of the question of surplices and with regard to the actions of clerical officials.

These efforts made by the emperor in the cause of tolerance met with much misunderstanding and opposition. The court chancellor entreated the emperor not to make the edict public in Bohemia: emissaries from Saxony and Russia would pervert the people to Protestantism and a religious war would ensue. Count Hatzfeld, too, president of the state council, expressed his misgivings; but Kaunitz and Gebler did not consider them cogent. The emperor was obliged to visit the excesses of the clerics in Bohemia with especial severity.

Protestantism in Bohemia

In Bohemia there were a few disturbances here and there; the peasants declared they would not be Catholic any longer, they wanted to belong to the faith the emperor held or prescribed. Because reports were spread that the emperor favoured recantation, an open letter was issued on the advice of the state council (April 16th, 1782), to the effect that his majesty held fast to the Catholic faith, but that, on grounds of humanity, and with the soundest intentions for the good of the subjects, he conceded to those of them who were not yet incorporated with the holy church the right to follow their own religion.

The authorities, who had to register the Protestants, were not a little astonished at their great number, and at the continued recantation of Catholicism. In 1781, in German Austria, they numbered 73,722 Protestants, and 28 houses of prayer; in 1785, already 107,454 Protestants; and in 1787, 156,865 Protestants with 154 houses of prayer. In Carinthia heresies had already commenced in 1782. The bishop of Gurk attributed the blame to a few fanatical priests, and recommended good schools, less severe fasts, the distribution of the communion in both kinds, and a term to be set for recantations. In Bohemia, Bishop Hay adopted educational means and mild persuasion. The court chancery blamed him; the emperor and the state council praised him.

In Moravia the recantations lasted till 1784; 8,553 new Protestants were enumerated, mostly newly arrived citizens and peasants. To prevent the spread of heresy, the government forbade the acceptance of any names after January 1st, 1783. Whoever should avow heresy after that date would not indeed be considered guilty of crime, but would be compelled to submit to six weeks' instruction in the Catholic faith; if after that he still persisted, he would be entered in the non-Catholic lists as "admitted after date." The Protestant clergy were charged not to proselytise, and the Catholics were enjoined to use only tenderness and loving persuasion in their care of souls.

The government sought also to adjust the internal affairs of the church, and the entire evangelical methods; but they met with much opposition. In 1789 first appeared a general mandate, which was ratified by Leopold in 1792. Under Joseph it was forbidden to confiscate Protestant books; the old hymn books and hymns were still used; in mixed marriages the parties must also be blessed by a Catholic priest according to the observance of the "dominant religion." The cemeteries remained open to all, if the communities did not desire a special piece of ground. The emperor desired also a common liturgy and that the Protestants should have the right to build churches. He had done everything to make his system of tolerance a practised reality, but his intentions were not properly recognised by the government. The court chancery, as well as the state council, haggled over every ordinance which dealt with tolerance. The Protestant population received them with joy and thanksgiving, and Catholics of penetration, lay as well as clerical, hastened to exhort all the members of their church to brotherly love and patience. Whilst the archbishops of Vienna, Olmütz, Görz, and Gran neglected and postponed the publication of the edict, the bishops of Laibach, Gurk, and of the metropolis of Salzburg eagerly welcomed it. In the Tyrol, too, the edict was published in an unassailable manner.

The pastoral letter from the bishop of Laibach not only gave to the landlords of the Tyrol supervision of the religious observances, but also invested the bishop in his diocese with the same authority as the Roman bishop had in his. He fell into such disfavour over this in Rome that he resigned his bishopric and went into a cloister. Next to the Protestants, the hitherto despised Jews also received a private right of equality.

The Jews

Neither the state council nor the government was friendly to the Jews, the desire of both being to expel or at least to segregate them. In the Tyrol, as late as 1781, they were still excluded from the right of colonisation, and the estates of Inner Austria had instituted protective measures against the introduction of Jews into the towns. The emperor regarded the emancipation of the Jews from the economic point of view. He wished to protect Jewish freedom and to raise the Jews to a better social position, only in order that he might turn the Jewry of the country to greater use. The baptism of Jewish children; the distinguishing mark, *i.e.* the yellow patches which the Jews were bound to exhibit on some part of their clothing; the body duty, a sort of personal tax levied on the Jews — all these disabilities were removed. The Jews were permitted to attend all schools and were made eligible for academic honours.

A universal edict concerning Jews was not at once issued. There was an

edict for Lower Austria, for Silesia, for Bohemia, for Görz and Gradiska, where the Jews still enjoyed most consideration. The Jews in Lower Austria were tolerated in Vienna; in the country, only admitted when they sought employment in factories. The Jewish ordinance of Maria Theresa in 1774 had already established an exception. The Bohemian Jewish edict of November 19th, 1781, charged the Jews within two years "to discontinue their national language"; all law documents were to be drawn up in the language of the country. They were permitted to practise agriculture, but not to hold land as tenants; they might become artisans, painters, wholesale dealers, and manufacturers. In Hungary they were allowed to lease small holdings and to practise crafts outside the towns, but they were not allowed to wear beards. In Galicia the Jewish question was not decided till 1789. The provincial government had proposed in 1786 that all who were not engaged in agriculture or trade should be united into 241 communities and all declared liable to soccage, that they might grow accustomed to work in the fields. But the emperor assured them the right of colonisation and equality of taxation with the rest of the community, with the exception of protection duties, which in their case were heavily increased.

The introduction of Jews into the recognised life of the state resulted in the adoption of new family names, which were dictated to them wholesale by the authorities. The question of other Christian sects was not touched upon in the tolerance edict. The emperor ordered, in 1782, that all such sects should be treated as Catholics; for example the Hussites, who were numerous in Czech Bohemia. According to Kressel's proposal, in 1784, the Hussites and the Mennonites in Galicia were reckoned as Protestants. Other sects had a less pleasant fate, as the Abrahamites in Bohemia and the deists in Moravia. They professed belief in God and immortality, but not in the Trinity and not in the penalties of hell. Bishop Hay declared them to be Israelites; others denounced them as Socinians. The government would have nothing to do with them on the ground that it was absurd to think of God without religion, or of a religion without a God. The emperor ordered them off to Transylvania (October 10th, 1781). As nevertheless the sect increased by considerable numbers (they were reckoned, in 1784, 424 adult deists), the government issued a second order to the effect that they were to be released from the necessity of transmigration, and that they were to be left alone to follow their own religion, "although mistaken."[c]

JOSEPH THE MAN

Joseph was twice married. His first wife was Isabella Maria, daughter of Philip duke of Parma, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments. She died in November, 1763, in the prime of youth, of the small-pox, and left a daughter who survived her only seven years. Joseph was long inconsolable for her loss, and always cherished the warmest affection for her memory.

His second wife was Maria Josepha, princess of Bavaria, daughter of the emperor Charles VII, whom he espoused in 1765. Joseph was reluctantly induced to conclude this marriage by the importunities of his parents, and the prospect of obtaining the allodial inheritance of her brother. But as the princess was deficient in personal charms and mental accomplishments she never acquired his affection, and he treated her with coldness and neglect. Death dissolved this ill-assorted union before the close of the second year, and in May, 1767, the young empress fell a sacrifice to the same disorder which had proved fatal to her predecessor. Joseph did not again enter into the bonds of

wedlock.[g] Thus amidst all the stir and activity of public life he found himself not less alone than his great opponent Frederick II, who lived separated from his wife and who had lost most of his friends by death.

Joseph had not even dogs, in which old Fritz could always take pleasure; but he showed the same partiality to beautiful and high-bred horses. He often visited the riding-school in the morning and looked on while horses were being broken in and trained. He was himself a bold, a magnificent horseman. Frederick II had indeed given up flute-playing, so that he no longer enjoyed the recreation of music, but Joseph continued his house-concerts, at which he played both violin and violoncello. He was a thorough musician, skilled in orchestration. His intercourse with composers, singers, and musicians, with Mozart, Dittersdorf, with the singers Kelly and Madame Storace, reveal the rarely poetical and lovable side of his character. He understood how to encourage creative talent of many kinds; four of Mozart's operas are due to his inspiration.

JOSEPH II

Joseph was brought up in the traditions of Italian music, and remained faithful to this taste. But he raised the tone of both ballet and Italian opera, and with his "German national song productions" founded in fact the national opera of Germany. To the theatre Joseph gave earnest and constant attention. The Imperial House-Theatre, since 1776, the date from which Joseph had commanded it to be known as the "Imperial Court and National Theatre," had been dignified by really splendid acting. The best German plays were given there: *Minna von Barnhelm*, by Herr Justizrath Lessing; and, in 1786, *Die Geschwister*, by Clavigo; moreover in 1787 the emperor himself directed the performance of *Fiesco*. The emperor usually sat, not in the great court box but in the third box from the stage. When he returned from a journey the public welcomed him with enthusiastic applause, and he would bow graciously in acknowledgment from his box.

There is no doubt that, with all Joseph's roughness and inconsiderateness, he possessed an irresistible charm. Whoever came into contact with him became his slave; in prose and poetry he was celebrated as the "crowned friend of men." He was pugnacious, witty, often harsh, but gentle to the poor and oppressed. The riddle of the mystical side of life, scientific research, tender poetry, the dreams of the idealist, were to him a closed book. Only what was practical, what could be of use to the multitude found favour in his eyes. His letters were like his character, neither philosophical nor wordy, but simple, homely, and decided. His French is not always correct, but he spoke fluently and intelligibly both French and Italian; it is a pity that so few of the letters we have are genuine. But his restless ardour for the good of his people, his stoical severity as well as his mild sarcasms, are preserved in numberless utterances. A few quotations follow:

"I want to feel the immediate effect of everything I undertake. When I had the Prater and Augarten planted, I did not choose young plants which would give pleasure only to posterity; I chose trees, under whose shade I and my contemporaries could find pleasure and protection.

"The sovereign should not display partiality to the few, but rather feel towards all men alike; I owe to all, justice without respect of persons.

"Every representation that is made to me, must prove itself to have emanated from common sense, if it has the pretension to alter my mind upon a matter I have already considered.

"One should proceed on one's own conviction and in one's actions have no other aim than towards that which is best and most useful for the greatest number. He who cannot feel love for his fatherland and his fellow citizens, who is not moved by a burning desire for the upholding of what is good, he is not born for the business of the state, and is not worthy to possess an honourable title or to be chosen for an appointment.

"German is the universal language of my kingdom; why should I allow the public business of a province to be carried on in the language which is peculiar to it? I am emperor of the German Empire; accordingly, the remaining states which I possess are provinces which united to the whole kingdom form one body, and of that body I am the head.

"My watchmen are my subjects, upon their love rests my security.

"A death sentence has never the same effect as a lasting heavy punishment carries with it; for the first is quickly over and forgotten, but the other is long before the public eye.

"That which is best for the many must always take precedence of the convenience of the few. If the service of the state demands something, all other considerations must give way.

"With one's friends one cannot be too candid; I hold this as a duty, but to me it is nature and habit.

"Agriculture and industrialism are more important than commerce.

"Cause and reason: from these two all things come, to them all things return, which serve mankind for sustenance. The ebb and flow of time changes this in nothing.

"The idea that the subject classes have received their bits of land from the higher classes as a voluntary gift is as absurd as if a sovereign should persuade himself that the sovereignty of his kingdom belongs to him, instead of far more to the country, or that these millions of human beings were created for him, and not he for them, that he may serve them.

"The privileges and liberties of a nobility or a nation do not consist in exemption from the duty of bearing their share of the human burden.

"I admit that my suffering remains the same, but I shall not cease to labour with what physical and moral strength I may possess, to do that which the service and the welfare of my fatherland require of me, without counting the possible cost which may have to be paid out of my length and strength of days."

JOSEPH THE ADMINISTRATOR

Joseph II was the first of the race of Habsburg-Lorraine who reigned in Austria. As a political power, he stands higher than the last Habsburgs, even higher than Maria Theresa, who paid far too superstitious a homage to the old ideals. With all his habit of rapid thought Joseph gave time for the execution of his projects, listened to his ministers, and, like his predecessors, showed great skill in adjustment and compromise; but he had not that

tough power of endurance which had won for the old Habsburgs so much success and achievement. He thought and worked only for the state, for increasing its power and greatness. In home politics he went the same road as Maria Theresa, only with freer and less precedent-haunted steps, and with a more definite aim.

In early days he made for himself a "system" as they were so fond of calling it then. In a memorandum in 1770 he describes the weaknesses of the state government and discusses means of improvement, which in fact afterwards formed the programme of his future work. He had grown up in the period of enlightenment and his whole self seemed filled by it; all the excellencies and weaknesses of the time seem mirrored in his way of thinking. His up-bringing, his personality, his race, all fitted him, not to be a champion of philosophy but to be a state reformer — an enthusiast in the political sphere. Everything old he condemned; the existing order was not held to be just, but the advent of a new justice was announced.

The main lines of Joseph's principles for directing the state are known to us. Out of this many-peopled, strangely various Austria was to arise a homogeneous state, in which all provinces, all classes should work together without exception for the common good. Whilst in Austrian society, the nobility and clergy still clung to the old customs of the old monarchy as under Louis XIV, Joseph used his absolute power over the council to support the equality of all classes, protecting the spirit of freedom, and showing special care for the commonalty. The power of the state should work like a machine, perfected into simplicity, following certain fixed laws; it should stir the people to their depths, and gather all kinds of strength for the one great aim, the good of the people.

He had faith in the good will of his subjects, and in the compelling might of success. Throughout Europe so-called enlightened despotism prevailed, causing the old organic institutions of the state to die out and confining the idea of universal freedom to private life. The Josephinian system corresponded to this "enlightened despotism." He said, like Frederick II, "The sovereign is the chief servant, the administrator of the state." Leopold II also wrote in 1789: "I believe that the sovereign, even when he is one by inheritance, is only the delegated official of the nation." But between theory and practice there remained a great gulf. Woe to him who should seek to dispute the sovereign power of the monarch! To his autocratic will all must bow! Joseph desired that the government should govern, the administration administer, the police keep watch, the justices punish and avenge — but always within the law as nature had conceived and ordained it.

It was the greatest error of Joseph's life that he did not recognise the necessity of a formal constitution; that he trusted the giving and carrying-out of the law to one and the same person. It must be borne in mind that in the eighteenth century all political constitutions were dissolved. In Prussia control was military; in France an absolute despotism prevailed; in England the feudal system was abrogated and the old constitution discovered to be notably corrupt in many ways. In Austria Maria Theresa had broken the back of the feudal monarchy; but everywhere lingered the remainder of the mediæval government, dead and disintegrated as it was. These remains Joseph wished to destroy to the last shreds. He was an enemy neither of religion nor of the nobility, but only an enemy of the privileges of individual power and corruption. The power of the state was "to work not only on the different corporate institutions, but on the entire mass of the people."

The pillars of the state were no longer to be the nobility and clergy, but

a ready and self-sacrificing staff of servants. Perhaps in no country was the government so oddly parcelled out, and the administration of justice so dependent on officialdom as in Austria. It could not take the place of the representation of the nation, but it must be admitted that in Joseph's time the bureaucracy manifested an extraordinarily quiet and far-reaching activity, and that, influenced as it was by the ideas of the day, supported as it was by the powerful will of the emperor, it helped to build a new state upon the ruins of the old. It is however an old saying that a state whose weal and woe lie only in bureaucracy bears within itself the seeds of decay. Joseph learned soon enough that in this bureaucracy the spirit of sacrifice, the intelligence, the power of work, and the love of work which he demanded were not inherent. Already in 1783 he complains of this "meanly perfunctory manner of doing business" — of the idleness and the opposition to be met with in all, from the mere official up to the ministry. He wrote to the chancellor: "If, after acquiring a conviction on any subject, I lay a charge on my officers, their duty is to make my ideas their own, to show zeal, and to think of every means whereby they can be carried out; they should refer to me in any difficulty, and not regard the command as something to which they can apply their wits in order to make a lawyer-like reply, in justification of the *status quo ante*."

Joseph's Ecclesiastical Policy

The laws concerning the church promulgated under Joseph II are well known and have been represented from many points of view. Their object was to limit the clergy's power of law-making, to strengthen the hands of the bishops against the primate, to procure protection and tolerance for Protestants, to reduce the monasteries, to bring about a merely secular state education and a strict right of rigid state inspection. The emperor dealt boldly with the disputed boundary line between ecclesiastical and secular power, and in so doing engaged in a conflict in which many proud heads were brought low, and in which he himself did not escape without wounds. To this very day he is described by priestly authors as an enemy of the Catholic church — even as an atheist. Neither was Philip II a good Catholic in their eyes, and his Spanish-Catholic policy was denounced by the pope.

Joseph was a believer; he thought and declared himself a Catholic. He recognised all the dogmas of the church and submitted himself to her doctrines; he was neither a free-thinker nor a Voltairian, for he held fast to the creed of Christianity. The intention in his church politics had its source far more in the ever-increasing recognition of what the state should be, than in the philosophy of the day. In striving to emancipate the state from the church he felt himself to be within his rights, and he would have succeeded; none the less, he supported all departments of priestly power, communicated all his orders through the clergy, and endeavoured to procure their consent and co-operation.

Like Maria Theresa's measures of reform, those introduced by Joseph rather affected administration than the mass of the people; they were rather financial than economic. The leading idea of the government is always the power of the state, but it would be a crime to doubt that Joseph had the welfare of his subjects at heart. The very first laws, the edict of censure, the abolition of soccage, and the Tolerance Edict have regard to freedom of thought and belief, as well as the release of humanity from its bonds of servitude, from serfdom. In a lecture in 1782 Sonnenfels said: "The first year of his reign was productive of more remarkable laws than the whole lifetime

of other rulers. He has liberated the conscience from thraldom, he has given freedom to the pen and the press, he has conceded to his people full rights of appeal, he has recognised the right of the subject classes to the original privileges of mankind. All Joseph's subjects are citizens; Joseph is an Austrian — he is one of us, our fellow citizen."

Whatever stories were invented about him and whatever failures he may have made, the Josephinian laws, the tendency towards enlightenment, and the spirit of German culture planted an indestructible germ of appreciation of freedom in Austria. George Forster said of Joseph II, "A spark from the torch of his genius fell upon Austria, which will never die out."

In the earlier years everything gave way to the government. The clergy, including some of the bishops, were content with the reforms in the church; the younger clergy were reconciled to them, and the word of the pope alone was not sufficient to check the tide of revolution. A large part of the influential nobility evinced a certain sympathy with the ideas of the emperor. But he did not depend upon them, and indeed through his harshness and rigour alienated their friendly inclinations, so that they harboured a steadily growing mistrust of him. The letters of contemporaries show the constant conflict between the old order and the new, the egoistic attitude of the aristocracy, the power and influence of the church, and the stupidity and inertia of the people. Moreover, Joseph was not the autocrat that he has sometimes been described. Like Maria Theresa he could yield his own opinion and even change his point of view if the men he trusted opposed him. Frederick II was a monarch in reality; every event was in his hand. In Austria the personality of the minister counted in the balance. For instance, Hatzfeld often gave decisions which should really have come from the emperor. It happened, sometimes, that between the highest authorities there was strife and opposition. In foreign policies Kaunitz had almost unlimited authority.[c]

THE RESISTANCE OF THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS

In no part of Joseph's dominions did his centralising efforts and his hostility to Rome rouse stronger dislike than in the Netherlands, and nowhere else was resistance to his measures carried so far — to the point, that is to say, of complete independence. The picture presented by the Belgian opposition and rebellion, confused at first sight, and apparently contradictory, becomes clear in its fundamental character if we understand that in this quarter Joseph's reforms met with a double hostility: that of a proud priesthood and that of ancient corporations clinging to their liberties. Before the important resistance began, however, Joseph's popularity had already suffered from his failure to obtain from Holland the opening of that highroad of Belgian commerce, the Schelde. There were indeed two Belgian questions on which Joseph felt very strongly at the outset, and during his journey in the Netherlands in 1781. He objected, first, to the expense of keeping up the border fortresses created by the Barrier Treaty, and to the indignity of having to share the occupation of these fortresses with Dutch troops. In this matter Kaunitz was entirely agreed with the emperor; and in May, 1782, wrote to his personal friend, the Dutch ambassador, that the Barrier Treaty had been concluded against France, and that Austrian relations with that country were now become of such a sort as to make the Barrier an anachronism, since the Franco-Austrian alliance provided a far better safeguard for Holland.

The efforts of emperor and chancellor were successful, and Holland, engaged in a war with its ancient ally England, evacuated the Barrier. Joseph

was thereby encouraged to proceed vigorously in the second matter which he had at heart, namely the opening of the Schelde. Holland, tenacious of the monopoly of colonial trade, held, by the Peace of Münster, the right of closing the Schelde and thereby cutting off the trade of Antwerp, whose beautiful harbour remained closed, and whose access to the sea was guarded by a Dutch fort on the border of Flanders. In demanding the freedom of the Schelde with threat of war, Joseph was as sanguine of success as he had been in the matter of the Barrier; but events came to pass as Kaunitz had prophesied. The sharp tone of the Austrian notes and the encouragement of France combined to rouse patriotic enthusiasm in Holland. The emperor's demands were refused, and on October 8th, 1784, a brigantine flying the imperial flag was shot at and held up on its way down the Schelde from Antwerp. The *casus belli* was there, and for a time war seemed certain. Three considerations, however, were potent in holding Joseph back — the hostility of France, the Eastern question, and above all the idea of exchanging the Netherlands for Bavaria. One by one he gave up his demands, including the freedom of the Schelde, and even to a considerable extent the indemnity; and on November 8th, 1785, he signed the Peace of Fontainebleau, which practically reinforced the Treaty of Münster. The disillusion was bitter for the Belgians, and the secret reason for Joseph's action did not make Belgian opinion more favourable to him.

For he had hoped to use the quarrel to forward his plan of exchanging Belgium for Bavaria — to wit, by offering France to come to terms with the Dutch if she would support his plan with the Bavarian heir presumptive, the duke of Zweibrücken. Kaunitz was in favour of the plan, and the heirless Charles Theodore of Bavaria showed no dislike to it. The duke of Zweibrücken, however, supported by Frederick, declared he would "rather be buried under the ruins of Bavaria than agree to the proposal" (January, 1785). He was followed by the elector of Bavaria, who publicly denied the rumours of an exchange, and Joseph gave up hope.

As a matter of fact Germany would probably have interfered if the plan had been carried through, for Frederick, feeling himself isolated in his old age, had eagerly headed a federation of German princes, both spiritual and temporal, Catholic as well as Protestant, which from fear of Joseph or offence at his violent entry on the scene, expanded until only Würtemberg, Oldenburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Cologne, and Treves remained faithful to Austria. Building on France and Russia, Joseph lost sight of the power through which Austria had in the past won her best victories — the support of Germany. Frederick died August 17th, 1786, and Joseph, imagining there might now be an end of the old rivalry, wrote generously to Kaunitz of the advantage attainable by an understanding between Prussia and Austria. The chancellor in reply convinced him that the rivalry could never end until one had so completely reduced the other as to deprive it of all power to harm.

Joseph's first reforms in Belgium (1782) were accepted more quietly than the government had expected. The suppression of certain monasteries, the introduction of religious tolerance, the submission of the bishops' pastoral letter to imperial approval, the forbidding of pilgrimages, hardly roused any opposition except from the rich and influential clergy led by the Belgian primate, Count Frankenberg, a Silesian by birth, who had been made archbishop of Mechlin by Maria Theresa in 1759.

The submissiveness of the people encouraged Joseph to take a further step for the regeneration of a country in which he found "bigotry triumphant, education neglected, and the clergy itself ignorant." On the 15th of March,

1786, the bishops were informed of his intention of creating a universal seminary for all students of theology in Louvain, and in spite of protests the edict was published on the 16th of October. The Belgian estates declared that the articles of the edict violated the constitution of the country as well as the rights of the church and bishops, and that the nation was especially hurt because the preface to the edict justified the innovation on the plea of the dissolute state of manners in their country. The unfortunate institution, which opened, November 16th, to the three hundred students who had been gathered from all the various episcopal seminaries, was further damned by the choice of professors whose anti-papal and Jansenist doctrines created a revolt of the pupils (December 8th) in which several panes of glass and some benches were broken. The students' demands included the reinstitution of episcopal supremacy, a somewhat later breakfast, and beer for supper. The rector of the institute asked for government support, and the minister, Count Belgiojoso, replied by sending dragoons. The spiritual commission, sitting in Brussels, followed with measures which made the recalcitrant students something very like outlaws, and sent the papal nuncio and other leaders out of the country. The estates of Brabant and Flanders as well as the magistrates of Brussels, Ghent, and other towns, petitioned the emperor.

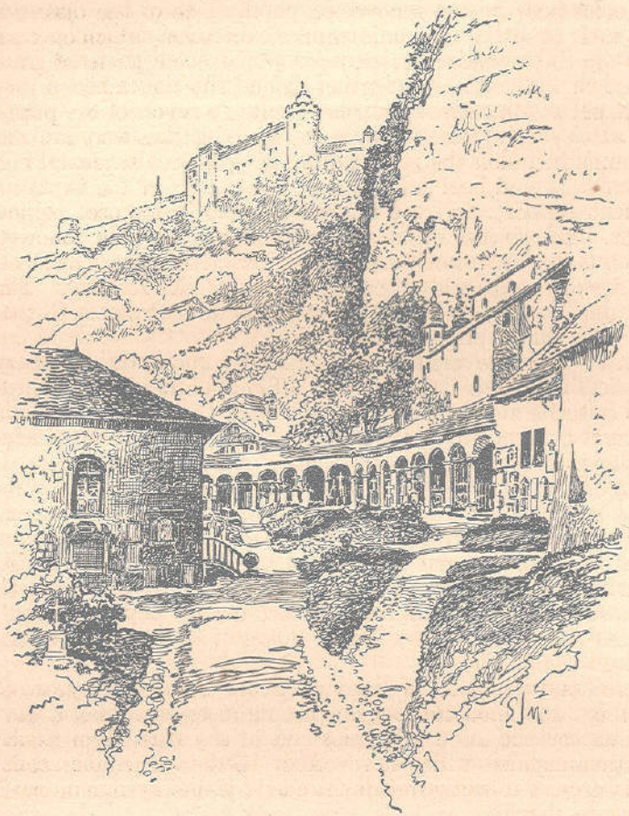
Before the country had recovered from its ferment about the seminary at Louvain, new edicts appeared (January 1st, 1787) affecting the constitution. The various councils at the head of affairs were replaced by a single "council of the general government of the Netherlands." The old provincial divisions were destroyed, the Netherlands were declared one province of the Austrian dominion, and were divided into nine circles governed by an intendant and commissaries; the old courts of justice, which varied in every district and city, and gave employment to some six thousand men, were swept away. Even the first tribunal in the land was abolished — the high court of Brabant, without whose approval the edicts of the sovereign himself had no validity, whose powers were minutely detailed in the "Joyous Entry," the charter of ancient rights granted by former dukes of Brabant and sworn to at Joseph's inauguration.

The reforms were doubtless good in many particulars, and after years of suffering and of foreign dominion the Belgian people has given itself a government which is built on the same principles and in the same form as the Josephinian institutions against which it revolted. But to a people accustomed as the Belgians were to self-government and a feudal system of privileges, Joseph's absolute enlightenment seemed merely tyranny. It has been suggested that Joseph should have employed the existing corporations as vehicles for reforms. So far as the character of Joseph's political conception is concerned, the question whether the feudal bodies of that country were fit to carry out the work of reform needs hardly to be discussed; for it is certain that the idea did not enter Joseph's head, and that no opposition among his peoples, nor any failure among his officials, could suggest to him the convenience, at least, of representative government.[a]

The "Joyous Entry"

As, shortly after, ordinances appeared which upset the organization of the crafts and trades, especially in the life of the third estate (that of the citizens), an outbreak of indignation took place such as had never been witnessed since the accession of Joseph. All classes of the population now cried out at the public breach of the administration which the emperor had

acknowledged and granted on his accession. The agitation spread itself like lightning over the entire land; everywhere the old deeds of administration and charters of the classes, towns, and trade were brought forward. The deed of the "Joyous Entry," especially Article 59, was in all mouths. The passage of the Joyous Entry, sworn at the inauguration of Joseph II, reads:



ST. PETER'S BURIAL GROUND, ACCORDING TO TRADITION THE PLACE WHERE ST. MAXIMUS AND HIS COMPANIONS WERE CAST DOWN BY THE PAGAN HERULI IN 477

"Should his majesty, his offspring, or successors violate the rights and privileges, either themselves or through others, on all or individual points, no matter in what manner, in the name of his majesty, we give our consent that the named prelates, barons, nobles, towns, and republics, and all other persons, in this case, are not bound to render any service to his majesty, his heirs, or successors, nor to be obedient no matter in what cause his majesty might demand, or desire it, until his majesty desists from the above-named undertakings, and returns to his former ways."

The estates of the individual provinces now placed themselves at the head of the agitation, and declared the innovations to be open violation of rights and administration. The councillor of Brabant refused to publish the imperial edict; the Brabantine states threatened the stoppage of subsidies. Distinguishing himself by special zeal, the advocate Van der Noot soon appeared as a powerful supporter of the opposition. The two to be pitied under these circumstances were the governors of the Netherlands, Joseph's sister, Maria Christina, and her husband, Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, both distinguished by their goodness of heart and piety, but inexperienced, and not made for relations such as were now arising in

Belgium. They found themselves as it were between the hammer and the anvil.

From the beginning of the reform, the emperor Joseph had exacted earnestness and force, firm politics, and refusal of every concession from them; on the other side they had bound their hands by a chance and well-meant action. In order to make themselves popular, they had shortly before bought property in Belgium, and sought to become naturalised as citizens of the country. The estates of the realm now exacted that the governors should fulfil their duties as citizens, and defend the rights and privileges of the country. The oppression increased daily; companies of volunteers were formed with the avowed intention of opposing the carrying out of the imperial commands with force; anarchical scenes were already taking place here and there.

Under these circumstances, as there were no means for a powerful opposition, the governors found it more advisable partly to give in. On the new and urgent representation of the estates, May 5th, 1787, the introduction of the new administration was prorogued with the further declaration of the governors that they had really sent the representation of the estates to the emperor, and that until his return (Joseph was then with Catherine II in the Crimea) nothing was to be done with regard to the administration; they had anticipated the full and just consent of the emperor. Nevertheless Maria Christina and Albert were soon compelled to make further concessions; for after the first one they were regularly besieged with appeals. The clergy of Bruges took the first step in a meeting on the 22nd of May; they requested the estates to support their just wishes. This was done on the 23rd of May by the estates of Flanders, the magistrate of Bruges, the University of Louvain, the magistrates and clergy of West Flanders. Together they presented memorials to the emperor with specified demands: the recall of all decrees, edicts, and despatches of the imperial highnesses issued to the detriment of the church and its rights; the reinstatement of all bishops in full rights such as they had exercised before 1781; the restoration of all liberties, privileges, and exemptions to the cathedral chapter, abbeys, and cloisters; the reconcession of the former rights of the bishops for the maintenance of the diocesan seminaries, and the granting of this right to the abbeys and convents under the supervision of the bishops; and the entire suppression of the ecclesiastical commission at Brussels. They further demanded that the lands taken away from the brotherhoods founded by the parish churches should be given back to them.

The political claims concerned the abolition of the innovations introduced into the civil and legal administration; they entreated the emperor to desist from these, as their execution could only be fatal. They referred to the oath which he had solemnly taken to uphold the sacred rights of the Belgians, rights which the Austrian rulers had over and over again confirmed and which were now acknowledged by the foreign powers. To these appeals of the clergy and estates of the named episcopates and provinces, the estates of Brabant, the duchy of Luxemburg, and the countships of Hainault, as well as the metropolitan capital of Mechlin, now joined theirs.

The power of these joint representations, which moreover alluded to the imminent dangers which were already threatening the public peace of the land, were yielded to by the governors, who granted all requests without restrictions. They declared their firm resolve to persuade the emperor that in future all innovations must be stopped and obviated; and in the meantime, to give proof of the sincerity of their promises, they permitted the

return to the old ordinances in ecclesiastical as well as political relations. Now joy and triumph prevailed in Brussels. On the 31st of May, the governors were drawn in their state carriages to the theatre by six hundred young Brabantines; the town was illuminated, the cannon thundered forth on the ramparts, all bells rang out joyously, and innumerable addresses came from the provinces. But by this the emperor Joseph had learned to what must lead, sooner or later, the thoughtless overthrow of institutions considered by the people inviolable and sacred. There was an end to the authority of his government in the Austrian Netherlands. The victory obtained was immediately made use of by the Belgians also; for the states began to take the government into their own hands.

The first thing they undertook was the closing of the general seminary at Louvain; besides this, the formation of patriotic volunteer companies, the bearing of other emblems than the Austrian, and the organisation of those elements of opposition which soon pressed farther on the path once entered, continued their course uninterrupted.

The Emperor Returns from the Crimea

At the first news of the turn which things had taken in Belgium, the emperor Joseph hastened from the Crimea to Vienna. On the 13th of June, he had taken leave of the empress Catherine; on the evening of the 30th of June, he entered Vienna. The four days spent in retirement and the vehemence with which all, especially Kaunitz, had to contend, clearly showed how much he had taken the Belgian event to heart. The idea of gaining time decided Joseph to adopt the following measures. The Belgian provinces were notified to send to Vienna deputies from the nobles, the clergy, and the third estate. The governors and the emperor's authorised minister received the order to come to Vienna. A propitious letter, not from Joseph but from the government, in which all events were attributed to misunderstanding, acquainted the Belgian estates with the promised suspension of all innovations.

All these ordinances were issued on the 3rd of July. On the same day the emperor appointed Count Joseph Murray, who had been at the head of the imperial troops in the Netherlands since 1781, to be governor-general with full power, and accountable to none save the emperor. The instructions which this general received included the command to suppress the agitation in Belgium at any price. At the same time fifty thousand men received marching orders, and for the present were to advance to the extreme frontier of Austria. On the 6th of July, Brussels received the above-mentioned ordinances. The recall of the archduchess and her husband caused a most disagreeable impression in Belgium, as in it a kind of declaration of war by the emperor against the provinces was perceived. The estates opposed the departure and also refused to send deputies. It was only when the emperor peremptorily summoned them for the 15th of August, and otherwise threatened to treat them as rebels, that they allowed the governors to go, and thirty-three deputies followed them.

Meanwhile, on the 24th of July, Count Murray received notice from the emperor to restore everything to the condition in which it had been before the 1st of April. From the 27th to the 30th of July, the command followed to concentrate the troops in certain places so as with one blow to compel the Belgians to withdraw all the ordinances decreed by them.

The Belgian deputies entered Vienna before the 15th of August, and on

that day they were received in audience by the emperor. Little that is trustworthy is known concerning the negotiations; the result of the whole personal interview seems to have been that the deputies were not treated in an unfriendly manner by Joseph, and were appeased by promises, but with regard to the main point they were dismissed without any fixed declaration. Joseph promised them to send away Count Belgiojoso, who had made himself hated, and to meet the wishes of the bishops with regard to the plan for enlarging the general seminary, which the deputies joyfully reported at home on the 22nd of August. Concerning the main point he gave them the indefinite explanation that they would receive his further orders through the governor-general. The deputies probably had greater hopes from these expressions than they afterwards saw realised at home; for shortly after their return the governor notified that the emperor would only come to an understanding with the states under the following conditions:

(1) Everything in the provinces was to be placed on the same footing as before the 1st of April. (2) The university and seminary at Louvain were both to be restored to the condition in which they were before the 1st of April, or in which they ought to have been according to the emperor's wishes. The same thing was to take place with regard to the seminary at Luxemburg. (3) All taxes in arrears and the current ones were to be paid without delay. (4) All officials dismissed from their posts by the desire of the estates were to be reinstated. (5) The volunteer companies to be disbanded, the inflammatory cockades and other signs to be set aside. (6) All convents suppressed before the 1st of April were to remain suppressed, and all appointments to the abbacies in abeyance since that date to be void. (7) The general seminary at Louvain must be opened before the 1st of November.

The notification of these conditions raised a terrible fermentation; they were found to be in contradiction not only with the fundamental laws of the land, but also to the promises which the emperor had given on the 3rd of July, and again to the deputies. Therefore the estates of Brabant on the 30th of August handed to the governor-general the declaration that they could not accept the emperor's demanded return to the situation as it had existed before the 1st of April.

When Murray published the imperial decree and adopted military measures to carry it through, as well as for the collection of taxes and other subsidies which the government required, Brussels rose up in arms and was supported by more than fifty thousand men, who came partly from the country and partly from other towns.

From the 17th to the 20th of September there were such demonstrations that the government could have attained nothing without great bloodshed. Under these circumstances Murray began to negotiate with the rebels, being either intimidated or misled by a despatch of Prince Kaunitz which on the 10th of September notified him that the emperor had completely retracted the former decree, and exhorted him to act in this manner; for it cannot be denied that the governor-general received orders from the government, and others again immediately from the imperial cabinet. He issued a proclamation which was qualified completely to restore peace. He declared: "The constitutions, privileges, liberties such as the Joyous Entry, in accordance with the acts of inauguration of his majesty, are, and will be upheld and remain inviolate in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. With regard to the violation of the Joyous Entry and the attack on the same, the estates will be dealt with as desired; accordingly their proposals will be accepted, and then in

equity and justice his majesty will take the necessary steps according to the fundamental law of the land."

Joy and jubilation were as great now as had been formerly the agitation. The Belgians now gave vent to their feelings in addresses of gratitude. For example, that of the estates of Flanders began with the words: "Sire! The ever-memorable day in our annals has now come (September 21st) in which your majesty has restored to us our administration — this day on which the fundamental law, the liberties and privileges of a faithful nation have been forever assured; the day on which the estates of all provinces have found an end to their anxieties. What a noble example your majesty sets to your contemporaries and those who will ascend the throne after you! You teach them, sire! how careful they must be of overreaching and of abusing the plans of the alleged reformers who surround the throne, and by their ambitious plans cast a happy nation from the summit of its happiness to the deepest abyss of its humiliation and misery."

But matters were not looked on in this light at the imperial court. The emperor censured the governor-general for the weakness and transgressions of his plenipotentiaries, and disapproved of his conduct. On the 8th of October Kaunitz had to inform him of his dismissal. In his stead the emperor determined to appoint two men from whom he anticipated quite other results, and the suppression of the agitation if necessary by military force — Count Ferdinand von Trauttmansdorff as imperial minister, and Count D'Alton, a dauntless warrior, as military governor of the Netherlands. At home he gave himself up to philosophical and melancholy lamentations, which he imparted to Trauttmansdorff and others in letters concerning the mistaking of his good intentions and the spirit of opposition which for some time past had been spreading itself over Europe.

Count Trauttmansdorff remained passive and unobserved after his arrival in Brussels, until December, 1787; as, on account of the war with the Porte, a cessation of the Belgian negotiations had taken place.[e]

THE RESISTANCE OF HUNGARY

Joseph's Hungarian measures were conceived in the same spirit as the reforms he introduced into Belgium, and they met with similar opposition. The feudal and independent kingdom refused to be made into an Austrian province. His first change, dealing with religion, gave perhaps as much satisfaction as displeasure. True, the bishops protested against the measures as oppressive to the church in which alone salvation is, but they did not question the sovereign's right. The Hungarian clergy had never been ultramontane and were treated with great consideration by Joseph: this circumstance may go some way to explain why it was that the opposition in this country did not come from the church, as in Belgium.

It was not indeed until 1783, 1784, and 1785, when the conviction grew that Joseph would neither be crowned nor call a parliament; it was not until the Hungarian crown was removed from Presburg to be placed as a curiosity in the Viennese treasury along with the Bohemian crown and the ducal coronet of Austria, not until the introduction of the German language and the abolishment of serfdom — that Hungary began to grow uneasy. The language ordinances were not intended, as the emperor explained, to oust the national tongue, only in so mixed a country as Hungary a simple business speech must be recognised, and in all enlightened lands Latin was looked on as a dead language. The fear that the emperor therefore wished

to employ only German officials does not seem to be at all supported by facts, for in the official ranks we meet almost exclusively names belonging to the Hungarian aristocracy — Batthyányi, Esterházy, Palffy, Almasy, Károlyi, Nádasdy, Majláth, Teleki, Zichy, Wesselényi. The measures concerning serfdom were not carried out, and the peasants waited till 1827, 1832, and 1836 before their position was regulated in the spirit of the Josephinian reforms.[a]

In his aversion to any class or corporate institutions the emperor decided to introduce administration proceeding from the government, managed and controlled by officials. His legislation was especially directed against the comitia of the comitat or departmental councils of the nobility, which had a right either to protest against the injunctions of the government or to stop them. The autonomy of these comitia was done away with, their correspondence prohibited, the office of supreme count ceased to exist, the deputy counts became royal officials without "presidential authority." The comitat councils should, with the permission of the government, assemble only once a year, and limit their scope of action to elections and taxes. By a writ dated March 18th, 1785, the whole country was divided into ten departments, at the head of which was placed a royal commissioner who had to look after the public peace, recruiting, levying of taxes, and the safety of the people. The commissioner had to exercise his influence upon the deputy count, the deputy count upon the president of the tribunal (judge), and the latter upon the country judge. The greatest part of the commissioners were taken from among the supreme counts, were well paid, and had the title "privy-councillor."

VON TELEKI

The idea and the form of this institution were the same as in Austria, in Belgium since 1787, and later on in France. Modern governments know nothing of these assemblies of the nobility. Hungary, too, had fought against them for a long time, and only in 1867 was this mediæval institution abolished. At that time, however, the comitat councils were considered the bulwark of Hungarian liberty and the autonomous administration. It was from these comitat councils, as from the higher and lower nobility, that the opposition against the government of Joseph issued, whilst in Belgium it was chiefly the third estate that spoke and acted against the orders of the government. The suffrage of the towns had no weight in Hungary, whilst the representation of the civic estate appeared to be an affront rather than a privilege, as all the towns together had only one voice in the imperial diet.

A writ issued on December 12th, 1786, which was to take effect on March 1st in the succeeding year, valid for the 1st of March, 1787, announced the new administration from the court of chancery down to the country judge and the lord of the soil. Just as the financial management was handed over to the Hungarian court of chancery, the provincial boards were amalgamated with the lieutenancy, and new financial administrators and tax-gatherers were appointed for the ten provinces. The sixteen Zips towns, too, like all

privileged districts, lost their autonomous administration. The administration of justice was divided into three resorts: the "septemviral table" as supreme court of judicature, the "royal table" as court of appeals, and thirty-eight county courts as tribunals of first resort. All exemptions ceased, but for differences of the nobility five district tables remained.

For Transylvania the writ of July 3rd was valid, which had dissolved a few years ago the former comitat and municipal government, and especially the union of the three nations in the country, in order, as Joseph remarked, to exterminate the national hatred. In 1786 the Transylvanian court of chancery ought also to have been united with that of Austria; this, however, was not achieved on account of the war with Turkey. With the 1st of November the new government should enter upon its functions.

Just as these reforms were intended to extend the supreme power as far as the people, the emperor also endeavoured to strengthen the power of the government by the introduction of a general defence and tax duty. That is what was intended by the laws of 1785 relating to the popular census or the conscription; and those of 1786 relating to the ground-rent conscription existed already in Hungary, but not for the nobility nor for the estates. With the 1st of November the new popular census and the numbering of the houses would begin under the supervision of the national boards, assisted by military persons who had already acquired experience and skill in this occupation. A paragraph annexed to the law expressly declared that the conscription was not ordered with a view to the levying of recruits but for the common weal; by the people, however, it was generally considered the first step towards an introduction of the German military system in opposition to the *insurrectio* of the nobility. The distribution of troops over the country added to the strengthening of this belief.

The Hungarian imperial diet had always opposed the idea of a standing army, and this measure, therefore, met with a unanimous general protest. All remonstrances and representations of the comitat councils more or less sharply expressed this view. The emperor, they pretended, had promised in his letter of November 30th, 1780, the maintenance of the old privileges; conscription, they further complained, was against the constitution — the employment of military persons in civil administrations had already been interdicted in 1741 and was consequently illegal. The equalisation of the nobility with the subjects, added the comitat council of Temes, was an outrage upon their privileges. "We cannot but infer from it," they said, "that even we who have been born within the circle of inestimable liberty shall be reduced to the miserable condition of slavery and submitted to the unconstitutional system of government employed in the German provinces."

"This conscription," said the comitat council of Neutra, "has hitherto been possible only in the outlying provinces and has always brought an insupportable slavery over the people; the Hungarian people has never been forced to military service; we would rather sacrifice our lives and property than lose our liberty and lead a miserable life in tears and lamentations."

In spite of these complaints the emperor remained firm in his decision; the secular authorities and the clergy had only to enlighten the people with regard to such a peaceable measure, which was intended for the common welfare and would in no way weaken their lawful rights. The comitat councils, however, made new remonstrances and even defiantly prevented, here and there, the execution of the preliminary measures. Only when the government declared that the popular census would take place in any case, some comitat councils silently submitted; others, however, like those of

Presburg, Vasvár, and Neutra, still resisted. Several supreme counts were consequently dismissed, troops were again called together, the census took a quiet course and was completed in the autumn of 1785. The authorities recorded 6,935,376 inhabitants outside of the nobility.

The reform of the tax system, especially the abolition of the immunity from taxation of the nobility and clergy, had already been planned during the reign of Maria Theresa, and was taken up again during the reign of Joseph in 1783, in the letter addressed to Count Palffy. In a second letter, dated December 10th, 1785, he touched this question again and explained also his reasons for the tax reforms, which were in accordance with the physiocratic views. The ground-rent was the cheapest and therefore the least oppressive; the ground should therefore be measured and equally taxed in accordance with the revenue, the produce prepared by nature or culture would be free from duty as products of industry — for these the consumers in towns would only pay a duty. The community had to superintend the measuring and the distribution of the taxes; the allodial estates of the nobility could not be exempted from measuring and evaluation; the estates of the nobility and of the peasantry, those of the crown and of the clergy, had therefore the same rent duty. A writ dated February 10th, 1786, ordered that the new system should be carried out; after its completion an imperial diet should be convoked and asked to fix the extent of the ground-rent, the discharge of the *insurrectio*, and the abolition of the line of custom houses.

By these and other innovations Joseph touched the core of the social and political life in Hungary. General excitement pervaded the country. The ten commissioners, among them being Joseph von Majláth, spoke in favour of the reform as the former tax system was deficient and erroneous. The other party, led by the Hungarian chancery court, declared the reform to be contrary to the constitution. They thought that the emperor should put the idea of measuring and evaluation as a suggestion of the government before the imperial diet. The two privy councillors Izdenczy and Eger emphatically opposed the summoning of the diet. The emperor according to old Hungarian custom was supreme in military and financial matters, and it would be sufficient if the court of chancery were not overlooked in these innovations. It was due to Izdenczy's influence that the diet was not called together and the emperor remained firm in his decision to carry out the tax system. Resistance could not be thought of: there were too many troops in the country, seventy thousand men before Buda-Pest. The emperor recognised the difficulty of evaluation but wished to have it finished in October. In fact, the preliminary measures were completed in August and the whole work towards the end of the year 1787, though it was deficient and erroneous in many respects. The emperor appointed a commission for the introduction of the new system. His instructions, however, to this body were his last work in this affair; the war with Turkey soon compelled him to postpone and finally to recall everything.

JOSEPH'S VISIT TO CATHERINE

In 1780, while Maria Theresa still lived, Joseph had paid a visit to Russia — a stroke directed against Prussia as a political power. Joseph had sent to the czarina to know if he might meet her somewhere on her journey to White Russia, and make her personal acquaintance. The czarina accepted the overture with cordiality, and fixed the town of Mohileff in Lithuania as the meeting place. The emperor had ordered it to be made clear that this

visit had no political significance; but nobody believed him, and he himself owned to the wish that Austria and Russia should once more be close allies.

The French court believed the emperor had in his mind the dissolution of the alliance; the king of Prussia supposed that Joseph wished to combine with Russia and seize a Turkish province; and Prince Potemkin already saw in Joseph a welcome comrade in view of another war against the Turks. The chancellor advised the emperor to explain to the czarina that Austria had no intention of going to war with Germany and still less contemplated any independent action against Poland, the principal motive for the journey, he should state, being his desire that he, the future ruler of Austria, should be rightly understood by the czarina; and that, if possible, the old friendship between the two countries should be revived. But Joseph did not follow the programme laid down for him, preferring to follow his own bent. He left Vienna on the 26th of April, and travelling by way of Galicia passed through Kieff on the 2nd of June on his way to Mohileff. The czarina arrived there on June 7th, and remained four days. The greeting was most cordial on both sides, but in the matter of politics the czarina evinced a determined reserve, merely throwing out the suggestion that Italy, and more particularly Rome, might be a desirable acquisition to Joseph's dominions. To this Joseph merely replied by a jest. About the Prussian monarch she only remarked that he had grown old and morose, allowing all kinds of "small people" to carry tales to him.

When the czarina invited Joseph to follow her to St. Petersburg, the emperor first made a visit to Moscow, and on the 28th of June went to St. Petersburg, where he remained for three weeks. Joseph was especially anxious to win over the minister Panin, but in political affairs he adopted the same reserve and non-committal attitude as the czarina herself. Upon her again referring to Italy and the Turks, Potemkin said the emperor might at least engage himself to form no alliance with the Ottomans against Russia. Joseph declared himself willing, provided only that Russia would engage never to take part in any war against Austria. It did not come to any definite exchange of pledges, but Joseph had, as the English envoy said, won a place for himself in the czarina's heart.

Maria Theresa noted the result in a letter to the queen of France. "Nothing definite was said, but it appears he has had the good fortune to be able to destroy the false, deeply-rooted prejudice against us." After his return, Joseph carried on a lively correspondence with the czarina, in which each addressed the other with exaggerated compliment. The task of turning this friendship to political account was undertaken by the ambassador Cobenzl, and it resulted finally in the Austro-Russian alliance of 1781.[c]

In competing successfully with Frederick for Catherine's favour, Joseph was acting entirely in accordance with the views of Kaunitz, the "Austrian vice-vizir," as Frederick called him. From the correspondence between the two sovereigns we learn that Joseph agreed to Catherine's oriental projects of creating a new "Dacia" under a ruler of the Greek faith, and founding in the place of Turkey, whence the Turks were to be expelled, an independent state under her grandson Constantine, on the understanding that Austria should be allowed to strengthen and enlarge her borders on the southeast, and obtain the Dalmatian seaboard. Upon so extensive a project Joseph shrank from entering at once (February, 1783) for fear that his ally, France, should join Prussia. When, however, Catherine contented herself with a smaller beginning, and determined to possess herself of the Crimea, Austria marched troops to the Turkish frontier and declared through her internuncio at Constantinople that the two courts were acting in concord. For these services Joseph claimed Russia's help in the matter of the Bavarian exchange. With Bavaria instead of Belgium, Kaunitz argued, Austria would have nothing to fear from France, could force back Prussia, and thus strengthened take up with Russia Catherine's great oriental scheme.

HIS MAJESTY'S POLITICAL OFFICE BARODA. LIBRARY

In the course of another three years the czarina collected a new list of charges against the Turks, of which she notified Joseph while informing him of her proposed journey to the Crimea. At first Joseph was disinclined to accept the invitation to accompany her — this "Catherinised princess of Anhalt-Zerbst" as he called her — but towards the end of the year Kaunitz was all for his going: "Who knows what advantages we may get from it if time and circumstances are favourable to us." The superb stage management of Potemkin has given to Catherine's journey a world-wide fame (May, 1787). It does not appear that immediately warlike schemes were arranged during the visit, and Joseph hurried back to Vienna at the end of June, uneasy about the opposition of the estates of Brabant. However, when Turkey declared war on Catherine two months later, Joseph, under the advice of Kaunitz, supported her with a despatch of a strength that astonished her — 245,000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry, and 9,000 guns were to be in the field by the next year.[a]

A personal interview took place between the two powers at Cherson. The partition of Turkey, like that of Poland, formed the subject of their deliberations. A diversion made to their rear by Gustavus III of Sweden, however, compelled Catherine to recall the greater portion of her troops. Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, had been a field of speculation for Germans, who, to the extreme detriment of their native country, increased the power of Russia by filling the highest civil and military posts. A prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen, who served at this period as Russian admiral, was shamefully defeated by the Swedes, lost fifty-five ships and twelve thousand men, and was forced to fly for his life in a little boat. The Turkish campaign was, owing to these disadvantageous circumstances, far from brilliant. The Russians merely took Oczakow by storm and fixed themselves, as the Austrians should have done in their stead, close to the mouths of the Danube. Joseph was even less successful. The extreme heat of the summer of 1788 produced a pestilence which carried off thirty-three thousand Austrians. The bad inclination generated among the lower class by the nobility and clergy had crept into the army. At Caransebes, the troops were seized with a sudden panic and took to flight, carrying the emperor along with them, without an enemy being in sight. The Turks, commanded by French officers, were several times victorious. Sick and chagrined, the emperor returned to Vienna.[b]

VICTORIES OVER THE TURKS

Then, following the popular voice, he replaced Lacy by his old opponent Laudon, in command of the independent Austrian army (August, 1789). After successful actions by Hohenlohe and Clerfayt, Laudon moved forward and after three weeks' siege took Belgrade (September 15th to October 8th). Meanwhile, on August 1st and September 22nd, the combined Russian and Austrian armies under Suvarov and Prince Josias of Coburg gained the splendid victories of Fokshani and Rimnik. These successes were followed by others until the allies became masters of the whole line of fortresses covering the Turkish frontier, and their three grand armies converged as if to the complete overthrow of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Again the activity of Prussia interfered to rob Austria of the fruits of her victories and prevent the triumphant third campaign which seemed so likely. During the campaigns of 1788 and 1789 Joseph had quite well foreseen the gathering hostility of Prussia, and in 1790 he wrote to the czarina that Prussia and Poland would certainly attack her in the spring. The Russian chancellor, Ostermann, like Kaunitz himself, refused to take so serious a view. Russia wished to continue the war so as to dictate terms; Prussia worked against peace in Constantinople and concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the Porte, January 30th, 1790. The Prussian court even welcomed the beginning of the French revolution as depriving Austria of the one ally to whom she might have turned in her distress. Joseph had already commanded Laudon to arrange a plan of campaign against Prussia and Poland. The news of the loss of Belgium, which Joseph described as the culminating point of misfortune and shame, came to weaken Russia's not very eager desire to support Austria against Prussia.

REVOLT OF THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS (1789 A.D.)

The calm which followed in Belgium upon the appointment of Trauttmansdorff and D'Alton (October, 1787) was not of long duration. The Austrian authorities imagined that they had found the secret of success in the employment of force, and D'Alton occupied with soldiery the palace where the council of Brabant was in session over the decree for the reopening of the unfortunate seminary. Thus threatened, the council signed the order to publish the decree (January, 1788), while in the streets the first blood was spilt between the military and the citizens. The opposition, suppressed for the moment, burst out again when the government had to summon the estates of the provinces in order to raise taxes. True, the clergy and nobility of Brabant at last declared their willingness to grant subsidies, but the third estate held out. Joseph, who at this time was lately returned from the Turkish war, decided upon stronger measures, such as the suppression of the third estate; but the democratic and revolutionary party had got the upper hand. Bonck's secret patriotic association numbered seventy thousand in October, and by that time insurgents had gathered over the border at Breda to the number of twelve thousand. Edicts and threats were useless, and on October 24th Van der Mersch marched the insurgents into Belgium and won an engagement with the imperial troops at Turnhout. When the patriot army was already threatening Brussels, Trauttmansdorff began to withdraw the obnoxious measure, finally gave up everything, and offered an amnesty into the bargain. It was too late — his action was interpreted as fear. Flanders declared the emperor deprived of all his rights in the duchy (November 25th, 1789). Brussels was evacuated by the Austrians (December 12th). Brabant declared the independence of the Netherlands. In January of 1790 a scheme of Belgian federation was accepted and proclaimed. The Netherlands had torn themselves free of Austria.

CONCESSIONS TO HUNGARY

There were those who believed that Hungary was well started on the same road. We last saw that country at the moment when Joseph was successfully carrying out his new land valuation. Opposition was already stirring, and late in the summer of 1788, when the government asked the comitat assemblies for recruits, they supplied only 1,184 out of 15,000, and demanded

the summoning of the diet with the restoration of former institutions. Joseph seemed inclined to take the advice of the Hungarian chancery, which was for calling the diet; but his personal advisers persuaded him to refuse (December, 1788). No brilliant success of the Turkish war had yet occurred to appeal to the imagination; next year recruits, corn supplies, and the additional war tax were again refused. National songs grew popular and the national dress ousted the German. "The Belgian story over again," Kaunitz said, and as in Belgium so in Hungary, Prussian influence was at work.[a]

In the midst of public distresses, the declining spirit of Joseph was troubled with domestic feuds. He had offended his brother Leopold by an imprudent partiality for his nephew the archduke Francis, who had been brought up under his auspices, and by an unjustifiable attempt to secure for him the reversion of the imperial crown. This impolitic attempt to raise the son above the father created an incurable jealousy between the two brothers; and Leopold not only censured every part of his conduct, both in internal and external policy, but sedulously avoided even an interview or any species of communication which might implicate him in the transactions or embarrassments of his brother.

Joseph sank under the struggle of contending passions, the weight of accumulated calamities, and the effects of disease. The same languor which prevailed in the chamber of the sick monarch was, for a time, diffused through every department of state: although a war with Prussia seemed inevitable, he neither formed magazines nor made the necessary augmentations of the army; equally unable to avert and unwilling to encounter the danger, he displayed the extremes of anxiety, alarm, and irresolution. But as the storm approached, his mind regained a portion of its pristine activity, and, in the commencement of February, 1790, he ordered the requisite preparations for impending hostilities. He felt also the necessity of conciliating his subjects to frustrate the designs of Prussia, which were founded on their growing disaffection, and accordingly revoked many of his unpopular edicts and prepared to rescind many others. He received the haughty demands of the Hungarians with condescension and complacency, restored their constitution as it existed at his accession, promised speedily to solemnise the ceremony of his coronation, and as an earnest of his intentions sent back the crown of St. Stephen.

The rapture with which the crown was received proved the precipitation and folly of wantonly choking the feelings of a people so susceptible to national prejudice and so awake to national honour. Triumphal arches were erected in its passage; every town was a scene of festivity; numbers flocking from all quarters swelled the cavalcade, and at Buda exulting multitudes crowding to the cathedral welcomed the precious palladium of their national splendour and freedom.

At night the crown was removed into the chapel of the palace, and guarded by two magistrates with drawn sabres. The whole city was illuminated, the streets resounded with songs of joy and exultation, and on every side was heard the exclamation, "Long live the liberties of the Hungarian people!"

DEATH OF JOSEPH II (1790 A.D.)

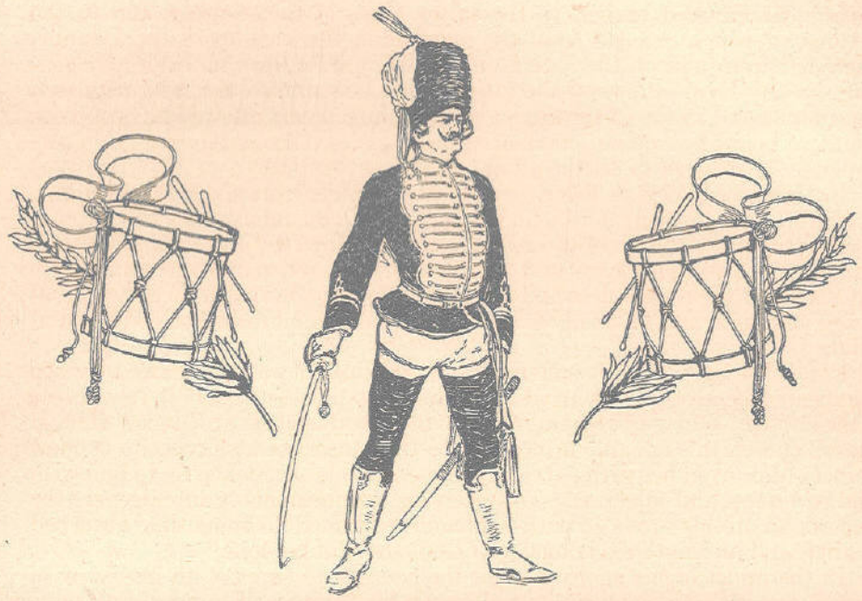
But Joseph did not live to experience the good effects of this change of conduct; for at this awful crisis his reign and his life were hastening to a close. Though naturally robust and hardy, his incessant exertions of body and mind had worn down his frame; and his last campaign accelerated his

decay. He exposed himself to the sultry heats of the summer, and to the noxious air which exhaled from the marshes in the vicinity of the Danube, where he often slept on the bare ground. He was his own minister and general; by day he encountered the fatigues of a common soldier, and regulated the complicated affairs of the army; at night he scarcely allowed himself more than five hours for repose, conducting with his own hand the extensive correspondence relative to all the affairs of his vast empire.

In December, 1788, a fever, derived from anxiety, hardship, and fatigue, compelled him to retire to Vienna. During several months he was in considerable danger, and was afterwards long confined by an asthmatic complaint. With extreme care and attention he seemed to recover gradually; but his incessant restlessness and the fatal revolution in the Netherlands occasioned a relapse, and he finally sank under accumulated disorders of body and mind.

Enfeebled by incessant sufferings, his dissolution was accelerated by the unexpected death of his beloved niece, the archduchess Elizabeth, a princess of the house of Würtemberg, and sister to the grand duchess of Russia. He had himself chosen this amiable princess to be the consort of his favourite nephew Francis, and loved her with paternal fondness, while she looked up to him with filial reverence and affection. On receiving the melancholy intelligence, the emperor smote his forehead with his hands, remained for some time absorbed in grief, and at length exclaimed, "O God, thy will be done!"

In the midst of his agony he had the courage to support an interview of three hours with his nephew; but although his firmness of mind did not give way, his bodily strength could not resist so awful a shock. Feeling the approach of death, he summoned his confessor at three in the morning, and devoutly heard the prayers ordered by the church for persons in the last agonies. Though his sight failed, his senses remained unimpaired till the last moment, and he expired on the 20th of February, 1790, with perfect composure, and almost without a groan, in the forty-ninth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.[9]



CHAPTER XIII

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

[1790–1806 A.D.]

At the end of the eighteenth century there were in Germany no less than three hundred independent sovereignties, ecclesiastical states, or free cities; not to speak of fifteen hundred imperial knights with jurisdiction over their subjects. The territory of modern Würtemberg alone was divided among seventy-eight different rulers, under the almost nominal headship of the emperor. Some of these principalities were infinitesimally small, even when compared with domains like those of a modern prince of Waldeck, which one can traverse in the course of a morning's stroll. The abbess of Gutenzell was down in the *Reichsmatrikel*, or military schedule of the empire, for one-third of a horseman and three and one-third foot soldiers; the barony of Sickingen for two-thirds of a horseman and five and one-third foot. The burgravate of Reineck could boast of one castle, twelve poor subjects, one Jew, and a couple of farms and millwheels. The rulers of these petty states wasted little thought on problems of good government. The bishoprics and abbacies, not being hereditary, were subject to a total change in the methods of administration with every change of incumbent. A whole string of these bishoprics — Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Speier, and others — extended along the Rhine, forming the boundary against France: a weak bulwark they were now to form when the waves of the French Revolution came surging into Germany. — HENDERSON.[a]

LEOPOLD, the third son of Maria Theresa, was forty-three years old when he succeeded Joseph. His wise and liberal administration of the archduchy of Tuscany (1765–1790) remains to this day an almost unique phenomenon

in the history of Italian governments. With the help of his minister, Pompeo Neri, a native of Florence, he made land-tenure free, restored autonomy to parish councils, simplified taxation, abolished torture and the Inquisition, liberated trade and industry, destroyed guilds and monopolies, instituted the system of hereditary tenements, and founded an untrammelled education.[a]

LEOPOLD II (1747–1792)

His future right to the Habsburg monarchy and to the imperial crown had influenced Leopold but little in his way of life; he judged the character of his imperial brother correctly and with innate tact avoided all interference in Viennese affairs, although during the lifetime of Joseph's second wife he might have considered himself the successor, and was in fact so regarded by his family. He appeared wrapt up in active care for his grand duchy, and by his peculiar position had grown to love it to such a degree that the idea of its being united to the superior home power — to which in 1784 Joseph persuaded him to consent — was anything but agreeable to him.

THE TREATY OF REICHENBACH (1790 A.D.)

During the first hours of his presence in Vienna, Leopold recognised that he must transact all serious business himself. No initiative was to be looked for from his brother's ministers. They were one and all useless for purposes of advice, offering him no suggestions for a programme, and showing him no confidence. Indeed, they, as well as the members of the state council, settled at their posts though they were, had not the slightest idea of what Leopold's views really were. The new emperor started by endeavouring to inform himself thoroughly of the general state of affairs; he worked from ten to twelve hours a day without interruption; not even pausing, as he wrote to Maria Christina, to take a breath of fresh air. Foreign affairs became the principal political question. Peace must be obtained, fresh conflict of any kind must be avoided if the Austrian provinces were to be quieted. This end once attained, it would be possible to restore to Austria her prestige in the eyes of the other European powers. Kaunitz considered Austria's greatest danger to be in the attitude of Prussia, from which he expected the worst consequences. He advocated forcing the Turks to make peace by an outburst of military energy, to be accompanied by so strong and definite a demonstration in Berlin as should defer the Prussian court from showing

Turkey open support. Leopold on the other hand was of opinion that peace with Germany was Austria's first necessity; a settlement with the Turks did not to his mind present very great difficulties, because he did not consider any advantage he could gain in the East worth holding out for, but would have been content to allow affairs to resume the state in which they found themselves before the war.

It is astonishing that in this matter Leopold's judgment should have been sounder than that of Kaunitz. A war with Prussia at that moment would no doubt have placed Austria in the gravest situation. Prussia could at any minute send 160,000 able-bodied men into the field, and even if one takes the most optimistic view of the Austrian troops — the view for instance of a military author who ascribes to the Austrian army a force of 300,000 combatants — one must still admit that, on both fields of war, widely separated as they were, so that mutual help was out of the question, Austria would appear to be the inferior force. In such a case Austria must at least expect to lose the Netherlands; and in Hungary the party already inclined towards Prussia would make difficulties, the further consequences of which could not be ignored. As an instance it is only necessary to consider the possibility of a revolutionary movement, even a transient one, by which the troops engaged against Turkey might be cut off from the centre of the kingdom, and from the only dominions which could be depended upon in all cases of war, or from which they might be threatened in their rear. The policy conceived by Prince Kaunitz, of attacking Prussia and so circumventing the Prussian scheme for a coalition against Austria, and of rendering Russia's aggressive oriental policy inoperative by diplomacy, had proved itself a mere illusion.

Prussia had concluded an offensive alliance with both Turkey and Poland, the aim of which was to protect Turkey against the slightest violation of her territory, and moreover to restore Galicia to Poland; England had received the project of an Austrian alliance with the greatest coolness, and France was out of the running in all foreign politics; Sweden was already at issue with Russia, and the German central provinces were unanimously inclined towards Prussia, whilst Prussia itself showed at present no signs whatever of the collapse of its *parvenu* power, which Kaunitz expected and so intensely desired: so that the decision of the old chancellor, once more to try the luck of arms in battle with the detested Prussia, can only be called the idea of a sick dreamer, an adventurer.

The moment in which the change of rule took place, allowing for the circumstances of foreign and domestic policy, is described by Ranke as one of the most dangerous for the existence of Austria which the world's history can show. It would seem that matters needed but a touch to bring about a completely new order of affairs. Leopold understood the situation and did not hesitate to break with a policy which had become a tradition. Over the heads of the two chief ministers, Hertzberg and Kaunitz, he hastened to try to establish a better understanding with the dreaded rival. He addressed himself in an autograph letter (written March 25th) direct to King Frederick William, in order to persuade him to a peaceful settlement of the various difficulties. This step achieved at least one result — it caused the king to forsake the line previously arranged for him by Hertzberg, and so occasioned his minister's policy to waver, just when, in the spring of 1790, it would have had every chance of resulting in effective activity.

Leopold's action received unexpected support through a sudden change, at that very time, in the attitude of England. To the Berlin cabinet England declared herself fully satisfied that a situation should have been restored in

which the powers in possession retained the *status quo ante;* she would not strain the weakness of Austria further, and she would only undertake to support Prussia. Prussia had to suffer hostilities in consequence of maintaining her present course of action. With this disappeared Hertzberg's expectation of being able to force Austria to part with Galicia and, in the same way, possibly to win Dantzic and Thorn for Prussia.

When Prince Kaunitz perceived that he was at issue with his new emperor on a principal question of foreign politics, he decided to offer Leopold his resignation. It was not accepted, and in this matter, too, Leopold showed great insight. He could not have replaced Kaunitz from the younger Austrian diplomatists. Cobenzl and Colloredo were insignificant. Stadion and Thugut were not yet in the foreground. If Kaunitz would but agree to this change of front and set himself to carry out Leopold's ideas, he would still be the most useful as the most skilled actor on Austria's political stage.

Leopold took care to make the transition as easy as possible to the old man; he was able to give him the assurance that the advances to Prussia would not be made in every case, but on the contrary that he would only make them to obtain a free hand to secure peace with the Porte; and that he would be ready, when the eastern affairs should be in order, and Russia showed itself ready to support him, to let the issue be a war with Prussia. In any case Leopold would not disturb the existing relations with Russia. Under such auspices the chancellor of state let himself be persuaded on the 27th of April to recall his resignation.

The two influences, the influence of the emperor and the influence of Kaunitz, are from this point easily traceable in their exact effect on Austrian policy: the two opinions often amounting to hot dispute, giving some colour to the belief that Leopold himself was vague and unsettled in his decisions. This was, however, not the case; it was simply that the emperor could not silence this opposition, because he could not do without Kaunitz. He would certainly not have hesitated to place the helm of state in other hands, could he have found anyone able to cope with the difficulties which had grown out of the situation. Statesmen in Austria were few and far between, and Kaunitz was head and shoulders above any of the younger heads of that day.

The Porte

The understanding with Prussia was still a long time in the making. Frederick William's answer to Leopold's advances was still quite in Hertzberg's manner: adjustment of affairs as before the war, or an interchange of territory between Austria, Prussia, Poland, and Turkey, by means of which the common interests of those states would be alike protected. In this event, however, Austria would suffer, for in consequence of obligations too hastily incurred by Diez, the Prussian envoy in Constantinople, Prussia as an ally of the Porte could not allow Turkey, which would be expected to trim the balance of power, to act towards Austria in a manner sufficiently generous to recompense that country for returning Galicia to Poland. Yet upon this condition hinged for Prussia the possibility of demanding Dantzic and Thorn from Poland.

At the court of Vienna the reply of the Prussian monarch was considered almost tantamount to a refusal of the proposed understanding, and Russia was again urged to definite agreement in the event of a breach with Prussia. A second communication from Leopold to the king (April 28th) stated quite clearly that Austria would only be in a position to give a settled answer to

the proposal from Prussia when the basis of peace with the Porte should have been agreed upon with Russia. Prince Reuss in Berlin had to amplify this by word of mouth, and he explained to Prussia that objections to this could hardly exist, since, if Prussia could declare its action to be dependent on that of England, Austria could not be blamed for first consulting an ally. Upon this the king demanded (May 9th) the quickest possible decisive reply. He had responsibilities which would suffer no postponement, and found himself in a situation more resembling an armed truce than a peace. To this statement he added a sketch of the proposed adjustment of territory, which gave to Austria that part of Servia and Wallachia which she had gained through the Peace of Passarowitz.

The efforts of Austria in St. Petersburg were not followed by the desired success. Russia would not be in any way bound in treating for peace with Turkey. If Turkey would evacuate the territory between the Danube and the Dniester belonging to Russia, the war should end; if not, Russia was determined to pursue her advantage at the point of the sword. A decided consent to support Austria in war against Prussia was not expressed: this would also depend on the result of dealings with Turkey; Austria should, however, endeavour to continue diplomatic relations with Prussia for the purpose of gaining time.

So Austria really stood alone in the event of an attack from Prussia. The probability of this event was more and more apparent, especially since the arrival of a third letter from Frederick William (June 2nd) which treated a recent proposal, *à propos* of Austria's relinquishing Galicia, as an ultimatum, and demanded decisively hostile advances on the part of Austria towards Turkey. Simultaneously began the concentration of Prussian troops in Silesia, whence the king, accompanied by Hertzberg, betook himself. He pitched his camp in Schönwald, near the Bohemian border, and ordered his envoys in Vienna to make it known that he was determined to go to war, if Leopold did not agree to his demands.

This momentarily more pressing decision was dealt with in Vienna by Leopold himself, who in pursuance of a former resolution, and against the advice of the chancellor, gave the preference to accepting the Prussian proposals for war. Kaunitz convened a council to deal with this resolution, and on the 16th of June the endeavour to meet Prussia had been already approved — several objections, however, being pointed out. Leopold replied to these in writing on the 16th of June as follows: "I am much bound to you for the communication of your good opinion. Our home affairs are unfortunately in such a condition that we must use all possible decent means to avoid breaking with Prussia." Field-marshal Laudon also assisted at this conference. He had been placed at the head of that part of the army which was held in readiness to oppose Prussia.

When the first news of the Prusso-Turkish Alliance reached Vienna, the emperor had already despatched 37 battalions and 66 squadrons, which were in winter quarters in Hungary, to the borders of Silesia and Galicia; during the following spring these troops were reinforced, so that 20 battalions and 34 squadrons could take the field against Poland, and 91 battalions and 120 squadrons were in readiness to meet Prussia. Whether the two together would really have formed a force of 150,000 strong, as has been often asserted, is notwithstanding somewhat doubtful. Laudon's chief command resulted already from his position as highest in command over the entire Austrian army, which Leopold had given to him when he came to the throne.

Laudon had drawn a cordon along the Silesian frontier in May, but his

main force he concentrated at Neutitschein. Prince Hohenlohe commanded a force in Moravia. Laudon seems to have had a thoroughly military grip of the situation, but for all that he should not have spoken of the hopeful results as though they were already achievements. This does not, however, appear to have influenced Leopold. The treaties with Prussia were conducted by the state referendary, Baron Spielmann, who went to Breslau on the 25th of June and took the king a letter from Leopold, which insisted on the peacefully minded dispositions prevailing in Austria, and which apostrophised Frederick William's rectitude in the most flattering terms.

The consultation with Hertzberg first attacked the question of compensation in Galicia, which, according to the Prussian estimate, ought to equal the value of Dantzic and Thorn, *plus* some of the border districts, which Hertzberg apprised as possessing 120,000 inhabitants and yielding revenues to the amount of 600,000 thalers. Austria offered some Galician territory, divided, not *en bloc*, having 300,000 inhabitants, and revenue to the amount of 343,000 gulden. It was demanded that Brody and the saltworks of Wieliczka should be withdrawn, but to this Spielmann would not consent without further instructions from Vienna. Whilst these were pending, several important facts worked upon the mind of the king of Prussia, causing him to modify his determinations quite unexpectedly.

Lucchesini, the Prussian envoy in Warsaw, who had been summoned to Reichenbach, the place chosen for the treaty, to report upon the public mood in Poland and to replace Hertzberg who was ill, declared his conviction that Poland would scarcely be attainable in exchange for the two Galician towns. The envoys from England and Holland also appeared at the same time in Reichenbach and declared that they could only agree to such an exchange of territory as should place matters on the same footing on which they were previous to the Turkish wars. England had only just escaped the danger of being seriously embroiled with Spain on account of the right of possession on the Nootka Sound in California, whilst the national assembly in Paris had borrowed support from Spain. A change in French policy was not, however, out of the question, and in this case England, for the sake of its interests in the New World, must hold itself free from any quarrel with a European power. For the increase of Prussian dominions and Prussian power on the Baltic, England saw itself in no way called upon actively to interfere.

Frederick William was much discouraged by these disclosures, and as at the same time his trust in Hertzberg, who had been privately accused of supporting revolutionary views, was rudely shaken, he now disclaimed the leading policy of his ministers, and commissioned them to bring the negotiations with Austria to as speedy a close as possible, without endeavouring to obtain further concessions to Prussia. "Do not let yourselves be put off any longer by Prince Kaunitz," he wrote to Hertzberg on July 14th. "If for the moment I resign Dantzic and Thorn, it will at least compel the Vienna court to speak plainly, and it will put an end to their thousand evasions; to obtain this, one must propose a strict *status quo*, as I have clearly charged you."

Great was Spielmann's astonishment when he was informed of this change in the Prussian propositions. The *status quo* was not calculated to meet Austrian desires, and the court of Vienna could scarcely be expected to rejoice over it. Austria was no doubt convinced by this time of the slight advantage which the possession of Galicia gave her; this conclusion moreover masked a complete readjustment of territory, which would mean resigning all advantages that had been wrung from the Turks.

Laudon's death (July 14th, 1790), however, rendered more obvious than before to the Vienna politicians the necessity of moderation. Even if the hopes which had been placed on him were admitted to have been extravagant, his influence over the troops could not be gainsaid; they had for long years placed great confidence in him. Really to replace him as commander was at the moment hopeless, and this made the event of any war doubtful. "Unpleasant as it is," so wrote Philip Cobenzl to Spielmann, "to let ourselves be dictated to by the Berlin court, our home affairs are in such a state, particularly now we have lost the great Laudon, that we must put up with everything, only to get out of the slough."

The *status quo* was accordingly accepted. Austria engaged herself to return to the Sublime Porte all acquisitions derived from the late war; only Chotin for the time being was to remain garrisoned, and the Bosnian frontier was to be protected. Prussia, in return, made herself responsible for several stipulated compensations. In a declaration commenting upon the arrangement, the expectation was expressed that during the continuance of the Russo-Turkish war Austria would hold herself aloof from any interference, and would refrain from giving direct or indirect assistance to Russia against the Porte. As to Belgian affairs, she declared that in the direction of subjugation as well as constitution she would be willing to throw in her lot with the maritime powers.

This Treaty of Reichenbach, signed July 27th, 1790, is a great and most diplomatic victory for Austria, which is due to Leopold's skill and moderation. With one stroke the situation was adjusted, the respect for Leopold among foreign powers strengthened, action in relation to the Netherlands and Hungary freed from all outside restraints, and the way cleared for concentrating all Austria's strength on establishing conditions of peace throughout the country itself. That, moreover, Prussia was compelled to withdraw from her wide-reaching plans, and obliged to give up the idea of turning Austria's embarrassment to her own profit, was a very decided advantage, obvious to all observers.[1]

PACIFICATION OF HUNGARY AND BELGIUM

One of the consequences of the Reichenbach Convention was the election of Leopold as emperor. He was crowned October 9th, 1790. Leopold had been very careful in his correspondence with his elder brother. Only in the matter of Joseph's antipapal church reforms were Leopold's letters of agreement entirely frank. Joseph no doubt thought he had his brother's sympathy for his Hungarian and Belgian measures, and yet we know from the correspondence with his sister, the archduchess Maria Christina, that Leopold did not approve and thought that submission would be more politic.

Three days after his arrival in Vienna, Leopold started upon the pacification of Hungary by confirming his brother's recantation, promising a diet for the coronation and for the discussion of measures for the happiness of the country. The Hungarian people, however, had gone very far in their discontent, which, like a swollen river, was bursting its dams and overflowing on every side. In the stormy diet which opened July 10th, 1790, the most extreme views were expressed: the question was asked, for instance, whether the succession had not been broken by the ten years' rule of an uncrowned king; and it needed all the skill of able leaders, Joseph Batthyányi, cardinal-archbishop of Gran, Count Carl Zichy, *judex curiæ* and president of the assembly of magnates, and the personal, Joseph Urmenyi, president of the assembly of estates,

to moderate the passion roused. "The French constitution has got into Hungary's head," was the remark of the Prussian ambassador in Vienna. Leopold was firm in refusing all the new restrictions which a committee of the Hungarian diet was busy putting into the inaugural coronation diploma. The victory of the moderate party was forwarded not only by Leopold's tact and the skill of his advisers, but by two outside circumstances: the Austrian understanding with Prussia, which deprived the disaffected Hungarians of an ally, and the anti-Magyar attitude of the Serbs in Hungary who offered Leopold forty thousand soldiers in return for his gracious proclamation to the "Illyrian nation." Leopold was crowned amid great enthusiasm at Presburg, November 15th.

Already on February 17th Leopold had prepared a liberal manifesto which was to be laid before the Belgian estates directly Joseph died. The manifesto was left unanswered by the Belgian congress, which had come into the power of a clerical-revolutionary party led by Van der Noot. Meanwhile a number of the democratic party were in favour of accepting the Austrian proposals. Leopold recognised that force only could regain him the Netherlands, and he threatened war if the estates did not submit before November 21st. At eleven o'clock on the previous evening, the congress decided that they would accept Leopold's third son, Charles, as hereditary archduke, on the understanding that the new state should never be united with Austria. The decision was not listened to. Field-marshal Bender in command of thirty-three thousand Austrian troops started the march to Brussels, which he reached in ten days. On December 2nd the Austrians entered the city, welcomed by a people tired of congress and revolution. The whole of Belgium submitted to the emperor's proposals and on December 12th Cardinal Frankenberg celebrated a thanksgiving. By the Treaty of the Hague, England, Holland, and Prussia guaranteed the Belgian provinces to Austria, and Austria promised to retain the ancient constitution as confirmed by Charles VI and Maria Theresa. Exactly one year after Joseph had been declared deprived of his rights in Belgium, memorial services were held for him in Brussels and Antwerp. Quiet was not to endure for long. Indeed Leopold had already felt the force of the revolution which was stirring in France.[a]

POLITICAL STATE OF AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS ON LEOPOLD'S ACCESSION

The wishes and requests of the corporations of the estates of the empire in the years 1790 and 1791 give a faithful and animated picture of the circumstances and temper of the time. When, in March, 1790, Leopold II assumed the reins of government, he found the various estates in a ferment all over Austria. "Internal affairs," writes this able and judicious prince in 1790, "are in the utmost confusion. I have no capable men about me; all the provinces are in a stir; provinces and cities, nobles and merchants, bishops and monks are all demanding rights and privileges, referring back to the times of Charlemagne and requiring everything directly."

In Tuscany Leopold had favoured the principles of an enlightened absolutism, in Austria he seemed inclined to recognise the old provincial constitution, and possibly to combine the provincial bodies into a states-general in which the middle class should be well represented. The imperial briefs of May and June, 1791, convoked the diets of the several provinces. They were required to set forth the history of their constitution and functions, and to submit their requests to the central government by the hand of delegates. In accordance

with local customs the nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries appeared with a modest and dejected accompaniment of municipal representatives and free peasants of the Tyrol. The arrangement, the presentation, and even the garb of these delegations were of the ancient fashion; the temper displayed in their assemblies seemed to be that of the days of Leopold I and Charles IV: but neither government nor estates, neither nobles nor burghers had any certain knowledge or right understanding of the spirit of the old social system. The most contradictory opinions were expressed by members of the government commission appointed to confer upon the constitution. Some of them demanded that the peasantry and the burgher class should be summoned; others maintained that the peasantry were represented by the lords of the manor and that equality of rights was dangerous and contrary to historic precedent. The estates themselves confused the new legal system of the state with their own ancient institutions. The estates of Bohemia talked of a compact between prince and people, and of participation of authority; those of Styria went so far as to take, in rationalistic fashion, the "origin of society" for their starting-point. The right of the sovereign to reform the "representation" was questioned by none. "From thee, beloved father of so many nations, whose million hearts yearn towards thee — from thee we look for our happiness," is the phrase of one of the addresses.

Federalism took precedence of centralisation; the interests of the privileged classes, of those of the nation at large. The Bohemians talked of their king, the Styrians and Carinthians of their duke. Not a single state demanded a homogeneous system of government, nor the general representation of the burgher and peasant classes; not one advocated the abolition of the *Robot* (villein or compulsory labour, the labour-rent by which the peasants held their land), nor the complete personal enfranchisement of the peasantry: and this at the time when, by the constitution of 1790, France had finally broken with the *ancien régime*, and had proclaimed the right of all to citizenship, to a share in the franchise.

The official instructions (*cahiers*) given by the various sections of the estates to their deputies at Vienna are among the remarkable documents of Austrian constitutional history. The restoration of the constitution of the estates and of local government as it was before the days of Maria Theresa and Joseph II is universally demanded — annual diets, the old organisation of the estates, a share in legislation, the right of granting contributions, the election of committees and commissioners of the estates, the right of free assembly and discussion, the right of naturalisation, the abrogation of all Josephinian laws affecting the common and equal administration of the law, the relations between landowners and peasantry, and national education. The clerical estates demanded the recognition of the Catholic church as the state church, the abolition of public seminaries, episcopal censorship of the press, the appointment of professors of theology at the universities, the restoration of monastic property, administration of the fund for religious purposes by the estates, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the reform of the marriage laws by the bishops.

The second and third estates, those of the nobility and gentry, demanded precedence among the estates, a privileged position before the law, the restoration of provincial offices, and the reappointment of the functionaries and servants of the estates, down to the *Landschaftstrompeter* (district trumpeter), the halberdiers, and grooms; also exemption from tolls, the ancient rights of the chase, the maintenance of entail, the abolition of peasant rights of succession, the restriction of remainder in the female line, the reversion of lapsed

estates, the monopoly of brewing and selling beer, and, above all, the restoration of the ancient privileges of the lords of the manor.

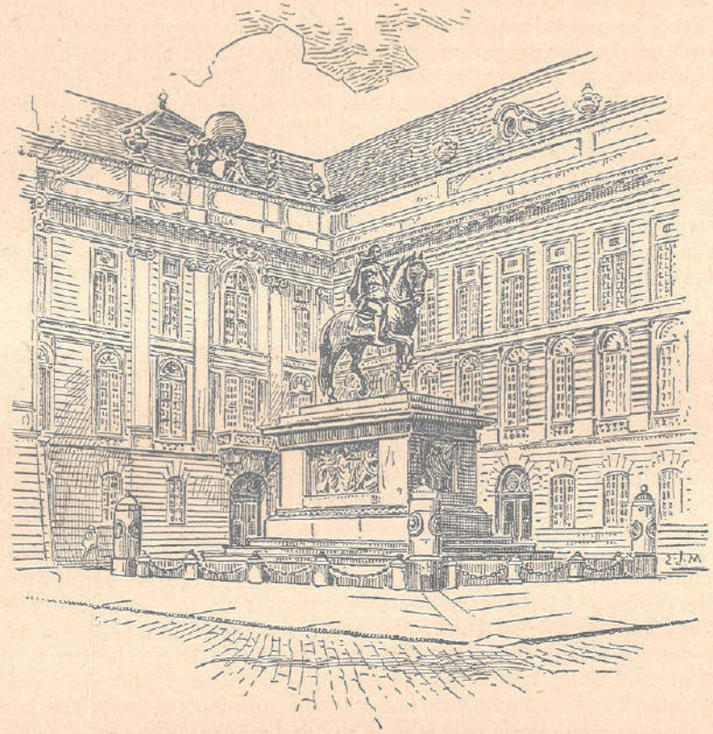
LEOPOLD II CONCILIATES THE PROVINCES

The Bohemian nobles insisted on the recognition of the local ordinances of 1627 as a fundamental law, and the restoration of the Bohemian *Hofkanzlei* (chancery); the Moravian nobles, upon the limitation of the number of attorneys by statute, and upon the expulsion of the Jews; the estate of Styria wished for a provincial minister chosen from among themselves. The estates of the Tyrol brought forward two thousand grievances in the diet of 1792. They demanded the ratification of their privileges as in 1712, the administration of property according to the statutes of 1720, the abrogation of all Josephinian laws concerning toleration, the reduction of monasteries, the marriage laws, the new civil and criminal laws, and recruiting. The nobility wished to establish the claims of noblemen to civil and military appointments, to obtain exemption from tolls and customs dues, the title to large fees and mortgages, and a distinctive uniform of knighthood. One nobleman exclaimed in the open diet: "What does it matter to the Tyrolese what may happen in Bohemia, Moravia, or other provinces? The Tyrolese have their own sovereign, their own laws, and their own constitution."

The fourth, or burgher estate was no less forward in complaining of the Josephinian reforms, of the new judicial system, of the dissolution of monasteries, the equalisation of city and suburban trades, of municipal and peasant property, of the extension of the freedom of the guilds, the inhibition of the *Meilrecht* (mile right) — that is of the right to sell beer within a mile of the city. Some towns formulated grievances respecting the prohibition of hawking wares, the turnpike charges, the highways, and the maintenance of paupers, and even respecting the prohibition of the official dress of municipal functionaries. Neither in Bohemia nor Moravia did the burghers put in a claim to political rights. The admission of a representative of the University of Vienna to the status of a member of the estates was regarded as a special concession. Only in Styria did the burgher estate demand, over and above the antiquated privileges of exemption from toll and rights of the chase, the franchise for the thirty-one burgher communes and the admission of their deputies into the diet. The nobility and clergy, however, maintained that this claim was presumptuous, and even in Styria the local government came to the conclusion that a larger representation of the burgher element had no legal justification and would be expensive and superfluous. Taken in the aggregate these documents exhibit the boundless pretensions of the privileged classes, the weakness of the middle class, and the absolute immaturity of the people in political affairs.

The government conferred with the deputies who brought to Vienna the wishes and claims of the various estates; but in view of the particularism of the provinces, and the feudal aspirations of the nobles and clergy, no effective reform of the constitution appeared feasible. Leopold II yielded to pressure, and re-established the provincial system of government, but only in the form and scope settled in the time of Maria Theresa, and more particularly in the year 1764. He coerced the estates into submission, and at the same time propitiated them by formal concessions. The absolute authority of the crown remained intact, the question of taxation was to be decided by long-established custom, and if larger contributions were required in time of war the estates were allowed to confer, not concerning the "whether?" but the

"how?" The emperor Leopold restored the committees of the estates: he granted them the local posts of honour, the ancient ceremonial, special functionaries, the management of the property of the estate, though all under government supervision; and the privy councillors and privy chamberlains regained their seats and votes in the diet. He refused the right of free assembly and discussion, the exemption from toll, and the ancient rights of the chase, the institution of a special tribunal, and (more particularly) of a special minister of the province. The *Landeshauptmann* remained in Inner



MONUMENT OF THE EMPEROR FRANCIS II IN THE FRANZENS-PLATZ

Austria and the Tyrol, the *Landesmarschall* in Austria proper, and in Bohemia the head of the administration was at the same time president of the estates. Political power remained vested in a central authority which represented the state to the outer world.

Leopold II gave up only the unpopular financial enactments of 1789; he maintained unconditionally the agrarian, judicial, and administrative statutes of Joseph II. He sacrificed the public seminaries to the clergy, and left religious instruction and authority in matters of faith and discipline once more in the hands of the bishops; but he refused to abrogate the Tolerance Edict, to restore the monasteries, or to hand over to the church the revenue for religious purposes. Leopold II was a friend to the cities and the burgher class, as Joseph II had been to the peasantry. He restored to them the right

of electing magistrates, the concession of trades, and the administration of their own property. He could not give the fourth estate its rightful weight in the constitution; in Styria alone each district was allowed in future to send two burgher deputies to the diet, but even there the committee of the estates remained closed to them.

What Leopold accomplished was a restoration rather than a reform, and even this he did not bring about by enactments of general application but by separate resolutions addressed to the estates of the provinces (April, May, and June, 1791). This restored constitution subsisted with but slight alterations till the year 1848.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the documents of 1790 and 1791 convey a just impression of the whole body of public opinion in Austria. The Josephinian laws, the more enlightened tendencies of the age, and the spirit of German culture had created a nucleus of liberal opinion which could not be extirpated. In opposition to the current of federalistic and aristocratic feeling in 1790, Leopold II enunciated the principle that one system of law and equity should prevail throughout Austro-Germany. Only one statute (*novella*) of 1791 takes account of provincial differences. In 1792 the principle of a uniform system of law for all the German provinces of Austria was reasserted by the emperor Francis II. In the struggle between the estates and the bureaucracy, the people, the one permanent element in the state, tranquilly pursued its avocations, its culture, its enjoyments. It was estranged from the estates and it feared the government. From neither the one nor the other did it expect to derive benefit or advantage; only the peasant hoped for the abolition of the *Robot*, the burgher for the unrestricted rights of industry, for representation and self-government under a constitutional system of equitable political administration.

Since the Thirty Years' War a distinctive national character had sprung up in Austria; since the reign of Maria Theresa had arisen a new patriotism. In spite of varying conditions of nationality the Austrian people remained true to the conviction that it was essential for every province and every race to abide as a member of the whole, and for this unity to be maintained and furthered. For a long time the people found its satisfaction in the conveniences of an assured legal position and the zealous pursuit of material interests. But the sanguinary revolutionary wars of 1797 and 1809 sufficiently proved that common activity, common energy, and common enthusiasm were not extinct.[m]

LEOPOLD AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The difficult picture presented by Leopold's attitude towards the Revolution in France corresponds to the difficult position in which the state of French and European politics placed the brother of Marie Antoinette, the head of the empire, the sovereign of a great European power — neither secure from the hostility of her old rival Prussia, nor supported by the interested policy of her recent ally Russia. His first move (1790) was at the instigation of the German princes (the electors of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the prince-bishops of Strasburg, Speier, and Bâle, the dukes of Würtemberg and Zweibrücken, the landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, the markgraf of Baden, the princes of Nassau, Leiningen, Löwenstein, and others), who had suffered financially by the French national assembly's decrees abolishing ecclesiastical and territorial rights within the limits of France: for the decrees affected the German states in Alsace and Lorraine, which had been ceded to Louis XIV

on the understanding that these German rights should be respected. The emperor's protests, which, by a clause inserted in the coronation oath he was bound to make, were ineffectual. The German complaints were soon answered by French complaints of favour shown in the Rhenish courts to *émigrés*, and in the spring of 1791 both Austria and Prussia determined to make no change in their attitude towards France.

In June Leopold, naturally afraid of compromising his brother-in-law with the French nation, was yet ready to support Louis in his plan of escaping from Paris to the troops which still remained loyal; that is to say he was ready, not to lend troops to the count d'Artois nor to any other French officer, but to march an army from Luxemburg as an ally, if Louis himself requested it. It was not until he received news of the failure of the king's attempted flight, and of his imprisonment, that Leopold sent (July 6th) an identical note to the empress of Russia, to the chancellor of the German empire, to the kings of England, Prussia, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, suggesting combined action on the king's behalf. A little later (July 25th) the preliminaries of an alliance with Prussia were signed, in which the two parties were to stand together in their attitude towards France, and neither was to attempt any enlargement of territory from Polish domains. No power but Prussia responded warmly to Austria's suggestion of combined action, and Leopold himself relinquished thoughts of intervention (August) when he heard that the majority of the French assembly had preferred a constitutional monarchy to a republic. He was the more inclined to hold back from intervention since England had declared her intention of remaining strictly neutral, while the czarina's enthusiasm for the cause of the French king looked as if it sprang chiefly from a desire to embroil Prussia and Austria with France so as to be left undisturbed to work her will with Poland.

The chief importance of the meeting at Pillnitz (August 25th, 1791), between Leopold and Frederick William, lies in the decided coldness shown, especially by Leopold, to the count d'Artois, who arrived at Pillnitz with burning schemes for intervention, and in the firm decision to take no steps against the Revolution without a European concert. By the 14th of December, the Girondists had pressed the king to threaten the elector of Treves with war if he did not dissolve the army of émigrés within his borders, and thereby gave Louis the occasion of collecting an army which he might use for his own ends. This double game (the agreement with the republicans and the gathering of an army) was the suggestion of Marie Antoinette. The forward policy of the Girondists brought Prussia and Austria still closer; but their definite alliance-treaty of February 7th, 1792, was purely conservative and defensive — indeed Kaunitz especially remarks the emperor's unwillingness to take part in any counter-revolution promoted in France by a foreign court.

The Revolution, Leopold's sincere desire for peace, and his own clear sight had turned the uncompromising enemy of everything connected with Prussia into a warm champion of the new friendship. In answer to the king's decree of December 14th, Leopold declared that he would support the elector if he were attacked, but that at the same time he would send an envoy into Treves to see that the scarcely less dangerous question of the émigré army (which numbered four thousand) should be set at rest. The Girondists however were determined on war, and put the question whether the emperor, who by his alliance with Prussia had broken the alliance with France of 1756, would continue in peace with France and refuse to join any combination against her independence. No answer, or an unsatisfactory answer, would be taken as a declaration of war. Kaunitz's answer (February 17th) was dignified but

not without hope of peace, nor did the emperor despair. The king of Prussia was more convinced of the necessity of war, and despatched Bischoffwerder to Vienna to come to decided conclusions with Leopold. He arrived February 28th. On the 29th Leopold was taken with a sudden cold, developed rheumatic fever, and died on March 1st.[a]

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF LEOPOLD II (1790–1792)

According to a former general impression, the emperor Leopold had been the first and most active opponent of the French Revolution. Having just escaped the danger of a war in the east, he made use of the understanding he had arrived at with Prussia to preach a crusade against the Revolution; he had been incited by the French émigrés at Pillnitz to bring about the notorious alliance with Prussia and had endeavoured with eager solicitude to win to it both Russia and England. Then, in order to make France incur more deeply the odium of a formal attack, he had delayed the declaration of war, but at the same time had irritated and threatened the revolutionary party by exciting against it the émigrés and the German princes. At last the national assembly brought the unworthy performance to an end with violence.

As regards Poland, Prussia, which had formerly been on bad terms with Austria and Russia, is said since 1790 to have incited the patriotic party to a reform of the constitution. In consequence of this the *coup d'état* of the third of May, 1791, had taken place there, to the great mortification of the two imperial courts, which would have hated nothing more bitterly than the rise of Poland out of its hitherto shattered condition into a liberal and well-regulated monarchy.

Whilst then Poland had fixed all its hopes on the further support of Prussia, the latter, seduced by Leopold's bugbear of French Jacobinism to join the Pillnitz convention, had gone over bag and baggage from the liberal into the despotic camp. The war with France having been decided upon, there was neither will nor strength available for the east of Europe, and consequently Poland was abandoned to the violence of Russia. In the summer, therefore, of 1792, the German army had broken out upon the Paris democrats, and simultaneously, that of Russia on the Warsaw liberals; and, after the victory of the Russians, Prussia first and then Austria had not been ashamed to take part of the booty as a reward for their infamous concurrence. This opinion will not stand the test of an examination of the state papers; but rather, according to them, the policy of the emperor Leopold moved in quite different, incomparably purer and freer paths.

Far from being swayed in any respect by the French émigrés, the emperor thought only of the fate of the royal couple, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. In order to support their attempt at flight, in June, 1791, he made some military demonstrations and to relieve their captivity in July he took diplomatic measures. In this respect the conference at Pillnitz had no further import. When the former immediate purpose had been accomplished and Louis was reconciled to the national assembly, the emperor placed his army on a peace footing and in the autumn of 1791 made a public recognition to all the European powers of the new French state. He had no keener wish than that his already sufficiently heavy troubles should not be increased by an entanglement with France. He was just as angry with Russia and Sweden, who were egging on the émigrés to an attack on France, as with the Paris agitators who were striving to carry into the neighbouring countries the revolutionary disturbance. But as the agitation of the two extreme parties in the winter of

1791–1792 continued to increase, he made a special point of consolidating his new friendship with Prussia and succeeded in February in concluding an alliance for mutual defence against all attacks. Here also his whole ambition as regarded France was to maintain the *status quo* and in the same conservative spirit he made a motion in Berlin at the same time for the security of Poland and its new constitution of the 3rd of May.

At the time when Joseph II with his restless aspirations had made an unconditional alliance with Russia and had commended to the latter Turkey and Poland, in order to receive in return Bavaria and Servia, Leopold had always been of the opinion that in this way Austria's own strength would be much less increased than Russia's oppressive superiority. He therefore willingly renounced every aggrandisement of his own power and actually separated himself as early as 1790 from the Russian schemes. Nevertheless he had not intended for that reason, without further consideration, to adopt as yet the attitude of Prussia towards Russia. Rather was it his opinion that, besides the Russian and Prussian, there was a possible third position, well adapted to promote the particular interests of Austria between and in spite of the two powers. He saw the means to this in the efforts of the Polish patriots to render their nation again strong and capable of defence by a thorough reform of the constitution.

Poland and Austria in olden times had always been good friends and comrades, with kindred ideas. Of late certainly the Warsaw patriots had leaned towards Prussia, but now they and their king had fallen into ruin and were freshly embittered against her. If it were possible now to win them over to Austria and then to erect on the banks of the Vistula a strongly allied kingdom — perhaps in favour of the elector of Saxony, whose ancestors had reigned there for three generations, and who himself cherished the warmest feelings towards the Austrian empire — then by this means the most powerful advantages for Austria would have been reached with one stroke, and the imperial influence, forcibly pressing forward between Russia and Prussia, would reign from Wittenberg and Dresden to Dantzic and Riga. Leopold, therefore, did everything he possibly could to further the regeneration of Poland, and when the constitution of the 3rd of May, with the succession to the throne of the elector of Saxony, was announced there, he tried on every occasion to induce Prussia to guarantee it, without, to be sure, betraying in any way in Berlin his project for the amalgamation of Saxony and Poland into one state. Even as it was, a strong Poland seemed dangerous enough to the Prussian court, and Leopold was at last obliged to be satisfied with the promise of Prussia to protect the freedom of Poland, though not its constitution.

We see how completely all parts of this imperial system correspond to one another. The uniform and exclusive aim of all is to defend the country taken possession of in the summer of 1791, to prevent the encroachment of any third person, to protect the Rhine against France as well as Poland against Russia. No offensive act is purposed by the emperor, because he is aware that the maintenance of that position gives him a preponderating position in Germany, an esteemed one in Europe; whereas every agitation may have immeasurable consequences.[b]

ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II (1792 A.D.)

Francis, the eldest of the ten sons who outlived Leopold, had at the age of sixteen left his father's Tuscan court for Vienna and the guardianship of his uncle. Joseph's first impression of his nephew showed him a spoilt mother's darling, selfish and apathetic, moderated with time. Krones says of him:

[1792 A.D.]

"A young man without passion or spirit, reserved and practical-minded, a cool and dry observer of men and the world, who, with a passive and tenacious power of endurance, held his ground and let come what was to come — Francis possessed the fundamental characteristics of industry, an understanding of the business routine of government, firmness of character, a most exacting love of order, and a supreme mistrust which never closed its eyes, and which was to grow with the bitter reality of heavy and troublous years." Characteristic of the bourgeois simplicity of his life was the Viennese dialect in which he liked best to clothe his dry humour. His full consciousness of patriarchal sovereignty made him a natural enemy of revolution, and as a statesman, if he had little power of looking forward, he had an eye for what could be done at the moment.

When Francis came to the throne at the age of twenty-four, Kaunitz, "the driver of the European coach," was still at the head of affairs, though his influence had waned. The chancellor had forwarded Leopold's understanding with Prussia as a necessary evil. In the matter of the European concert for which Leopold had hoped, Kaunitz saw that the alliance between Austria and Prussia would be a stumbling block to England, and that Russia wished to embroil both her neighbours in a war with France. Moreover the Austrian *entente* with Prussia lacked the only true basis for an alliance, namely a clear calculation of what advantages each partner was to assure the other in their common action. The vice-chancellor, Philip Cobenzl, Joseph's favourite, was for suiting Austrian policy to Prussian interests, and the victory of this opinion finally moved Kaunitz, in August, 1792, to resign.

If the selfish policy of Russia and the ravings of the émigrés did much to make war inevitable, the most potent persuasive was in France itself, in the mad jingoism of the followers of Brissot among the Girondists, who could do what they would with Dumouriez and his Jacobin ministry.

FRANCE DECLARES WAR ON AUSTRIA

Dumouriez strongly urged the king to declare war on Austria; her alliance with Prussia was formed with no other purpose than to keep France down, and her reply to the French demand that she should separate from Prussia was an impertinence: for the chancellor's declaration, that the alliance was dissoluble only when those dangers were gone against which it was formed, was practically a declaration that France must change her constitution according to the fancy of the boy who was king of Hungary and Bohemia. It was Condorcet who threw the final glamour upon a war which should move the nations of the earth to claim their rights and liberties. There was also a less ideal motive at work to favour war: the new king would probably have difficulties in Hungary, certainly in Belgium — a country easily detachable from the house of Austria. And, as a matter of fact, it was the French invasion of Brabant (April 29th) which let loose a war that was to last twenty-three years. Louis showed a certain indifference in declaring war. He may well have argued that if the French were beaten, as seemed the more likely event, the victors would set him more securely on the throne, and if, on the other hand, the French conquered, he might reap popularity.

The first move of the French was a ridiculous failure. The troops which invaded the Netherlands (April 29th) fled at the first sight of the Austrians. But the duke of Brunswick, who was put in command of the combined Prussian and Austrian Moselle army, was no friend of the Austro-Prussian alliance and had little sympathy with the cause he was to fight. His first act was to

[1792–1793 A.D.]

issue from Coblenz, greatly against his will, "the deplorable manifesto" of July 25th, which threatened to rase Paris to the ground unless the French submitted to their sovereign. The manifesto, the production of an émigré, was answered by the sacking of the Tuileries (August 10th) and the deposition and imprisonment of the king. The duke of Brunswick spent ten days reaching the French frontier, and thus lost the chance of catching the French troops and generals, disunited upon the question of republic or constitutional monarchy. He took the fortress of Longwy after a two days' bombardment (August 23rd), made his connection with the two auxiliary Austrian forces under Clerfayt and Hohenlohe, and proceeded to Verdun, which capitulated September 2nd. Wishing to halt and wait for a dryer season, he was nevertheless unwillingly urged forward by the king of Prussia. At Valmy (September 20th) he encountered Dumouriez, who refused to retreat before his cannonade, and he accordingly drew off his troops.

Dumouriez, diplomat as well as tactician, succeeded in stirring Prussia's jealousy of her new ally; an armistice was offered by Prussia, accepted by France, and the invaders evacuated France, having given up the fortresses they had captured, and lost a quarter of their men by fever and dysentery. The Prussian retreat left Dumouriez free to hasten north and defeat the archduke Albert, who had hitherto successfully commanded a Belgian army, at Jemmapes (November 6th). Belgium fell immediately into the hands of the French; indeed by the middle of December Dumouriez had Aachen in his possession. The alliance between Austria and Prussia held, in appearance, for some time longer. But the rift between the two countries was already sufficiently large at the end of the Champagne campaign.

Next year the Austrians under Prince Josias of Coburg, who commanded the Belgian army, defeated Dumouriez at Aldenhoven (March 1st), chiefly owing to the brilliant generalship of the young archduke Charles. Seventeen days later they won another victory at Neerwinden, and Dumouriez, long dissatisfied with the convention, deserted to the Austrians (April 5th). Coburg went on slowly to take the fortress of Condé and Valenciennes. Only their lack of unity prevented the allies from marching upon Paris—unity, however, was farther off than ever. International jealousy had sharpened; the secret desire for self-aggrandisement, with which every party had individually entered upon the war, began to show its head openly. Austria claimed Condé and Valenciennes as a perpetual possession, the duke of York marched away with his English and fifteen thousand Austrians from the main army to take Dunkirk, Prussia looked upon success in the war as more dangerous—seeing that her rival gained territory by it—than defeat; and meanwhile the Terror and Carnot's genius organised an undreamed-of host against the selfish enemies of France. Jourdan drove the Austrians off the field at Wattignies (October) and forced the allies to winter not in France but in West Flanders.

They fared little better on the Rhine. The Prussians were already sick of the war and had found their booty in the second partition of Poland with Russia (April 16th, 1793). Wurmser, successful against the French at the lines of Weissenburg (October), could not persuade Brunswick to attack Alsace. In November two new French generals were ready to meet the allies — Hoche with a Moselle army and Pichegru with a Rhine army. Hoche attacked Brunswick and was beaten at Kaiserslautern (November 29th, 30th), but joined forces unhindered with Pichegru. Hoche, in sole command of both armies, beat the allied troops badly at Froschweiler and at Wörth (December 22nd), and thus freed the left bank of the Rhine.

So ended a campaign, gloriously begun, under the patronage of almost the whole of Europe, by the bravest and best disciplined troops in the world, against a state on the brink of ruin, with an army knowing nothing of discipline or fighting.

THUGUT'S POLICY OF EXPANSION

At this time Cobenzl was no longer the director of Austria's policy. In March of that year his place had been taken by Franz Thugut, as general director of foreign affairs, a man whose talents had raised him from the burgher class, a pupil of Kaunitz. During the first year of office his desire was to wage an aggressive war on France for the extension of the Austro-Belgian borders to the Somme, and the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine for the formation of a dependent state under an archduke. The difficulties of carrying on the war for the preservation of an untenable Netherlands, however, suggested another possible enlargement for Austria, in the shape of those Venetian possessions on the mainland which the emperor Joseph had desired. An alliance with Russia and England was also an aim of Thugut's for the isolation of Prussia and for the assurance that Austria should not be left out at the third and last partition of Poland, but should march into Poland with Russia and the other powers against Kosciuszko's final attempt to save that ancient kingdom (March–November, 1794).

CAMPAIGNS OF 1794

The outlook for 1794 was not cheerful. The German princes were not for fighting, and, led by Prussia, they would not hear of the emperor's revolutionary plan of proclaiming a universal arming of the people against France, at any rate in the threatened districts. Prussia preferred to agree to contribute a certain number of troops to the allied army under the archduke Albert of Saxe-Teschen. But these 62,400 men under Möllendorf, an old and active intriguer, were, by the contract of the Hague, to be paid for by England and Holland. Whatever Thugut's policy may have been in the spring of this year, the emperor showed that he at least was still in earnest about holding the Netherlands, for he appeared in person at headquarters in Valenciennes (April 14th). The Austrians were successful at first; but, despairing of adequate assistance from his allies, the emperor despondingly returned to Vienna (June 2nd): for Möllendorf refused to send his auxiliaries, and England was in communication with Prussian diplomats. The French won Ypres and Charleroi and got the victory in the battle of Fleurus (June 26th). From that moment the Austrians could do nothing but fall back, and at the end of July, when the two French armies had joined hands at Brussels, and Möllendorf still persisted in refusing his aid, Coburg retreated across the Maas and gave over his command to Clerfayt (August 29th). Meanwhile Archduke Albert had been forced to cross the Rhine (July 15th), and he was followed by Clerfayt on October 5th and 6th. Cologne fell into the hands of the French. All this while Möllendorf was promising aid and refusing it. Unattacked by the French, Möllendorf left his impregnable position and also crossed the Rhine (October 22nd) "for political reasons." This retreat made Coblenz untenable and a day later saw the allies in possession only of Luxemburg, Mainz, and Mannheim on the left bank of the Rhine. Masséna and Napoleon had been equally successful in the Alpine campaign against Italy and Austria.[a]

THE DEFECTION OF PRUSSIA (1795 A.D.)

Thus, in 1794 France had driven all her enemies out beyond her "natural frontiers," so called, had restored tranquillity within, and thus given evidence of her vigour and vitality. The government had been purged of the worst and vilest scum of humanity, and all Europe stood in amaze at the might of an enemy who had boldly and dauntlessly performed feats so gigantic. Any man who was not whole-heartedly devoted to the alliance against such a country from profound conviction might well lose courage. Of such was the grand duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, brother of the emperor Francis, and the first to withdraw from the alliance and make his peace with the republic. In itself this peace was of very slight importance; its significance lay in the fact that it demonstrated to the world the possibility of coming to terms with the French Republic. The example had been set; Prussia followed suit, and Spain was not slow to do likewise.

The Prussians, as we know, had gone to the left bank of the Rhine, and from thence had despatched twenty thousand men to the Polish theatre of war. The imperial field-marshal was now unable even to hold the Rhenish fortifications at Mannheim, which fell into the hands of the French on December 25th, 1794. They were now in possession of the whole of the left bank of the Rhine with the exception of Mainz and Luxemburg, for the duke of York had steadily retreated before them. Pichegru actually conquered the whole of Holland in a winter's campaign, and transformed it into a Bavarian republic.

As early as December, Prussia had sent Goltz, her minister, to Bâle, there to negotiate on neutral soil for peace with the French Republic, which was represented by Barthélemy. After the death of Goltz the work he had begun was carried on by Hardenberg, who succeeded in effecting a peace on April 5th, 1795. In virtue of it the French were to remain in possession of the king of Prussia's dominions on the left bank of the Rhine until the question of the possession of the whole bank should be settled by a definitive treaty with the empire. By a secret article it was settled that if, under the said treaty with the empire, the left bank of the Rhine were handed over to the republic in its entirety, Prussia should be indemnified for her loss; the proposed means of indemnification being the secularisation of the bishopric of Münster. At the same time a line of demarcation was laid down, embracing the whole of north Germany down to the Palatinate, Bavarian, and Bohemian frontiers, with the express purpose of permitting any prince of the German Empire within that limit to make his peace with France either directly or through the mediation of Prussia — three months' grace being allowed him for the purpose.

By this disgraceful peace Prussia not only renounced her connection with the German Empire, but usurped the prerogative of the emperor himself, who alone was competent and entitled to be the instrument of mediation between the Holy Roman Empire and its enemies. Moreover, Prussia had purchased peace by a breach of faith with her allies and had shamefully left them in the lurch. But her pretensions to the rôle of mediatrix were no less than flat rebellion against the emperor and the empire; they amounted to the formation of a separate faction and a seditious attempt to stir up the estates of the empire against its head. If Germany had not already been wholly impotent as regards her internal organisation, the defection of Prussia and the consequent split between north and south Germany would have brought about her destruction; as it was, nothing but *vis inertiæ* kept her from falling asunder altogether.

As far as the emperor was concerned, he was more patriotic than his rivals

and did not abandon the hope of winning by arms a peace that should be honourable to the empire, even though deserted by the majority of the princes for whose interests he had drawn the sword.

THE THIRD PARTITION OF POLAND (1795 A.D.)

Prussia hoped that by the Peace of Bâle she had purchased the undisturbed possession of Poland. Austria had permitted the second partition of that country without interfering; in the patent of February 14th, 1793, she had even admonished the inhabitants of Galicia to submit peaceably, in spite of the obvious danger of letting her two neighbours, Russia and Prussia, grow even more powerful than they were already. But when a fresh conflict broke out in Poland, when the king was thrust aside and Kosciuszko appointed dictator, Austria could no longer look on indifferently at the loosing of the republican elements in the east, for she could not but fear that the very elements she was combating on the Rhine might force their way into her own territory.

As a matter of fact the Viennese police had actually got on the trail of a revolutionary conspiracy in Hungary which seemed dangerous enough to justify intervention in Poland. The leader of this conspiracy was Ignatius Joseph Martinovics, mitred abbot of Szathmár and imperial councillor, a man who had been overwhelmed with favours and benefits by Leopold II, but who was possessed by unbridled ambition and insatiable greed, which led him into all kinds of evil courses. He had begun life as a Franciscan, but contrived to leave the order, and in the capacity of a secular priest was appointed professor of natural science at the University of Lemberg, and afterwards at Vienna. The ideas of liberty and equality soon found in him an enthusiastic disciple and made him a political fanatic. He sought and found accomplices and with them founded a league with the express object of stirring up the populace by speeches and writings and of overthrowing the monarchy.

The police soon came on the trail of this treasonable agitation; members of the society were arrested at various places, and all sent to Pest, as it was the emperor's intention to withdraw no man from the jurisdiction of his rightful judges. The office of judge in this momentous affair fell to the youthful archduke Alexander Leopold, the emperor's third brother (who had been appointed palatine of Hungary in 1790 at the request of the Hungarians themselves), as president (*Präses*) of the septemviral board. Six of the conspirators were condemned to death, eleven to imprisonment, and the rest were pardoned. On January 20th, 1795, Martinovics was beheaded, with four others, Szigray, Laczkovics, Szentmariay, and John Hajnóczy, who had acted as directors of the league; and on the 13th of February the punishment of death was also inflicted on Alexander Szolarczik, notary, and Paul Oetz, advocate. Not long after the last act of this shocking catastrophe the archduke went to Austria for the benefit of his health, where, on July 12th, an unfortunate experiment in the laboratory at Laxenburg brought his promising career to an untimely end.

A few days before the execution of the abbot of Szathmár a certain Lieutenant Franz von Hebenstreit was put to death at Vienna for having supplied some newly invented war-machines to Poland and France, for having written and disseminated seditious songs and endeavoured to subvert the tranquillity and order of the country. His accomplices, Professor Billek von Billenberg of the Vienna Neustadt Academy, and other conspirators, such as the councillor (*Regierungsrath*) Gotthardi, the head commissioner of police (*Polizei*

Obercommissär) Franz von Troll, a merchant named Hakel, the councillor of magistracy (*Magistratrath*) Prandstätter, a schoolmaster named Jeline, Baron Riedl, and others were condemned to longer or shorter terms of imprisonment. The populace was indifferent; they looked upon these aberrations as the monstrous births of an inflamed and diseased imagination.

None the less the Austrian government felt itself bound to take energetic action against Poland, the seat of the revolution, and despatched troops to occupy Little Poland. Meanwhile Prussia and Russia had suppressed the rebellion and were thinking of putting an end to all the supposititious dangers to which they were exposed by the existence of Poland as a perpetual focus and rendezvous of all turbulent elements, by a third and complete partition of the country. The question of what course Austria should take in the matter was one of no small importance. She might allow Russia and Prussia to effect the partition without any interference from her, as she had done in 1793, but then her neighbours would have aggrandised themselves at the very moment when Austria had lost the Netherlands and sacrificed enormous quantities of men and money in the long struggle. Or Austria might draw the sword against Russia and Prussia in order to prevent the partition, a plan of all others least fit to be considered just at this time. There remained therefore only the last course, which was to take advantage of the partition of Poland for her own profit. Prussia had latterly manifested such hostile sentiments that Austria had reason to fear a recurrence of the days of Frederick II, especially if she were strengthened by the acquisition of Poland. East Galicia, which had fallen to Austria's share in the first partition, lay defenceless; Prussia had only to march her troops into it, unless Austria kept a large force perpetually under arms to guard the frontier. Accordingly the threatening attitude of the northern power seemed to argue the imperative necessity of rounding off and securing Austrian territory in this direction.

For this reason Austria intervened in the negotiations which had long been pending between Russia and Prussia, and demanded the four southern palatinates of the republic of Poland, Lublin, Chelm, Cracow and Sandomir, for herself. Thus she obtained a frontier protected by rivers and secured two strategic points in the towns of Cracow and Sandomir. The negotiations were spun out for nearly a whole year, and did not lead to a complete agreement between the three interested powers until October.

On October 24th, 1795, the deed of partition was signed by all three, and in virtue of it Austria gained possession of all the region between the Vistula and the Bug as far as Brest-Litowski, as well as of Cracow and Sandomir on the left bank of the Vistula. The Pilica, Vistula, and Bug thus formed the boundary of the new territory, which consisted of an area of 843 square miles with about a million inhabitants. The newly acquired province was united with the portion of Poland which had fallen to Austria in 1773, under the name of West Galicia, and constituted a single administrative district with two capitals, Lemberg and Cracow. The oath of fealty was received in the following year by Charles, prince of the empire and count of Auersperg, whom the emperor deputed to represent him. The clergy and nobles sent plenipotentiaries to Cracow, and the commons and peasantry took the oath in the district courts.[c]

CAMPAIGNS OF 1795 AND 1796

The first success gained by the French on the west was the taking of Luxemburg (June 7th, 1795), after Bender had stood a siege of eight months. It was not until September that the French made a forward move, crossed

the Rhine, and forced the Austrians to retire. Mannheim was treacherously given up (September 20th), after Austrian reinforcements for the town had been refused. The French could thus separate the two Austrian corps under Clerfayt and Wurmser. Clerfayt, however, unfolded an energy and a skill that astonished Europe. He hunted Jourdan back over the Rhine, after a night march appeared before Mannheim (October 29th), which the French believed they had made impregnable, and in six hours, with a loss of fifteen hundred men, took the fortification by storm. Pichegru was forced back, Kaiserslautern, Homburg, and Zweibrücken fell once more into Austrian hands, and on November 21st the French garrison of Mannheim, consisting of ten thousand men, submitted. An armistice was signed on January 1st, 1796, for five months. The Austrians now held the right bank from Bâle to the Sieg and a considerable piece on the left from Speier to Oberdiebach.

In Italy the Austrian command was given to Beaulieu, a distinguished cavalry leader, but not the equal of Bonaparte, whose services to the convention had been rewarded by the lately instituted Directory with the command in Italy. The Austrian plan was spoiled at the beginning by the skirmish of Montenotte (April 12th), where Bonaparte separated Argenteau's troops from the main body under Beaulieu. Provera with nine hundred men was overcome by an overwhelming French force at Millesimo (April 14th), and with equally overwhelming numbers Napoleon stormed Dego. The next day (April 15th) it was taken back from Masséna by a brilliant stroke of Major Bukassovich and his Croatians. At two o'clock on the morrow, Masséna returned with reinforcements from Napoleon, attacked Dego from three sides, and practically annihilated the Austrian troops there.

Beaulieu still hoped to make his connection with the Sardinian army, but Bonaparte manœuvred Colli still further back towards Turin (April 17th), and the Sardinian king sent to ask the Austrian general what forces he had at his disposal and what plans he had made. Perceiving that Victor Amadeus was wavering in his alliance, Beaulieu determined to sacrifice his own line of retreat in order to reinforce Colli; but, after a further move of Napoleon's, the king requested an armistice (April 22nd), which Napoleon granted (April 24th), on the conditions fixed at Cherasco that the French should occupy Ceva, Tortona, and Coni, fortified places of which Sardinia had refused the occupation to her ally.

The defection of Sardinia changed the face of affairs. Napoleon, hitherto maintaining poorly supplied troops in a hostile country, and threatened in his rear, could turn the whole of an army, maintained at Sardinian cost, against this single enemy, who awaited his attack behind the Po. Napoleon was enabled to win Lombardy, to occupy Milan, and to make peace with most of the Italian states, after he had stormed the bridge at Lodi and crossed the Adda (May 10th). Parma, Modena, Naples, and the papal states bought an expensive and fragile armistice, Venice pretended an unarmed neutrality, and secretly paid subsidies. The Austrians withdrew slowly to the Tyrol, keeping in their hands only Mantua.

Thugut did all he could to save the fall of Mantua. Wurmser with twenty-five thousand men was ordered from the Rhine to succeed Beaulieu, and a good deal against his will—for his dream was the liberation of Alsace, his home—he arrived in a month's time at Trent; at the end of June he relieved Mantua, but, beaten at Castiglione (August 3rd), he had to withdraw into the Tyrol and leave Mantua to the besiegers.

Now, it was Bonaparte's plan to join Moreau — who had been opposed to Wurmser on the Rhine when the latter was called to Italy, and who had

marched down to the Danube — and to direct the combined army on Vienna. To do this Wurmser had first to be incapacitated. After three weeks' rest, therefore, he moved up to find Wurmser; but at the same time the Austrian general was moving down to make a second attempt to relieve Mantua. Bonaparte reached Trent before he heard of Wurmser's march, and there was nothing for it but to follow by forced marches. He caught him up on September 8th, but Wurmser continued to march to Mantua, overcame the opposing French forces, and no decisive fighting occurred till September 15th when Bonaparte had the advantage and forced Wurmser to take refuge with his troops in Mantua. This uncalled for addition to the numbers shut up in Mantua was a weakness rather than a strength, and the Spanish commander, Canto d'Yrles, was persuaded only by Wurmser's extreme danger to receive the new-comers.

Thugut and Wallis made another effort and despatched a third army, chiefly of Croatians, under General Alvinzi, who had distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, in Turkey, and in the Netherlands. In the neighbourhood of Verona, Alvinzi successfully opposed Bonaparte's attacks at Bassano (November 6th) and at Caldiero (November 12th), and on the 13th Bonaparte withdrew to Verona. The next night he left Verona secretly, crossed the Adige at Ronco, and threatened the Austrian flank and rear. For three days (15th, 16th, and 17th), the bridge over the stream Alpone at Arcola was the centre of desperate fighting which ended in a complete defeat of the Austrians.

In January a new army of sixty thousand men, chiefly recruits, was sent over snow and mountain paths to strengthen Alvinzi for a fourth attack. If he was to reach Mantua, it was first necessary to dislodge Joubert from his strong position on the heights of Rivoli. Skirmishing began on January 9th, 1797, and on the 14th Bonaparte arrived, reopened the decisive battle, which, at first favourable to the Austrians, ended in their entire defeat. Bonaparte pressed on from the victory to Mantua with what troops he could, and arrived there on the 15th, to reinforce Sérurier and the besieging army against a combined attack from Mantua under Wurmser, and from without by an Austrian division under Provera. Wurmser was flung back into Mantua and Provera's small force, surrounded on all sides, was forced to submit.

The troops in Mantua, sixteen thousand out of the original thirty thousand, had long been existing on quarter rations of salt horse. All hope of relief was over, and the key to the Austrian possessions in Italy was given up on February 2nd, 1797. Five hundred cannon fell into the enemy's hands; the garrison was allowed to withdraw to Austria under a promise to serve no more in the war. As an especial honour Wurmser — contrary to the commands of the Directory — was allowed by Bonaparte a free march back with five hundred men and six light cannon. He died seven months later in Vienna with the word "Alsace" upon his lips.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES (1797 A.D.)

We must now return to the Rhine and to the achievements of the most interesting Austrian figure during the wars against Napoleon — the archduke Charles. At the beginning of the year 1796 the successful Clerfayt, owing to disagreements with the war office and with Thugut, had resigned his command, and the archduke Charles — the third son of Leopold and twenty-five years old at this time — took over the direction of the lower Rhine army of 70,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, against Jourdan with his Maas-Sambre

army of 65,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry; while Wurmser commanded the upper Rhine army of 60,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, against Moreau with a Rhine and Moselle army of 70,000. Before the campaign was opened, however, Wurmser, as we have seen, was summoned to Italy.

The Rhine campaign of 1796 began after the expiration of the armistice on June 1st. Jourdan and Kléber successfully crossed the Rhine; but their engagements with Kray and the archduke Charles necessitated withdrawal, and by June 21st the French were in their old positions. Archduke Charles, leaving Wartensleben behind, marched into the upper Rhine valley to oppose Moreau, but he failed to stop the enemy's march against Swabia in the engagement at Malsch (July 9th), and withdrew to Pforzheim in order to hold the passage of the upper Neckar at Cannstatt and Esslingen.

The archduke now conceived the plan of contesting every point with the advancing Moreau without letting himself into a decisive battle, falling back step by step until occasion arose to make a junction with Wartensleben, who was to retreat in the same manner before Jourdan with his Maas-Sambre army. Wartensleben, an officer of the old school, in whose eyes the loss of magazines or the failure to cover a bit of territory was the worst possible offence against military art, clung to the notion of covering Bohemia, and was forced only by Jourdan's blunders to carry out, unintentionally, his part in the archduke's plan. Having retreated, fighting, as far as Donauwörth, Charles forced the enemy's right wing under Bernadotte to fall back (August 22nd), and fell upon Jourdan's centre while Wartensleben attacked it from the Raab (August 24th). Jourdan retreated, followed by Charles, who refused to lessen his strength by supporting Latour on the Danube, and at Würzburg Jourdan was well beaten by Charles, Wartensleben, and Kray (September 3rd).

On the 16th he was forced back from Limburg, and by the end of the month the French were almost entirely on the left bank again, and Charles, leaving Jourdan, could march to the upper Rhine whither Moreau had withdrawn: for Moreau, whom Latour had failed to hold up at Friedberg, found his advance impossible, now that Jourdan was out of the way, although he had got far into Bavaria and made with that kingdom the armistice of Pfaffenhofen, by which he had the whole country and a subsidy of 10,000 livres at his disposal. He therefore determined to withdraw, and aided by Saint-Cyr made a splendid retreat, opposed not very brilliantly by Latour and Naundorff. Arrived in the Breisgau, however, Moreau did not at once cross to the left bank, but turned to Kehl against Charles, who was coming back from the pursuit of Jourdan. Moreau was beaten at Emmendingen (October 20th), and by the 25th his forces were all on the left bank. On the right bank, the French now had only Kehl and Hüningen commanding the passage of the Rhine, and in order to retain these positions, which they could have rendered impregnable, they offered an armistice. It was not accepted and Desaix delivered up Kehl on January 9th, 1797, and Hüningen capitulated February 2nd.

Such was the first campaign made by the archduke Charles as commander-in-chief, at a time when Baden, Würtemberg, and the Swabian and Franconian circles were concluding an armistice with Moreau, paying a subsidy between them of 31,000,000 livres and withdrawing some ten thousand men from Charles' army. The money paid amounted to five times the amount which they had been unable to contribute for the defence of the empire. Meanwhile Prussia fell upon the imperial city of Nuremberg, which she would gladly have devoured; and on August 5th was signed a new treaty with France.[a]

PERSONALITIES AND CLIQUES IN THE NINETIES

The young emperor Francis had not a firm enough will to reconcile and arrange the extremely diverse elements at work. The emperor, indeed, felt throughout the necessity of a guiding hand, and leaned upon his tutor, Thugut's friend Colloredo, as his brother, the grand duke of Tuscany, leaned on Manfredini. At the same time the emperor did not hesitate to consult men of the most opposite opinions. He let himself be easily confused, swayed in resolve, and diverted from his purpose. Indeed he was even accustomed in such cases unconsciously to make statements opposed to the policy of his ministers, and naturally exploited by his enemies for their own purposes. Colloredo would then at all costs smooth matters over, and, generally speaking, Francis would abide by a system once adopted. But such a state of affairs had most prejudicial effects. Endless talk and argument ensued that only served to bewilder everybody concerned; everyone was encouraged in intrigue, a hundred trifles happened which stultified intentions of the government and which often had far-reaching consequences; everyone believed that the ministers, particularly Thugut, could be trifled with, and that he could presume unpunished on the goodness and clemency of the emperor.

If the youth of the emperor Francis had fallen in quiet times, or if it had shown good results, a government possessing authority at least to a certain degree would soon have been established. The exact reverse of this happened. Great excitement had already been produced by the second partition of Poland and the change in the ministry of 1793. Wurmser's defeat in the late autumn of 1793 raised a great storm of opposition to this good man, and, indirectly, to his patron, Thugut.

The loss of Belgium threw everything into a ferment. Waldeck was blamed and still more was Thugut. The numerous nobility of the Netherlands, particularly those who were in Austrian pay, had, ever since their country was lost to Austria, organised an opposition to Thugut and now threw the responsibility of everything on him. Those families among the Austrian nobility, who were nearly connected by relationship or otherwise with the Netherlands, as for instance the Starhemberg and Trauttmansdorff families, joined them. At the head of them all stood that Trauttmansdorff who had won so few laurels in the Netherlands in Joseph's time, and who, now that he was chancellor of the Netherlands, could not forget that Thugut had desired to do away with the Netherland chancellorship, and not even to pension its ex-officials.

At the same time, incomprehensible as it sounds, there was a fairly widespread Prussian party. Lacy, Mack, and later Rosenberg all belonged to it. Without being aware of it, this party was constantly attacked and slandered and bribes were dangled before its members by Lucchesini. They allowed themselves to be led by the Sardinian ambassador, consulting the interests of Sardinia far more than those of Austria. Besides, they were intimately connected with Manfredini, and Lucchesini was not far distant.

Finally, and more important than all else, there was a party of revolutionaries whose ranks were steadily being swelled by the country's want of success and who would not hear of war against France, or of the new ideas. This party was recruited in great measure from the illuminati and freemasons, people who hated Thugut, because he was an enemy to these societies. The young count Perger, son of the minister of police, who was sent to England on business connected with the loan, said quite openly when he was there that

the emperor must be compelled to put an end to a war which was condemned by freemasons all over the world. To these insurgents belonged also the more opinionated followers of Joseph's reform measures, the school educated by him; and, with these, the Prussian party naturally went hand in hand. In most cases, as in Germany, the friends of Prussia were at that time also the friends of France. Still there remained elements which were in closer and more direct relationship to France and French ideas than the Josephites and Fredericians, and there was not the least doubt that with these, too, bribery had been busy. During the Belgian campaign of 1794 it had always been recognised that there were traitors in the imperial army, who betrayed plans to the French, and endeavoured to make use of their knowledge in other ways.

Thugut shared these suspicions, and even Witzleben joined in them. General Fischer of the imperial force was especially suspected, but he was not the only one. In 1794, even before the defeat, there was already talk of a Jacobin clique in the camp; and it is certain that a revolutionary temper or something akin to it was to be discovered spasmodically in all classes.

Thoroughly to explain the position in which poor Thugut stood in relation to all these inimical elements, one must again remind oneself that he was a man risen from the ranks and quite without the pale of the reigning aristocracy. He lived, indeed, in too constricted an environment. As near relations, the old bachelor had only a brother, a young subaltern, whom he dared not even promote; the office in the chancery was his home, his whole existence — he was accustomed to remain there every evening till quite late. Even in the imperial family Thugut had no support. The older members like the archduchess Maria Christina and her husband, the elector of Cologne, and the archduke Ferdinand, installed in Milan as viceroy, all found themselves in a Fronde-like attitude towards the young court. Thugut had no liking for them, finding them, in contrast to their great mother, narrow-minded and narrow-hearted; moreover he found himself constantly thwarted by their influence, and, as he maintained, by their intrigues.

Most of the emperor's brothers were too young to have any weight. The grand duke of Tuscany, as we have seen, worked against Thugut in the most aggressive fashion. The archduke Charles, as conquering hero and adopted son of the archduchess Maria Christina, was the only one of any great importance, but the relations between him and Thugut had become very strained. He belonged to Lacy's peace-party, and wanted to subject the army, in the first place, and the state subsequently, to something like a radical reformation before he could regard Austria as being ready to try conclusions with the Revolution. As the archduke Charles had command of the army in Germany in 1795, we must pause a moment to consider his position.

PERSONAL TRAITS OF ARCHDUKE CHARLES

In the first place he was a thorough Habsburg. Let us see what Varnhagen von Ense says of the personal impression which the archduke made upon him thirteen years later, in camp, in the year 1809: "I heard him that first morning," said he, "from my window, devoting an hour to the muses, improvising on a piano, upon which instrument he was a master of technique. Shortly afterwards he went out, mounted his horse, made the round of the camp, and on returning took exercise on foot. His appearance was pleasant and prepossessing. He looked like a brave and honest man of kindly disposition, who inspired confidence but who could also make himself both feared

and respected; for his glance in the field was instinct with power and the habit of command, whilst his usually friendly expression denoted earnestness and dignity.

"His small, delicate figure was not lacking in the necessary strength and muscularity; warfare with its attendant strain and rude manner of life had not been able to deprive his movements of a certain refinement and grace. The most striking characteristic in the archduke was, however, the entire simplicity and naturalness of his manner and the complete absence of anything artificial or constrained; from the lassitude of many of his movements one would have suspected, at times, a want of force; but the heroic fire of his eyes flashed forth a refutation of that idea. His unshaken courage, which always showed the example of self-denial and self-sacrifice, his kindly solicitude, his just and steadfast mind, as well as the reputation of his earlier feats and victories, had earned him the devoted love of his soldiers; the officers were ardently attached to him, the men thoroughly devoted; wherever he appeared, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers."

There is no doubt that the archduke was a great and influential personage, gentle and benevolent as was ever a Habsburg, mentally gifted and possessing a serious and noble nature. Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen and the archduchess Maria Christina adopted him, and the education these excellent people afforded him developed his qualities in a singularly happy manner. His whole character was imbued with fitting earnestness. Unfortunately, however, the dark side of the Habsburg nature was not wanting, was even unusually marked in his case. Like his father he was physically delicate and often ailing. He possessed almost no power of initiative. As Perthes remarked, it is extraordinary that in the first paragraphs of the *Laws of Military Science* he should declare war to be the greatest misfortune that can befall a state.

Niebuhr says of him: "He felt none of the actual joys of battle; he regarded it as a game of chess and enjoyed arranging the figures, but on the day of action he had no pleasure in fighting, although he had courage enough. A great general should go into the field as to a dance; all his faculties ought to be multiplied from sheer delight in fighting; but Archduke Charles remained calm and would always have preferred to settle matters by manœuvres rather than by blows; he attempted to win the day in the same manner as one solves a difficult problem; that being solved, he would turn to another: the practice of following up a victory with all his might was repugnant to his nature."

Suvarov called him "general of the defensive." Clausewitz describes him as a "geographical general." "He has not," said Clausewitz, "the quick courage and prompt pleasure of the soldier — he never seizes his sword in both hands and rushes upon the enemy, and he never makes an attack into a festivity; he is lacking in the spirit of enterprise and thirst for conquest."

All professional soldiers are of the same opinion — that the archduke Charles lacked resolution, and so fell short of being a general of the first rank. If he had possessed this, he would perhaps have been second to none; but, as it was, he is to be ranked only among those who come next in history to the very first. This is the fate of his house, the fate that has dogged the steps of all Habsburgs. In 1800 his conduct was most remarkable. Later on the archduke tried to postpone the war. In 1805 he had to be set on one side when war was decided upon. At that time Gentz was his most violent opponent, and imputed to him the meanest of motives, the most corrupt resolutions. How he conducted himself in 1794 we have already seen. Want of confidence in himself and in Austria hampered him at every important

crisis. What he said, in one of his military memoranda, of the German generals — that they were inactive because they were puzzled — was true of himself. He lived in a perpetual state of feud with Thugut. To submit himself to the latter's strategical plans was all the more distasteful to him in that he, the oldest of the emperor's brothers now living in Germany, held so brilliant a position in Austria, and was idolised by all the younger generation in the army. By the mere fact of his youth he was necessarily placed in a natural antagonism to almost all the generals. Besides, he had, even then, the desire to reorganise the army completely, before it again departed upon active service.

It is obvious how everything combined to drive the great soldiers possessed by Austria into the arms of the peace party. A certain liberalism weighed even with the archduke as with his father. As he had admired Napoleon more than he hated him, just so he felt no real enmity toward the Jacobins. He regarded his kingdom and its old formulas with a certain distaste. The decisive years of his youth he had spent in the Netherlands and in camp; the army was home to him and, to the German way of thinking, he appeared far more Austrian, far more a soldier than a German. The loss of the Netherlands also produced a certain effect. This struggle for a conservative Europe, as Thugut designed it, did not chime in with the tone of his ideas. His thoughts were predominantly military and, curiously enough, this very military cast of his mind was his chief deterrent from action. The difference between him and Stadion was perfectly evident in 1809. Only when in actual battle was he stirred by the joy of fighting. Like all his race he was distinguished for a mixture of high courage and cold-bloodedness.

Rühle von Lilienstern writes of him: "The archduke hurried to the position of greatest danger, exposed himself recklessly, and immediately engaged in a single-handed conflict." Another says of him: "One saw on the battlefield that he cared nothing for death and dangers; his whole personality became more impressive, and his soldiers looked up to him with pride and confidence. If, after long survey, he called, 'My horse!' (he used, when obliged to stand still for long, generally to dismount) one might be quite certain that things were going badly, and could make sure that he would rush to where an accession of strength was needed, in order to restore the balance and compel good fortune. Not his the ruling principle that a commander-in-chief ought at least to avoid the whirlpool of the conflict, and not to expose himself to gunshots. To seize a flag and show the disheartened or wavering troops the road to glory, or to drive back isolated deserters at the sword's point when he saw them influencing the masses, were actions which, performed by him on occasion, did not fail of their effect. His presence had a visible effect on the courage of the troops, whose confidence he possessed in a high degree." If we may compare the warrior with the statesman, the archduke reminds us again in such moments of Thugut, opposed as the two were in all else. But we are reminded most vividly of Charles V, who always gave his enemies an advantage; who, prostrate with gout, followed his troops on a stretcher, but who, on critical days, seemed to be cased in steel and iron and to be quite a different creature; almost trembling with war-fever, he was a knightly hero in the old sense of the word.

In the second half of the campaign of 1796, the archduke proved himself a hero. But at its commencement he had certainly done his best to give the enemy every advantage, with unusual success. That he seldom managed to gather about him the right people — Gentz and Thugut are agreed as to this — and that this immediate circle had considerable influence over him (it is

true the doughty Bellegarde was one of his nearest advisers) must also be taken into consideration.[d]

"From childhood until now," Charles said of himself at a later period, "in my education, and in my far-reaching environment I have striven for one unattained ideal of perfection in the fulfilment of duty; and in this course I have continued uninterruptedly. I have found it absolutely necessary to give precedence and true rights to my undivided heart, allowing it free room for action, and in its decisions with regard to myself and others honouring its verdict in everything which is its prerogative, and abiding in all things by its decisions. The elevation of good feeling to moral strength is more important than the deepest insight into the essence of virtue."[k]

To this conception of his own character may be added two estimates of Archduke Charles from another quarter. "Archduke Charles," Napoleon said, "would doubtless have been the first general of his time, had not fate put in his way hinderances which with all his talent he was unable to overcome." And again Napoleon said of him: "Here is one who will never bring a word of blame upon his head. The man has a spirit of heroic cast, and a heart from the golden age. He is a moral being; applied to a prince that epithet embraces all things." Such an estimate, from such a source, is not to be taken lightly. We shall have some opportunities presently to estimate its correctness, for the archduke in a sense holds the destinies of Austria in his hands. But before we take up again the narrative of military events, we must make further study of the temper of the times, that we may understand the Austrian attitude towards the French on the one hand, and towards the associated German principalities on the other.[a]

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN AUSTRIA

There were numerous German patriots in the army, who served the emperor because he was the emperor. It would none the less be difficult to prove that in the nineties there was a genuine imperial party either in Germany or in the German army. And circumstances fell out so unfortunately that even the imperial party, as far as such a thing existed, could scarcely venture to support Thugut. The imperials desired an understanding between Germany and Austria at any cost, and, therefore, were always inclined to make too light of any obstacles in its way. Men such as Duke Albert and the prince of Coburg quarrelled with Thugut on this point: for, as above mentioned, it is undeniable that Thugut was a thoroughgoing Austrian, as the phrase was understood in Maria Theresa's time, and yet he found himself supported still less by the Austrian particularists.

Gradually, people grew tired of the war as it dragged its weary length along, and they had had more than enough of losses and defeats. Already they were sullen and disheartened in relation to the Dutch, calling them ungrateful and unworthy of such sacrifice. A similar way of thinking affected them towards the empire when Austria was forsaken by every ally and especially by Prussia. This was the sorrowful reaction after what had taken place within the empire. Austria must not sacrifice itself, it was felt, for this unthankful empire. In fact no allies of importance remained, with the exception of England. It could not go on its knees to England's gold, pull England's chestnuts out of the fire. It was clear that speeches and opinions such as these were rife, and that there were elements inimical to Austria in Germany, out of which the Germans manufactured their sharpest weapons, and

in this course they were confirmed by their own inalienable belief that Austria would do the same as Prussia.

The particularists in Germany as in Austria overlooked or wished to overlook the fact that Austria had become so intimately bound up with the German Empire that it could not oppose that empire's interests without deadly danger to itself. Thugut's greatest support was still in the people, the real people of the German provinces. The antipathy towards France was deep-rooted and instinctive there, whilst in Hungary there existed strong French sympathies. The people of the German crown lands had rushed to the universal armament in 1797 with touching readiness for self-sacrifice. Still, in 1798 there was no mistaking the national hatred shown by the people of Vienna toward France.[1] *d*

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES IN ITALY

Thus much understood as to the internal conditions at the heart of the empire, we are prepared to take up once more the trend of military events. The loss of Italy and the pacification in his rear made Bonaparte's march on Vienna seem imminent. Archduke Charles was called from the Rhine to oppose him, but the Italian forces of which Charles became generalissimo were but the wreck of an army depressed by constant defeat, so that Bonaparte cried: "Hitherto I have had troops without a general to oppose me; now I have a general without troops." *a*

After the fall of Mantua the archduke was called away to take over the command in Italy. But it was all too late and the time had gone by for winning great laurels here. It is nevertheless clear that in this decisive moment the archduke behaved in an extraordinary manner. He regarded the whole situation as hopeless, delayed doing anything, and, to the horror of Thugut, came back to Vienna, to ask for orders from the emperor in person. Much time was lost by all this, and the new differences between Thugut and the archduke had a paralysing effect. Thugut was much displeased at the archduke's desire to abandon the Tyrol, and later on he cast it in his face that his hesitation was alone responsible for the misfortune which followed.

Only far to the east, at Tagliamento, were operations again resumed. As is well known, Bonaparte was victorious (March 16th, 1797). The imperial forces now marched back through the mountains to Carinthia. Thugut asserted that the disorder was truly colossal. He repeated his eternal complaint that everyone did as he pleased. At Tarvis another battle was fought (March 3rd), and no doubt with much glory; but still the French were not to be stopped. The archduke appears to have done little to avert misfortune. At heart he was in favour of a peace, or at least of an armistice. The only bright spot in this period is the people's rising in the Tyrol. Even the neighbourhood of the Lake of Garda was invaded. It was not certain whether the French line of retreat might not be threatened; Bonaparte was in any case a long way from his own country. In Italy, too, there were many elements which were prepared for a rising. Though the French were now again pressing on into Germany they were nevertheless divided from the Italian army by wide tracts of country, and — which was the main point — Bonaparte had not forty thousand men with him. If the organisation of the militia in the archduchy and the lower Austrian provinces succeeded, it was still not impos-

[1] When the French ambassador, Bernadotte, hung the French tricolour out of his window, the people regarded it as an insult, rushed into the hotel, and tore down the flag; and this action led to endless discussions with the French government, and finally to the breach in 1799.

sible that the French might find themselves in serious danger, and as factions had now arisen in France a discomfiture would have cost Napoleon probably his life and certainly his career.

Thugut therefore did not yet give up the cause as lost. In Austria the militia was organised, in Hungary the *insurrectio*. At the same time Thugut again turned his eyes towards Russia where the emperor Paul had been reigning since the autumn of 1796. There exists the draft of a letter from the emperor Francis to the emperor Paul, the humble expressions of which leave no room to doubt the earnestness of the meaning. Neither at the embassy in Berlin nor in Petersburg was there any information of an impending change in Austrian policy. "Thugut's triumph over the cabal," says Prince Reuss (the ambassador at Berlin), "means the same thing as the triumph of the good cause over the French. May God," he added, "grant him the victory." Thugut carried out the fulfilment of the imperial decision to quit Vienna, but at the last moment a change for the worse took place.

Bonaparte again made offers of peace and on apparently very favourable conditions; Austria was to receive compensation for the Netherlands and eventually for Lombardy, at the expense of Venice. The Rhine was demanded only in case Austria insisted on the retention of Milan. The whole was couched in rather ambiguous terms, and at first Bonaparte's authority was distrusted. Besides Thugut was unwilling to enter upon the negotiation because under no circumstances did he wish to break with England and conclude a separate peace. Had Thugut been emperor matters would have been allowed to come to extremes. But the court now lost courage. It was above all the Neapolitan influence which made itself felt in this decisive crisis. The empress was a princess of Naples and moreover the queen of Naples was the emperor's aunt. In order to cover her own defection it was the desire at Naples to win Austria to a peace. "It is with it as with women," said Thugut once in reference to this Italian court; "when one has fallen she tries to make the others trip." In the year 1796 the ambassador Gallo had gone to Bâle to conclude a definite peace. He requested leave from Vienna to sound the French government on its intentions in behalf of Austria. The empress favoured the plan. The emperor thought the matter of no consequence and gave permission; Gallo was now again in Vienna and labouring for an understanding between Austria and France.

It cannot now be denied that the Austrian government had for a long time had various designs on Dalmatia and Istria, over which it asserted ancient rights of the crown of Hungary. Further, in order to win the favour of the empress Catherine for the third partition of Poland, Austria had on the first of January, 1795, concluded with her a secret treaty which became known only in our day and by which prospects were opened up to her of acquisitions in the Balkan Peninsula and in Istria, at the expense of the Porte on the one hand and of Venice on the other. And these plans had drawn her eyes ever more and more in the direction of Italy, to which Frederick the Great had already wished to turn Austria's attention. Besides this, the restitution of the western border of Piedmont in exchange for a French conquest had long formed part of Thugut's plans, and since the legations had fallen into the hands of France he had also striven after their acquisition; it was then only a step further to meditate ceding them to Venice in exchange for a possession on the mainland. The luckless republic came more and more into the foreground of the design. There was some sense of right in the last century, but it gradually became more and more perverted into a sense of dynastic rights. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Naples, and even Sardinia Thugut would not have

taken by force. But Venice was a republic, and the Polish Republic afforded a recent precedent for the seizure of a commonwealth which was not the hereditary property of a dynasty. Indeed it cannot be doubted that Thugut was never opposed to compensation at the expense of Venice. He only shrank from a complete annihilation of the republic and wished to surround the whole business with the forms of legality. But he did not oppose the transaction and he had now given up the idea of adding to the number of Austrian subjects. But it was quite another question as to whether things of this kind should be received from the hands of France or from these allies.

It would be quite another matter, moreover, if France were at the same time to derive from it an enormous increase of territory and power. It would be quite another matter if Austria were completely to relinquish the object of the war and abandon her allies. Finally, it would be quite another matter if the left bank of the Rhine also were actually to be delivered over to France. In order to present the then existing situation in the right light, stress must be laid on the fact that in the year 1796 Prussia too had taken a decided step. A new treaty had been brought about between her and France wherein were defined the spiritual principalities, which Prussia and the king's near relative and ally, the hereditary stadholder of Holland, were to receive, if by the terms of a general peace the dismemberment of the left bank of the Rhine and consequently secularisation should be taken in hand. By this means Prussia would be once more considerably extended. In Austria, however, some apprehension was excited lest the prince of Orange should receive the south German bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, and the Prussian influence thus again be established and increased within the sphere of Austrian power.

Although we are only very imperfectly informed as to the details of what took place at the court of Vienna in April, 1797, and even Vivenot's letters for this period are very unsatisfactory and deficient, still it seems fairly clear that at this decisive moment the emperor consulted others rather than those who had hitherto been his chief advisers, and especially lent an ear to the empress and to Gallo. Colloredo, a man of much consideration, declared that it was no part of his business to undertake the responsibility for such matters. He was too little informed on the question for that. Thugut received an express command to draw up instructions for the negotiations with Bonaparte. He submitted. How little it lay in his intention to bring about what now took place is shown by the words which he wrote to his friend Dietrichstein a short time afterwards: "What do you say to our famous peace? I have kept out of it and still think the same as ever." When Hüffer says that Thugut ought to have given in his resignation, he has modern conditions too much before his eyes, and forgets that it was open to Thugut to hope to restore matters to their former footing at some future date.

In direct demonstration of the direction from which the wind blew for peace, it was not an Austrian diplomat who was despatched to Bonaparte but the Neapolitan Gallo, with whom an Austrian general was associated. It was really this man who took matters out of the hands of Thugut and the court. Gallo had handled the whole question of peace in the most superficial, feeble, and hasty manner. And before all, as Thugut had all along feared, he had at the same time worked for the cause of Naples and represented her interests.

Thus it happened that the preliminary Peace of Leoben (April 18th, 1797) was brought to a conclusion at a moment when the French were only eighteen miles from Vienna. Notwithstanding, the left bank of the Rhine had not been sacrificed at Leoben. It is to Hüffer that we are indebted for having pointed this out; Gallo had certainly permitted a very bad wording to be employed.

But the sense, as Hüffer indicates, can be only that Belgium and the neighbouring territories may indeed be comprehended under the constitutional borders, but not the left bank of the Rhine. Besides the Netherlands, Austria also abandoned Lombardy with the exception of Mantua, and was to be compensated at the expense of Venice. The town of Venice itself, with the islands, was to remain intact for the present. The emperor, to whom Thugut referred everything, ratified the treaty. Austria, he declared at the same time, must before all things gain time to collect her forces for the prosecution of the war, and this was attained by this preliminary arrangement. Thus before the actual peace was concluded, on the 17th of October, much time was suffered to elapse.

THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO (OCTOBER 17TH, 1797)

Thugut was distracted about the peace. He became quite ill with excitement. But it was the same as with the peace of 1809. Having once gone so far it was difficult to stop short and recommence hostilities. This time, also, the emperor confirmed the proceedings. Amongst the Vienna public, unfortunately, there was now great rejoicing. Men congratulated one another in boisterous fashion on the peace, of whose more regrettable provisions it must be confessed that they were ignorant. "What completes my despair," Thugut exclaims, "is the disgraceful debasement of our Viennese, who are wild with joy at the word 'peace' without once asking whether the conditions are good or bad. No one troubles himself over the honour of the monarchy, no one thinks what will have become of the monarchy in ten years' time, if only he can rush about to masquerades to-day and eat his roast fowl in peace. What can be one with such characters to make a stand against the energy of a Bonaparte who defies all dangers with a smiling face? Peace — peace! But where is it? I see no security for it in the treaty. If I have not been deceived in my hasty perusal of it, I find in it no sort of safety for us; and its execution which is hanging over us will perhaps bring about a new chain of preliminaries — I have only glanced at the different articles in a superficial way, and we shall have time enough to consider them and bitterly to lament them. Meantime I know enough to put me into a fever." [d]

By the Peace of Campo-Formio Austria lost 780 square miles in Belgium, Lombardy, and the Breisgau, and gained 865 in Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. Francis suffered by it, therefore, not as Austrian sovereign but in his honour as emperor. For in the secret articles he promised to use his influence, at the approaching congress, that the left Rhine bank from Bâle to Andernach should be French. Damages for losses thus sustained were to be got from the right bank, or by secularisation, and a secret article arranged that Austria was to begin by having the archbishopric of Salzburg. As it was exactly upon such ecclesiastical foundations that the existence of the empire really depended, the emperor was hereby overturning the constitution, as he was, in the matter of the Rhine provinces, straitening the boundaries of the confederate state of which he was the head and defender. The Austrian Peace of Campo-Formio was, in fact, a sort of rejoinder to Prussia's Treaty of Bâle: the king of Prussia was the first to betray the empire for the interests of his own state; in making the Peace of Campo-Formio the head of the empire himself followed suit. The pressure and the shock from outside brought each of them to balance the weight of the empire against their positions as great European powers; in either case the scale of empire flew into the air. The Peace of Campo-Formio and the Treaty of Bâle go together, and the later of the two events is not prop-

erly understood until it is looked upon in the light of the rivalry between Austria and Prussia. For instance, it was declared by one of the secret articles that as the French Republic had no objection to giving Prussia back her possessions on the left bank, there was no new territory to be gained by the king of Prussia in Germany.

Istria and Dalmatia submitted to Austrian rule in May, 1797, and thus was fulfilled an old dream of Austrian policy. In Venice itself there was first played the comedy of a plebiscite (May 12th); on January 18th, 1798, the French cleared out with a rich booty, and the Austrians entered to receive the oath of submission from the last of the doges, Lodovico Manin.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AT RASTATT (1798–1799 A.D.)

Before the articles of the Treaty of Campo-Formio were known, the emperor sent (November 1st) a decree to all the states of the empire to send delegates to Rastatt to settle the terms of a lasting peace, "on the basis of the integrity of the empire." Napoleon appeared at Rastatt on November 26th and left again directly he had arranged for the taking over of Mainz and of other fortresses (December 1st). The complaints of the elector of Mainz on the withdrawal of imperial troops were of course unavailing; on December 8th the city was formally given over to France by Austria, and on January 8th, 1798, the diet at Ratisbon confirmed the transfer. That was the first achievement of the congress. The second was the giving over of the whole of the left Rhine bank (March 9th, 1798), and the third was the approval (April 4th) of a comprehensive plan of secularisation. The whole procedure was consummately characterised in a pamphlet entitled *The Passion:* "And it came to pass that, as Bonaparte had finished, there gathered together the high priests, the scribes, and Pharisees, in a city which was called Rastatt, and held council how they might take the empire by deceit and kill it. And the empire saw that its hour was come and said: 'My soul is sad unto death.' And the ecclesiastical princedom was sore troubled and said in the congress: 'Verily, verily, woe unto you, there is one among you will betray me.' And behold the Prussian court whispered in the ear of France, 'What will you give me that I betray it to you?' Bonaparte gave sentence on the empire: 'We have a law, and according to the law must it die.' The Palatinate and Hesse-Darmstadt answered: 'What has it done? I find no fault in it.' But the emperor said, 'It is better that one die than that the whole people be ruined.' And he gave it over to be scourged and crucified." Of the imperial army it is said in the pamphlet: "They beat their breasts and turned back again."

The peace congress lasted on at Rastatt weeks after war had again broken out. Lehrbach, representative of Francis as archduke, left March 11th, without giving notice; on April 13th, the plenipotentiary of the emperor as emperor, Count Franz Georg Karl Metternich, father of the more celebrated chancellor, left, declaring only in general terms that the armistice was broken and the place of meeting dangerous. The three French delegates were warned by no official announcement, nor did the archduke Charles, as head of the army, see that they were dismissed, although it was clear that their dealings in south Germany could not be suffered in war time. The delegates themselves asked Talleyrand for permission to withdraw. The answer was that they were to hold out at Rastatt as long as possible and leave only under protest. Close to Rastatt was stationed a Szekler regiment of hussars under Colonel Barbaczy. Barbaczy held his command from General Görger, Görger held his from Baron Kospoth, and Kospoth from the archduke Charles at headquarters.[a]

THE RASTATT MURDER (1799 A.D.)

On the 22nd of April Barbaczy sent one of his officers with an escort of three privates and a bugler to ride straight into the courtyard of the castle of Rastatt and hand to the "directorial" freiherr von Albini a letter to say that, under existing military conditions, when for the sake of their own safety the military were compelled to patrol the town and its environs, he could not give any consolatory assurances with regard to the safety of the *corps diplomatique;* because, after the recall of the imperial plenipotentiary, Rastatt was no longer regarded as a place of congress. For the rest, unless prevented by the exigencies of warfare, the Austrian soldiery would continue to respect their personal inviolability. To the Germans the tone of this letter appeared so unmistakable that on April 23rd, in spite of their friendly sentiments towards the French, such members of the peace commission as were still there resolved, on Albini's motion to that effect, to terminate the session and prepare to return home.

The French, however, still doubted whether the "extremity" which would justify their departure had actually come, and it was the 25th before they issued a note to the members of the commission still present, in which they protested against what they stigmatised as a breach of international law, and fixed the 28th of April for their departure. On the morning of that day their eight travelling coaches stood in the courtyard of the castle laden with baggage. They were persuaded by Albini's representations to defer their departure until Barbaczy sent the assurances of the safety of the ambassadors for which he had been asked the day before. Hour after hour elapsed and no answer came from Gernsbach, and the officer who at length made his appearance at Rastatt, at seven o'clock at night, brought a letter from the colonel giving the ambassadors twenty-four hours to get out of the town and to pass through the lines of the army, and expressing his regret that they had displayed such lack of confidence in the respect that would be paid to their personal inviolability. The colonel's letter was drawn up in accordance with the archduke's commands of April 25th, which imposed on him the duty of expelling French subjects in general, and these same ambassadors in particular, from the sphere of the army.

But Barbaczy had secret orders besides these. Among the records of the Austrian military archives, which Herr von Sybel was the first to investigate, two remarkable documents have come to light. One of them is the résumé of a report from Colonel Barbaczy and runs:

April 18th.

COLONEL BARBACZY TO GENERAL GÖRGER:

Reports arrangements made and still to be made in consequence of secret orders concerning the French ambassadors now preparing to take leave. At the same time inquires whether the escort of these ambassadors, consisting of Baden troops, is to receive hostile treatment.

The second is an autograph postscript appended by Major-General von Marveldt to a report made to the lieutenant-general (Austrian lieutenant-field-marshal) Kospoth under date of this same 18th of April, and runs:

With reference to the letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Mayer received yesterday by courier, General von Görger has made such arrangements that if the Szekler hussars do not find the nest empty the business can hardly miscarry. If only this wish had been expressed a few days sooner!

Late in the evening of the 28th of April proceedings were taken against the French ambassadors in accordance with the secret orders hinted at in

these words. A detachment of sixty Szekler hussars under Captain Burkhard appeared before the gates of the town at the same time as the bearer of Colonel Barbaczy's letter, armed with orders to let no person connected with the congress pass out or in. According to Barbaczy's letter the day of grace for the ambassadors' departure lasted till the evening of the 29th. Debry, however, insisted that they should leave within the time appointed by the ambassadors themselves, and the start was consequently made before eight o'clock. At the gate, however, they found their exit barred by hussars, and it was nearly ten before this obstacle was removed, and the procession of carriages, escorted by torches, at length passed out of the town by the Rheinau gate.

They had barely gone two hundred paces before about sixty Szekler hussars, who had lain in ambush by the Murg canal, galloped up to the carriages, stopped them, and inquired after the French ministers. To the question of whom he was driving and in which carriage Bonnier (the French minister) was riding, the postilion of the first carriage replied that Bonnier was in that immediately behind him, and that Jean Debry and the ladies of his party were in his own. The carriage was surrounded in a moment. Debry handed his passport through the window, the paper was torn up, he himself was dragged out of the carriage, robbed of his watch and money, and, on answering the question "Are you Jean Debry?" in the affirmative, was struck down by several sabre-thrusts. He rolled into the ditch by the roadside and was left there for dead. Bonnier and Roberjot were next interrogated in the same manner, dragged out of their carriages and cut down, and both the carriages and corpses were plundered. No one was ill-treated except the ambassadors; on the contrary, the coachmen and servants were told that no harm would be done them, only Roberjot's valet declared that his watch and money had been taken. The first news of the massacre was brought to the Casino at Rastatt, where the diplomatists were still assembled, a quarter of an hour later by Boccardi, the Ligurian ambassador, who had been in one of the hindmost carriages. The carriages were brought back to Rastatt that same night, and in the morning Jean Debry appeared, covered with blood, having crept out of the ditch and taken refuge in a wood, where he had saved himself by climbing a tree. On the afternoon of the 29th he, with his family and those of the two murdered men, was driven to Plittersdorf with a guard of Baden and imperial hussars and was not left by his escort until he was on board the boat that was to take him across the Rhine.

The certain and conclusive results at which investigators of the most diverse party views have unanimously arrived of late may be stated as follows. The Szekler hussars had orders to stop the French ministers and to rob them of their papers. In the report which Dohm made and published in the name of the German ambassadors, there is no mention of the robbery. We learn why not, from a letter written by Count Solms-Laubach and dated May 18th, 1799. In it he says: "It was a knotty and much debated question whether we should mention the seizure of the papers or not. I was one of those who wished to have this circumstance, which was undeniably important, included in the narrative for the sake of having a complete record of the matter; the omission of any mention of the fact was due to excess of caution and the apprehension that the persons referred to in the papers might be regarded with suspicion, as though compromised by such reference." They certainly were not ordered to rob the ambassadors, still less to kill them, but they cannot have been forbidden to do so, otherwise they could not have openly boasted of the deed, openly sold their booty, and nevertheless have got off without any punishment whatever.

The mere fact that an attack was made with intent to seize the ambassadors' papers constituted a breach of international law, and to this offence the perpetrators added a heinous and murderous crime by letting loose the passions of a barbarous soldiery; and it presently appeared that the whole proceeding had been absolutely futile, for when they ransacked the intercepted archives of the embassy they found nothing that could be used against Bavaria or could serve in any other way as a tardy justification of the murder. The clamorous cry for vengeance which the Directory raised over the crime of the 28th of April was drowned in the brazen clang of the great war then raging in Switzerland and Italy. It was not reserved for the most despicable government France has ever known to exploit the national indignation for its own ends, and in after days the first consul had more serious work to do than to demand satisfaction for the blood of the murdered Jacobins of Rastatt.[e]

RHINE AND ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS OF 1798 AND 1799

When the emperor informed the German Empire of the Peace of Campo-Formio, his hearers had been profoundly touched by the declaration in the articles of peace that the integrity of the German Empire was to form the basis of the negotiations now inaugurated between that empire and France. The deputies of the empire who assembled at Rastatt for the peace congress were therefore not a little surprised when the imperial forces evacuated Mainz, Philippsburg, Königstein, Ulm, Mannheim, Ingolstadt, and Würzburg, and when French troops surrounded Mainz and forced the few electoral and imperial soldiers left there to capitulate. The evacuation of these fortresses by the Austrians was the outcome of a secret convention concluded by Napoleon with Count Cobenzl. The French deputies at Rastatt declared that in consideration of the long duration of the war, and of the expense entailed upon her to repel an unjustifiable attack, France required that the negotiations should proceed on the basis of taking the Rhine for the boundary between the two nations. It was clear that this claim could not in the long run be resisted, but the question then arose as to how to indemnify the princes of the empire who would lose by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine.

Austria, with an eye to Prussia, to whom she had owed a grudge since the Peace of Bâle, made an agreement with France, to the effect that the latter should restore to Prussia all her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, thus leaving her without any claim to indemnification. Prussia, on hearing of this arrangement, declared herself willing to resign all claim to indemnification if Austria would likewise claim none for her losses on the farther side of the Rhine. This meant, in other words, that Austria should resign the Venetian Republic of which she had already taken possession. Austria naturally refused to entertain this suggestion. At length the French emissaries at Rastatt spoke the magic word "secularisation." They said in so many words that the ecclesiastical property on the right bank of the Rhine must be used to indemnify the princes of the empire who suffered losses on the left. The word had scarcely been spoken before the temporal princes who had hitherto talked big about the integrity of the empire ceased to concern themselves about it altogether, and only strove to snatch, each for himself, as much church property as he could. The negotiations which

ensued lasted until the beginning of the next war, which presently broke out between France and Austria. The French had beleaguered Ehrenbreitstein all through the time, and had forced the stronghold into surrender by starving the imperial garrison. They blockaded Philippsburg and levied contributions in money and in kind on the right bank of the Rhine exactly as if they had been in an enemy's country.

Every thinking man must have felt assured that the Peace of Campo-Formio was no more than a truce. The early renewal of hostilities was due to various measures taken by the French Directory. The republic of Genoa had been transformed by the Directory into the Ligurian Republic and made entirely dependent upon France; Tuscany had been incorporated into the Cisalpine Republic; so had Modena; and the states of the church had ceased to exist. During a riot in Rome a French general, Duphot, was shot; whereupon the French ambassador quitted the city and it was occupied by a body of French soldiers under Berthier. Pope Pius VI was obliged to resign the temporal sovereignty; he was carried off to Savona, and the states of the church were transformed into the Roman Republic. The king of Sardinia, under French coercion, resigned Piedmont, which was then united to France. The king withdrew to Sardinia. Thus the whole of Italy with the exception of Naples and the state of Venice was under the direct or indirect control of the French. In Switzerland the Directory was likewise stirring up strife, the existing form of government was overthrown, the Helvetic Republic was organised and drawn into the French alliance.

Bernadotte's Tricolour (1799 A.D.)

After the revolutionary attempts in Italy and Switzerland had proved successful, Bernadotte, the French ambassador at Vienna, ventured upon a step which contributed not a little to the breach between Austria and France. He ran up the tricolour on the balcony of his hotel in the Wallbeerstrasse. Crowds upon crowds immediately gathered in front of the house. Vienna was in a ferment; the flag was interpreted as an incentive to revolution on the part of the ambassador, but Vienna had no motive for a revolution. When the throng increased and loud menacing cries rang out on all sides, Bernadotte sent a note to Thugut and demanded protection. Sentries promptly appeared and mounted guard at the gates of the palace. Count Perger, chief of police, and a certain Count Dietrichstein, went to the ambassador and requested him to take down the flag; and on his obstinate refusal to do so Dietrichstein and Perger merely exhorted the mob to be quiet, and then withdrew. The mob, however, was not quiet; stones flew in at the windows, and one determined fellow — Kappelbub by name, said to be a cobbler's apprentice — climbed up to the balcony and boldly hauled down the flag. The court, anxious to save the ambassador from actual ill-usage, now called out the military. With clamorous outcries of "God save the emperor!" the crowd dispersed and the tumult was at an end. The ambassador haughtily demanded his passports, nor could he be induced to stay by any expostulations. Thereupon the emperor had the whole proceeding put on record and signed by his ministers, and gave information of it to all the foreign ambassadors, who unanimously declared that the scene had been caused by Bernadotte's own imprudence and that the Austrian government had done its duty. This explanation was forwarded to Paris. Bernadotte took his departure.

These occurrences were more than enough to make Austria determine upon war, and the emperor could no longer be an indifferent spectator of the revolutionary aspirations of the Directory, which were a menace to the whole of Europe. Moreover the occasion was more favourable than ever before, for the Directory had sent forty thousand picked men to Egypt under Napoleon, their ablest general, to conquer that country. Napoleon had landed safely in Egypt; but the French fleet under Admiral Brueys, which had accompanied him and was to keep communication open between France and Egypt, had been completely destroyed by the English admiral, Nelson, in the roadstead of Abukir, and Napoleon was consequently cut off from his base. This defeat seemed a signal for a fresh outbreak of hostilities. The Turks declared war against the French Republic, Austria concluded two alliances, one with Naples, the other with Russia and England. The king of Naples had appointed the Austrian general Mack to the command of his troops, and began the war before Austria was ready, or the Russians had arrived. The Neapolitans occupied Rome, but were soon afterwards twice defeated by the French under Championnet. Mack retreated upon Naples, the king took ship with his family for Palermo in Sicily; the viceroy, Prince Pignatelli, was forced by a mutiny among the Neapolitan troops to conclude an armistice with the French. Aggrieved at this, the *lazzaroni* of Naples stirred up a general riot, which was directed in the first instance against Mack. To escape the mob he was obliged to flee with his whole staff to the French, who sent him to France as a prisoner of war. The French were victorious over the *lazzaroni;* they occupied Naples and converted the kingdom into the Parthenopean Republic — one ephemeral republic the more.

The Russians had already got as far as Moravia when the French republic declared that it would regard their entrance into Germany as a declaration of war. The emperor returned no answer and hostilities broke out. The belligerent parties acted upon the principle that the possession of mountain ranges carried with it that of the adjacent plains, and that south Germany and Italy must therefore be conquered in Switzerland. The armies were accordingly disposed as follows:

The archduke Charles was in Bavaria with 54 battalions and 138 squadrons, that is with 54,000 foot and 24,000 horse. Hotze with 24,000 men protected the frontiers of the Grisons and Vorarlberg, to the inviolability of which the court of Vienna attached great importance; 44,000 foot and 2,600 horse were posted in the Inn valley and southern Tyrol, under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Bellegarde. A third army of 82 battalions and 76 squadrons (64,000 foot and 11,000 horse) assembled on the Adige. Pending the arrival of Suvarov, Lieutenant-General Baron Kray was at the head of the whole army. The French were not nearly so numerous. The army of the Danube, under Jourdan, amounted to 46,000 men; an army of observation, 48,000 strong, under Bernadotte, was to blockade Mannheim and Philippsburg and to assist Jourdan by creating diversions. Masséna with 30,000 men was told off to conquer the Grisons and the Tyrol. There were also 50,000 men in Italy under Schérer, and 36,000 under Macdonald in Neapolitan territory.

The Austrians were attacked before they were ready. The Russians were still on the march, the Italian army had not yet assembled, when the war in Switzerland began. Masséna conquered the Grisons, advanced to the frontier of the Tyrol, and even penetrated through some of the passes into the province itself. But the defeat of Jourdan left his line of retreat unprotected, and he withdrew. The Austrians, glad to feel that the enemy

was gone from the Tyrol, let him alone. Both armies awaited developments in Germany and Italy.

Jourdan had marched across the Rhine, the archduke Charles had marched to meet him. When the armies met Jourdan was defeated in a decisive battle at Stockach (25th of March, 1799), of which defeat his retreat across the Rhine was the consequence. The pursuit of the enemy brought the Austrians close to Rastatt, where the peace congress was still sitting.

The Tyrol and Italy

Many things conspired to prevent the Austrians from following up their victory.[f] Clausewitz ascribes their failure to do so to the personal character of the archduke Charles.[a] The situation does not call for much elucidation [he says]. The archduke had it in his power to crush his opponent at any moment, and did not do so, and the reason for this is to be found in himself and, more particularly, in two characteristics. In the first place he was deficient in enterprise and thirst for victory. In the second, though in other respects a man of excellent judgment, he had, as has been said, in the main, a radically false conception of strategy: he took the means for the end and the end for the means. The destruction of the fighting-power of the enemy, for which no effort is too great in war, had no place in his mind as an object in itself — to him it existed only as a means for driving the enemy from this point or that; while on the other hand he estimated success wholly and solely as a matter of gaining certain lines and districts, which, after all, can never be more than a means towards victory, that is, towards the annihilation of the physical and moral strength of the enemy.[g]

It must be recalled, however, that the archduke fell ill, and was obliged to give over the chief command temporarily to General Wallis; moreover, the transport system was slow, clumsy, and ill-adapted to modern methods of warfare, a circumstance which hampered the movements of the army. The court of Vienna judged an attack upon Switzerland below the Lake of Constance too desperate an enterprise, and expressly stated that the main operations were to be directed towards the Grisons with the Tyrol as a base, and, finally, Austria lacked the advantage of a single leader in command. The archduke, who was responsible for the defence of Swabia, Hotze, who was responsible for that of Vorarlberg, and Bellegarde, who was responsible for that of the Tyrol, pursued each his allotted task, but combined movements could only be brought about by correspondence, which involved an enormous waste of time.

Ultimately operations began with the Tyrol as base. Bellegarde occupied [illegible] Engadine. Proclamations were scattered broadcast through Switzerland, the [illegible] the Austrians had no other desire than to restore the ancient stating that [illegible] Austrians subsequently conquered the Grisons, and Mas- constitution. The [illegible] Glatt. The archduke advanced upon Zurich. séna was driven back across the [illegible] p a position beyond the Aar and the The French were worsted and took u[illegible]ng position opposite, and both armies Limmat. The archduke took up a stro[illegible] proceeding is to be found in the sub- lapsed into inaction. The key to this [illegible] archduke: joined note, sent by the emperor to the [illegible]ew days to provide your dilection

"Since I purpose in the course of a [illegible]tions respecting the present situa- (*Euer Liebden*) with more detailed instruc[illegible]en, I will at present only briefly tion and the measures hereafter to be tak[illegible] until the arrival of the Russian signify to you that from this time forward[illegible]d of General Korsakov, at the imperial *corps d'armée*, under the comman[illegible]

Rhine, every undertaking which your dilection may propose to engage with my army committed to your charge, which does not combine the certain prospect of success with the no less certain absence of danger to my forces, is for the present quite opposed to the best interests of my service. Your dilection will therefore have to confine yourself to maintaining the advantages already gained, and only under the aforesaid double condition avail yourself of the opportunities offered by favourable circumstances, or by grave mistakes on the part of the enemy, and your dilection must before all things turn your attention to the matters herein prescribed, and to the maintenance of the army at its present strength." This note bore reference to the events in Italy, to which we must now return.

Schérer, the French commander-in-chief, attacked without giving notice of the commencement of hostilities, but was repulsed at Legnago by Lieutenant-General Kray. At Verona the French were severely defeated, and beat a retreat across the Mincio. Suvarov, whom the emperor Francis had made an Austrian field-marshal, now entered Italy with his Russians and took over the chief command. Mantua, Peschiera, and Ferrara were invested; Mirandola fell. Schérer crossed the Adda and gave over his command to General Moreau. The latter lost the battle of Cassano, in consequence of which defeat Sérurier's division was forced to surrender on the battlefield. Suvarov entered Milan. Moreau crossed the Po, hoping to effect a junction with Macdonald, who had hastened by forced marches from Naples. Pizzighettone and Ferrara, the citadels of Milan and Peschiera, surrendered to the Austrians; in many places the country-folk rose in arms against the French, whose situation became more and more critical. Their safety depended upon the junction of Moreau and Macdonald, and to prevent this from taking place Suvarov marched against the latter and defeated him in a three days' fight on the Trebbia.

The French were in an evil plight. Mantua surrendered to General Kray, the citadel of Alessandria did likewise, and a Russo-Turkish fleet bombarded Ancona. No sooner had Mantua fallen than Suvarov continued his advance. Joubert had taken over the command, and a battle was fought at Novi; Joubert fell early in the fight; Moreau, who had left that morning, was hastily recalled, but could not save the day. The sequel of this battle was the conquest of Tortona.

Dissension among the Allies

Brilliant as were the results of this campaign, many dissensions had already arisen among the allies. England, whose subsidies gave her the right to a voice in the discussion of military operations, was afraid lest the Russians should effect a permanent occupation of some Italian port, and was therefore anxious that they should retire from the peninsula. Austria set a high value on her conquests in Italy, and desired to enjoy undivided possession of them and to secure for herself as large a share as possible in the future. To this the presence of the Russians was an obstacle, for the czar Paul was bent on restoring the old state of things in Italy, a wish incompatible with the designs of the court of Vienna. He also felt affronted because, at the capitulation of Ancona, the French had surrendered to the Austrian general Fröhlich only, with the remark that "the surrender was made to him and not to the barbarians" — an observation which Fröhlich had let pass without comment.

The Russians themselves did not care to remain in Italy, for not only

was there constant friction between them and the Austrians, but Suvarov himself had many reasons for dissatisfaction. He had stipulated that he should take orders from none but the emperor Francis, and the whole of the Austrian army was under his command; nevertheless he found that the emperor sent to the Austrian generals orders at variance with those he himself gave. He was desirous of retiring from the command altogether, and was therefore glad when a scheme was propounded and found acceptance, by which the Austrians were to operate in Germany and Italy and the Russians in Switzerland. The corps now advancing through Germany was destined for the Swiss operations, as well as the Russians in Italy.

The archduke received orders to evacuate Switzerland, to leave one corps for the protection of south Germany, to go down the Rhine with the main body of his force, and there to take the offensive in support of the operations of an English and Russian army in Holland. Pending the coming of Suvarov he left twenty-five thousand men under General Hotze with Korsakov in Switzerland, and started for Germany in conformity with his orders. He relieved Philippsburg, which the French had invested, and took Mannheim at the point of the sword. On this occasion the Austrians gave a rare proof of discipline. At their entry into Mannheim not a single soldier fell out of the ranks, nor was a single act of violence perpetrated. These exploits were brilliant indeed, but of no service to the Dutch expedition. This enterprise had nothing but ill-luck; twenty-six thousand English and seventeen thousand Russians had landed, but being defeated at Bergen-op-Zoom by Brune (September, 1799), after a series of purposeless engagements, they embarked again and definitely abandoned the undertaking.

The issue of the campaign in Switzerland was equally unfortunate. Korsakov was defeated by Masséna at Zurich (this was the second battle of Zurich), and the Austrians were driven out of the Linth valley; and this at the very moment when Suvarov was marching out of Italy to join Korsakov. With lion-like courage he fought his way through and arrived safely in Germany. The Russians then evacuated Switzerland. Then began a series of bickerings; Suvarov refused a personal interview with the archduke, the Russians accused their allies of bad faith, and the czar Paul, exasperated by the disasters to his forces in Holland and Switzerland, sent his Russians home. The coalition was broken up. *f*

At the beginning of October we find the archduke Charles between the Rhine and the sources of the Danube, at Donaueschingen, having left Mannheim on receipt of the news of Korsakov's defeat at Zurich. He made no effort to join the beaten Korsakov, although with him he might have dealt a decisive blow at Masséna, and thus have put some enthusiasm into a campaign whose flatness, whose nightmare ineffectuality weighed heavy on this young man's conscience — for it must not be forgotten that the archduke was at this time only twenty-five years old.*a*

In the following year, 1800, Bonaparte made preparations for a fresh campaign against Austria, under circumstances similar to those of the first. But this time he was more rapid in his movements and performed more astonishing feats. Suddenly crossing the St. Bernard, he fell upon the Austrian flank. Genoa, garrisoned by Masséna, had just been forced by famine to capitulate. Ten days afterwards, on the 14th of June, Bonaparte gained such a decisive victory over Melas, the Austrian general, at Marengo that he and the remainder of his army capitulated on the ensuing day. The whole of Italy fell once more into the hands of the French. Moreau had, at the same time, invaded Germany and defeated the Austrians under Kray in

several engagements, principally at Stockach and Meskirch, and again at Biberach and Höchstädt, laid Swabia and Bavaria under contribution, and taken Ratisbon, the seat of the diet. An armistice, negotiated by Kray, was not recognised by the emperor, and he was replaced in his command by the archduke John (not Charles), who was, on the 3rd of December, totally routed by Moreau's manœuvres during a violent snow-storm, at Hohenlinden. A second Austrian army, despatched into Italy, was also defeated by Brune on the Mincio. These disasters once more inclined Austria to peace, which was concluded at Lunéville, on the 9th of February, 1801. The archduke Charles seized this opportunity to propose the most beneficial reforms in the war administration, but was again treated with contempt. In the ensuing year, 1802, England also concluded peace at Amiens.

The whole of the left bank of the Rhine was, on this occasion, ceded to the French Republic. The petty republics, formerly established by France in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, were also renewed and were recognised by the allied powers. The Cisalpine Republic was enlarged by the possessions of the grand duke of Tuscany and of the duke of Modena, to whom compensation in Germany was guaranteed. Suvarov's victories had, in the autumn of 1799, rendered a conclave, on the death of the captive pope, Pius VI, in France, possible, for the purpose of electing his successor, Pius VII, who was acknowledged as such by Bonaparte, whose favour he purchased by expressing his approbation of the seizure of the property of the church during the French Revolution, and by declaring his readiness to agree to the secularisation of church property, already determined upon, in Germany. *f*

In May, 1803, war broke out between England and France, and France occupied Hanover. In April, 1804, the duke d'Enghien was taken prisoner in Baden, and shot by Bonaparte's orders at Vincennes. Although Russia suggested a protest in the imperial diet against the trespass upon the territory of Baden, neither Austria nor Baden would take the initiative. Early in May, Talleyrand informed the Austrian ambassador, Cobenzl, that Bonaparte was about to declare himself emperor of the French. There was no feeling against this move in Vienna, but it raised the question of the relative importance of the Austrian sovereign.*a*

TWO IMPERIAL TITLES

The purport of the overtures which Cobenzl was commissioned to make was most friendly and accommodating. The conversion of the first magistracy into a hereditary office, so ran the despatch, was only the coping-stone of the great work which the first consul had consummated when with energetic hands he destroyed the anarchistic and revolutionary ideas which, starting in France, had threatened to subvert all Europe; and everyone must now confess that to the man who accomplished this work must be confided also the preservation and strengthening of the new order of things. Only as regards the title to be assumed some objections were raised, and it was intimated that no change in the equality of Austria and France could be suffered. Cobenzl received at the same time the order to discover whether any exception would be taken in Paris to the conversion of the imperial dignity into a hereditary title. It was indeed recognised that great difficulties would attend the execution of such a design, since the German diet would certainly not lightly give its consent, or else would couple it with heavy conditions; whilst if Francis confined himself to assuming the title of emperor

of Austria no one had a right to make an objection, for the court of Vienna must be at liberty to follow the example of Russia and France.

The objections which were raised in Vienna about the question of the title, with regard to etiquette and ceremonial, Talleyrand silenced with a reference to a circular directed to the diplomatic representatives in which it was said that the title of emperor would introduce no change into the ancient diplomatic forms. Philip Cobenzl was of opinion that titles could not be of secondary importance in matters of ceremonial and etiquette; it could not be a matter of indifference to Austria if the rulers of France exchanged the title of king for that of emperor. When Talleyrand responded that Francis also was an emperor and Napoleon did not dispute the precedence with him, Cobenzl had his answer in readiness that indeed this was the case, but as a ruler of Austria he was only king of Hungary and Bohemia; as emperor he bore the title only for himself and was not in a position to bequeath it to his successors. And to the observation that the house of Austria would always remain in possession of the imperial dignity, the Austrian representative replied that if that were so all difficulties would be removed, but it was doubtful if, in view of the recent changes in Germany which had procured such preponderance for the Protestants on the occasion of a new election, the majority of votes would be secured to the house of Austria. "What does it matter," said Talleyrand, "what title the chief of the government bears? One names himself emperor, another king; in America he is called president. The nation has chosen the title of emperor, which is the most appropriate to the power and greatness of France; Napoleon has assumed it and cannot give it up."

Cobenzl at last admitted that it was now very difficult to find a way out of the labyrinth; it would have been easy to come to an agreement if the matter had been privately discussed earlier: still, Talleyrand might think it over; he, Cobenzl, would do the same and perhaps they would yet find a solution. Talleyrand asked what he meant and why he did not speak out if there were anything concerning the matter in his despatch. Cobenzl denied having received any instructions on this point; it had not yet been possible to consider the whole affair thoroughly, but merely to give a hurried consent to the conversion of the first magistracy into a hereditary office. Talleyrand said in reply: "This will be a protracted business; time presses, Napoleon will be displeased with this delay; he wishes everything to be settled as quickly as possible. Every nation is justified in choosing for its chief the title which it wishes to grant him."

Cobenzl continued to play his rôle in a masterly manner. He remarked, as though the idea had only just been suggested to him by this speech, that either Bonaparte must relinquish the name of emperor or else the house of Austria also must make a permanent claim to the title. Talleyrand raised no objection. "Good!" he said; "assume the title of emperor quite independently of the empire. Bonaparte will have no objection to that." Cobenzl, not content with this, demanded Napoleon's formal assent; two days later he received it. "If Austria," so ran Napoleon's reply, "thinks good either now or at any future time to assume the title of emperor, France will not only make no opposition to this, but will even exert her influence to obtain its recognition from the other powers; only the other relations, between the king of Bohemia and Hungary and the king of France, must remain the same as they were before." Champagny received orders to conclude a convention, only it was not to appear as though France had lent herself to a bargain in order to obtain recognition on the part of Austria.

In Vienna there was every reason to be pleased with the diplomatic talent of the ambassador; nevertheless, difficulties arose in the way of completing the transaction. Champagny viewed the matter in a different light. At first he would not concede that any grounds existed for refusing recognition, since the precedence of the emperor was guaranteed by the most solemn engagements. Afterwards he went one step further. In case, he said, the imperial throne of Germany should no longer belong to the ruler of Austria, and the latter should assume the title of emperor of his hereditary states, then the French government would recognise the new title, but until then the engagements undertaken by the two courts ought to remain secret. But in Vienna there was great dissatisfaction at this suggestion, and it was urged that the recognition should be simultaneous, that Austria was now in a position to demand from all the courts what they were conceding to France. Champagny's propositions were easily overruled; he contended that it would be well if the number of emperors were limited to three; against which it was pointed out that if, in the election of a new Roman emperor, the choice did not fall on a member of the house of Lorraine and the latter had taken on itself the imperial title independently of the German Empire, there would then necessarily be four emperors.

As a matter of fact the circumstance that the instructions received by Champagny were not in harmony with the sense of the statements made by Talleyrand to Count Philip Cobenzl was regarded at Vienna as a cause for rejoicing; time was thus gained in which to ascertain the views of the court of St. Petersburg, and it was not necessary to come to a definite arrangement before these had been received. It was not expected that Russia would make any difficulties at the assumption of the imperial title by the ruler of the Austrian house, but rather that the authorities at St. Petersburg would demand, in return for the recognition of Napoleon's title, a price which it would be hard to grant. Three stipulations were expected: the evacuation by the French troops of Hanover and Naples, and the provision of a suitable province for Sardinia. From the beginning it was determined not to make common cause with Russia in this. There was one point which the Austrian statesmen had at heart: that was Italy, and they intended above all things to demand definite securities in this direction before the recognition of the imperial title; they wished that the Russian statesmen might also be active in the same direction.

Meanwhile, Napoleon was already impatient at the long delay, and when the Austrian reply was received in Paris Talleyrand did not dissemble his ill humor. "Count Ludwig Cobenzl," he said to the latter's nephew, the Austrian ambassador, "does not show his usual amount of amiability and his customary conciliatory spirit in negotiating. By what act will the German emperor assume the title of emperor of Austria? Bonaparte has done this because the nation has conferred it upon him; it was the result of a common wish and embodied in a law by the resolutions of the senate." "Oh," said Philip Cobenzl, "we also have constitutional forms, we have corporate bodies which represent the nation." However, when Talleyrand reported to Napoleon the decided wishes of the court of Vienna, Napoleon made no difficulties and declared himself ready to recognise the emperor at once, and Talleyrand did not let slip the opportunity to mock at the "double-emperor" Francis.

On the 7th of August Champagny submitted a secret declaration, which contained the promise of an immediate recognition, so soon as Francis chose to assume the title of emperor of his hereditary provinces; three days after-

wards a great council was called in which the ministers, the archduke Charles, the palatine of Hungary, Starhemberg, and several other great dignitaries were assembled and in their presence Francis announced that he had assumed the title of emperor of Austria. On the 11th of August he was proclaimed in Austria, on the 15th day of the month the change was announced to the diplomatic corps. At the same time Philip Cobenzl received two new credentials.

The 14th of August was the day on which Philip Cobenzl received the despatches which apprised him of the assumption of the imperial title. He had now to endeavour to arrange that the mutual recognition should take place at once. In an official note he informed the foreign minister, Talleyrand, of the event, which was already published in all the newspapers and had been announced at all the courts; according to this Francis now actually bore the title of emperor of Austria and was ready on his part to recognise Napoleon's imperial title. In Paris the fact of the recognition of the French Empire was published with all speed, and the business world received the news so favourably that paper rose two per cent. The Spanish ambassador called on Philip Cobenzl, and declared to him that his king also would now adorn himself with the title of emperor of Spain and Mexico, to which the Austrian ambassador raised no objection. Talleyrand delayed his reply to Cobenzl's note until immediately before the departure of Napoleon for Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and the tenor of this answer, which had been previously communicated to him privately, was to the effect that he should immediately present himself at Aachen to deliver his new credentials did not arouse the least misgiving in the mind of the representative of Austria. That Napoleon should choose the old German imperial city for his reception did not at all surprise him. He hastened to pack his trunks in order to make his entry on the appointed day.[1]

THE THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE (1805 A.D.)

When Thugut retired from office in September, 1800, his last word was of the hopelessness of the Austrian situation. But even more hopeless than the financial and military ruin with which Austria emerged from the war was the attitude of a government that could imagine salvation only in foreign politics and cast no eye inward. Francis himself, as minister of the interior (for there was no other), showed that with all his industry and good intentions he possessed none of the qualities which fit a man to rule a great state. Only one man concerned himself with reform, and it can hardly be said that the archduke Charles, as president of the council of war, improved either the finances or the fighting strength of the empire. Peace at any price — that was the only Austrian policy. It is true that Stadion, Austrian ambassador to Russia, signed an agreement with Russia against France; but he meant only to make sure of Russian and English help in case of an attack from France. England and Russia, however, without consulting Austria, made a compact (1805) against France which compromised Austria and brought the near prospect of war, like a sudden thunder cloud, upon astonished Vienna. Cobenzl, following the advice of archduke Charles, declared that Austria could not possibly declare war till the spring of 1806. The fighting force numbered at the moment forty thousand, and not a single battery was complete. And behold, there appeared in that dark hour a general who showed the troubled minister that in two months Austria could put 235,000 into the field — his name was Mack. Archduke Charles fought long against the proposal to place Mack at the head of the army; but on

April 22nd, 1805, Cobenzl got his way, Mack was given the post, and the war was thereby decided.

Mack marched into Bavaria (September 8th), to find that the elector was an ally, not of Austria but of Napoleon. He chose a remarkably strong defensive position at Ulm. Well-informed of the enemy's movements, he misread them all, feared for Bohemia when he should have feared for himself, imagined that Bernadotte's movements were intended to draw him away from Ulm, and that Napoleon's march in his rear (October 13th) was the beginning of a general retr at. On the 14th, however, every general but Mack saw that the cause was lost if an attempt was not made immediately to break out to the left bank of the Danube before they were completely surrounded. On the 15th, Mack received the first summons to submit, which he answered by declaring the other generals traitors, for there were still horses to eat. But on the morrow he condescended to treat, and on October 20th, at three in the afternoon, the Austrians laid down their arms, to the number of twenty thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry. The catastrophe at Ulm summoned Charles quickly out of Italy, and kept Prussia's sword sheathed.

THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ (DECEMBER 2ND, 1805)

Archduke Charles had been successful at Caldiero against Masséna (October 30th and 31st), when the news of Ulm necessitated a retreat into Austria. Napoleon entered Vienna November 13th and 14th. Meanwhile forces were gathering against him.[a]

The great Russian army under Kutusov appeared at this conjuncture in Moravia. The czar Alexander I accompanied it in person, and the emperor Francis II joined him with his remaining forces. A bloody engagement took place between Kutusov and the French at Dürrenstein on the Danube, but, on the loss of Vienna, the Russians retired to Moravia. The sovereigns of Austria and Russia loudly called upon Prussia to renounce her alliance with France, and, in this decisive moment, to aid in the annihilation of a foe for whose false friendship she would one day dearly pay. The violation of the Prussian territory by Bernadotte had furnished the Prussian king with a pretext for suddenly declaring against Napoleon. The Prussian army was also in full force. The British and the Hanoverian legion had landed at Bremen and twenty thousand Russians on Rügen; ten thousand Swedes entered Hanover; electoral Hesse was also ready for action. The king of Prussia, nevertheless, merely confined himself to threats, in the hope of selling his neutrality to Napoleon for Hanover and deceived the coalition. The emperor Alexander visited Berlin in person for the purpose of rousing Prussia to war, but had no sooner returned to Austria in order to rejoin his army than Count Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, was despatched to Napoleon's camp with express instructions not to declare war. The famous battle in which the three emperors of Christendom were present took place, meanwhile, at Austerlitz, not far from Brünn, on the 2nd of December, 1805, and terminated in one of Napoleon's most glorious victories. This battle decided the policy of Prussia, and Haugwitz confirmed her alliance with France by a treaty, by which Prussia ceded Cleves, Ansbach, and Neuchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover. This treaty was published with a precipitation equalling that with which it had been concluded, and seven hundred Prussian vessels, whose captains were ignorant of the event, were seized by the enraged English either in British harbours or on the sea.

THE PEACE OF PRESBURG (DECEMBER 26TH, 1805)

The peace concluded by Austria, on the 26th of December, at Presburg, was purchased by her at an enormous sacrifice. Napoleon had, in the opening of the campaign, when pressing onwards towards Austria, compelled Charles Frederick, elector of Baden, Frederick, elector of Würtemberg, and Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, to enter into his alliance, to which they remained zealously true on account of the immense private advantages thereby gained by them, and of the dread of being deprived by the haughty victor of the whole of their possessions on the first symptom of opposition on their part. Napoleon, with a view of binding them still more closely to his interests by motives of gratitude, gave them on the present occasion an ample share in the booty. Bavaria was erected into a kingdom, and received from Prussia, Ansbach and Bayreuth; from Austria, the whole of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Lindau, the markgrafschaft of Burgau, the dioceses of Passau, Eichstädt, Trent, and Brixen, besides several petty lordships. Würtemberg was raised to a monarchy and enriched with the bordering Austrian lordships in Swabia. Baden was rewarded with the Breisgau, the Ortenau, Constance, and the title of grand duke. Venice was included by Napoleon in his kingdom of Italy, and, for all these losses, Austria was merely indemnified by the possession of Salzburg. Ferdinand, elector of Salzburg, the former grand duke of Tuscany, was transferred to Würzburg. Ferdinand of Modena lost the whole of his possessions.

FRANCIS II ABDICATES THE IMPERIAL CROWN

On the 12th of July, 1806, sixteen princes of western Germany concluded, under Napoleon's direction, a treaty, according to which they separated themselves from the German Empire and founded the so-called confederation of the Rhine, which it was their intention to render subject to the supremacy of the emperor of the French. On the 1st of August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognised the empire of Germany. No one ventured to oppose his omnipotent voice. On the 6th of August, 1806, the emperor, Francis II, abdicated the imperial crown of Germany and announced the dissolution of the empire in a touching address, full of calm dignity and sorrow. The last of the German emperors had shown himself, throughout the contest, worthy of his great ancestors, and had, almost alone, sacrificed all in order to preserve the honour of Germany, until, abandoned by the greater part of the German princes, he was compelled to yield to a power superior to his. The fall of the empire that had stood the storms of a thousand years, was, however, not without dignity. A meaner hand might have levelled the decayed fabric with the dust, but fate, that seemed to honour even the faded majesty of the ancient Cæsars, selected Napoleon as the executioner of her decrees. The standard of Charlemagne, the greatest hero of the first Christian age, was to be profaned by no hand save that of the greatest hero of modern times.

Ancient names, long venerated, now disappeared. The head of the Holy Roman Empire was converted into an emperor of Austria, the electors into kings or grand dukes, all of whom enjoyed unlimited sovereign power and were free from subjection to the supremacy of the emperor. Every bond of union was dissolved with the diet of the empire and with the imperial chamber. The barons and counts of the empire and the petty princes were

mediatised; the princes of Hohenlohe, Öttingen, Schwarzenberg, Thurn and Taxis, the Truchsess von Waldburg, Fürstenberg, Fugger, Leiningen, Löwenstein, Solms, Hesse-Homburg, Wied-Runkel, and Orange-Fulda became subject to the neighbouring Rhemish confederated princes. Of the remaining six imperial free cities, Augsburg and Nuremburg fell to Bavaria; Frankfort, under the title of grand duchy, to the former elector of Mainz, who was again transferred thither from Ratisbon. The ancient Hanse towns, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, alone retained their freedom.

The Confederation of the Rhine now began its wretched existence. It was established on the basis of the Helvetic Republic. The sixteen confederated princes were to be completely independent and to exercise sovereign power over the internal affairs of their states, like the Swiss cantons, but were, in all foreign affairs, dependent upon Napoleon as their protector. The whole Confederation of the Rhine became a part of the French Empire. The federal assembly was to sit at Frankfort, and Dalberg, the former elector of Mainz, now grand duke of Frankfort, was nominated by Napoleon, under the title of prince primate, president. Napoleon's uncle, and afterwards his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, were his destined successors, by which means the control was placed entirely in the hands of France. To this confederation there belonged two kings, those of Bavaria and Würtemberg, five grand dukes, those of Frankfort, Würzburg, Baden, Darmstadt, and Berg, and ten princes, two of Nassau, two of Hohenzollern, two of Salm, besides those of Arenberg, Isenburg, Lichtenstein, and Leyen. Every trace of the ancient free constitution of Germany, her provincial estates, was studiously annihilated. The Würtemberg estates, with a spirit worthy of their ancient fame, alone made an energetic protest, by which they merely succeeded in saving their honour, the king Frederick dissolving them by force and closing their chamber. An absolute, despotic form of government, similar to that existing in France under Napoleon, was established in all the confederated states. The murder of the unfortunate bookseller, Palm of Nuremberg, who was, on the 25th of August, 1806, shot by Napoleon's order, at Braunau, for nobly refusing to give up the author of a patriotic work published by him, directed against the rule of France, and entitled *Germany in her Deepest Degradation*, furnished convincing proof, were any wanting, of Napoleon's supremacy.*i*

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BOOK II

THE EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

INTRODUCTION

IN the final chapter of the preceding book we witnessed the nominal overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire. On August 6th, 1806, as we saw, Francis II, acting under the mandate of Napoleon, formally resigned the imperial crown. We have seen that for a long time the empire occupied a somewhat anomalous position, yet the traditions associated with the name had a certain power to the last. We shall see that efforts were made at a later day to revive the imperial title, but that these efforts never culminated in success. The abdication of Francis II, then, marked the final overthrow of the old empire. Francis retained the title "emperor of Austria." As we know, the house of Austria had long been dominant in the empire, and it is natural that in a sense the modern empire of Austria-Hungary should be regarded as the lineal descendant of the old empire.

Yet there were certain conditions prevalent that made the interests of Austria divergent from those of the other principalities of the empire, and some of these must now command our attention before we take up again the story of Germanic development. Let us then consider very briefly an outline of the Austrian retrospect, and, with equal briefness consider the conglomerate nations that, combined with the Austrians, make up the latter-day Austro-Hungarian Empire.[a]

THE AUSTRIAN RETROSPECT

There was a time when it was the fashion to write Austrian history and to draw the map of Austria without the slightest reference to the relations between that country and neighbouring states. Austria was in a manner cut out of the panorama of Europe, and gummed by itself upon a blank background. The folly of this proceeding avenged itself in two ways: in the first place, being unnatural, it led to false conceptions of the development and character (historical and geographical) of the country; and in the second, it was no less harmful for practical purposes, since it severed the countless threads, the rich network of arteries, which secure Austria in her place as a living member of Europe as a political organism, just as her physical configuration forms an important feature of the varied surface of the European continent.

In history- as in map-making the contrary spirit is now increasingly and rightly prevalent. We take more and more careful account of states contiguous to Austria and organically connected with her; we strive to establish links where former historians were quick to mark a cleavage. In dealing with a state which presents so many frontiers for contact with others, ours is the wiser method.

From an historical point of view the nucleus of the Austro-Hungarian state is a steadily growing conglomeration of German provinces of the empire, which, remote from the centre of imperial authority, and obeying the general tendency towards the formation of dynastic territories, attained political autonomy relatively early, as compared with the electoral provinces in Germany itself. The bulk of the population was of the main German stock, the Bavarians being most largely represented, and next to them the Swabians; the several provinces were originally portions of the great Boyar dukedom, and the oldest territorial rights in the Austrian highlands bring them into relation with the whole of south Germany and even with the region beyond. The first founders of the dynasties of the princes of the empire are of middle and (for the most part) of south German origin. Such were the ancestors of the house of Babenberg in Austria, of Traungau in Styria, of Eppenstein and Sponheim-Ortenburg in Carinthia. The dynasty which welded the Austrian empire together, the Austrian house of Habsburg, had its roots among the Alamanni of Switzerland and held hereditary estates in Switzerland and in south and west Germany. For centuries rulers of this house wore the imperial crown, and, as the fount of imperial authority and the possessors of vast feudal dominions, occupied a curious double position, fraught with far-reaching consequences. The old German tribal or popular law obtained in the Austrian highlands; Austrian legal procedure during the Middle Ages was but a part of that common to all Germany, and Austrian development in all departments of social life, however tinged with local peculiarity, was merely a provincial form of the development (in its main outlines the same) proceeding throughout Germany. Thus in mediæval history the group of Austrian provinces is inseparably connected with Germany, and in modern times the connection is, if possible, even more strongly marked in the questions, great and small, which agitated successive periods. For the Reformation in Germany, the Thirty Years' War, and the struggle with France in the reign of Louis XIV, may be set to the score of German no less than of Austrian history, and the events from 1740 onwards are equally momentous for Germany and Austria, so that here the line of division almost disappears.

But, over and above all this, there is a noteworthy analogy in the development of the power of the two houses which were destined alternately to sway the fortunes of Germany, and for long periods to stand together as allies or strive with one another for predominance. The cradles of Habsburg and Hohenzollern are hard by each other, and both may be reckoned Swabians in the widest sense of the word. Both houses laid the foundations of their dominion in foreign soil, the Habsburgs in the highlands of the Danube, the Hohenzollerns in the region about the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula, in north Germany, and in both cases this new territory included a region that had to be won for the German race by wholesale colonisation on what had originally been Slavonic soil. And it was natural that, in the one region and in the other, this German population on the outermost confines of the empire should develop and retain a strongly marked individual character.

Stockpreusse and *Stockoesterreicher* (out-and-out Prussian or Austrian) are more than nicknames; taken seriously, they define the fundamental characteristics of the two. In the organisation of the eastern and western possessions of Habsburg and Hohenzollern we find the same conditions at work as we may see by comparing the Habsburg provinces in Swabia with the Hohenzollern territory on the lower Rhine, and the east German dominions of the latter family with the southwestern conglomerate of provinces ruled by the latter.

Hand in hand with the analogy, however, goes a significant contrast, more distinctly marked after the year 1526, the date at which Habsburg acquired her vast accession of territory in Hungary and Bohemia. However contemporary opinion may regard and interpret the present state of affairs in Austria and the political mission of that country, the historian cannot shut his eyes to the fact that an accession of territory three times as large as the original German provinces of Austria and consisting of two distinct districts in which the bulk of the population was not of German blood, must materially alter the centre of gravity in a state thus constituted, and give its policy quite another tendency from that which it had when the boundaries of the Habsburg dominions coincided with those of the Danubian highlands.

By the acquisition of East Prussia, and still more by the annexation of Poland, the Hohenzollerns, too, were thrust more and more into the vortex of east European politics; but they had at the same time made a series of purely German acquisitions, while the conquest of Silesia had given them a predominant position in east Germany.

The inevitable result of this contrast between the component elements of the provinces and races under Austrian and Prussian sovereignty was a political opposition between the two and a reversal of their relative position in Germany. This did not come to pass without a severe struggle, for the German element in Austria was sufficiently strong to assert her claim to predominance in the empire, while, on the other hand, Prussia's private interests, and, above all, her position with regard to Russia, withheld her even more decidedly than Austria from pursuing anything of the nature of an imperial policy. Out of the history of the German Empire we have to dig, so to speak, the mediæval history of Austria, as a member of that empire steadily advancing towards independence by a process of expansion.

The history of the other two groups of provinces before their union with German Austria is bound up with that of Germany by intimate reciprocal relations. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia show this, both in their alliances and their national association with Germany; the history of Hungary-Transylvania offers quite as many points of contact with the policy of its German neighbour, and its colonisation is a no less significant memorial of a similar association.[b]

Early in the eighteenth century Austria had united a portion of the German people with its interests to the peoples and interests of the East, and bound the German world in a union with one completely foreign. Within the wide boundaries of this kingdom, the Bohemians dreamed over the graves of their fallen heroes of a bygone happier day, and idly suffered the maimed life of the nation to drift at will under a foreign guidance. There, too, the noble nature of the Magyars strove restlessly for the favour of the government, whilst their persistence in half-barbaric lawlessness constantly destroyed every new start they succeeded in making. Germany had nothing in common with that extraordinary medley of Hungarians and Germans, of Wallachians and the most various Slav races, due to the immigration of different peoples from Asia, to the Turkish wars, to inward factions, and to later subjugations and incursions.

This state of things, in which several hundreds of thousands of straggling Wallachians and Servians, without any bond of cohesion other than the merely military, protected the borders against pestilence and against the murderous attacks and rapacity of the neighbouring Mohammedans, accepting land instead of pay — this state of things to the people of Brandenburg and Westphalia, of Swabia and Bavaria, seemed like tales of the *Thousand and*

One Nights. It is true that at the heart of the realm there was a genuine German brotherhood, in which all these contradictions, all these nationalities and conditions were harmonised. But the circumstances in which and through which Austria had become great, were not of German but of European origin. The Thirty Years War, which ruined Germany, re-established Austria as a Power, and the reconquest of Hungary made this secure. From that time Austria took part in all European developments as a self-sufficing power. Such a kingdom as Austria had become, could not draw its impulse for political life from Germany, like Bavaria or Mecklenburg, but must feel the moving spirit within itself. History had cleared the way for this long ago. When, in the middle of the twelfth century, Austria separated from Bavaria and became a self-supporting dukedom, it assumed as one of its political duties an outward independence. The privilege acquired in 1156 by Heinrich Jasomirgott made Austria, the shield and heart of the Holy Roman Empire, a united dukedom, which descended according to the rules of primogeniture. Within these rules the duke is absolute liege lord, subject only to the necessary laws which even the emperor must not alter. It is true the duke is a vassal of the empire, taking rank immediately after the elector, having all rights of other princes of the realm, and being entitled in any danger to demand help from the empire; but he receives his fief only on Austrian territory, he is not subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the empire, and is not compelled to furnish soldiers or aid in money, or to attend the imperial diet. All parts of the country were to share equally in any privileges which might in future accrue to the dukedom. This arrangement, which procured every advantage to be gained by union with the empire, without encumbering it with a single duty or burden of any kind, has been preserved by Austria through all times. Even at the end of the fifteenth century, when by a new measure the restoration of political union for all Germans was attempted, Austria remained exempt, not only from all powers exercised by the imperial chamber of justice, but once more received from Charles V the assurance of its privileges.

It was so self-supporting and so independent of the empire that Charles V, immediately after the election of his brother Ferdinand as Roman emperor, proposed to relinquish to him the five dukedoms of Lower Austria and to make him king of Austria. Nothing happened in the following centuries to draw Austria and Germany nearer together. Neither the jurisdiction nor the legislation of the empire discloses any application to Austria. Austria's contributions to the maintenance of the imperial chamber were in arrears, but this position had become legalised; in wars of the empire, the Austrian troops went into the field separate from the imperial forces and led by their own generals. Consequently the apparent union of Austria with the empire had its only real ground in the fact that the ruler of Austria wore at the same time the crown of Germany; should this crown at any time pass to another house, Austria would then, as Puffendorf had already pointed out, exist no more within the realm, but would stand by the side of it. As long as Charles VII was emperor, there was open strife between him and Austria.

Corresponding to Austria's political division from Germany was its increasing divergence in matters of spiritual development. The attempt made during the century preceding the revolution, to win the people to a newer and freer-spirited life, found no echo in Austria. The Reformation certainly took great effect in Austria, as it did wherever the German tongue was spoken. The nobility, the towns, the lowlands in Steiermark and in both Austrias, turned towards the newer doctrines, which even told in the kingdom of Ferdinand I,

though that was not German. In Bohemia, up to the time of Rudolf II almost all scholars of note sprang from the Reformation, and the well-ordered schools, to be found even in the smallest towns,were almost without exception evangelical. The Hungarians streamed in great numbers to the German universities and brought back with them German culture as well as evangelical doctrines, to which by far the most and the best of the numerous schools owed their existence.

In Austria, as in all Germany, Protestants and Catholics lived together in a mixed community, and here, as everywhere, the Reformation gave birth to new interest in science and revived the care for education of the people. It seemed as though from this time the Austrian Germans developed in the deepest and most important relations a living union with the entire German nation, and Magyars and Bohemians were swept along the same road.

Nevertheless Ferdinand I took steps to hinder this inward advance towards union between the Austrian powers and Germany, and these steps had a distinct effect that made itself felt for centuries. Determined to keep his country in the Roman Catholic faith, he sought to destroy the power by which the Reformation gained its mastery over the minds of the people. Because, wherever the Reformation was felt, science was reborn and schools were multiplied, Ferdinand contended that it was the scientific culture of Protestantism which attracted the people. Therefore he sought in these facts the roots of the undeniable strength of the Reformation, and, in order to deprive these roots of their sustenance he and his adherents turned their attention to placing a Roman Catholic system of education in opposition to the progress encouraged by the Protestants.

Bold and far-seeing as the scheme was, these great observers of mankind had not reckoned correctly. They did not realise that the sense of nationality is only to be destroyed with life, and that the national spirit, denied one form of life, would be capable of winning for itself another sphere of activity. The national strength of the Austrian Germans, hindered from seeking eminence in science and in culture, sought expansion in matters of the family, of the home, of the life of the community, in the creation and preservation of national songs and sagas, in the genuine German confidence and loyal submission to the imperial house. In these spheres the strength of the nation was preserved with childlike naïveté, not perhaps applied to the larger uses of life, but unwasted, unspoilt by the desolating winds, which, blowing over Germany from this side and that, threatened to dry up the earnestness and truth of the national spirit.

The political life of the German people in the preceding century was certainly indescribably small; but, unknown to the people, the inward force of things pressed forward a new development, towards a building up of the government of the more important territories, and towards a united confederacy, in order to find in that the needed complement. If now, with knowledge and consent, Austria should be led, by an unsuspected principle of life peculiar to itself, to a similar political goal, it nevertheless seemed to be united with Germany in the deepest relations of political life, from which it was debarred by its privileges and its Jesuits. In German territories and in Austria equally strong and unconscious powers of statecraft, granted that they existed in both countries, must soon awaken to the knowledge of their time, and then overcome the separation which kept Austria and Germany apart. But it is a question whether Austria's life principle could really follow the same road as Germany.

Peculiar powers of conquest, the weakness of the opponent, the greatness

of its generals, and the good fortune attending Austrian arms, European relationships and marriages of state — all these causes had given unity to the most foreign elements under the grand ducal house. But those peoples and territories brought together in this way were necessarily superior to a kingdom of barbarians founded by force on mere chance and hazard, because they were united by an inward principle which consecrated their policy. Longing for personal and political education, the Hungarians, the Wallachians, and all Slavonic races hung on the skirts of eastern culture. Unable to beget from themselves the gifts they desired, or to win them from the Russians, Poles, or Turks, they depended solely on Austria. Austria alone, for nearly a century, had been in a position to provide the desired spiritual aid, and in return demanded that loyalty and self-sacrificing courage which the children of nature with their fresh, invincible strength of life could give, and with this Austria, even without the added strength and power of Germany, could strike fresh roots in foreign soil. Seeking and giving culture, seeking and giving strength, the widely differing elements grew steadily to a union which had inward reality as well as outward form.

It is true that until the death of Charles VI the political federation of the united peoples and lands was evinced only in the persons of their princes, but with Maria Theresa awoke the endeavour to let it be felt also in jurisdiction and administration, in finance and in government. Austria appeared since the preceding century to have set herself, as one of the tasks of her political life, the business of getting free from the great German territories; but this was only in appearance.

Afterwards, as before, it remained an impossibility that in Austria from one political heart should pulse the life through all the various component elements and work them to a common political result. The king of Hungary was a different man from the grand duke of Austria, and from the lord of the Ruthenians and Croatians. An equal law and an equal cultivation for the widely differing cultures and the foreign nationalities was not to be. Already the slight attempt made by Joseph II had brought Austria to the verge of ruin. Entirely senseless however had been the attempt to make the ruler of Austria in all his countries appear as a German prince, and to acclimatise German officers, German diets, German government in the steppes of Hungary, in the wooded mountains of Siebenbürgen, and in the rocky fastnesses of Croatia. Austria could not be constituted as a state, but must be regarded as an empire; her ruler could not be king, and must be emperor. It was soon evident that even the German lands of this empire could not be conformable to the national German spirit which would accentuate their difference from the lands which were not German, and would therefore enhance the difficulties of that which Austria demanded and for which Maria Theresa had consciously striven — a united empire which should hold sway over all the differing nationalities.[c]

THE HUNGARIAN RETROSPECT

Before we take up the story of the developments through which this unification was brought about, we must again turn back, and take a retrospective glance at the history of the most important of the non-German nationalities in question. The retrospect carries us back to the year 893 of our reckoning.[a] In that year a strange and small nation, numbering scarcely half a million men, entered the east of Europe. They were the Magyars, called Hungarians by the Germans. They belonged to the Ural race of the Mongolians and Tatars; as the remainder of Europe was and is peopled only by Indo-Germanic

races, the Hungarians were without relations with regard to their race and language; *sine matre et sororibus*, as is still said of their language. The land they entered was the Pannonia of the Romans, the Hungary of to-day, which showed a great majority of primitive inhabitants and colonists of the Roman, Slavonic, and Germanic races, who because they were European nations already enjoyed higher culture.

And now, on this territory, the small strange nation of horsemen accomplished during 634 years a series of wonders which must have astonished the objective historical phi osopher, offering as it does an example of the inborn rulership of individual races, and of the inborn power of subordination of others scarcely to be paralleled in general history. Little by little these Magyars conquered an empire of almost six thousand square miles, almost two thirds as great as the present European France, in any case greater than the German confederacies of Austria, than Prussia, Great Britain in its triplicity, and the new kingdom of Italy. They subjected the tenfold greater number of primitive inhabitants. But in spite of the greatness of the territory and the majority of the subjected, the victorious little nation of horsemen did not introduce a military dictatorship: but before it crossed the threshold of the new empire it immediately founded a free constitution, all for one, and one for all, with the fundamental principle that all power and right lay exclusively in the people, and that the prince was only the first among them. And for 634 years the Hungarians developed this constitution so that all, even the subjected, without distinction of race or concession, had equal rights in it, and in 1222 as the written fundamental law it became the basis of Hungarian political life.

England and Hungary are the only two countries of the world in which a constitution has lasted historically and unbroken for six centuries; for the English Magna Charta dates from 1217, the Hungarian *Bulla aurea* from 1222.

All nations of the Hungarian crown have submitted for 634 years without opposition to the Hungarian hegemony, and had merged in the state and politically into Hungarianism. This was organised by the whole empire in the colossal building up of the constitutional principle. The base was formed by the free communities; every village was an independent state in the state as far as its internal affairs were concerned — it elected its own magistrates, controlled and paid them. In great missions the individual communities centralised themselves in counties. Fifty-six completely sovereign counties, their functionaries likewise chosen by themselves, maintained at their own expense, were still more independent than for instance the cantons of Switzerland, than the individual states of North America in relation to the government of the United States. For the communities elected the representatives of the county, the whole population of the county their representatives at the diets, and those only bound representatives who could decide nothing at the diet according to their individual opinions, but had to keep to the precepts of their primary electors.

The diets grasped and formed the resolutions prescribed to them, which the king never thwarted and to which he could only deny his sanction to a certain extent. For in Hungary the king was nothing more than the executor of the resolutions made by the nation, and the nation never swore fidelity to him; the king had to swear fidelity to the nation, and must still do so at the present day if he really wishes to be acknowledged as king. But the counties as chief guardians of the constitution were not content with the guarantee that resolutions could only be taken according to their will; they also reserved to themselves the highest sovereign right to be able to acknowledge, carry out or reject as they pleased, all resolutions raised to laws, made by their represen-

tatives, and sanctioned by the king. As this kind of constitutional life of the state with the exception of very few interruptions — from 1780 to 1790, and from 1849 to 1859 — existed for 960 years and exists still, it can be conceived that the constitutional consciousness of the Hungarian people was not artificially produced, but of necessity self-made, in transient flesh and blood.

This already created state was raised by the Magyars to a European power. From St. Stephen to the great Louis of Anjou, and to the still greater Matthias Corvinus, Hungary ruled at times from Poland to Naples, from the Adriatic to the gates of Constantinople.

By the alliance with the fourth Wladislaw the first Habsburg overthrew the powerful Ottocar and great Bohemia; and King Matthias Corvinus on his side resided in Vienna, which he had conquered. During the Middle Ages the kingdom of Austria was that great power on the Danube, the true "East Empire."

The ambitious Habsburgs as small neighbouring dynasties knew the importance of their geographical position and early learned to value the historical development which Hungary had already completed. The first Habsburg, Rudolf, won the victory over Ottocar only with the help of the allied Hungarians in 1278. After Matthias Corvinus' death, the emperor Maximilian I in 1507 formed the secret settlement of succession with Wladislaw Dobre, the Bohemian king on the Hungarian throne, which was invalid, as no king of Hungary had any personal rights to dispose of and least of all the crown. The same emperor then married his granddaughter Mary to the last Hungarian king, the unfortunate youth Louis II, and when the latter fell in the decisive battle at Mohács, with two archbishops, three bishops, five hundred nobles, and nine thousand men — some writers always maintain the accusation that Austria had a hand in it as also immediately after in the murder of Cardinal Martenizzi — the queen dowager Mary had already won over the palatine Báthori for the scheme of procuring the election of her brother Ferdinand I as king of Hungary. In consequence of these intrigues the people formed into two camps, two different diets met. One, under the palatine Báthori, assembled at Presburg, and against the fundamental law of the diet of 1505 that henceforth no foreign prince should bear the crown of St. Stephen, Ferdinand I, brother of the emperor Charles V, was elected king of Hungary; the other diet was opened at Stechlweissenburg, and the count of Zips, John Zápolya, was proclaimed king as John I. For thirteen whole years there were two actual and legitimate kings of Hungary, who not only divided the empire, but acknowledged one another, and made the personal treaty that the dynasty of the survivor should in the future become the legitimate one for the whole of Hungary. Zápolya died unexpectedly in 1540 and thus Habsburg won the great stake; for as Zápolya's son was childless he was soon done with. In 1547 the first Habsburg on the Hungarian throne, Ferdinand I, became sole monarch of the empire, and the succession of his dynasty in the male line was granted by the states.[d] How the two nationalities got on together during the ensuing two centuries we have already seen, at least through occasional glimpses. How they were to fare in the sequel, after the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire, will be set forth in the present book of our history.[a]

CHAPTER I

SHAKING OFF THE NAPOLEONIC YOKE

[1806–1815 A.D.]

We have already learned that Francis II, the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was the first sovereign to bear the title of Emperor of Austria. The present chapter, dealing with the history of Ferdinand and his people after the fall of the old empire will, therefore, take up the thread of the narrative where the final chapter of the preceding book left it. Indeed, for a long time we have been concerned primarily with the affairs of Austria, so our present narrative proceeds with scarcely even a change in the point of view.

The old empire had been so loosely organised as to be susceptible of tolerably easy disintegration, and no doubt many of the principalities that it comprised were glad to be freed from their position of subordination to the house of Austria. But, on the other hand, the house of Austria itself naturally retained a desire for supremacy among the German states — a desire that was sure to lead ultimately to disastrous complications, for a new influence centred about the kingdom of Prussia at the north, and the rivalry thus engendered must one day be put to a conclusive test. The final test was not made, as we shall see, till 1866, when, as everyone knows, the last hopes of the remnants of the old Habsburg tradition were shattered. We shall follow, in due course, the details of this rivalry, through which the German principalities were finally to be aggregated into two important empires.

But for the present our concern is rather with the contest between Germany as a whole and the autocrat of France. We shall in the present chapter deal with such phases of this contest as had to do more particularly with Austria; and in succeeding chapters we shall follow the story of the Austro-Hungarian empire, leaving for subsequent treatment the history of the north German principalities. It will be understood of course that, since we have

treated in great detail the history of the Napoleonic wars, we shall not duplicate that history here. Some repetitions will be unavoidable, but, in the main, an attempt will be made to treat the subject from an Austrian standpoint. We have first to note what manner of effort was made to regain the prestige which had been lost in recent conflicts with Napoleon.[a]

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES AND ARMY REFORM

When the archduke Charles assumed supreme control of the army system in 1806, he did everything in his power to strengthen and increase Austria's military resources. After the conclusion of peace a clearance was made in the army as in the civil service. Five-and-twenty generals were pensioned, and the ablest commanders were brought to the front. The archduke simplified the mechanism of the supreme department, and divided the army, according to the French model, into separate corps, each one complete in itself. Drill was simplified, the artillery was increased, *chasseur* battalions, and dépôts for recruits and horses were established. Much was done to raise the status of the officers, and the self-respect of the men. The regulations of 1808 forbade brutal treatment of soldiers in the ranks, "because it destroys the self-respect which should be the soul of the military calling." In 1806 the archduke began his two famous works, *Grundsätze der höheren Kriegskunst* (advanced principles of strategy) and *Beiträge zum praktischen Unterricht* (contributions to practical instruction), which became a repertory for intelligent officers. A new system of fortification was adopted. The line of the Inn and the town of Bruck in Styria were to be fortified, the valley was to be blocked at Altenmarkt; Olmütz and Komárom were more strongly fortified. Unfortunately very little of this project was accomplished.

The archduke created a national militia (*Heerbann*) for the defence of the country, and thus supplied the army with a standing reserve and placed war once more on the old national basis. A patent of May 12th decreed the formation of a militia force as a permanent reserve for the active army. Two reserve battalions were to be levied in each regimental district, to be trained to arms for two months and then to return to their callings; and from this reserve the regiments were to be recruited. Another regulation, dated June 9th, 1808, ordered that all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, capable of bearing arms and not at present serving in the army, should be organised according to provinces and districts into a "militia (*Landwehr*) for the defence of our native soil." The task of carrying out this truly national undertaking was committed to the archduke John. Commissioners were appointed for the provinces. In every district the able-bodied men were selected by lot. The men drilled on Sundays and holidays, and once a month they formed into larger divisions. The government supplied rifles, captains were appointed by the commissioners, and the commanders of the battalions by the emperor. The uniform was a grey tunic with red facings and a round cocked hat with a brass badge. The members of the militia remained amenable to civil law. All men from forty-five to sixty years of age were to be available for guard and transport duty. Old soldiers and those who were alarmed at any popular movement whatever might inveigh as they pleased against the "national armament" as they called it: but no government regulation was ever hailed by the country at large with greater enthusiasm and delight, or met by a readier spirit of self-sacrifice than this militia levy. It appealed to the manliness of the nation, to their love of their own country, and their hatred of France.

Everywhere in Austria there was such life and stir as had not been known since the days of Maria Theresa. The Hungarian diets, which were held at Budapest and Presburg in 1807 and 1808, gave evidence of the unanimity of sovereign and people. Fiery speeches were made in the first diet (April 9th to December 15th, 1807), and the inclination to enforce limitations upon the royal prerogative was more manifest than ever; but the estates voted a levy of twelve thousand men to complete the establishment and assigned 200,000 florins for the recruiting of volunteers. The second diet (August 31st to November 5th, 1808) passed straight from the coronation of the empress Maria Louisa to the consideration of national defence. Without once mentioning their grievances the estates voted a levy of twenty thousand men for the standing army and granted the government for three years the privilege of calling out the *insurrectio*. The king was right when in his closing speech he said, "We were united — we are united; and we shall remain united till death us do part." In the Bohemian diet of 1808 the estates unanimously voted a million and a half for the equipment of the militia (October 31st); and those of Lower Austria undertook the clothing and provisioning of militiamen in that province.[b]

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1809 BEGINS

Archduke Charles was named commander-in-chief in February, 1809, and commanded 170,000 men in Bohemia. The French and mediatised German troops in south Germany numbered perhaps 156,000; but they were scattered from Ulm to Ratisbon. Charles would not attack them at once, but spent four weeks in dividing his assembled army so as to attack from two sides. He began the great operations on April 8th, while a successful revolt in the Tyrol kept a large portion of Bavarian troops engaged. Eight days later, Napoleon appeared, and like lightning was between the divided Austrians with his whole army, and, thus outnumbering the individual divisions, he beat Prince Hohenzollern at Hausen (April 19th), General Rosenberg at Eckmühl (22nd), and flung Charles himself over the Danube near Ratisbon (24th). The effect of these reverses, in which the archduke had lost in all 50,000 men, was deplorable. The Tyrol was brought under by Lefebvre and Wrede; a rising in Hesse, and the Prussian major Schill's independent raid on Magdeburg, were checked; Prussia stopped arming; Archduke John was recalled on his way to Verona with 60,000 men and Archduke Ferdinand from Warsaw with 35,000.[a]

THE BATTLE OF ESSLING, OR GROSS-ASPERN (MAY 21ST, 22ND, 1809)

Napoleon followed up his victory with the same rapidity and vehemence as in 1805; while the archduke Charles with the greater part of his army marched from Ratisbon through Bohemia, Napoleon pressed after General Hiller down the right bank of the Danube. Vienna was reached on the 13th of May, and after a short bombardment compelled to capitulate. In the meantime the archduke Charles had come up from Bohemia and arrived opposite Vienna on the left bank of the Danube in the wide plain of the Marchfeld with an army of about eighty thousand strong. Napoleon, who had now assembled about ninety thousand men in Vienna, and was impatient to decide the issue, elected to cross the river as quickly as possible and to end the war in a pitched battle. For this purpose he chose a place where the Danube washes the large island of Lobau and the latter affords a favourable

spot for a crossing, with the broadest arm behind it and only divided from the eastern bank by a narrow channel. Here he established himself and began a bridge, although the river, swollen by the spring rains, was as rough as a mountain torrent and as wide as an arm of the sea. By the evening of the 20th the first Frenchmen were across, and occupied the two nearest towns on the river, Gross-Aspern and Essling. The archduke had purposely permitted this, in the hope of falling upon them when divided by the river and annihilating them in the dangerous retreat across the bridge. All in his host, down to the lowest soldier, were imbued with the feeling that the struggle was for house and home, for wife and child, for Germany and Europe; at midday on the 21st they attacked the two towns with terrible fury; Gross-Aspern was six times taken and lost and finally retained by the Austrians, while the French kept Essling. All night long Napoleon was hurrying the rest of his troops across, so that on the 22nd about seventy thousand men on either side were drawn up in order of battle.

The deadly struggle began with the first dawn of the summer morning. The French took the outlying streets of Aspern; the Austrians tried in vain to storm Esslingen, on whose possession depended the French line of retreat; attacks followed one another on this side and that: it is impossible to enumerate them. The efforts made, the losses sustained, were enormous; towards midday Napoleon collected in the centre a powerful attacking column with one hundred cannon, gained some ground, and hoped that he had broken through the Austrian lines; but the archduke Charles in person flung himself into the breach, charging against the thick hail of bullets at the head of the Zach regiment, and once more restored the balance. From this moment the day was decided, and the French gave way at every point. At the same time Napoleon received an urgent message that the force of the constantly increasing river was threatening the stability of the great bridge, and immediately afterwards that it had been broken by means of Austrian fireships and rafts. A part of his reserve was thus divided from the fighting army, and what was still worse the ammunition, which was gradually giving out, could not be replenished. A retreat to the island had become unavoidable. Only it could not well be done before dark and they dared not begin it in flight under pain of annihilation, for the only way of safety was across the narrow bridge of Lobau. The emperor himself went back over the river to make the necessary arrangements there, and entrusted Masséna with the continuation of the fight till nightfall.

And now a singularly terrible drama was enacted. Masséna disposed his troops round Esslingen and in the plain of Aspern that he might contest the ground, step by step, to the Austrians, who, pressing forward with ever-increasing successes, grew still more impetuous in their contempt of death; an officer called to a troop of grenadiers who were charging alone to know where their battalion was. "We are the battalion" — the rest were all lying dead, with their faces to the enemy. A trooper had his arm torn away by a cannon ball and another asked him: "How is it, comrade?" "It is well. The French are fleeing across the Danube." Against this glow of patriotic enthusiasm military prestige had to justify itself. The French, unable to return the enemy's fire, were mown down in ranks by the showers of Austrian grape; they could not advance and dared not go back. They stood firm, closing up over the dead bodies, whenever a gap appeared, and at least staved off utter destruction till at length the longed-for darkness fell, and Masséna gave the order to march away. Their loss was appalling — twelve thousand dead and twenty thousand wounded; the survivors crowded together on the island, disordered, hungry, and thirsty: Napoleon himself, completely exhausted, lay for twenty

hours in a dead sleep at Ebersdorf, and could not be awakened, though the soldiers were plundering the town all round him. The marshals consulted in low whispers as to how the Rhine was to be reached if he should never wake again.

But so much the more triumphant was the rejoicing in the German camp over the victory. There too the day had been purchased at the enormous price of twenty-four thousand men; but the victory was won — face to face they had contended with the unconquered and had forced him to give ground. The beaten, exhausted troops, labouring under all the disadvantages of a rapid retreat, had met the haughty adversary in readiness for the fray and had mastered him in the open field. The archduke, but now under the shadow of the disaster of Ratisbon, stood once more in the brave light of victory; to the gallant and upright man to whom fate had assigned the struggle with a far superior enemy, a moment had come which might well repay him for all the hardship and disappointment of a sorely tried existence. The time had at last arrived in which the greatest things seem d possible. For the thunder of Aspern reached throughout Europe as that of Ratisbon had done. Tyrol and Vorarlberg once more rose; from Bohemia, Duke Frederick William of Brunswick broke with his Black Legion into Saxony, and occupied half the country; a small Austrian corps pressed over the Fichtelgebirge into Franconia, where a patriotic rising started at the same time; Würtemberg was in a ferment; there were new disturbances in Hesse. What a chance it would have been had a Prussian army, 150,000 strong, risen in the common cause, setting all Germany on fire around it, whilst the archduke maintained the great struggle on the Marchfeld with the same energy as at Aspern, and held the Gallic emperor in an iron grip until the waves of a rising sea of the nations broke behind him.

Humanly speaking this was at that time possible. That it did not happen was mainly due to two things. In Berlin there was no one with stern authority who could have decided the king and urged him forward and in face of the stupendous danger he took no decisive action, but, to the great indignation of Napoleon, gave orders for a new armament and then did not dare to make the venture. But in Austria, where, during several weeks' suspension of hostilities, the two opponents vied with one another in supplying their losses, bringing up reinforcements and collecting new strength, neither the government's resources nor the archduke's talent were a match for Napoleon. In the beginning of July the French emperor had a superior force of 180,000 against 120,000 men on the spot, and decided the issue of the war by the great battle of Wagram fought on the 5th and 6th of July.

Austria emerged from the heroic struggle against half Europe with new forfeits of territory, but with a lasting accession of honour. Germany had still three years in which to endure the foreign yoke, and then, when she did rise, irresistible and conquering, she had to pay the full penalty for the mistakes and neglect of 1809. For in fortune and suffering, glory and disaster, a nation always receives exactly what she deserves.[c]

BATTLE OF WAGRAM (JULY 5TH–6TH, 1809)

On July 4th, a stormy night, Napoleon took unopposed possession of a position on the left bank of the Danube. The first day of Wagram (July 5th) was not unfavourable to the Austrians, a powerful blow might have overthrown the French, but Charles projected a new plan for the battle, excellent in theory but difficult to carry out with effect, since it depended on precise manœuvring of separate bodies. Already by midday on July 6th, the

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victory of the French was determined. On the 12th of July the armistice of Znaim was agreed to.

The defeat gave rise to bitter recriminations; but it was as unjust to accuse Charles' favourite, Count Grünne, of treachery, as it was to make the slowness of Archduke John in appearing on the battle-field responsible for the disaster. The moral effect on the Austrians themselves was sad enough. The hope, the enthusiastic spirit of self-sacrifice with which the country started another campaign, was replaced by a bitter and trivial spirit of unbelief and discontent. Stories of the emperor's indifference went from mouth to mouth; it was believed that, when the decisive moment came in the battle of Wagram, which he was watching from a hill, he turned his back with the chilling remark, "Now we will go home!" The educated classes who saw the gross faults of the ruling political system were apt to shrug their shoulders and shake off responsibility with a witticism. The following account which we give from Springer of the negotiations regarding the peace which followed Wagram is not sparing in strictures on the imperial house.[a]

THE DECAY OF PATRIOTISM IN AUSTRIA (OCTOBER, 1809)

The sudden decline of earnest patriotism [Springer says] and the torpidity of political life can be most vividly studied at Vienna, where a French occupation of several months' duration had called more amicable relations with the enemy into being and had given the city itself an air half French. The lower classes, so sullen and resolutely hostile at first, gradually acquired the conviction that since — and, as they imagined, through — the French occupation their material prosperity had undergone a perceptible change for the better. Nothing could be more preposterous, nothing more provocative of ridicule, than the arrangements for the provisioning of the capital under the old Austrian system. Even in the course of the preceding war the perversity of the storehouse restrictions upon the baking trade had become clearly evident. The shutting off of Hungary had stopped the supplies, and a severe bread-famine ensued. The hungry populace stormed the bakers' shops, where of course they found nothing; and in the storehouses, which were at length thrown open by the paternal magistrate, nothing but mouldy flour was discovered. Immediately after their entry the French had suspended the storehouse regulations (*Magazinirung*), seen to the procuring of adequate supplies, and, with characteristic rapidity, had reformed the whole system of provisioning, to the high satisfaction of the inhabitants. Moreover the foreign troops, laden with booty, brought animation into the retail trade; they spent freely in gay soldierly fashion, and, as the paper currency actually rose somewhat in value, it was by no means with feelings of rage and abhorrence that the lower classes looked back upon the period of occupation, especially in the lean years that followed.

The educated classes availed themselves of the interregnum to regale themselves with all speed upon the forbidden fruits withheld from them by the Austrian censorship and, under the protection of the tolerant French police, to retrieve the loss of what their own German government had resolutely kept from them. The dusty productions of the days of Josephinian enlightenment were brought forth from their hidden corners, while at the same time the works of the greatest German thinkers and poets were made accessible to the people. The mythical "vicedoms" vanished from the stage, yielding place to living presidents; Franz and Karl Moor [in Schiller's play *Die Räuber*] recovered their father, who had hitherto been merely a distant

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relation; the marquis Posa [in Schiller's *Don Carlos*] was allowed to plead for freedom of thought; the Swiss were permitted to laugh at Gessler's hat — though this was subsequently prohibited as improper and illegal. The advertisements in the Vienna papers of all the books which might not be read under the Austrian censorship and were now openly offered for sale, presents a picture, instructive in many respects but infinitely sad, of the intellectual condition of the times. We are amazed at the things which earned liberal praise and charmed the popular taste, still more amazed at the narrow-mindedness of the government, at the number and character of the books it fancied dangerous, at the way in which it sniffed out poison everywhere. Literary piracy also began to flourish during the occupation; it devoted its attention particularly to classic German poetry, and sad as the confession may be, the fact remains that the credit of having diffused the German classics, with Schiller at their head, among the educated classes of Austria, is due to these thievish pirates and the police of the national enemy.

Matters in Vienna looked less hopeful; there was no confidence in a happier future, no strength to follow the dictates of sound judgment; everywhere men shut themselves up in the narrow circle of private life and turned passing events to account for personal and selfish ends. Wholly wretched is the spectacle presented by the court at Totis, near Komárom, whither the emperor Francis had withdrawn after the battle of Wagram. The enormous difficulties of the situation cannot be denied. The enemy occupied the third part of the monarchy and ruled in the capital of the empire; the German provinces, where the clearest understanding of the ideal aims of the war prevailed and the spirit of self-sacrifice was strongest, had been left in the hands of the French by the hard conditions of the armistice, and the Austrian government was reduced to relying upon the enthusiasm of Slavonic and Magyar tribes, which had nearly touched freezing-point, and on the material resources of Hungary, of which the most fertile districts, including Presburg, Raab, and Ödenburg, had also the enemy to feed. The bloody fields of Aspern and Wagram had cruelly thinned the ranks of seasoned and efficient soldiers. If a new army was to be called to arms the great gaps must be filled by raw recruits or by a militia intimidated by Napoleon's threats and disheartened by many defeats. And even if the ranks of the army had been completely full, where were leaders to be found to inspire that army with confidence and offer some guarantee for at least the possibility of victory? The archduke Charles was out of the question. By squandering his troops and making preposterous dispositions he had done all that lay in his power to render the prosecution of the war impossible; and even if the chief responsibility for the disastrous issue of the war had not been laid at his door in military circles, his own resolve was fixed to take no farther active part in the struggle.

All the other archdukes, however, appeared even less capable of assuming the supreme command, and in the case of the other generals the doubt of their capacity was complicated by the question as to whether they would meet with willing obedience on the part of their immediate subordinates. And in truth there was not one of them who coveted the responsibility of supreme command: no, not Johann Liechtenstein, nor Bellegarde; they all expressed without disguise their opinion of the necessity of concluding peace. But how could serious negotiations for peace be set on foot, complaisant as the Austrian government might be, while Napoleon demanded conditions which must of necessity end in the complete disintegration of the empire and the absolute annihilation of the power of Austria?

TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN, OR VIENNA (OCTOBER, 1809)

Unfortunately, to meet difficulties so undeniably great, Austria had none but petty measures and pitiful expedients. The emperor, ill-informed, as usual, concerning the course of events and ignorant of the state of his own resources, pronounced in favour of the prosecution of the war, as did the empress, who had by this time changed her mind; but not in favour of such a method of warfare as Stein and Gentz already had in mind, the only one that offered the remotest prospect of a favourable result. If they had vigorously and without reservation set themselves to accomplish what had been feebly and half-heartedly begun at the commencement of the war, if they had kindled a German national war, for which the stubborn resistance of the Tyrolese and the bold raid of the duke of Brunswick constituted a most promising introduction, and which the long-prepared but ill-conducted English expedition was intended to assist; then, for all his material advantages, Napoleon's position would have been gravely compromised. Instead of so doing the Austrian court came to the following decision. The emperor Francis was to be nominally in chief command of the army, the despised Duca was to undertake the office of quartermaster-general, Bellegarde to remain *ad latus* to the emperor, Johann Liechtenstein was actually to wield the baton of commander-in-chief, but the plans of the campaign were to be worked out by a committee upon which Bubna, Radetzky, and Mayer were to sit. These preposterous schemes and senseless arrangements could not possibly proceed from genuine martial ardour; yet if peace was unavoidable, as became evident during the course of the month of September, what irresponsibility was displayed by the disjointed and contradictory doings at court.

The emperor Francis, with his adjutants Wrbna and Kutschera (*les deux animaux*, as Gentz maliciously nicknamed them) always by his side, accessible to the influence of inferior persons, suspicious of the sagacious and well-intentioned, could arrive at no definite resolution; he had no feeling for the miseries of war, but was all the more sensitive on the subject of the sum of money which the enemy would demand as an indemnity on the conclusion of peace. Averse from peace, he nevertheless lacked strength of purpose to declare resolutely in favour of the prosecution of the war. He was a man of whom it was to be expected that he would thrust upon others the responsibility of the most momentous political transactions, that he might be able afterwards to complain of the defective obedience rendered by his servants; and there was no one at hand to take such responsibility upon himself for the public good. Stadion kept aloof from all official business; he had lost not only the confidence of the court but his confidence in himself and felt the ground insecure beneath his feet; Count Metternich had neither the knowledge nor the authority required to bring about the decision; and lastly, Thugut, to whose advice the emperor had also given ear, seems, first and last, to have preferred the semi-obscurity of his position in relation to the emperor to open action and the responsibility it involved.

Thus it came about that Austrian statesmen, like Austrian generals, themselves destitute of definite ideas and independent force, invariably took the course prescribed by Napoleon, and delivered themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the power of that astute individual. While the official agents, Metternich and Nugent, were labouring to no purpose at Altenburg to settle the basis of a peaceful arrangement with Champagny, a military embassy was despatched direct to Napoleon and a new kind of negotiation attempted in this manner, without the slightest reference to what was going

on at Altenburg. It was never known in Austrian diplomatic circles, who had drawn up the instructions for the military ambassadors, Bubna and Johann Liechtenstein. It is possible that they had no instructions, that all they had to do was to bargain and haggle over the exorbitant demands made of them. The cession of territory and subjects was at length agreed to by the emperor Francis, after it had been reduced to more moderate compass; but on the question of the amount of the war indemnity he proved obdurate, and refused to go beyond the sum of 50,000,000 francs, the French demand being 100,000,000. Of earnest intercession for the unhappy Tyrolese, of a clear understanding with them, there was not a single word. What a change had taken place in public feeling in the course of a few months! When war was declared the national spirit had been invoked in eloquent phrases to enforce the summons to arms, and now the government acted as though there had never been independent nationalities in the world, and completely forgot the poor Tyrolese, who had obeyed the summons and set their trust upon the oath of the Austrian emperor. Austria had ventured upon the struggle with none but the loftiest aims — to protect the liberties of Europe and to restore the independence of Germany; and now the emperor Francis had no thought but for the money question. As a matter of fact the newly knit bond of peace was near to being severed by his obstinate determination to pay no more than 50,000,000 francs. At length Bubna, prevailed upon by the most influential personages about the court, ignored the emperor's prohibition and came to terms with Napoleon for a contribution of 85,000,000. The emperor made no protest when the document with this condition was presented to him for signature, but revenged himself upon the "disobedient" Bubna by petty slights. This gallant and highly cultured general was appointed to superintend the stud.

FRANCIS II
(1768–1835)

On October 14th, 1809, the roar of cannon proclaimed the conclusion of peace. Austria lost nearly two thousand square miles of territory and more than three million inhabitants, and her annual revenue was curtailed by about 11,000,000 gulden. Every province, with the exception of little Moravia,

suffered a loss of territory, and heavy blows were inflicted upon the commerce, industry, and wealth of the empire by the cession to Russia of the salt works of Wieliczka (to the extent of one-half) and to France of the productive quicksilver mines of Idria and the great iron and steel forges in the Villach district. [An entire new state, that of the Illyrian Provinces was formed by Napoleon from the cessions on the Adriatic and included Triest, Carniola, parts of Carinthia and Croatia and the maritime territories of Hungary. The districts of Upper Austria known as the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, together with Salzburg and Berchtesgaden were handed over to the confederation of the Rhine. Russia received part of east Galicia, and the duchy of Warsaw west Galicia. Austria was also compelled to accede to the continental system and to recognise the territorial changes in the Spanish peninsula and in Italy.]

The moral consequences went even deeper. In the war of 1809 for the last time the whole of Germany stood by Austria, and for the last time the empire was conscious of its German character and alive to its purely German destiny. To all men — and the thought found most energetic utterance among the north Germans — it seemed a matter of course that Austria existed in and for Germany, and in like manner thinking men in Austria were aware of no political spirit except the spirit of Germany dominant in themselves. By the unhappy issue of the contest these hopes were destroyed and these convictions rendered frustrate; the Germans learned to conceive projects for a happier future without reference to their connection with Austria, while in Austria the leading men (and by degrees a still larger circle) accustomed themselves to regard German interests as alien from their own and Germany itself as an indifferent body, which might be made useful indeed, but with which they were by no means indissolubly united.

Externally Austria renounced her connection with Germany on the 6th of August, 1806, when the emperor Francis abdicated the crown of the German Empire; but the internal rupture was not consummated until the Peace of Schönbrunn, on October 14th, 1809. From thenceforth the German nation went its own way, and an independent Austrian policy was inaugurated at Vienna.[d]

METTERNICH AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PEACE OF SCHÖNBRUNN

There is no doubt that, had the war broken out again, Alexander of Russia and his army would have been on Napoleon's side. This being so Francis did well to make peace, especially as such important results followed. The treaty added but another leaf to the history of Napoleon's fame and at the same time prepared the way to an alliance with a Habsburg archduchess, with one of the oldest ruling families of Europe, which it was intended should give just the desired touch of nobility to his dynasty. No matter what important and successful results this peace may have had for Napoleon personally, he kept them strictly to himself from the very beginning of the disputes which later on became fatal to this favourite of fortune. If at that time a contemporary expressed a by no means unfounded fear that with this treaty disappeared the last hope of freeing Germany, we can now safely affirm that the same Peace of Schönbrunn was the first step to Napoleon's downfall. Owing to the affair of the duchy of Warsaw, enmity between the French emperor and the Russian czar was finally determined forever. The events which followed, up to the war of 1812, and the subsequent rising of Europe were but the natural consequences of the disputes which arose between Alexander and Napoleon immediately after the peace of 1809.

The Treaty of Schönbrunn was the turning point in French and universal history, and also in that of the Austrian monarchy. Its importance, however, does not lie in the great losses sustained by the Austrians but in the fact that, with the defeat in 1809, the spirit of free judgment, which the archduke Charles and Stadion maintained throughout, was opposed as a dangerous sentiment. One of the chief advocates of this new course was Metternich, and this is therefore the place to note the rise of the man who originally provoked the war, at the conclusion of which he received, unopposed by Napoleon, the post of minister of foreign affairs as his due. The actual circumstances under which he became minister are still unknown.

It is said that when Stadion first retired, the emperor in a weak moment promised the post to Metternich. It was whispered, even amongst those who might be supposed to know, that Metternich would never be the successor of Stadion, who was forced to retire from office at the beginning of October, while many said that, though Metternich had been the cause of Stadion's disgrace, he (Metternich) had declared that it would be much against his will to accept the control of foreign affairs. This and all like statements which he made sounded distinctly unnatural and did not carry conviction with them.

METTERNICH

According to his own account he was not ambitious and it needed a great deal of persuasion, almost force, before he could be made to accept any public post. It was thus when he entered his diplomatic career and remained so even when he became ambassador, first in Dresden and then in Paris. But had Metternich's been a retiring nature it would have been extremely difficult for him constantly to declare, as he did, that had he but been given absolute control of the negotiations for peace, far different provisions to those obtained by Liechtenstein and Bubna would have resulted. Whether he became minister without any personal effort or through deep intriguing does not alter the importance of the fact that to give him the control of a monarchy was to hand it over to a man under whose directing influence the destiny of the nation would begin to unfold itself. Yet half the honour should be his of having raised Austria, at least outwardly, to the position of a power of the first rank. But the neglecting of the inner needs of the country was a fault of which even this mighty minister felt the consequences in his later days. Had he but followed the path so plainly marked out by the archduke Charles and Stadion his fame would have been everlasting. As the bad luck of the monarchy would have it, there were no like successors to these two noble men, who had the whole interests and needs of the people at heart.[e]

NAPOLEON MARRIES AN AUSTRIAN ARCHDUCHESS (1810 A.D.)

Like the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, Metternich now believed it to be more to the advantage of Austria to procure friendship with France,

and Napoleon was therefore able to accomplish his long-cherished plan of allying himself by marriage with one of the ancient dynasties of Europe. In December, 1809, he divorced his first wife, Josephine, who had borne him no heir, and at the end of the following January he began negotiating for the hand of the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise; the betrothal followed as early as February, 1810, and in April of the same year the marriage took place. With the Peace of Schönbrunn the hopes of Germany had perished, and despair was in every heart. It was even to be feared from the evidence of frustrated, or timely discovered attempts on Napoleon's life that the prolonged servitude to France was undermining the old, honourable German spirit; and that fanaticism, secret conspiracy, and political murder were striking root in Germany.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE TYROL (1809)

The general awakening of patriotism was evidenced in 1809 by fairer tokens than such abortive attempts of criminal folly. The subsidiary events of the great Austrian war are almost as important as that war itself, since they show the change of temper and the beginnings of the revival of the German nation. By the Peace of Presburg in 1805, the Tyrol, which for centuries had been united to the house of Austria, had been severed from it and handed over to Bavaria. The Bavarians introduced many innovations after the French pattern, some good, some evil, but all alike opposed by this mountain people in their attachment to the past. The Bavarian government was displeasing, both because it was foreign and because it had been imposed on them, but they especially detested the conscription, for under Austria the province had hitherto been exempted from military service. The priests, who exercised great and indeed almost unlimited power over the minds of these staunch Catholics, detested the Bavarians as innovators and allies of the revolutionary French, the enemies of the church. Thus, with silent indignation, the country endured the yoke of the confederation of the Rhine until the spring of 1809. Secret understandings were continually entertained with Austria, and even with the archduke John, and the hope of returning to their native rulers was never abandoned.

When the great war of 1809 began, the emperor Francis summoned all his people to arms. The Tyrolese joined in the response to his call. True to the father of their country as to their faith, simple and unused to foreign ways, they lived and moved only in the idea of the independence and liberty of primæval Germany. There the boy soon learns to stand alone; with him the youth and the man climb the steep Alpine wall to the line of eternal snow, in the pursuit of the flying chamois. Thus, the warlike spirit, coolness in danger, above all an inward confidence in the sacred mountains and ravines, is found in every child of the country. Since Austria could calculate on the fidelity of the Tyrol, she hastened to occupy the province at the beginning of the war. Scarcely were her first troops visible in the border passes than the population rose and expelled the Bavarian garrisons. Soon the tocsin rang through the farthest clefts of the mountains, every commune, every valley took arms and chose itself leaders, in the ancient German fashion, from the most determined and proved men. Hunters, inn-keepers, priests led the hosts; the ex-poacher Joseph Speckbacher, the inn-keeper Martin Teimer, the Capuchin Haspinger, and many such. But at the head of all appeared a man who, like Saul of old, towered a full head above the crowd, whose magnificent black beard descended to his belt, Andreas Hofer, the *Sandwirt*, of Passeier [so called from his father's tavern the Sandhof], a pious, simple, humble man but, in his single-hearted

fidelity, a true type of the people he led to the war — a holy war, for his religion and his emperor, for his mountains and his liberty. As in Spain, small bands soon appeared throughout the country, all of which pressed towards the centre, Innsbruck, which was compelled to surrender with all its Bavarian garrison (April 12th, 1809). The same day a Franco-Bavarian army marched up. Though fired at by the peasants from every ravine and every height it had nevertheless crossed the Brenner and now stood on the Iselberg, close before Innsbruck. But here it found itself surrounded on all sides and it likewise had to surrender itself prisoner. Then, amidst the ringing of bells and huge rejoicings, the first Austrian soldiers under General Chasteler again entered the town. No cruelties had stained this fair struggle for liberty; in the frenzy of their rejoicing it now seemed to the victorious Tyrolese "as though the sun shone by day and night," as though heavenly angels and saints had fought in front of their ranks.

Then, like a thunderbolt came the news of the disaster of Ratisbon. In the retreat of the Austrian main army which followed, the Tyrol was left without support or stay. Napoleon, to his dishonour, regarded the war as a rebellion and set a price on the head of Chasteler as on that of a robber. Neither the latter, nor the army of his fellow Austrian commanders, knew how to value the peasant struggle, and the Tyrolese were already left almost entirely alone. Nevertheless, they determined to defend their mountains, but the Bavarians under Wrede again advanced from Salzburg. On Ascension Day (May 11th), they took the Strub Pass on the borders of the Tyrol, and Salzburg after a hard struggle, and then descended by St. Johann into the valley of the Inn. Their way was everywhere marked by traces of a cruel vengeance. At Schwarz there was a sanguinary struggle; the Bavarians burned the town and pressed on to Innsbruck; Chasteler retreated, and Wrede, with his Bavarians, Lefebvre, with his French, marched into the capital. The province seemed to be again subdued; but the cruelty shown had enraged the people, and when Wrede and his corps were summoned away by Napoleon, Hofer and his southern Tyrolese again crossed the Brenner. Once more the alarm bell called, the leaders summoned the people to arms, and again every pass, every rocky wall, every narrow road was alive. Again the struggle commenced round the Iselberg (May 29th). The enemy, seven thousand Bavarians, at last gave ground with heavy losses. Then for several months, so long as the military operations at Vienna lasted, the Tyrol remained unmolested.

After the fight at the Iselberg and after the battle of Aspern, an imperial autograph letter had solemnly promised the Tyrolese that their country should never again be separated from the Austrian empire, and that no peace should be signed which did not provide for the indissoluble union of the Tyrol with the monarchy. In confident reliance on the imperial word the Tyrolese lived peacefully until the armistice of Znaim. In this armistice the Tyrol was not considered and now the enemy mustered his forces to punish the faithful and abandoned province. Lefebvre again marched into it with French, Saxons, and Bavarians, and took the capital without resistance. But for the third time, and more furiously than before, the Tyrolese people rose (August, 1809). A body of troops approaching from the north, and consisting chiefly of Saxons, was almost buried in the narrow gorges of Eisack, beneath the rocks and tree-trunks that were rolled down upon it; "it might seem to those struck as though the mountains had fallen together over them." Another column was annihilated in a similar fashion in the upper Inn valley, above Landeck, and the French marshal himself only escaped with difficulty

from "the accursed land" after yet another fight at the Isel mountain (August 13th). Hofer, as "chief commander in the Tyrol" entered the citadel of Innsbruck.

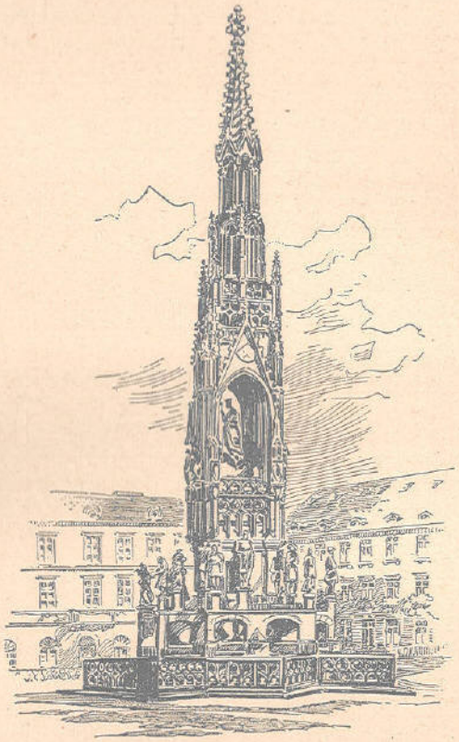
But now came the Peace of Schönbrunn, which sacrificed the faithful province. Napoleon sent fifty thousand men to the mountains. Hitherto the imperial court had rather encouraged than calmed the rebellion; now these brave men were suddenly called upon to submit voluntarily and the greater part of the people did actually bow to stern necessity. Even Hofer had at first abdicated his command and bidden the people go home and lay down their weapons. But, deceived in his honest heart by foolish dreamers and roused to a fresh struggle, he once more took arms. The country, however, was already subdued. Only around the Passeier valley attack and defence still went on (end of November, 1809). Excited to the highest pitch, bewildered and despairing, Hofer had let the time go by in which he, like others of his comrades, might have found safety in flight or by voluntary submission. Even the most faithful dispersed. Speckbacher lay all the winter through, hidden in a cow-shed under straw and manure, until he found an opportunity for flight. Haspinger got away and as late as 1839 was able to join in celebrating the dedication of Hofer's monument in the cathedral of Innsbruck. Hofer himself had escaped to the mountains, where he took up his abode in a herdsman's cottage which had been deserted for the winter. But unhappily a traitor was forthcoming. In January of the following year a troop of soldiers mounted the snowy slopes and brought down the hero, bound. They treated him with brutal harshness, made him go barefoot through the ice and snow, and tugged at his beard so that the blood flowed; he bore it all with smiling patience. At Mantua a court-martial passed on him the death sentence, and on the city walls, by the bullets of the soldiers, he met his death — "the death he had so many times sent forth from the Iselberg into the valley" — and which he faced with unbandaged eyes; on the 20th of February, 1810, a few weeks before the marriage of the emperor's daughter with the haughty enemy, this deed of blood took place. The Tyrol was again subdued; but the martyr's blood had not flowed in vain.

STATE BANKRUPTCY

The struggle of 1809 had also culminated in Napoleon's victory. The first uprising of the German nation had ended in destruction, and the general feeling was one of sadness and hopelessness. Since Metternich had taken Stadion's place Austria seemed to prefer the old diplomatic craft to enthusiastic patriotism and to have no other desire than to show anxiety to please Napoleon. It is true that in spite of the matrimonial alliance neither the emperor nor the higher nobility had any leanings towards the arrogant parvenu. But, even if there had been, as the most zealous patriots wished, a disposition to sustain a new contest with Napoleon, the shattered state of the finances would have prevented any great undertaking: for just at this time embarrassments were rapidly accumulating towards state bankruptcy. The continuous war had so impoverished the land that the government could but look forward to the future with anxiety and dread. From 1793 to 1810 the national debt mounted from 377,000,000 to 658,000,000 gulden, with more than 39,000,000 gulden interest: 1805 added 30,000,000 to the deficit, 1807, 66,000,000, and the preparations for the war of 1809 alone cost 60,000,000 gulden. Year after year everything possible was tried in order to get a little real money in the army. From 1792 to 1795 receipts were negotiated and

from 1794 to 1797 the war loan was contracted by the intervention of some provincial deputies. From 1798 to 1809 fief and lottery loans were raised. The government increased the rates and taxes, introduced a class tax, put up the rates of interest, and even made use of the people's savings. In 1806 all gold and silver had to be recoined. The so-called delivery patent of December 19th ordered that all gold and silver should be called in. That which was not privately sold was soon melted, weighed up and made good by state shares and winnings in lotteries. The chief thing which helped the government out of the difficulty, at least for the time being, was the regular issue of paper money.

During 1785 to 1792 to 300,000,000 gulden in coin there were but 20,000,000 in bank-notes. In 1805 there were, however, 675,000,000, in 1807 over 700,000,000, 1809, 900,000,000, and in 1810 there were more than 1,000,000,000 cheques in circulation. On the introduction of this money silver soon disappeared, as also did the small coinage of 1801, and the government was forced to coin 300,000,000 gulden in 30 and 15 kreutzer pieces (a kreutzer = ½d or one cent). Owing to the sudden increase in paper money its value decreased, for in 1799 one received for 100 florins in silver 103 in cheques; in 1803, 130; 1805, 133; 1806, 147; 1807, 190; 1808, 204; 1809, 221; 1810, 469, so that 4 florins in notes only valued 1 of silver. Only after the battle of Aspern and the marriage of the archduchess with Napoleon did the premium fall somewhat. The quantity of bank-notes which streamed into Austria from the deserted provinces lowered their value still more. The natural consequence of this overflow of paper money was that all provisions went up in price, the capital became raised, and that usury and swindle of all kinds were openly practised.



MONUMENT OF FRANCIS I IN PRAGUE

In France, Prussia, and throughout the whole of Germany with the exception of Saxony things were no better. To those who beheld the prosperity of the people, and knew of the economical management at court and of the abundant resources of the country this state of things was a veritable mystery. Although the ruin of the finances was brought about by the threatened political position, bad management and the mistaken financial policy did much to help it. The finance ministers or presidents of the exchequer, as they were then called, were in 1796 Count Lazansky, 1797 Count Saurau, 1802 Count Karl Zichy, 1808 Count Joseph O'Donnell, 1810 Count Joseph Wallis. They all individually tried to relieve the financial

difficulties of the country, but could make only superficial amendment laws against the practice of usury and stock-broking; the committee of economy, the raising of postage rates, and the edicts forbidding the exportation of grain and colonial products all did but little to check the evil. Neither the government nor the people had a very clear idea of the actual importance of paper money nor of its retrospective effect on the credit and welfare of the country. During Count Zichy's term of office there was the least worry with the paper money, and coinage was at its highest value. Count O'Donnell tried hard to bring about a payment of at least a portion of the notes, but an equalisation of value could be obtained only by a lasting peace and the greatest economy. The patent of September 14th proclaimed that the government had decided to hold cheques at their proper value. A fresh loan was to establish a sinking fund for the redemption of the bank-notes, but the war of 1809 soon put an end to it all.

In order to pay the contribution of 85,000,000 francs the most beautiful church ornaments were melted down and the families of Schwarzenberg, Jobkowitz, Liechtenstein, Harrach, and others handed all their family silver over to citizens and peasants. Whole bars of solid gold and silver were sent to France. The real gold had no sooner disappeared than the depreciation of paper money began again with alarming rapidity. From October to December, 1809, the nominal value increased from 320 to 463. The amount of bank-notes was given out as 950,000,000 gulden worth but in reality they equalled 1,060,000,000. Count O'Donnell called a committee which assembled and united with him in working out a fresh plan. The patent of February 26th, 1810, announced a new system of finance: "Bank-notes shall all be gradually withdrawn in exchange for bills of payment, 300 florins in cheques valuing a bill of 100 florins. This will represent convention money. Until redeemed, bank-notes will be accepted at all banks and offices. In order to pay off the national debt a fund will be founded for which a tenth part of all properties and the landed estates of the clergy will be claimed." The patent, however, was never properly carried out. Goods of the church were not taken nor other properties taxed. The future was doubtful and the government trembled. As the premium was fixed at 300, though it stood really at 360, travellers and agents in the surrounding districts bought up all bank-notes, and the stock-jobbing increased more than ever. O'Donnell with his steadfastness of purpose might have eventually attained his object had he not died in May, 1810. His successor, Count Wallis, formerly chief burggraf of Bohemia, made minister of the exchequer on July 15th, 1810, was a powerful and much feared man, but one knowing little of matters concerning credit and the paper trouble. In the beginning he carried on O'Donnell's system. The redemption committee assembled and, on September 8th, new laws appeared for the execution of the February patent. The liquidation tax on all movable and landed estates was imposed and a month later many public properties were put up for sale. A board of court commissioners was to draw up a land register and tax reform. The scarcity of money became so great that the government was forced to issue a respite for all payments then due. The tax of 10 per cent. on all estates ruined the value of landed property and especially that of the small land-owners, who composed 90 per cent. of the proprietors and who cultivated 80 per cent. of the ground.

Even after the charter of 1810 the realisations fell one third, the credit was amortised, and the welfare of the people greatly impaired. On the 4th of December, 1810, the premium stood at 1240 and the people fully expected a complete depreciation of the paper money. With the produce of their lands

peasants bought gold chains and rings in order to possess something, and many lit their pipes with cheques. The scarcity of provisions was appalling. A peck of corn cost 50 florins and a cord of wood 90. In consequence of the continental blockade there was no trade in coffee, sugar, cotton, wool, silk, or foreign wines, and their substitutes were not satisfactory. This brought privation of every description, discontent increased among the people and their confidence and trust were broken. The redemption committee announced on February 23rd, 1811, that the value of bank-notes then existing was 1,060,798,753 florins. The government declared itself bankrupt. On February 20th was signed and sealed the finance patent which with one mighty blow was to put an end to all difficulties with the paper money. A copy was sent out to all the provinces and on March 15th on the same day and same hour it was to be proclaimed in every town and village. The first words gave out that the circumstances demanded great sacrifices. Bank-notes would be reduced to one fifth their nominal value and be exchanged for bills of payment. By February, 1812, cheques were out of circulation and the bills of payment were decreased to 212,159,750 florins. Henceforth this rate was to be considered as the Vienna valuation and all contracts were to be made accordingly. Engagements entered upon before 1799 were to be fulfilled at the same rate and contracts of 1799 were to be reckoned according to the exchange of the day on which they were made. To help in the carrying out of this plan a scale was given with the fixed circulation from year to year and from month to month; for a loan of 100 florins in February, 1803, the debtor paid 129 florins in paper; in 1806, 148 florins; in 1809, 234 florins; in 1810, 398 florins, and in 1811 a cheque of 500 florins. After March 1st all drafts on banks or offices were paid in bills of payment or in bank-notes at the five-fold rate of value as declared. Copper coinage realised one fifth its nominal value; 30 kreutzer pieces equalled 6 kreutzers and pieces of 15 kreutzers equalled 3 kreutzers. Interest on all notes of hand was reduced by one half, but in September all fixed property taxes were done away with.

During the winter of 1810-1811 it had certainly been rumoured that the government was making a reform, but such severe and sweeping measures had not been expected. The ministers of finance explained the need and justice of the steps they were taking and asserted that the actual properties and possessions of the nation were not lessening, but that they were only being differently divided. Nevertheless the finance patent was universally condemned. Its system was primitive and unsound and made no provision for the future. It had no special object and was both unjust and unnecessary. It confiscated the fruits of work and industry, upset all codes of debit and credit, and sanctioned a complete change in the relationship with one's own property. They who had 5 florins possessed now but one, whoever had bought an estate for 10,000 florins on the 14th of March now had 2,000 florins, 60,000 florins' worth of inherited property fell to 12,000 florins, and he who had mortgaged one fifth of his estate was now a beggar. Troubles and complications quickly arose, families were ruined, and many put an end to their lives.

In Hungary the greatest confusion reigned, because the patent had not yet been accepted and debtors wanted to pay but creditors would not accept and nobody gave credit. The government wanted the state assembly, opened by Emperor Francis on August 31st, 1811, to grant a guarantee for 100,000,000 gulden in bills of payment, a yearly contribution of 12,000,000 for the sinking fund and the introduction of the scale. After a hard fight the assembly granted the yearly contribution but the scale was rejected. The consultation

lasted ten months until May 20th, when the government closed the assembly, and on September 1st they introduced the scale as a provisional law of justice.

The Austrians had shown their patriotism throughout the war, had paid every tax imposed, suffered the depreciation in interest and the losses caused by the fluctuating standard, but they would not submit to the finance patent as they saw it had no definite end. The national debt was not lessened and the deficit, the famine, and the scarcity of money remained. Then, as a change in the affairs of Russia disturbed Austria again, back came the paper trouble with all its fearful consequences. Count Wallis was dismissed from office. His successor Count Ugarte circulated a new paper money consisting of bills of advance to the value of 45,000,000 gulden. The sum was soon doubled and this system remained until Count Stadion, in 1816, brought order into the finances of the country and re-established them on a secure basis, without proclaiming a bankruptcy.[b]

INCREASING AGGRESSIONS OF NAPOLEON

On the occasion of Napoleon's second marriage the court of Vienna had been not a little astounded at his absolute refusal to allow the archduchess Marie Louise to give that pledge which was required of every archduchess on her marriage, and without which, according to an Austrian family law, the marriage could be dissolved—we mean the pledge by which the bride resigns all her claims to the monarchy. Some hidden design was suspected; it was feared lest, in the event of a still possible conflict between Austria and France, Napoleon might found claims on this marriage. To this fear, affecting Austria alone, was soon joined another which freed the world from any delusion that Napoleon would halt on the path he had hitherto followed. Up till now he had bestowed more care on his family than was consonant with equity, but now dissensions broke out; his brother Louis, king of Holland, seeing the ruin of his country, refused to enforce the continental system to the extent which Napoleon regarded as necessary for the overthrow of England; unable to withstand Napoleon's power, King Louis resigned the crown of Holland, which he had worn uneasily for four years, in favour of his eldest son Louis Napoleon, handed over the regency to his consort, Hortense, and returned to Gratz in Austria. But Napoleon did not recognise the transfer. Holland was declared to be an alluvial deposit which had been formed from the French rivers, and was incorporated with France. Soon followed other accessions of territory for France. Not only the Valais, but the Hanse towns also, were annexed to France, princes expelled from the confederation of the Rhine, and their lands united to France; thus the duke of Oldenburg, yielding to Napoleon's might, went over to Alexander, the emperor of Russia; a considerable portion of the grand duchy of Berg, the provinces which had been handed over to Westphalia only in the beginning of this year, 1810, the domains of the duke of Arenberg, were incorporated with France. Thus the central and southern parts of Germany were cut off from Denmark and the North Sea, and the frontier of France was advanced to the Elbe.

All this must have caused the greatest anxiety to the Russian emperor, since the Prussian fortresses on the Oder were still occupied by French troops, and the duchy of Warsaw, erected after the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807), increased by a part of Galicia after the Peace of Schönbrunn, and obedient to Napoleon's most faithful ally the king of Saxony, afforded a fruitful source of disturbance for Russian Poland as well as a dangerous point of attack, a most dangerous basis for military operations; besides this the emperor Alex-

AUSTRIAN CAVALRY IN THE NAPOLEONIC TIME
(From the painting by Blass, in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna)

ander refused to enforce the continental system[1] in his dominions to the extent that Napoleon wished. There were also other causes of quarrel between Russia and France, and war between them threatened.

AUSTRIA IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1812

The two courts of Vienna and Berlin at last perceived that their interests were the same; that their policies must go hand in hand. Both now endeavoured to preserve neutrality; but to remain neutral in the full sense of the term was impossible. When Napoleon went to Dresden, the emperor Francis also repaired thither, but neither he nor the king of Prussia managed to hold aloof from the war. Neutrality for the imperial state of Austria Napoleon did indeed concede, but Austria, like Prussia, had to put in the field an auxiliary corps of thirty thousand men for the Franco-Russian war; the Prussians formed the extreme right wing of the gigantic French army, the Austrian corps was under the leadership of Prince Schwarzenberg and had one privilege over the rest of the allies, namely that Prince Schwarzenberg had to take orders from no one but Napoleon himself.

Napoleon led 400,000 infantry, 80,000 cavalry, and 1,700 cannon across the Russian borders. Never had the world seen such an army since the time of the Persian king Xerxes. Napoleon's victorious advance to Moscow, the firing of that city, the retreat of the French, their defeat at the Beresina, the annihilation of the huge army by the treble forces of the pursuer, hunger, and cold, belong to the history of Russia and of France. The Austrian auxiliary corps fought unwillingly for France, but from discipline it fought with that courage and that submission to the command of its emperor which has ever distinguished the Austrian army.

Prince Schwarzenberg rescued the Saxon corps under the French general Reynier, whereupon it was placed by Napoleon under Schwarzenberg's command. When the French began the retreat from Moscow, which was the destruction of their army, a Russian official appeared before Prince Schwarzenberg with full powers to conclude a three months' armistice; he demanded the surrender of Warsaw and instanced, as an example, the Prussian general York, who, with his corps, had forsaken the French, and in exchange he offered the house of Austria west Galicia, which had been lost at the Peace of Schönbrunn. Prince Schwarzenberg answered that he did not indeed doubt that there was not a single man amongst his troops who had not entered against his will into the war for the cause of France, but he was convinced that, if he were capable of taking such a step as York had taken, even those who had been most dissatisfied with the outbreak of the war with Russia would be the first to condemn him. The Austrian was accustomed to obey the orders of his monarch and not negotiate on his own responsibility. But, acting on the principles of his emperor, he was prepared, in order to avoid further bloodshed, not to advance again in a hostile fashion, but he would declare that his emperor's protection must extend to Saxony, and that he could in no wise sacrifice Reynier.

To this the Russians would not agree and the armistice was not concluded, but the Russians showed themselves no longer hostile to the Austrians, so that when soon afterwards the Saxons were attacked by the Russians, and Schwarzenberg had the Saxons relieved by Austrians during the night, the

[1 In accordance with the continental system, instituted by Napoleon's decrees issued from Berlin in 1806, all trade and intercourse with the British Isles was forbidden to France and her allies.]

[1813 A.D.]

Russians abandoned the fight the next day when they perceived that the Austrians were opposed to them. The Austrian auxiliary corps left the seat of war when the Russians had penetrated to Prussia. In accordance with Napoleon's wish the emperor Francis made Prince Schwarzenberg a field-marshal; certain persons who had especially distinguished themselves in the campaign were rewarded by Emperor Francis at Schwarzenberg's request. The decorations which Napoleon had intended for the Austrian army corps had been declined by Schwarzenberg in the course of the campaign with the declaration, "The emperor of Austria will know how to reward his servants." This promise was now fulfilled.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION, AND AUSTRIA'S ARMED INTERVENTION (1813 A.D.)

With the annihilation of the French army in the ice-fields of Russia the first act of the war was ended; the second began when the Russians set foot on German soil. All Prussia rose in arms against France; for six years she had felt the yoke of French arbitrary rule. The king had gone to Breslau and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia; the confederation of the Rhine was declared dissolved, the return of German liberty proclaimed. But Napoleon had hurried to Paris to rouse the might of France to the continuation of the struggle. With marvellous rapidity he raised a new army, to which only cavalry were wanting, for, though all France was called on to supply volunteer horsemen, and though the call was responded to with alacrity, yet the number of riders was still too small in relation to those of the allies. In infantry he was superior to the allied Russians and Prussians. In the spring of 1813 the armies stood opposed to one another in Saxony, ready for a fresh contest.

In the meantime Austria had offered her intervention.[9] The French ambassador wanted to ascertain the condition of the Austrian auxiliary corps. So his master declared that to this corps as a component part of his army he would despatch special orders. Metternich replied that the auxiliary corps would be too weak, compared with the Russian force, to engage in fresh battle. "So then," persisted Narbonne, "in spite of the alliance and of the responsibilities upon which you have entered, you will not fight?"

When Narbonne brought this fact before Emperor Francis at an audience, "I cannot allow my troops to be extirpated," said the emperor. "Your majesty then regards the alliance as at an end?" "It is your master who annuls it, and forces me to propose an armed intervention. I will assemble two hundred thousand men, that they may co-operate with the French army." "You have then decided to go with us?" "Yes, on condition that your master listens to reason, as I hope he will. I am responsible to my subjects for all the blood that I cause them to shed and I shall not alter my decision. My conscience demands this of me. If I acted otherwise I should have to bear the blame before God." Emperor Francis had already determined to take up an independent position, so that he might act in accordance with his own judgment. To do this it was necessary in the first place to annul the treaty of March 14th, 1812, the provisions of which were no longer adapted to circumstances so completely altered.

Meanwhile it was really France that facilitated Austria's transition from its fettered position to one of greater independence. Even before Schwarzenberg's arrival in Paris, Count Bubna had proposed that the existing treaty of alliance should be altered so that Austria might be able to "mediate" with greater effect; there being no longer any question of a mere "intervention" —

[1813 A.D.]

Russia and Prussia could never believe in the impartiality of Austria as long as intimate relations continued between the mediator and one of the hostile parties. To Metternich's great satisfaction, Maret fell in with this proposal: "Austria may play the principal part," he wrote on April 9th, to Vienna. "As they wish for peace, let them equip themselves with the means of imposing it upon the enemies of France; let them threaten Russia and Prussia with the despatch of one hundred thousand men upon their flanks."

Metternich declared his acquiescence; only desiring Narbonne to inform him what the basis of this peace was to be. As Narbonne could give him no information, Metternich decided to make a beginning himself, and first of all to make clear Austria's new position in relation to France. "The march of events" so it appeared in a verbal note which Schwarzenberg, on the 21st of April, 1813, gave to the French minister of foreign affairs, "the advance of the theatre of war from Czernowitz to Eger, the most important point, throughout a distance of more than four hundred hours, on the Austrian border, no longer admits of his majesty the emperor taking part in the war merely as an auxiliary power. In the situation now approaching, Austria finds her only course to be armed intercession. The emperor of Austria desires peace. He will propose this to all the courts of Europe and will not fail to give it its full weight. In this course he will not confine himself to mere words of peace; if exaggerated views should triumph over sense and moderation, he will without hesitation throw a deciding weight on the side of that power which he recognises as his natural ally."

At this time Napoleon was no longer in France. Immediately after his departure, the empress granted an audience to Schwarzenberg, who tried to show her the seriousness of the situation. Marie Louise's eyes were still full of the tears she had shed at the separation from her husband; she begged they would treat her position in France with consideration. As regards Napoleon and his minister, it did not occur to them, that Emperor Francis might desire to break off his alliance with France. The duke of Bassano (Maret), in his negotiations with Schwarzenberg constantly spoke of "the alliance" and "the marriage" till at last the prince said: "The marriage, always and always the marriage! It was made by policy and policy could unmake it" (*La politique l'a faite, la politique pourrait la défaire*).

Schwarzenberg's warnings were not without grounds. At the seat of war Napoleon's cause looked in more than one respect, anything but favourable. Since his absence the French arms had suffered one reverse after another. On April 2nd, General Morand had been defeated by a skirmishing party under Cerniseu; on the 5th [of April, 1813], Prince Eugene had fought, and lost, against the united Russians and Prussians at Möckern; Czenstochowa, Thorn, and Spandau had already fallen. Moreover even the old allies seemed to be on the eve of a schism. Mecklenburg had already withdrawn from the confederation of the Rhine. The conduct of King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, appeared equally remarkable, although on the 23rd he had again given an assurance, "that he would faithfully abide by the French system, to which alone Saxony owed its recovery and advancement."

Between the 19th and 20th of April he suddenly forsook Ratisbon, in dread lest he should be taken prisoner while on the road with his money and treasures. The gunners with lighted lunts, the cavalry with drawn sabres, marched in this fashion on a journey which resembled a war-march, first to Linz and then to Prague, whence on the 27th of April Frederick Augustus sent General Langenau to Vienna to arrange general rules of conduct, at the same time informing the king of Prussia, that he had quite agreed to the armed

intervention of Austria. When in Vienna Narbonne requested an explanation of the king of Saxony's appearance, Metternich feigned astonishment: "He appeared in Bohemia like a flash of lightning." "Yes, like lightning." Narbonne answered sarcastically, "but it seems that you have had the skill of Franklin to turn the lightning in the direction you desired." At this time Austria also tried to draw Bavaria into a share in the armed intervention; but the negotiations were terminated by the demand of Austria for the restoration of that part of Bavaria which she had lost in 1809, without being able to offer Bavaria any equivalent.

On the 15th of April Napoleon had left St. Cloud, in order to take command of his newly gathered army. It was no longer the "grand army" of the year before, but not inconsiderable for all that; in fact a force fit to make head against all his enemies. It was certainly formed, for the most part, of young men, inexperienced in warfare; but Russia, too, had been compelled to fill up the frightful gaps which the campaign of 1812 had made in the ranks of veteran soldiers, with young men, while the Prussian troops, too, consisted of a very large majority indeed of almost untried recruits. So, as far as the heart of the army was concerned, things were about equally balanced on each side; the majority in numbers and the advantage in the genius of its leaders were, however, unquestionably on the side of the French.

Russians and Prussians together scarcely mustered 90,000 men. Against these till now the viceroy of Italy with his 30,000 had been worsted. But now Napoleon brought fresh troops to the number of 120,000 men, so that his adversary was considerably outnumbered. On April 26th Napoleon was in Erfurt. Here he was met by despatches from Paris and Vienna, the contents of which greatly enraged him. It was the idea of the armed intervention of Austria, now once more in an independent position, which so infuriated him. He felt that the Austrian policy was drawing closer and closer around him a circle through which his arrogance struggled in vain to break. Wishing to ascertain how far the autocracy of his former ally had prospered, he communicated to the Austrian auxiliary force the order to proceed against the Russians, jointly with Poniatowski. Precisely the reverse of this, however, happened. The auxiliary corps, which, now that Frimont was ill, was under the leadership of Major-General Bianchi, had, since the 23rd of April proceeded entirely to withdraw from the left bank of the Vistula.

The Poles, however, fell into a state of the greatest excitement over this command from the French headquarters; they dreamed of reconquering Warsaw. But, as the Austrians continued their work of withdrawal undisturbed, Poniatowski, whose force could not possibly make head against the Russians, was also obliged to evacuate Cracow. The Poles, with the united remnants of the Regnier corps and a battalion of French light horse, were sent over the Austrian territory after disarmament, in order to meet on the other side with the French army which now under Napoleon's personal generalship was making rapid progress.

THE DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES AT LÜTZEN (1813 A.D.)

On May 2nd the Russo-Prussian army under Wittgenstein — Kutusov was killed on the 28th of April — fought at Lützen and Grossgörschen, but after a sanguinary contest they had to abandon the field. On the 8th, Alexander and Frederick William forsook the capital of Saxony, which Napoleon presently entered in triumph. For King Frederick Augustus there was now no possibility of staying longer in Prague. On the 3rd of May Napoleon had

already sent him word through the duke of Weimar: "If he is against me, he will lose everything he possesses!" On the 5th and 6th of May, news came to Prague of the victory at Lützen; and close upon that, came Minister Serra, despatched thither direct by Napoleon, to demand, with the threat of returning the same evening in case of a refusal, that the king should immediately go back to Dresden. Frederick Augustus, intimidated, weakened in health, and naturally plastic, dared not resist such pointed instructions. He broke off negotiations with Austria, and under cover of the night, on the stone bridge of Prague, Langenau destroyed all papers bearing upon them. On the morning of the 10th the king travelled by way of Teplitz to Dresden, whilst the queen and other members of his family remained behind in Prague. Napoleon, however, insisted further that they should follow with the treasure, and accordingly they left Prague on the 20th, a part of the transport carrying the treasure having started for Saxony two days earlier. Langenau, who could no longer remain with the king, went to Vienna and entered the Austrian service.

The tone the Austrian cabinet had adopted towards the French during the last few weeks was clear and decided; there was no longer any doubt as to Austria's position and firm resolve. But it was not yet the custom of the time to print the foreign news of one day in the newspapers of the next; indeed it was a part of the statecraft of that day carefully to avoid premature hints of any matter which was not absolutely settled. So the great public still in doubt as to the views of the Austrian government, continued to blame Metternich for weakness and indecision. In hot heads alternated the most extraordinary schemes — now of ways to get rid of him, now of ways to use him against Napoleon. There was an organised conspiracy of the anti-Bonapartists within and without the imperial state, formed with the intention of furthering what they called "making Austria honest." On the other hand the imperial government did its utmost to destroy Napoleon's suspicion that it was fostering fresh negotiations for an alliance with his opponents, its efforts naturally inspiring the opponents of France with renewed bitterness and doubt.

England's diplomatic agents, King, and Alexander Horn, were obliged to quit Vienna. General Scharnhorst, wounded at Lützen, had accepted a commission from his king, to endeavour to persuade Emperor Francis to join the Russo-Prussian alliance. But two post stations before Vienna he was met by the news that neither the emperor nor Count Metternich could receive him, and consequently he had to return to Prague, where he soon afterwards succumbed to the effects of his wounds. In Vienna it was intended by the authorities to keep a free hand, and not to allow themselves to be hampered or diverted from their self-imposed task of independent intervention.[b]

Nevertheless the army was strengthened by recruiting and by the militia (*landwehr*) battalions. The emperor Francis had calculated on eight thousand horse, but so keenly was the need of great efforts felt throughout the country, and so ready was the country to meet the emperor's wishes, that within a month sixteen thousand horsemen were offered. They received the name of *Veliten*, and were divided amongst the regiments of Hussars; the strength of the Hussar regiment was thus raised to twelve squadrons, two Hussar regiments — the imperial and palatine Hussars — even counted fourteen squadrons; the strength of these regiments reached two thousand horse.

Napoleon now concluded a six weeks' armistice with the allies. He needed it to complete his armament, for it was now clear to him that Austria would sooner or later join his enemies. The situation of Europe was in the highest degree difficult. An offer which Napoleon had made to hand over Silesia to

Austria, and his angry declaration that the house of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern must be expelled, was entirely opposed to the views of the emperor Francis, for he regarded the preservation of the Prussian monarchy in its previous extent as necessary for the good of Europe. It was also plain, from the latest events of the war, that Russia and Prussia in spite of all their heroism, were not equal to conquering Napoleon. If the present moment were lost, Napoleon's solitary rule would be established, and the opportunity to win the liberty of Europe would be lost forever. If Austria watched the struggle without taking part, she must expect that she would subsequently be dismembered and perish. Emperor Francis therefore pursued his armaments with redoubled effort, but in order to try one more attempt at an agreement Count Bubna was sent to Napoleon, Count Stadion to the allies. Emperor Francis himself left Vienna and went to Gitschin in Bohemia to be nearer the seat of war.

THE CONGRESS OF PRAGUE (1813 A.D.)

To keep his opponents occupied Napoleon had announced through the French newspapers, soon after the battle of Lützen, that he had proposed a peace congress at Prague, in which plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, Denmark, and the other friends of France would appear on the one side, and those of England, Russia, Prussia, and the rest of the allies on the other, to determine the principles of a long peace.

The suggestion had not been submitted by Napoleon to a single court; but the glamour which surrounded him was now so great that this journalistic notice sufficed to bring the congress into existence. It was actually opened at Prague. It was, however, soon evident that Napoleon was not in earnest about the peace negotiations. The passports promised to the English deputies were first kept back, then refused altogether, and the French plenipotentiaries did not arrive in Prague till sixteen days after the opening of the congress and then without full powers; over this and over the forms of the negotiations time was lost and the armistice prolonged to some weeks. The allies would have left France her Rhine frontier, but have restored Prussia and abolished Napoleon's influence in Germany and Italy. In order to get at Napoleon's views in the shortest way, Metternich himself went to Dresden. A heated discussion ensued between him and Napoleon during which the angry emperor threw the hat which he held in his hand on the ground. On any other occasion any other foreign ambassador or minister would have picked up the hat, but Metternich did not and went on speaking in a determined manner. The result of the interview was the knowledge that peace was impossible. At midnight, on the last day of the prolonged armistice, war was declared by Austria also (August 10th). An ably written manifesto gave an account of the reasons which had determined the emperor to this step. Soon after Austria formally entered the confederation of the northern powers.

The Allies under Austrian Leadership

Already during the armistice, when the hope of a peaceful accommodation had disappeared, the three great powers at Trachenberg in Silesia, had determined the plan of operations. The entire conduct of the war and the supreme command over all the armies was given to the Austrian field-marshal, Prince Karl Schwarzenberg. He also held immediate command of the main army, composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, which was stationed in Bohemia on the Eger. It was 230,000 strong; in Silesia, Blücher commanded

95,000 Prussians and Russians on the Katzbach; on the Hamel and Spree the ex-French marshal Bernadotte, now crown prince of Sweden, led 150,000 men. According to the plan, whichever army Napoleon should march against was to avoid a battle, whilst the other two were to overpower the divisions sent against them and march against Napoleon in flank and rear. An Austrian army stood opposed to the Bavarians on the Austro-Bavarian border. On the Italian frontier an Austrian army under Hiller lay opposite the Franco-Italian army of the viceroy.

Napoleon's forces between the Oder and the Elbe and in Franconia were 360,000 men, that is 100,000 less than those of the allies, but he had a concentric position, had to consider no one in command, and what general could show such military experience, so many astounding campaigns, so many brilliant victories? In calculating the opposing forces an inspired general like Napoleon counted for 100,000 men. The war was therefore by no means so easy a matter, the victory by no means so sure as it was then represented to the nations, and as they, partly in the frenzy of enthusiasm, partly in the hatred of the French, believed.

As soon as war was declared Napoleon started for Silesia with a superior force to annihilate Blücher, but the latter retreated before him in order to avoid the battle which Napoleon desired.

THE BATTLE OF DRESDEN (AUGUST 26–27TH, 1813)

In accordance with the general plan the main army of the allies under Schwarzenberg now marched on Dresden. On the fourth day (August 25th) it stood before Dresden. Owing to exhaustion, and because all the troops had not yet come up, the attack was deferred till the next day. This caused its failure, for in the night Napoleon came back from Silesia with a great part of the troops. All attacks of the allied arm failed; the weather was bad and added to this the news arrived that the French general, Vandamme, had reached the main line of retreat. This compelled the main army to a retreat which had to be executed in disjointed masses in the face of the enemy. The army had lost several thousand in prisoners and slain, amongst the last being the French general Moreau, who had come from America to fight against Napoleon. Only the long marches and the heroic courage with which the Russian general Ostermann made head against the wild fury of Vandamme averted the ruinous consequences which might have resulted from the mishap of Dresden.

A whole day long (August 29th) had Ostermann offered resistance to the superior forces of the French at Kulm, not far from Teplitz. This gave the troops who fought unsuccessfully at Dresden time to come up. Vandamme had calculated that Napoleon would hasten to his support and therefore continued the contest on the following day. But Napoleon came not, and so the day ended with the complete defeat and the capture of Vandamme (August 30th). For a long time it was not known why Napoleon had not himself made haste to cut off the retreat of the allied army. He himself at last solved the riddle. He had meant to, but at Pirna he had been attacked with sickness which made him fancy he had been poisoned. By this means all operations were brought to a standstill, Vandamme was lost, and the main army of the allies was out of danger. The Prussians meantime had won the victories of Katzbach and Grossbeeren and the French defeats at Dennewitz and other places soon followed.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIC, OR BATTLE OF THE NATIONS (1813 A.D.)

Napoleon marched in person against the main army in Bohemia and here several brilliant skirmishes were fought, but no great battle. By the partial defeats which Napoleon's marshals had suffered, his army had been weakened in numbers and shaken in *morale;* Schwarzenberg now appeared in time to deal a decisive blow. Blücher had joined the northern army, the main army advanced from the Erzgebirge, and Napoleon was threatened in flank and rear. The king of Westphalia had been expelled from Cassel by Chernicheff. Napoleon had to make up his mind to abandon his position at Dresden. He hurried to Leipsic; Schwarzenberg despatched Blücher and Bernadotte thither. Never since the encounter of Attila and the Roman general Aëtius, had such masses been led to the fight as in the battle of the Nations at Leipsic. It lasted four days [October 16th–19th, 1813] and ended with Napoleon's complete defeat; 300 cannon, 1,000 ammunition carts, 3,000 waggons, 15,000 prisoners including 13 generals and 23,000 wounded fell into the hands of the allies.[1] With the relics of the army Napoleon hastened to the Rhine; but had once again to fight during his retreat. Bavaria had joined the allies, the Bavarians and the Austrians opposed to them had united and under Wrede had occupied Hanau in order to stop Napoleon. After a fierce contest the French broke through and crossed the Rhine without further opposition.

Soon the allied army also came in sight of the river. They stood on the frontiers of that kingdom whence during many years victorious armies had so often marched; now it was its turn to cross, in the triumph of victory, that stream which Germany would no longer regard as her frontier but her river. Wherever they turned their eyes mighty images arose. Looking back they saw Germany liberated, before them the land, where, to their glory or death, further contests awaited them. They were to seek the lion in his den.

Schwarzenberg wished to cross the Rhine at once, but the negotiations of the cabinets prevented the execution of this plan. From Frankfort the allied monarchs declared that it was their wish to see France great, strong, and successful, and that the greatness and strength of France was a fundamental principle of the European state system. They assured France an extension which she had never possessed under her kings, but Napoleon refused their offers and prepared himself for a despairing resistance. He could not believe that fortune and victory had forever turned their backs on him. The war had to begin again. The allies decided not to observe the neutrality of Switzerland which would have been solely to the advantage of Napoleon, and determined to cross the Rhine through Switzerland.

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSES IN ITALY; THE OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON (1814 A.D.)

Meantime the fortresses in Germany had capitulated one after the other though not without a brave resistance. In Italy Hiller had driven the viceroy back on the Adige, and Laibach, Trieste, and the Tyrol as well as Dalmatia had been occupied. Bellegarde now took command in Hiller's place and there was a short suspension of hostilities. Murat occupied Rome (January 14) and concluded an alliance with Austria against his brother-in-law and benefactor. The viceroy Eugène, resisted so long as Napoleon held his own; with his fall Eugène also abandoned the struggle and left Italy.

[1 See volume xii, p. 607, for other estimates of the losses.]

The allied army, disregarding the neutrality of Switzerland, crossed the Rhine, and a month later 120,000 men under Schwarzenberg stood on the heights of Langres; Blücher was on the Maas with 50,000 men, 30,000 Austrians threatened Lyons, Napoleon assembled his forces at Châlons-sur-Marne to the number of 120,000. The campaign which he now began was one of the finest in his life, but the momentary advantages gained were his ruin, for they induced him not to enter frankly into the peace proposals of Châtillon.

In this town the allies had met Napoleon's ambassadors to negotiate a peace (February 5th to March 19th, 1814). The advantages gained by the French induced Schwarzenberg to offer Napoleon an armistice. But he refused it. He hoped to divide Austria from the northern alliance by a separate agreement. But in this he was unable to succeed, because the allies had already concluded at Chaumont an offensive and defensive alliance aimed directly at Napoleon in case the congress of Châtillon should lead to no results. Each power pledged itself to place 150,000 men in the field and England undertook in addition to pay £5,000,000 in annual subsidies. Her only privilege was that instead of her own army she might send foreign troops or pay increased subsidies instead of sending any forces; should one of the contracting powers be attacked the other powers must come to her aid with 60,000 men each. In view of such an alliance Napoleon's hope of winning over Austria by herself was necessarily futile and since he was determined not to agree to the allies' conditions the congress dissolved itself. Napoleon appealed to the sword, but twelve days later he had to lay it aside, vanquished.

The course of the campaign in France is in brief as follows: Napoleon lost the battle of Brienne to Blücher (February 1st); then he turned against the main army. When he failed to break through he once more faced round on the Prussians who did not on this occasion advance with the circumspection they had hitherto shown. He flung the individual corps apart. They drew back and joined the northern army which was advancing under Bülow. Whilst this was being effected Napoleon again marched against Schwarzenberg. After the indecisive battle of Bar-sur-Aube, he threw himself by a bold manœuvre on the allies' line of communication and thought by this means to make sure of victory. But the allies paid no heed, and, marching on Paris, defeated the French division which had been stationed to guard the city. Paris capitulated and the allied army with the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia marched in. The emperor Francis followed later. Louis XVIII was proclaimed king. Napoleon abdicated and was taken to the isle of Elba, (April 11th). Louis XVIII concluded with the allies a preliminary treaty by which France was confined to the frontiers she had possessed before the Revolution. Treaties of peace with the allied powers were concluded with each separately (May 30th).

Emperor Francis returned to his own dominions and made a brilliant entry into Vienna. Thousands and thousands surged through the streets, drunk with joy and rejoicing in the wildest ecstacy; victory at last, after twenty years of war. The happiness of the world seemed founded.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1814 A.D.)

The allies had completed the great work of conquering Napoleon with extraordinary harmony and constancy. It now remained to regulate the conditions of Europe with a view to a permanent peace, and to this end a great congress had been summoned to Vienna; in the autumn it met. Almost all the monarchs appeared there in person while those absent were repre-

sented by their most trusted servants. The splendour and state which then reigned in Vienna, the joyous excited life and movement cannot be described. Those who did not see, who did not share it, can form for themselves no satisfactory picture. A hundred thousand foreigners streamed thither; the tales of the *Thousand and One Nights* seemed to have become truth.

The negotiations themselves offered many difficulties, for the allied monarchs had bound themselves by promises during the course of the war. The emperor of Russia had promised Poland an independent kingdom under his protection; Austria had undertaken to secure Murat in the possession of Naples, and, in the Treaty of Ried by which Bavaria declared against France, had promised the king of Bavaria complete compensation for everything which he might have to resign in favour of Austria. Finally the king of Prussia was justified in expecting the restoration of his former power.

The congress of Vienna fell into a series of negotiations between the powers according to the measure in which this or that dominion was affected by the subject in hand. The main subjects of negotiation were Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and Germany.

In Italy, where Austria was chiefly interested, everything was easily arranged. The Austrian Netherlands devolved on the king of Holland, though even at this time there were voices which called attention to the differences of nationality and religion in the two countries and prophesied that no good would come of this unnatural alliance; but no attention was paid to them and it was thought that by this union a bulwark had been raised against France, all the more so since the duchy of Luxemburg also served to strengthen Holland. Great Britain was especially active in bringing about this enlargement of Holland in order to compensate for the loss of the cape of Good Hope which England was unwilling to return, but this arrangement deprived the congress of a great source of compensation and made the solution of the critical question more difficult.

In Germany the kingdom of Westphalia had fallen to pieces of itself and the old rulers had everywhere returned to their former rights and possessions; on this occasion the king of England also received the title of king of Hanover. The question of the restoration of the old imperial dignity was agitated, but Emperor Francis did not respond to the idea, and it would have been a mere playing with forms since the ancient might of the German emperors could never be restored. The difficulties of effecting an arrangement in Germany lay in the claims of Bavaria and Prussia. The difficulties with Bavaria were such that the question was raised of handing the whole of Bavaria over to Austria, in exchange for which the house of Wittelsbach would receive the kingdom of Italy. But the exchange was not effected. Finally, Austria received from Bavaria, besides the Tyrol in the possession of which she had established herself, Salzburg, the Innviertel and Hausrukviertel, which had been resigned to Bavaria in the last unhappy war. Bavaria was indemnified with her old palatine territories, Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and the present Rhenish Bavaria.

The greatest complication lay in the indemnification of Prussia. If it had been possible to give her her former territories all would have been easy; but this was impossible, for a great part of the old Prussia had been incorporated after the Peace of Tilsit with the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the emperor of Russia had, as we have seen, promised Poland the restoration of the kingdom under his protectorate. Prussia, therefore, wanted the whole of Saxony as compensation. Austria was not in favour of either the restoration of Poland or the dethronement of the Saxon house. Prince Metternich (the emperor

Francis had raised him to the princely rank during the war of liberation,) did his utmost to induce the two powers, Russia and Prussia, to change their minds. France maintained that the restoration of legitimate government was a main task of the congress and that one of the most legitimate of rulers, the king of Saxony, could not be declared to have forfeited his throne merely because in the general upheaval of Europe he had lost his kingdom. England, Austria, and France, stood on one side; Russia and Prussia on the other. A new European war seemed on the point of breaking out but finally both parties gave way. The emperor of Russia resigned the duchy of Posen to Prussia, to Austria the salt-mines of Wieliczka, and those districts which in Austria's last unhappy war had been torn from Galicia and handed over to the Russians. The town of Cracow with a territory of nineteen square miles was recognised as a free city. On the other hand Austria agreed to a sort of partition of Saxony. The Prussians had already occupied a part of the country but were not satisfied with this; they wanted the whole. War appeared imminent. Hanover, Bavaria, Holland, and Sardinia also joined with Austria, England, and France. Finally the Prussians abated their demands. About a third of Saxony and the present Rhenish Prussia formed the Prussian compensation. If we add Posen, Prussia was now quite as powerful as before the last unsuccessful war with France.

THE WAR WITH NAPOLEON IS RENEWED (1815 A.D.)

Thus the main difficulties had been partly overcome, partly evaded, when suddenly, during a court festivity, the news came that Napoleon had quitted the isle of Elba, and had landed in France. The congress now came to a hasty conclusion. The German Confederation was brought into existence, the outstanding matters were hastily disposed of, the final act prepared. The powers armed for a fresh war.

The first step of the allied great powers was to declare the outlawry of Napoleon. They announced that he had deprived himself of all claim to the protection of the law by entering French territory with arms in his hands. They added that with him there could be neither armistice nor peace. All available forces were called into play for the struggle with Napoleon. He might say with truth that his eagles were flying throughout France, from tower to tower to settle on that of Notre Dame.

The prelude to the war took place in Italy. So soon as Murat received news of the acclamation with which Napoleon had been received in France, he came forward as his champion and, breaking through the papal territories, fell on the Austrians. The pope protested and left Rome. The outposts had already begun skirmishing when Murat sent to Vienna to declare that his intentions were wholly peaceful. But Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Ferdinand IV, who had been expelled from Naples ten years before, and was now living in Sicily. Murat had advanced to the Po before he encountered serious resistance but the Neapolitans were overthrown in every fight and at last defeated at Tolentino (May 2nd); ten thousand Austrians had beaten Murat's army which then numbered thirty-four thousand fighting men. The Neapolitan army was broken up; there was no further question of resistance; the Austrians pressed on unchecked to Naples. Before they arrived the queen had been compelled by an English fleet to deliver up the whole Neapolitan sea power (May 11th). Murat fled to the isle of Ischia and from thence to France. The queen, Murat's wife, was, at her own request granted permission to live in the Austrian monarchy. When the

Austrians had entered Naples, Ferdinand IV, appeared in the capital and again mounted the throne of his fathers.

THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON

It was not till after the Neapolitan conquest that the greater and more serious struggle began with Napoleon. The armaments on both sides were extraordinary. According to the general plan of operations the English and Prussians were to advance from the Netherlands, and the Austrians through the south of France. But before the latter could undertake anything of importance the whole war had been decided in a three days' fight in the Low Countries. Napoleon had attacked the Prussians at Ligny (June 16th) and after a brave resistance had overthrown them, whereupon he turned on the English and fought against the duke of Wellington, the world-renowned battle of Waterloo (June 18th) which Napoleon lost because the Prussians, whom he believed to be in full flight, had collected and attacked him in rear and flank. The results of this extraordinary defeat were first that Napoleon, seeing his way of flight to America barred by English ships, surrendered to the English and, in accordance with the unanimous decree of the allies, was taken as a prisoner to the island of St. Helena; secondly the return of the Bourbons; and lastly the second Peace of Paris.

The second Peace of Paris changed the frontiers of France only on the side of the Netherlands, and not to a considerable extent; but the works of art which during the revolutionary wars and under Napoleon had been gathered together from all quarters of the world and carried to Paris had now to be given back. A war tax of 700,000,000 francs was imposed on the country, and, in order to secure the tranquillity of France, 150,000 men of the armies of the allied powers were left in France under the supreme command of the duke of Wellington; his army occupied several fortresses. The period for its retention in France was fixed at five years.[9]

THE NEW AUSTRIA, AND THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION (1815 A.D.)

On the 9th of June the document was signed which contained all the agreements relative to the reconstruction of Europe, the final act (*acte final*) of the congress of Vienna. At this point we may insert a brief summary of its provisions as they affected Italy. The king of Sardinia, received all the territory of the whilom republic of Genoa, while Austria got (besides the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice) firstly, Modena, Reggio and Mirandola for the archduke Francis of Este; secondly, Massa and Carrara for the archduchess Maria Beatrix of Este; thirdly, Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla for the empress Marie Louise; and fourthly, the grand duchy of Tuscany for the archduke Ferdinand of Austria. The infanta Maria Louisa, widow of the king of Etruria, received the principality of Lucca. The states of the church were restored, contrary to the wishes of Austria and by the instrumentality of Russia and Prussia, who were anxious to please their Roman Catholic subjects. The Marches, with Camerino and its dependencies, the duchy of Benevento, the principality of Pontecorvo, the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara (exclusive of the portion left of the Po) returned to the dominion of the papal see. The emperor of Austria, however, retained the right of garrisoning Ferrara and Comacchio. Finally, after King Murat had forfeited every claim on the forbearance of the powers by his wanton breach of the peace on March 22nd, and had staked and lost crown and kingdom in a hopeless struggle with Austria and England, the whole kingdom of the Two Sicilies was restored to King Ferdinand IV.

By this arrangement Austria became the one great power dominant throughout the Apennine peninsula, and the autocratic rule of Austria was the lot of the Italians so long as the territorial distribution of the 9th of June remained in force.

In this new trans-Alpine Austria, which included, according to the original scheme, the three legations of Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara, Metternich sought compensation and more than compensation for all that he sacrificed or resigned without remonstrance and without regret on the hither side of the Alps; thus abandoning the traditions of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, of Kaunitz and Thugut. Metternich's Austria finally renounced her claim to Silesia and Bavaria, to anterior Austria and Belgium, to the crown of the Roman emperor and the status of the Roman empire. The Austria thus reconstructed was a southern Austria, which had cast the anchors of her sovereignty on the lower Danube and to right and left of the Adriatic, and had thus voluntarily withdrawn from a multitude of arduous duties and irksome complications which were bound up with her former frontiers and prerogatives. The emperor Francis decisively refused to assume the crown of Roman emperor which he had once worn, because he had neither the wish to fulfil imperial duties nor the power to exact imperial rights. But in this renunciation he gave up nothing but a mockery of valueless privileges and void possession. It did not by any means imply that he withdrew from German politics or surrendered the management of them to other powers. Quite the reverse. At the very moment when Austria laid her iron hand on Italy she instituted the German Confederation, in order to maintain in Germany an influence by which her ancient sovereignty should be revived in a modern form, and to prevent Russia from taking the place she desired. For this the German Confederation was her guarantee, and for this sole purpose she instituted it. But it was a triumph of diplomacy that this motive was never laid bare, that others worked for her without being aware of it, and that she was never forced into any utterance that must have betrayed it.

The nature of the body which the act of confederation was meant to create is tellingly expressed by a single phrase at the beginning of that document: "The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany have agreed to unite in a permanent confederacy." The word sovereign says all there is to say. It implies the denial of any federal authority, of any power of coercion on the one hand or obligation of obedience on the other, in a word, the denial of every kind of unity involved in the conception of a federal state. This word is enough to stamp the creation of the 8th of June, 1815, as a mere confederation of states, and when it was superseded — in 1866 for the north and in 1870 for the whole of Germany — by a federal state, the word sovereign dropped out of the vocabulary of German state law. As long as it stood, two points were incontestable — equality of privilege amongst all members of the Confederation, and the impossibility of deciding questions that involved alterations in these privileges by the vote of the majority. But, obvious as they are, these two consequences are nevertheless specially emphasised in Articles 3 and 4. In the one it is stated, that "all members of the confederation have equal rights," and in the other, that "when it is a question of accepting or altering the fundamental laws of the confederate body, of *jura singulorum*, or religious affairs, no decision can be arrived at, either in select committee or *in pleno* (in the diet) by a majority of votes." The object of the confederation is stated as well as its character. Concerning

this point Article 2 says: "The aim thereof is the maintenance of the external and internal security of Germany and the independence and inviolability of the several German states," which means, as far as it refers to internal concerns, the maintenance of equal rights and protection against decisions of the majority, by which they might be imperilled.

In Article 5 it is baldly stated that "Austria presides in the assemblies of the confederation." Nothing is said of the privileges accruing to this presidency, one duty only is mentioned. Austria must "submit the proposals of members of the confederation for general consideration within a period hereafter to be determined." But she had other duties of which the act of confederation says nothing and needed to say nothing; in particular that of using the military resources of the confederation in general and of Prussia in particular for the benefit of Austria as far as might be, while at the same time preventing Prussia from taking a leading place in the confederation. Briefly, the whole was an instrument for exalting Austria and keeping Prussia down, a confederation of states with Austria at its head, created to prevent the rise of a federal state with Prussia at its head. So we judge today, arguing back from the result that we know, to the purpose which was not realised at the time. But is this conclusion correct? Is it necessary to suppose that the subsequent occurences were desired, known, and calculated beforehand?

Metternich's Policy

That is the question to which we have to find an answer in Metternich's words and actions. We will start from an avowal made by him in the strictest confidence at Smalkald to Lord Aberdeen, the English ambassador, on the 30th of October, 1813, as they were travelling from Leipsic to Frankfort. As a corollary to the declaration that the emperor Francis would never consent to the complete incorporation of Saxony with Prussia and that a division was the utmost he would allow, he said, referring to the future of Germany in general, that the emperor knew it would be easy for him to proclaim himself emperor of Germany without more ado, and that such a step would probably be received with no great astonishment. But it would not bring the German Empire back to life, and the practical difficulties that must inevitably ensue might perhaps irreparably prejudice the advancement of the common cause. His imperial majesty desired to unite the states of Germany in the bond of mutual independence, and thus to establish a kind of union in which the strong should protect the interests of the weak, a sort of *fœdus perpetuum*, in which his rank would assure to him to a certain extent the position of suzerain, but without the grave drawbacks of an unworkable system. This question, however, was one which the emperor wished to have left quite out of consideration for the nonce. The future organisation of Germany was not necessarily bound up with the immediate object of the present struggle. His majesty was of opinion that if all the German states were actuated by the powerful motive of maintaining their individual independence no other incentive to the exercise of all their powers would be needed. He desired to see release from the domination of France put in the foremost place, and regarded the discussion of any other question as premature.

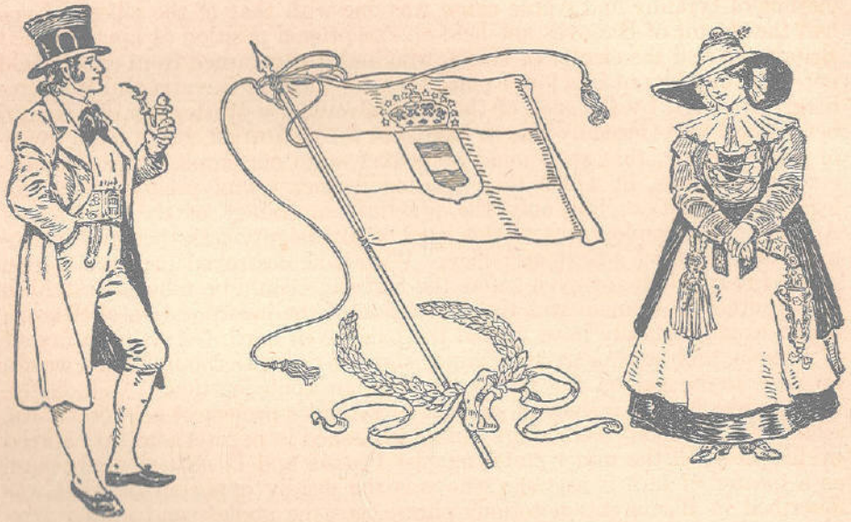
Here we find at the outset an acknowledgement of the design which we have subsequently learned to know by its fruits. To accomplish this purpose Metternich employed various methods, one of which is here mentioned, to wit, his abstention from touching upon the German question while the war was yet in progress, and in particular the avoidance of any explanation with

Prussia, who must not be displeased or set on her guard so long as there was such need of her incomparable army. On April 11th, 1813, Count Hardenberg urgently entreated an interview with Metternich, that he might come to a verbal understanding with him concerning German and Polish affairs. Metternich declined the interview and put Hardenberg off with references to the instructions he was going to send with Count Stadion to the headquarters of the allies. Stadion's instructions, however, contained no mention of the German question, any more than of the Polish. Thus, even when he was at headquarters with Hardenberg, Metternich contrived to wrap his own views throughout the war in impenetrable obscurity as far as Prussia was concerned, and meanwhile by his actions to frustrate the Prussian schemes, which were frankly communicated to him, at all points. Hardenberg's project, which he never attempted to conceal, was to raise Prussia to the position of the sovereign power of north Germany, first by rounding off her territory east of the Elbe (extending it if possible to the Weser), and secondly by a constitution which should bring the minor north German states, great and small, under her influence in matters political and military. In exchange Prussia was prepared to yield to Austria a similar position in south Germany. Such was the project which Knesebeck conveyed to Vienna on January 4th, 1813, and to the Russian headquarters on February 8th.

This Prussian project completely traversed the scheme of Metternich, who repudiated the notion of any such partition of Germany, not because he wished to save the body of the German nation from dismemberment — in his eyes the German nation had no more existence than had national rights, when they ran counter to the good pleasure of the cabinet — but because he wished to secure for the Austrian cabinet an undivided ascendancy in Germany. To maintain this ascendancy intact he had recourse to an infalliable expedient. He set up the magic word "sovereignty" as a formula for the rights of German states, and made Austria the patron of the minor states, great and small, which prized this sovereignty above all things. On March 23rd, 1813, he commissioned Ritter von Lebzeltern to advise the emperor Alexander, then at Kalish, to proclaim openly to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine that they should forfeit nothing of their present status but should be allowed to enjoy "all sovereign rights in absolute independence." Nothing came of this advice, for the Kalish proclamation dated March 25th, contained threats only and no promises at all. But the emperor Alexander privately authorised Count Metternich to come to an agreement with the princes of the South German Confederation of the Rhine on what terms he pleased, undertaking to sign whatever contract Metternich presented to him ready for signature. Prussia abandoned south German affairs to her Austrian friend, but it was in the south that the fate of all Germany was decided. By the treaties of Ried (October 8th) and Fulda (November 2nd) Metternich granted the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg respectively not only the full and entire independence stipulated for in the Treaty of Teplitz, but the "sovereignty," concerning which (so far from coming to an agreement with Prussia) he had purposely avoided giving any sort of explanation. And with this word the whole German question was settled.

The word sovereignty implies the right of repudiating every kind of subordination. To confer this right upon princes who may possibly have ruled tyrannically because they themselves were subject to a ruthless tyranny, now past away, was not to pardon but to reward them. And if this reward were granted to princes who, to say the least, had rendered no service to the allied cause, how could it be withheld from others who had been the

victims of tyranny and whose cause was one with that of the allies? Even had the elector of Hanover not held an exceptional position as king of Great Britain, he and the elector of Hesse, who had just returned from exile, could not rightfully be put in a lower place than the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg. In short, by the spell of the word sovereignty Metternich determined beforehand that Germany was to have, not a constitution, but a mere treaty of confederation, that she should be neither state nor empire, but a confederation of states, in which there existed neither lawful predominance nor legal subordination, but only the practical suzerainty of the emperor of Austria. The employment of this spell of sovereignty was the chief instrument of Metternich's German policy. With it he destroyed Prussia's federal state of north Germany even before the first steps could be taken to establish it. Another instrument was the prevention of the incorporation of Saxony, which would certainly have turned the balance in north Germany in favour of Prussia, and he thus saved a minor state of north Germany which was in no case to be gained for the north German confederation. And, lastly, another was to give a show of support to Prussia's project of a federal state, which was foredoomed to failure but which issued in negotiations that stirred up ill-will in all the minor states against Prussia and Prussia alone, because as a matter of fact it was she who was the deadly opponent of what was described in Bismarck's notorious phrase as "the godless and lawless sovereignty-dodge." This last expedient Metternich employed at the congress of Vienna so skilfully as to deceive not only his contemporaries but posterity also. The emperor Francis expressed his objection to resuming the imperial dignity in the words: "To no German emperor will I submit, nor am I made for a new emperor myself. Such an emperor would have the princes, and the people devoted to them, against him, and the political humbugs on his side. I do not feel capable of managing such a crew." Every sentence of this sort was interpreted as a token of absolute unselfishness on the part of the emperor, and in the transactions of the German commission at the congress the minister posed as equally unselfish, seemingly demanding everything for Germany and nothing for Austria. Bavaria and Würtemberg were alone to blame if no good came of it. Metternich had fought for the good cause shoulder to shoulder with Hardenberg, Humboldt, Münster, and Stein. Such [concludes Oncken] was the impression he conveyed at the time, and by this view we have continued to abide to this day, and have consequently misconstrued the vital facts of the situation.[h]



CHAPTER II

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS TO THE MARCH REVOLUTION

[1815–1848 A.D.]

The wars, which with little intermission filled the first three-and-twenty years of the reign of the emperor Francis, were in the main a struggle for national independence. On their first invasion of France, Austria and her allies declared their intention to quell the revolutionary spirit, and to uphold the cause of hereditary monarchy; but, having failed in the attempt, they soon abandoned, tacitly at first, and afterwards in express terms, all pretensions to interfere in the domestic concerns of an independent state, or to prescribe its form of government. They fought against French aggression, not for abstract ideas, but in defence of their own rights and territories. After the last fall of Napoleon, however, the great powers of the continent reverted to their original policy, and constituted themselves the champions of the principle of absolute monarchy. The maintenance of that principle ultimately became the chief object of the so-called Holy Alliance established in 1816 between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and was pursued with remarkable steadfastness by the emperor Francis and his minister, Prince Metternich.

The determination to resist all demands for constitutional rights, both in their own dominions and in every continental state, was then an afterthought of the allied sovereigns, who had previously made very liberal professions, and apparently with perfect sincerity. The treaty of alliance concluded at Chaumont in 1814 between Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, contained the following declaration:

"The sovereigns recognise as the fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them the unalterable resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns, nor in their relations with other powers, to depart

[1814 A.D.]

from the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right; because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation." In the early part of the first congress of Vienna, Austria, had declared that "the subjects of every German state under the ancient empire possessed rights against their sovereign which had of late been disregarded, but that such disregard must be rendered impossible for the future." Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost the same constitution, which, thirty-two years after, was revived by Frederick William IV; and Austria, Prussia, and Hanover concurred in placing on record a note (November 16th, 1814), in which was maintained the necessity of introducing universally constitutional estates, and giving them a voice in questions of "taxation, public expenditures, the redress of public grievances, and general legislation."

Such was the disposition of the leading members of the German Confederation immediately after the first Treaty of Paris; but the events of the Hundred Days appear to have produced a total change in their views. When the congress of Vienna resumed its sittings after that period, the question of constitutional rights underwent a discussion of four weeks, and the result, effected chiefly through the influence of Austria, was the concise expression of the thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation, viz., "A representative constitution shall be adopted in all the federative states" — a phrase which committed its authors to no very definite issue, and of which the true meaning has been to this day a subject of dispute. It became the avowed policy of the chief sovereigns of Germany to maintain the rights of dynasties in an adverse sense to those of their subjects. The people, on the other hand, deeply resented the breach of those promises which had been so lavishly made to them on the general summons to the war of liberation. Disaffection took the place of that enthusiastic loyalty with which they had bled and suffered for their native princes; the secret societies, formed with the concurrence of their rulers, for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of the foreigner, became ready instruments of sedition; and Germany became possessed by a revolutionary spirit, working through hidden ways inscrutable to the police, compressible only by an enormous preponderance of military force, and always ready to break forth with devastating violence whenever that pressure was removed.

The antagonism thus briefly indicated constitutes the dominant fact in the history of Austria, and of every German state, in the succeeding years. Its nature is thus portrayed by the philosophical historian Niebuhr, as reported by the chevalier Bunsen:

"Europe is threatened with great dangers, and with the loss of all that is noble and great, by two opposite but conspiring elements of destruction — despotism and revolution; both in their most mischievous forms. As to the former, the modern state despotism, established by Louis XIV, promoted by the French Revolution, and carried out to memorable perfection by Napoleon, and those governments which have adopted his system, after having combated its author, is more enslaving and deadening than any preceding form; for it is civilised and systematised, and besides the military force, has two engines unknown to the ancient world or to the Middle Ages. These are, first, the modern state-government, founded upon a police force, which has degenerated into a gigantic spy system; and secondly, a thoroughly organised and centralised bureaucracy, which allows of no independent will and action in the country. So likewise modern revolution is more destructive of political life and the elements of liberty, than similar movements in former ages; for it is a merely negative, and at the same time systematic reaction against the ancient régime, of which it made the despotic part universal by carrying out uniformity, and by autocratic interference in the name of the state; whereas it gives no equivalent for the real, although imperfect liberties, which the old system contained in the form of privileges; and in condemning such privileges under the sanction of democracy, it destroyed the basis of liberty under the pretext of sovereignty." [b]

[1815–1820 A.D.]

THE NEAPOLITAN AND SARDINIAN REVOLTS (1820 A.D.)

As regards the Italian provinces constituting the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom which had been assigned to Austria by the congress of 1815, while the Vienna government remained deaf to the well-grounded complaints of the people, let even the proposals of its own adherents pass unheeded, and only deigned to get through the scantiest routine of necessary work in the most important branches of administration, it lent ear all the more readily to the whispers of the police, and fancied that by perfecting this instrument it could ensure lasting quiet in the Italian provinces. But although the police took all possible pains to get copies of the rules of the various secret associations and to guess at the members who belonged to them, conspiracies continued to flourish rankly. Nor was any remedy supplied by the severe measures taken by a government which invariably lacked full and timely information. The increased rigour of the censorship availed nothing, nor the prohibition of attendance at foreign seminaries, nor the menaces of penal measures against the carbonari which were issued by the express command of the emperor — during his journey through Italy in 1819 — nor impressive warnings against the pernicious political doctrines of the secret societies. The tales of horror told by officials and official journals concerning the doings of "the sects which walk in the darkness" and their programme to murder all kings, to extort agrarian laws, to build human society up again on a new basis, heated the imagination of immature youth and constantly brought fresh auxiliaries to the conspirators. The ferment and agitation waxed day by day till it discharged itself in the year 1820 in the Neapolitan and Sardinian revolution.

Grievous was the disappointment of the ease-loving Austrian minister. Coming home from the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (October, 1818) in the secure hope that "now everyone might go and grow his cabbages in peace for a long while to come, and that if the ambassadors could be forbidden to report to their governments the only cause of differences would be removed," he suddenly and unexpectedly saw the public order, which he claimed as his own work, in peril, and the commonwealth of Europe a prey to violent agitations. The Spanish revolution of 1820 did not directly affect Austrian interests; the cabinet of Vienna was content for the moment to launch against it the doctrinaire opinions of a spectator. The doctrine of spurious equality — so it said — was the worm that was eating into the heart of Europe, true peace and safety were no longer to be found upon earth; no, nor morality, nor religion, nor patriarchal customs; and it could never be required of princes that they should give way to every caprice of armed representation and transfer to the political system of Europe the forms of government that obtained in Tunis and Algiers. But when the movement spread to Italy, and in Naples the old system crashed down at a breath; when the revolution was begun and the constitution resolved upon within

four days, then Austria could no longer look on with folded arms. Revolution in its worst form of military revolt here stared the emperor in the face; the ascendancy of Austria in Italy was broken down, her power there, possibly her possession, imperilled. The Neapolitan revolution took the cabinet of Vienna by surprise; when it broke out there was no great body of troops in Italy at Austria's disposal, nor could she, with her slow and clumsy military system, collect such a body quickly enough. The struggle was consequently delayed. But from the outset the cabinet of Vienna, "the natural guardian of order in Italy," was firmly determined to present a resolute front to the revolution.[c]

THE EVENTS OF 1821-1832

Prince Metternich immediately convoked a congress at Troppau. The czar Alexander, who had views upon the East and was no stranger to the designs of the party who were preparing a revolution in Greece against the Turks, was at first unwilling to give his consent unconditionally to the interference of Austria; but in 1821, on being informed to his great surprise by Prince Metternich of the existence of a revolutionary spirit in one of the regiments of the Russian guard, he freely assented to all the measures proposed by that minister. The new congress, held at Laibach in 1821, was followed by the entrance of the Austrians under Frimont into Italy. The Neapolitans fled without firing a shot, and the Piedmontese, who unexpectedly revolted in Frimont's rear, were, after a short encounter with the Austrians under Bubna at Novara, defeated and reduced to submission. Meanwhile, the Greeks had risen in open insurrection against the long and cruel tryanny of the Turks; but Russia now no longer ventured openly to uphold them, and the influence of Austria was successfully exerted against them at the congress of Verona in 1822. Notwithstanding the professedly Christian spirit of the Holy Alliance, and the political advantages which would accrue to one at least of its members from the subversion of the Turkish Empire, the revolt of the Greeks was treated as rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Porte, and was strongly discouraged. On the same grounds, it was decided that a French army should be despatched into Spain to reinstate Ferdinand in his legitimate tyranny, and this was accomplished in 1823. The duke of Wellington, who represented England at the congress of Verona, protested, in the name of his government, against this violation of the constitutional rights of Spain; the protest was disregarded, and Portugal would have been likewise coerced, but for the landing of a protecting English force upon its shores.[b] In 1825 the czar of Russia died and, after a short struggle with his next brother, Constantine, the third brother, Nicholas, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. The duke of Wellington was deputed by the English government to present its congratulations to the new sovereign and it was on this occasion (April, 1826) that an agreement known as the St. Petersburg protocol was made between Russia and England by which the two powers entered into a mutual engagement to mediate a reconciliation between the Porte and the revolted Greeks.

A year later, July, 1827, a triple alliance based on this protocol was formed between England, Russia, and France, and led to the battle of Navarino, in which the allied fleets defeated that of the Porte (October, 1827). The result was[a] the establishment of the kingdom of Greece under the protection of England, France, and Russia, which was regarded with no favourable eye by Austria; but she did not interfere with the proceedings of the other powers, nor was the harmony between her and Russia disturbed

until the invasion of Turkey by the latter had excited her alarm. In 1828 England and Austria peremptorily intervened to prevent the impending fall of Constantinople. France expressed her readiness to unite with Russia, and to fall upon the Austrian rear in case troops were sent against the Russians. Prussia, however, presented herself as a mediator, and a treaty was concluded at Adrianople in 1829, by which Russia, though compelled for the time to restore the booty already seized, gained some considerable advantages, being granted possession of several of the most important mountain fastnesses and passes of Asia Minor, a right to occupy and fortify the mouths of the Danube, so important to Austria, and a protectoral authority over Moldavia and Wallachia.

The piratical seizure of an Austrian trading brig in 1828, occasioned a petty war with Morocco and the appearance of an Austrian fleet in the Mediterranean. Satisfaction was obtained, and peace was concluded at Gibraltar in 1830.

The commotions that pervaded Europe after the French revolution of 1830 affected Austria only in her Italian dominions, and there but indirectly, for the imperial authority remained undisputed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. But the duke of Modena and the duke of Parma were obliged to quit those states, and a formidable insurrection broke out in the territory of the church. An Austrian army of eighteen thousand men quickly put down the insurgents, who rose again, however, as soon as it was withdrawn. The pope again invoked the aid of Austria, whose troops entered Bologna in January, 1832, and established themselves there in garrison. Upon this the French immediately sent a force to occupy Ancona and for a while a renewal of the oft-repeated conflict between Austria and France on Italian ground seemed inevitable; but it soon appeared that France was not prepared to support the revolutionary party in the pope's dominions, and that danger passed away. The French remained for some years in Ancona, and the Austrians in Bologna and other towns of Romagna.[b]

THE FATE OF "NAPOLEON II"

The July revolution of 1830 by expelling the Bourbons from the throne of France had not failed to revive a party whose interests were bound up with the Napoleonic dynasty represented by Napoleon's young son, once king of Rome, now duke of Reichstadt, who had been brought up at the court of his grandfather the Austrian emperor. The Bonapartist schemes increased in cunning in proportion to the condemnation with which they were viewed by public opinion and in official circles. As the direct and more open way did not lead to the desired goal, the schemers engaged in the devious and intriguing ways of secrecy. The Austrian cabinet having refused to surrender the duke of Reichstadt to the apostles of the Empire, they endeavoured more boldly and imprudently to allure him away and abduct him. He was constantly found surrounded by prowling individuals who had never belonged to his entourage before; he was ever more and more urgently pressed to escape to France or Italy with the help of the agents and to place himself at the head of an adventurous enterprise.

There is no doubt that ambitious and daring members of the Bonaparte family secretly held the threads of this intrigue. The most venturesome was the countess Napoleone Camerata, niece of the emperor Napoleon, daughter of his eldest sister, the princess Elisa Bacciochi. She, of all the relations of the emperor, most resembled him in features and in her whole nature. She

possessed the most fabulously lively fancy, she was energy itself; she was also a past mistress of manly accomplishments, such as riding and the handling of weapons.

Weary of her weak and sanctimonious husband, for a long time she led a restless, wandering life until the July revolution, reviving dynastic hopes, induced her to go to Vienna. There she took up her quarters for several weeks in the Kärnthner Strasse, and endeavoured by means of a secret correspondence to rouse her cousin, the duke of Reichstadt. She begged him not to act as "an Austrian archduke," but rather "as a French prince and a man." She adjured him "in memory of the terrible torments to which the European sovereigns had condemned his father, in consideration of the long death agony of the exile, by which he was made to expiate the crime of having acted too magnanimously towards them, to bear in mind that he was his son, and that his father's dying gaze had been fixed upon his portrait." The letter containing these words, the third of the series, bears the date of November 17th, and reached its destination on the 24th.

The duke of Reichstadt did not enter into all these challenges, on the contrary he kept to the following statement: "I cannot return to France as an adventurer! Let the nation elect me and I will find means to succeed." But in his soul he suffered real torture, the outward signs of which were visible to all his entourage, but the nature of which was only partially revealed to two persons, the prince of Dietrichstein and Prokesch von Osten. To the former the duke turned of his own free will in order to take counsel with him, the well-known, unbounded admirer of Napoleon, and to receive comfort from him in his heart's distress.

The written account of these conversations, set down by the prince of Dietrichstein himself for the duke, forms the foundation of Montbel's[e] communications. The prince took great pains to demonstrate that the party in France which aspired to the restoration of the empire was a very weak one; that it was evident, besides, that on account of the heterogeneous nature of its constituents it was instinctively striving towards its downfall, it was in fact daily dwindling and would soon quite disappear; and that finally if the duke placed any dependence on this party he would have but little chance of success. On the other hand he did not fail to recommend to the youth, so eager to achieve great deeds, to emulate the great career of Eugène of Savoy.

Prokesch von Osten found the duke at this time, "sad, thoughtful, and *distrait*." He often noticed in the middle of a conversation "that under the appearance of outward calm he was a prey to a continual inward agitation of extraordinary violence. The inclination to seclude himself from everyone, and to treat the outer world "with distrust and bitter prejudice" became more and more apparent in the duke. He conversed often exhaustively with Prokesch concerning the future of France; and expressed his conviction that "she would henceforth be subjected to great changes which would powerfully affect Europe." His lurking distrust on one of those occasions was very plainly expressed thus: "General Belliard has requested to see me since he arrived in Vienna," he said, "his request has been refused and this was very wise. What could Louis Philippe's envoy extraordinary have to do with me? Did he by any chance wish to obtain my assent to what has occured in France?" It is hardly necessary to recall Belliard's loyalty to Napoleon, nor how he suffered on that account at the restoration, in order to point out the ambiguity of the suspicion as well as the curiosity evinced by his words.

The warlike preparations occasioned in Austria as well as everywhere else

by the July revolution, formed another topic of conversation. The duke betrayed a passionate desire, should war really break out, to take an active part in it. "But," he said to Prokesch, "to take part in an offensive war against France! How could I do it, what would everyone think of me?" He added, with evident pain, "I would take up arms only should France attack Austria." But immediately after seized by fresh doubts he continued in a troubled voice, "And yet no! my father's will clearly lays down my duty, and this command shall guide my actions throughout my life." He was referring to the words of the testament of April 15, 1821: "I command my son never to forget that he was born a French prince, he shall never fight against France in any way or do her an injury."

In the meanwhile the outward condition of the prince reached a crisis. Since the July revolution, he had had no more ardent wish, than to be able to rejoin his regiment in Prague. Did he then find Vienna such a gloomy place? Was he more oppressed than ever by the feeling of unbearable dependence at a time of such powerful excitement? And did he really believe, as he frankly confessed to Baron Prokesch, that in that desired change lay the way to his "emancipation," the means of attaining at last the "complete exercise of his will?" "It is necessary," he said, "that I should accustom myself to see and to be seen." Not only Prokesch, however, but Metternich and even the emperor, looked upon such a change of condition in those disturbed times "as a false kind of emancipation." Even if at first they had hesitated to carry out the earlier plan, it was certain that at the beginning of September, since Louis Philippe had been recognised, it had already been determined that Napoleon's son should not return to his garrison, but should spend the next winter and perhaps longer still in Vienna. In order to compensate him for his disappointed hopes, he was in November raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the infantry regiment of Nassau.

At the same time efforts were made to win him from his brooding by means of all kinds of distractions. He was allowed to witness in the second half of September the brilliant ceremonies and festivities in Presburg, which accompanied the coronation of the heir to the Austrian throne as king of Hungary. He was purposely drawn into all the pleasures, assemblies and balls at court, where he was — especially among the fair sex — the object of universal attention and sympathy, and where his wit, his facility in expressing himself, the vivacity of his repartees, the elegance of his dress and manners, the charm of his tall person and the beauty of his features insured him considerable success. Judging from contemporary portraits, his face was rather round than oval, with a very prominent nose and pouting underlip; the forehead was open and high, the cheeks somewhat hollow, thoughtful eyes looked out from beneath the curly, carefully parted hair, and increased the interest awakened by his appearance.

At last he was given the entrée into diplomatic circles, for the first time on January 25th, 1831, when he appeared at a social gathering at the residence of Lord Cowley the English ambassador. This was for him a kind of turning point in his life. It is true that no distraction had the power to dispel his sadness. In spite of the good will with which he was welcomed in diplomatic circles, and the charm this intercourse possessed for him, it nevertheless left him depressed. He railed at the parties as being "dreary and painful." He made the most bitter remarks upon the singular contrasts to be found there; here the exiled heir to the Swedish throne and the very minister who procured his exile; there the former ambassador of Charles X, and the actual ambassador of Louis Philippe; finally he himself, in such

close intercourse with two Bourbons. One circumstance, however, compensated for all this. "It does me good," he asserted "to feel that I am keeping in touch with Frenchmen; I did not wish to remain quite unknown in France."

His meeting with Marshal Marmont was evidently very beneficial to him; the former had sought a refuge in Vienna after his sad defence of Charles X in the streets of Paris and had been there since November. They first met at that gathering at Lord Cowley's and out of this grew more intimate intercourse. Metternich sanctioned this in the name of the emperor on one condition: that the marshal should tell the duke the whole truth without concealing either "good or evil" from him. Marshal Maison, the accredited ambassador of Louis Philippe, obtained an introduction to the duke who tactfully received him with these words: "You were a distinguished general under my father, that is at the present moment the only circumstance which is at present in my mind." It is evident that the duke was and consciously remained, in spite of all attacks, only the son and heir of Napoleon.

The Destruction of the Government of Parma (1831 A.D.)

Another excitement, the most powerful of all, was in store for him; when in February, 1831, the revolutionary movement in Italy came to a head and in the first rush his mother's government in Parma was swept away. His cousins, Napoleon Louis and Louis Napoleon, unconcerned about this Austrian archduchess threw themselves into the movement in that adventurous way which was so repugnant to him, grew enthusiastic over liberty, in order to make capital out of it as a power, and to dare everything in order to turn popedom upside down, convinced that the ruins of overturned worlds was the surest cement of Napoleonic throne building — the duke of Reichstadt, however, was impelled by quite opposite feelings and convictions. In Marie Louise he only saw his mother, and the wife of Napoleon; and in the duchy of Parma the last remnant of Napoleonic dominion, which ought not to be allowed to perish. He felt impelled on this account to take the field in defence of his mother and against the Italian revolution, not as the leader of a troop, however, but at the head of a European army.

The idea seized him like an electric shock. He hurried to the emperor Francis in order to win his consent. He besought him with prayers, he conjured him with tears; but in vain, his request was denied. Protesch testifies that the prince had never been more excited; his imagination revelled in a thirst for war; he seemed tortured by an ever increasing fever, and incapable of settling down to any work. When he gave vent to his torments in words, in moments of greater confidence, it was always to complain that the "first opportunity" of distinguishing himself had been taken from him; that nothing could have been more honourable for him than to draw his sword for the first time in the interest of his mother and to punish those who had dared to insult and threaten her." Full of anguish, he wrote to his mother: "For the first time it has been painful to me to obey the emperor." And as Prokesch cheerily advised him to perfect himself first by further studies, he exclaimed angrily: "Time is too short! it marches forward too rapidly to waste it on a work of preparations! Has not the moment for action evidently come?"

Austria's intervention damped the feverish ardour of Italy and that of the duke of Reichstadt. But two sparks glimmered among the ashes in the latter. The result of one of these was a constant vehemence and want of

consideration in speech which aimed at making an impression and gloried in it; the result of the other was a thirst for achievement which led him to take up the military career with a zeal that would brook no curb. The first we take more particularly from a description by a foreign diplomat: "The duke of Reichstadt, who lives at the court of his grandfather and in the bosom of the imperial family, as soon as he had completed his twentieth year took up a more and more independent and public position. Endowed with a very favourable outward appearance, full of spirit and fire, filled with the military glory of his father, rather lively than thoughtful or circumspect, he seems to regard the impression he makes, especially on strangers, with anything but displeasure."

The emperor was very willing to encourage the military ardour of the duke. But the idea of allowing him to live elsewhere than in Vienna was now entirely given up. When he entered his twenty-first year he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Hungarian infantry regiment, Ignaz Ginlay, on garrison duty in Vienna. On June 14th, he entered active military service and at the same time he was drawn into a military circle. By this circumstance the whole of his entourage was changed; his head tutor, Count Dietrichstein, and his former tutors left him; and General Count Hartmann von Klarstein, a man of science and culture and a deserving officer, and captains von Moll and Standeiski were appointed in their place.

The duke had now obtained what he longed for: standing on the threshold of a career whose vastness seemed incalculable, he did not dream that he was really at the entrance of the valley of shadows. It would lead us too far, were we to attempt to describe all the conflicts into which he was drawn by his passionate devotion to the duties of his calling, and by the state of his health. According to the reports of Doctor Malfatti, who had been appointed his doctor in May, 1830, disquieting symptoms of a consumptive tendency were already then apparent, which had been increased by his alarmingly rapid growth; at the age of seventeen, he was already five feet eight inches tall. For this reason his entering active service was postponed, and later on he was repeatedly prohibited from attending military duties. The more decided the doctor's advice became, the more he feared it in the interests of his military passion, and the more violently he began to repel it and the more obstinately he endeavoured to conceal from the doctor the progress of the disease. More than once he exclaimed "I abhor medicine!" and to all inquiries he would reply: "I feel perfectly well!"

But repeated attacks of complete exhaustion actually revealed what he refused to put into words. He was then for the time being condemned to inactivity by a command of the emperor based on the doctor's report, or rather, as he expressed it in his bitterness "placed under arrest by the doctor;" he fell back again in consequence into brooding fancies, which at times were of a scarcely less exhausting nature than the exertions of military service. It was while he was in this condition that he wrote to Prokesch on October 2nd, 1831, as follows: "So many thoughts run riot through my brain concerning my position, politics, history, and our great science of strategy which destroys or maintains kingdoms." On the same occasion he gave his attention for the first time to Lamartine's poems. One meditation he considered more especially beautiful; he was never tired of studying it, he read it aloud with delight to Doctor Malfatti. But it was evident that one passage had above all electrified him, because it appeared as though it had been specially addressed to him; with a voice trembling with emotion he recited the following lines:

Courage, enfant déchu d'une race divine;
Tu portes sur ton front ta céleste origine.
Tout homme en te voyant, reconnaît dans tes yeux
Un rayon éclipse de la splendeur des cieux.

The state of the sufferer grew worse from month to month. He began himself to be conscious of its gravity, but no complaint ever crossed his lips, a settled sadness took possession of his soul.

Little joys and great illusions lightened it momentarily, as for instance when the emperor raised him in the spring of 1832 to the rank of colonel, and when a journey to Italy for his health was proposed. But he felt himself so dependent. He was filled with anxiety at the thought that perhaps Metternich — the emperor was absent — would not consent to the journey. How great was his joy when he received the desired sanction.

But his end was approaching rapidly; he helped to hasten it himself by the imprudent risks he ran as soon as he seemed a little better, so that Malfatti exclaimed in despair, that a fatal impulse was at work within him urging and driving him to murder himself. On July 21st, when the last agony had begun he acknowledged to the doctor for the first time that he was suffering. He was weary of life. "When will my life of torture be at an end?" he exclaimed. Early the next day, he breathed his last in the presence of his mother who had hurried to his bed-side, and in the very room of the castle of Schönbrunn, where his father, at the zenith of his power, had dictated terms of peace to the world.

Hardly any personality in the nineteenth century has been the subject of so many arbitrary assertions as the duke of Reichstadt. On the one hand they culminated in the accusation, that the Austrian cabinet had purposely driven him to his doom. On the other they took the form that Austria had reserved him as a pretender with whom to threaten first this party then that according to circumstances. It is evident that these assertions contradict and neutralise each other.*f*

PROGRESS UNDER FRANCIS I

On the 2nd of March, 1835, the emperor Francis I died, after a reign of forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I. During the last twenty years of Francis I, and the whole reign of his successor, the care of the government was directed with assiduity, and with no inconsiderable success towards improvements in the industrial resources of the empire. Two great companies were formed for the conduct of steam navigation, the one operating from Linz on the Danube to the Black Sea, the other, the Austrian Lloyds, effecting communication between Trieste and Egypt, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. The state planned a net-work of railways, extending over the whole empire, and undertook the construction of a railway from Trieste to the Saxon and Prussian frontiers. A private company began the railway from Milan to Venice, and being favoured with extraordinary aid from the government, was enabled to complete the colossal viaduct across the lagunes, connecting Venice with the main land. Other important undertakings, supported by private capital, are the railway from Debreczen to Pest, and the noble chain-bridge over the Danube between Pest and Buda. But the solicitude of the Austrian government for the material welfare of the people was in a great degree neutralised by the erroneous policy which almost prohibited commercial intercourse with foreign countries, and even between Austria and Hungary, In 1838, however, a commercial treaty was concluded between

Austria and England, by which the Danube was freely opened to British vessels as far as Galatz, and all British ports, including Malta and Gibraltar, as freely to Austrian vessels.*b*

[The principal axiom of the government in the days of the emperor Francis, a principle which was still upheld by Metternich under Ferdinand was the maintenance of the exclusive authority of the sovereign and the refusal of any share in it to the representatives of the people.]

If the principal effect of the system of government was that it fostered the private egotism of individuals by giving no scope to any wide conception of political life and thus excluded the possibility of genuine national sentiment, we may see another and yet more disastrous effect of the same cause in the fact that the several nationalities within the empire wrapped themselves up in a similar egotism, and lived and laboured for separate aims and a separate development instead of for the interest of a common fatherland. And, as the government closed the dual monarchy against external influences, so in like manner did it allow the several races to isolate themselves one from another; thus strengthening the diversity of their national elements, aggravating their differences, and ending by making the parts, formidable enemies to the whole. This perilous state of things had its root in conditions for which the present government was not to blame, but which it failed to understand and manipulated without due consideration.

Since the decaying Turkish empire had ceased to be a menace to Europe, the first and principal cause which had conduced to unite the most diverse and discordant national elements into a single Austrian Empire had passed away. Joseph II, meditating upon these altered circumstances, seems to have been seized with a presentiment of the dismemberment of the empire, when, by means of enlightenment and education, liberty and progress, he endeavoured to substitute for the previous external unity an internal bond of union in which the various races might prosper together as a harmonious whole. But he made a mistake in the means which he employed to this end, aiming too eagerly at a mark which, had it been set farther off, might have been attained with fuller certainty and without prejudice to the nationalities. The consequence of his centralistic extravagances was the rise of a national opposition, which showed itself first in the Slavonic and Magyar provinces. They were seized with a fresh enthusiasm for the revival of the Hungarian and Bohemian languages, though at the time those who knew the latter best, classed it with dead tongues.

The government of Francis I, on the one hand averse from all independence of action, and therefore ill disposed towards nationalist pretensions, and on the other inspired with a natural opposition to all Josephinian aspirations, slipped in this matter of the treatment of the nationalities, the most difficult of all Austrian political problems, into just the same slack and indeterminate policy which it pursued towards the estates. It gave with one hand and took away with the other. It abandoned Joseph's arbitrary attempts at centralisation — a tribute to nationality, the credit of which has sometimes been given to the emperor himself and sometimes to Metternich. The government imagined that it could obviate all danger by suppressing the temper of political inquiry, and it therefore reduced corporate representation to an unsubstantial phantom; or by lulling national sentiment to sleep, and it therefore forbade the teaching of national history in the schools. It mixed up the various portions of the army and transferred troops from station to station, it resisted the encroachments of the Germans and balanced one party against another, believing all the while that it was ruling most securely by dividing.

It watched with indifference the linguistic and literary exercises, the harmless milk on which the dangerous political temper waxed strong, and even assisted them by various enactments for their benefit, meanwhile excluding the teaching of the German language from the curriculum of German schools. The conservative system, which based the most frequent argument for the necessity of its continuance in Austria, on the combination of such diverse nation-elements within the empire, erred in the most important of all respects when it deviated from the path of logical consistency and, by permitting the disengagement of its component elements, lapsed into the very innovation of all others most characteristic of that spirit of the age which it desired most carefully to exclude.

The Growth of Nationalities

Thus it came about that in the apparent torpor of Austria there grew up in certain non-German races a self-confidence which gradually overtopped that of the Germans. In 1818, at the very time when the Bohemian diet was opened in the Bohemian language, the first steps were taken (mainly through the agency of the nobility) for founding the national museum which was opened in 1822, and which exercised the most far-reaching influence upon the scientific and national temper of Bohemia, and gave an impulse to the foundation of other polytechnic, agricultural, and industrial institutions, and to the study of Slav literature throughout the monarchy. Thoughtless frivolity there gave place to strenuous intellectual activity, and Prague was the sole spot where the German, in the midst of the full tide of Bohemian tendencies, felt somewhat in touch with the German spirit; just as in the transactions of the Society of the National Museum of Bohemia we meet with more virile capacity and scientific earnestness than in most intellectual productions of contemporary Austria. This energetic action on the part of the Bohemian nobles was imitated in a few instances in the German provinces, but in no case with the like success. On the other hand it found a rival in Hungary, where (although Metternich imagined that he had sent the whole country to sleep) a storm was slowly gathering and where the particularist party in the opposition soon grew so strong that concessions had to be made to it at the expense of the Slavs and Germans. In Italy the national literature continued to flourish in defiance of tyranny; and the Italians began to assume more and more definitely that attitude of proud aversion which rendered it hopeless for the government to attempt to form a party and provoked the nobility to hold aloof from the public service, to withhold its sons from the army and refuse its daughters to German suitors, which induced the upper ranks of society to close their doors completely to Austrian officers and officials,

MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH II
(1811–1864)

and which Metternich himself characterised as one of the most baneful evils of the empire. Prejudice here stepped in to consummate so much of the rupture as had been left incomplete by divergent interests and inclinations; jealousy grew into sheer incompatibility, diversity into the extreme of hostile opposition. Foreign domination, which Foscolo had called a hateful but indispensable necessity for Italy, seemed gradually to work the beneficent miracle of stanching ancient feuds. This slowly growing opposition, and the self-confidence of the various nationalities that kept pace with it, reacted by arousing the self-consciousness of the Germans themselves, who began to realise with shame that they lagged behind. Was not the German forced to pass on the humiliating tale of how the emperor had himself confessed that he could not impose upon the Italians the corporal punishment to which no one objected at home? And even in the twenties was not the English traveller struck with the proud, self-confident bearing of the Hungarian as compared with the listless Austrian, with the loftier sentiments and nobler intellectual endeavours of the Bohemians, and with the many historical reminiscences that were vivid amongst both races, while in Austria the people were wholly lifeless in this respect?

This feeling of humiliation, together with the apprehension of a dismemberment of the empire, spurred on Austro-German patriots to an opposition, unanimous in this, that it made the strengthening of the idea of unity, that is of Teutonism, the pivot of their reform proposals. For they fully realised the disadvantage at which this sudden rise of the nationalities would place the Germans, who were in the minority and dispersed in various provinces, possessing no political centre like the Hungarians, nor any such close connection with German literature as that which linked the Lombard to Italy, and who found no parallel to the national ambition of the Bohemian nobility amongst their own nobles, many of whom spoke French more readily and better than German. The trend towards political unity, however, brought the German reformers back to the Josephinian point of view, to which the course of events ultimately led the government likewise; they became more strongly absolutist on this great national question, while becoming increasingly compliant in the details of the administrative system. And yet even in Joseph's reign experience had proved how vigorously, even in this state, the very stronghold of conservatism, the new impulse of the age made itself felt, tending perpetually toward the substitution of organic for mechanical form and relations in states.

So clearly manifest was this characteristic that even in 1810, Gentz had expressed the conviction that "language and nationality are the only true frontiers of political division," and that "an organisation on this basis will yet take place." If this verdict contains a truth, it is to be feared that the antidote against dissolution may prove as questionable and dangerous as the evil which it is intended to cure, that this innate tendency of the age will give permanent efficacy to the nationalist opposition to efforts at unification, and will finally drive the unifying power in its extremity to proceedings against all the nationalities similar to those that were taken in the single case of Italy, if not more arbitrary. But even at the congress of Verona, at the earliest stage of these proceedings and long before their consequence had become apparent, they were recognised as futile and dangerous, not by the hostile opponents of the would-be infallible system, but by its own creatures, who charged the central administration of Italy on an Austrian basis and as an Austrian province with having made her "the object of the calculations of all revolutionaries." [9]

GOVERNMENT BY THE STAATSKONFERENZ

After the death of Francis, Metternich obtained possession of the power which Kólowrat disputed with him. In order to win over the dowager empress, Caroline Augusta, and her sister Sophie, wife of the emperor's brother, archduke Francis Charles, the Jesuits were granted toleration in 1836. The struggle for the rule was finally terminated by the appointment of the *Staatskonferenz*, the members of which were the emperor, his brothers (both were figureheads), Archduke Ludwig, the emperor's uncle, Metternich, and Kólowrat.[h]

THE OLD MACHINE AND THE NEW TIMES

[Under the reign of Ferdinand] the old engine of the state puffed along in the old beaten track, guided by no one, unchecked by any restraining power, and impelled by nothing but its own force according to the law of indolence. Metternich, Kólowrat, and many other statesmen recognised how rickety it was, but from recognition they did not proceed to action; and as Count Hartig says, "What is wanted is not executed, partly owing to the power of custom, partly from indecision and want of unity." And Count Ficquelmont traces the continuation of the evil to similar causes. "I do not know the shoulders," he declares, "which with the strength of Atlas could carry the Austrian state structure. I do not know the man who would have presumed to wish it. Many hands were summoned to raise and hold this structure aloft, it was owing more to the want of unity than to the weakness of these hands that it fell to the ground." He reproaches those on whom "it devolved to take thought for the preservation of the existing state of things," with "want of foresight," they had "not chosen to see what was already visible to all," that "it had long been impossible to avoid a change," but "possible enough to give it shape." And at last he goes so far as to declare that "the whole state edifice is finally doomed to destruction." *i*

WAR IN THE LEVANT (1839 A.D.)

Once only during the reign of the emperor Ferdinand did the foreign relations of Austria assume a threatening appearance. War had broken out, in 1839, between the sultan of Turkey and his powerful vassal, the pasha of Egypt, whose son, Ibrahim Pasha, wrested Syria from the Porte, overrran Asia Minor, and threatened the very existence of the empire. In 1840 the five powers — England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria — interfered. While their envoys consulted in London, the French and English fleets cruised in the Levant to keep the truce. The case was now much perplexed by the Turkish admiral having carried his ships to Alexandria, and put them into the power of the pasha. A strong suspicion was entertained that the French government encouraged the pasha to retain this fleet, when he would otherwise have given it up. The four other powers demanded its surrender by a certain day, and this not having been done, they signed a convention on the 15th of July, to the exclusion of France. That power was jealous, and remonstrated through her minister, Guizot; and war seemed imminent in Europe. The only way to prevent it was to extinguish the war in the Levant by a sudden blow before the conflagration spread farther; and this was done by the British fleet, aided by a few Austrian ships. They blockaded Alexandria and the Syrian ports; and in September they bombarded Beirut. The Egyptians lost ground everywhere; and in November Acre fell before

the attacks of the allied squadrons. Jerusalem returned to its allegiance to the Porte, and the Egyptians had no other hope than that of getting back to the Nile with the remnant of their force; Mehemet Ali delivered up the Turkish fleet, resigned his pretensions to Syria, and in return received the firman which gave the dominion of Egypt to himself and his heirs. A change of ministry took place in France, and peace was preserved.[b]

METTERNICH'S ORIENTAL POLICY

The oriental policy of the Austrian statesman has found many admirers, and quite recently he has again been applauded for having scented the designs of Russia at the time of the Greek revolt. It may fairly be questioned whether he deserves great credit for so doing; persons who had not his opportunities for looking over Russia's political cards arrived at the same conclusion. The real question in debate is, whether Prince Metternich succeeded in setting bounds to the commanding influence of the northern empire in the East and in securing a pre-eminent position for Austria. It can hardly be answered in the affirmative. The opinion, which he himself frequently expressed, that he had succeeded in bringing over the Russian cabinet to his views on the necessary permanence of the Ottoman empire, was sheer self-deception. The pursuit of Eastern schemes was never for an instant abandoned on the Neva, though, with marvellous sagacity, their accomplishment was delayed till a favourable opportunity should present itself, and the fiction of having no other object in view than the maintenance of the *status quo* was kept up in the meanwhile.

By Russia's exertions the rudiments of fresh political organisms had been called into existence in the Balkan Peninsula. Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia had obtained an autonomous administration, Greece had become absolutely independent. It must have been evident to all men that the relation of these organisms to the Porte was in the long run untenable, and that Greece was confined within all too narrow limits. A well-considered policy should have taken these facts into account, and assumed an attitude of good will towards the aspirations which began to make themselves manifest in these provinces, in order to counterbalance Russian influence. Even from the material point of view, Austria's interests were very seriously involved.

Metternich applied to oriental affairs the standard that was valid for the West. The thing that was was justified in his eyes, he had no comprehension of that which was to be. Metternich is largely to blame for the facts that habits of thought hostile to Austria effected a lodgment on the Timok and the Morava, at Bukharest and Jassy, and that Russia took and kept the position of chosen adviser in all important questions, while the Vienna cabinet was regarded with profound distrust. Neither did Austria make any friends at Athens, although Vienna statesmen cannot have been blind to the fact, that by means of diplomatic relations they had the opportunity of promoting traffic and opening an important market to Austrian trade and industry in that kingdom, small though it was. It is easy enough to understand that Austria should have opposed the expansive tendencies of the Greeks, because she wished to avoid everything that might provoke a fresh conflict in the East. But even their endeavours to obtain a share in legislation and administration found no sympathy in Vienna, and Austria supported the king, Otho, and his environment in their determination to retain absolute power. As long as Otho gave ear to the counsels of Metternich, the latter's prejudice against the young state appeared to give place to more amicable sentiments.

There were moments when he opened before Greece a significant prospect. "I have made my plans," he said to Prokesch in December, 1839, "Constantinople must not be anything but Greek." "And all the country between Athens and Constantinople?" asked the Austrian ambassador for the time being. "All of it," was the answer, "as far as the Greek language prevails; Athens must be transferred to Constantinople." So the king hoped, observed Prokesch, and he pinned his hopes upon Austria — hopes that he, Prokesch, had never wished to destroy or diminish. And Prokesch was perfectly right when he insisted that in the nature of things the Austrian minister had the most advantageous position in the country, if only he would avail himself of its advantages.

Metternich recommended "a sensible Greek policy" to the king, and elucidated this advice by saying that such a policy would keep itself remote from all extremes, would be Greek conservative and not aggressive, that it would hold aloof from the diplomatic game and never offer an opening, never deviate from the paths of reason. He flattered himself that the French cabinet was acting in harmony with the views that obtained at Vienna, and that the czar was of one mind with him respecting the "English constitutional and French political doings." He urgently warned the king to keep aloof from the "Candiote doings." The Greek kingdom was revolutionary by origin, and had received the baptism of legitimation by the force of circumstances; it was therefore the interest of the king as of every enlightened Greek to hold by the baptism rather than the birth. The claim of birth was the sovereignty of the people with all its brainless applications, that of baptism was the monarchical principle.

A complete justification for Metternich's oriental policy might be put forward if he himself had believed in the possibility of a regeneration of the Porte. But in this respect he differs from the English statesman to whom he was diametrically opposed on almost every question. Palmerston justified his attitude towards Mehemet Ali by the remark that all the assertions concerning the inevitable and permanent break-up of the Ottoman Empire were purely visionary; no empire, he thought, would fall to pieces so readily if let alone, the foundations, at least, of a better state of things had been laid during the last few years, and intercourse with other countries would bring progress in many respects to light.

The Austrian chancellor's views with regard to the Porte are set forth in a note to Meysenburg, dated May 14th, 1841: The Ottoman Empire is a body politic in a state of decay, which has its origin in the radical evil of Islam, a system devoid of all creative energy, in the conglomeration of heterogeneous races, in the defects inherent in the oriental mind, and in the defeats which Turkey has suffered in every war for the past hundred years, but the measure of this evil has been filled up by reforms undertaken after European models without any other basis than absolute ignorance and a vast multitude of illusions. The Austrian cabinet has resolved to give the Porte the following advice: Base your rule upon respect for religious institutions, which constitute the foundations of the existence of your empire and the principal bond between the sultan and his Mussulman subjects; give ear to the times and take counsel with the needs they bring; remain Turks; give the fullest protection to your Christian subjects, exercise genuine toleration towards them, do not allow them to be molested by pashas or subordinate officials, do not meddle with their religious concerns, but, on the other hand, be the strictest guardians of their religious privileges; and observe the pledge you have given in the Edict of Gülhanè.

Metternich appeared to be convinced that he had done the right thing when a complete agreement with the principles thus set forth was expressed on the part of the czar and the sequence of ideas contained in the Metternich document was repeated in the instructions issued to Count Medem on June 24th, 1841. But to those who were in his confidence he made no secret of his conviction that the prevention of the fall of the whole political structure by acts of reform was merely a temporary expedient, and that the problem was solved for the moment only. In his opinion Turkey was like one of those people who are never well, for Islam does not admit of a sound political organism. Inflammatory diseases break out from time to time, and if they are cured the condition that ensues is not health but the old chronic malady.[d]

THE REVOLT IN GALICIA (1846 A.D.)

The province of Galicia began early in the new reign to occasion uneasiness to the government. The congress of Vienna had constituted the city of Cracow an independent republic — a futile representative of that Polish nationality which had once extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. After the failure of the Polish insurrection of 1831 against Russia, Cracow became the focus of fresh conspiracies, to put an end to which the city was occupied by a mixed force of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians; the two former were soon withdrawn, but the latter remained until 1840. When they also had retired, the Polish propaganda was renewed with considerable effect. An insurrection broke out in Galicia in 1846, when the scantiness of the Austrian military force in the province seemed to promise it success. It failed, however, as all previous efforts of the Polish patriots had failed, because it rested on no basis of popular sympathy. The nationality for which they contended had ever been of an oligarchical pattern, hostile to the freedom of the middle and lower classes. The Galician peasants had no mind to exchange the yoke of Austria, which pressed lightly upon them, for the feudal oppression of the Polish nobles. They turned upon the insurgents, and slew or took them prisoners, the police inciting them to the work, by publicly offering a reward of five florins for every suspected person delivered up by them alive or dead. Thus the agents of a civilised government became the avowed instigators of an inhuman *jacquerie*. The houses of the landed proprietors were sacked by the peasants, their inmates were tortured and murdered, and bloody anarchy raged throughout the land in the prostituted name of loyalty. The Austrian troops at last restored order; but Szela, the leader of the sanguinary marauders, was thanked and highly rewarded in the name of his sovereign.

In the same year the three protecting powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, took possession of Cracow, and, ignoring the rights of the other parties to the Treaty of Vienna to concern themselves about the fate of the republic, they announced that its independence was annulled, and that the city and territory of Cracow were annexed to, and for ever incorporated with, the Austrian monarchy.

From this time forth the political atmosphere of Europe became more and more loaded with the presages of the storm that burst in 1848. It was the Italian quarter of the horizon that first attracted the anxious gaze of statesmen. For more than thirty years after the final settlement of Europe by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria exercised a peremptory control over the affairs of all Italy. From every sovereign of that country she exacted the strictest maintenance of the established order of things in his own dominions; and hence she became for all Italian malcontents the object of their supreme enmity, the

common cause to which they ascribed all their political and social grievances. Agreeing in little else, they were unanimous in hating their northern masters; and gradually this communion in hatred led them to fix their desires also upon one common object, the achievement of Italian nationality. But they looked upon Austria with no less dread than aversion, and plainly acknowledged to themselves the impossibility of coping with her in arms. They busied themselves only with conspiracies to harass and annoy the Italian sovereigns, her subordinates. "During these last thirty years," says a judicious Italian writer,[m] "the Italians had only been feeling their way. They cared very little, and understood even less, about the representative forms of Transalpine freedom. The thorn in their side was plainly the foreigner. They tried him by indirect attacks, by a feint upon the Bourbon, or the pope, at Naples, at Rome, at Turin. Before they were fairly on their guard, down he came upon them; and this ubiquity of the Austrian, this promptness and decision of his movements, this omnipresence and omnipotence, ought, if anything, to have, as it actually had, the effect of simplifying the question and identifying Italian interests."

Ever preluding a levy of bucklers against Austria, but ever indefinitely postponing the moment of action, Italy was prematurely overtaken in the midst of her preparations by the fair-seeming but fallacious opportunity of 1848. Shortly before that period, the Italians had become conscious from fatal experience of the total inefficiency of secret conspiracies and violent measures, and they had adopted a more cautious and discreet policy, the watchword of which was "conciliation, union, and moral force." This change of conduct led to concessions on the part of the princes, the first example of which was given by Charles Albert of Sardinia, to whom the foreign yoke was even more galling than to the meanest of his subjects. Some trivial differences with the imperial government in 1846, on the subject of railways, and about some matters of custom and finance, afforded him a pretext for repudiating the dictation of Austria, and assuming the tone and attitude of an independent sovereign. This beginning was dexterously improved by the leaders of the national party, and three more of the principal Italian monarchs — the grand duke of Tuscany, the pope, and the king of the Two Sicilies — were brought by clever management to adopt, with more or less reluctance, a course opposed to the wishes of their imperial protector.

Italy was now fairly launched in what was vaguely called "the way of progress," and which simply meant, rebellion against Austria. A peculiar significance was attached to the mustering of the Italians in literary and scientific associations. A trade and customs union was largely discussed, and was finally concluded at Turin on the 3rd of November, 1847. After the accession of Naples, it seemed an easy step to convert that merely commercial agreement into a political compact, an offensive and defensive alliance; but this was not attempted until after the declaration of war in April and May, 1848, when it was too late.

Austria was by no means indifferent to these tokens; she resolved to surprise the Italians in the midst of their too-leisurely deliberations; but in the execution of that purpose, she forgot her usual discretion, and made a false move, which she was constrained to retract with discredit. She struck the first blow and failed. Upon the publication of the pope's decree of July 6th, 1847, for the organisation of a civic guard, the Austrian garrison in the citadel of Ferrara marched into the town, and took possession of it. Against this violation of his territory the pope protested in what the friends of Austria called at the time "unusual and intemperate language," but the act which

had provoked it was condemned by the whole civilised world, and Austria felt the expediency of amicably revoking the step she had taken, and withdrawing her troops within the citadel. She had put herself so palpably in the wrong on her first aggression, as to make it difficult for her to venture soon upon another attempt of the same kind; and so conscious was she of her false position, that she tacitly abdicated the high protectorate she had been used to exercise over the minor Italian states, and even refused the benefit of her advice to the sovereigns of Lucca and Tuscany in their perplexities. It was fortunate for her that she had not to do with a pope like Julius II to head a national crusade, which would have leagued all Italy against her. As it was, she was compelled to endure, at the hands of Pius IX and his minister, Cardinal Ferretti, a flat and harsh refusal of a free passage to the troops she contemplated sending to the succour of her Neapolitan ally. Never was Austrian influence in Italian affairs at a lower ebb since the coronation of Charles V in 1530. Modena and Parma alone adhered to her unreservedly; even Naples was wavering in its attachment.

Everything favoured the hopes of the Italians and tended to make Austria's position in the peninsula increasingly precarious. But that condition of things was reversed in a most unexpected manner. Events, which portended nothing less than the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, proved the means of consolidating its power and restoring its lost influence. "All the Italians wanted was time, and this was not given them. The success of their enterprise rested on their consciousness of the magnitude of its difficulties, and fortune made it appear portentously easy." The temptation offered by the Vienna catastrophe of March, 1848, lured the Italian patriots to their ruin.[b]

THE PRELUDE TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Already in the last years of the emperor Francis it had been the conviction of a majority of Viennese politicians that Austria must unavoidably pass through a tremendous crisis in the immediate future. When, on the accession of the emperor Ferdinand, that large circle which had built expectations of timely reforms on the change of ruler found itself completely deceived, the indignation which already existed increased with truly dreadful rapidity.

Only the prevailing discontent was now more loudly expressed. The obstinate, unbending will, which would have suppressed and maimed in its first stages the political movement that was slowly preparing, was now missing from the throne, and, since the frequent dissensions and lack of cohesion amongst the members of the Staatskonferenz were no secret, men soon ceased to be afraid to let their discontent likewise be no secret. The views and temper of the educated classes became daily more unfavourable to the government, and the latter had absolutely no following, no party, amongst the people. A stigma was cast upon every attempt to speak in its favour, and it became the prevailing fashion, amongst all who considered themselves in harmony with the spirit of the times, to honour every enemy of the government as a friend of enlightenment, progress, and humanity, and to afford encouraging support, both publicly and privately, to every opponent of the existing order; for expressly or tacitly the principle was accepted, that truth and independent thought were to be found only in the ranks of the government's adversaries.

Down to the middle of the forties there was indeed little evidence in the external life and movement of Vienna of the revolution in the national spirit. With the exception of the *Wiener-zeitung* and the *Beobachter*, neither of which interested anyone, and of the *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung*, which had a fair

circulation, regular political journals did not exist, and the public and secret police also took care that the public should not feel disposed to discuss politics to any great extent. But in the early forties the government itself roused eager discussions in the whole world of trade, industry, and commerce by the negotiations concerning the question of the accession of Austria to the German *Zollverein*. A sudden animation was now infused into the trades-unions; and in industrial circles large and small assemblies now took place in which the commercial policy of the government was discussed, so that it became quite impossible to entirely avoid treading on the domain of pure politics.

The issue of the negotiations carried on within the heart of the Staatskonferenz was notoriously extremely unfortunate for Austria. The accession to the customs system of Germany, which would at that time have demanded little sacrifice from Austria, was not effected, although it was warmly championed by Prince Metternich, Kübeck, (a man who had raised himself from the humblest circumstances to be freiherr and finance minister) and by other influential statesmen. It was not effected, for one thing, because some, like the archduke Ludwig, nourished a dread lest the economical union with Germany might introduce a change of system into Austria by which the statesmen at the helm would find themselves ousted, and which it was desired to avoid at any price as generally dangerous to the existence of the state; and for another thing because it was thought needful to yield to the agitation of a large section of the trading and industrial classes, who were never weary of assuring the government that they would be completely ruined by an accession to the customs union, and who were supported with the utmost fervour and zeal by Count Kólowrat, less indeed from conviction than from rivalry with Prince Metternich.

The movement for and against accession to the customs-union kept the industrial classes more than four years in suspense. This movement reached its zenith in the last months of 1844, when List, the memorable Zollverein agitator came to Vienna, in order to work on the government, as well as on the industrial classes in favour of accession to the customs-union. List put the German national side of the tariff question in the foreground, so that now the united intelligence took part in the debate espousing the cause of accession. At this time, the 23rd of December, 1844, the trades-union arranged in the Casino on the Hoher Markt a banquet in honour of List, which for contemporaries was of the utmost significance, as it was the first political meeting in Austria.

At this banquet, Professor Kudler highly praised List's efforts to raise the science of political economy into a "really national doctrine," and extolled his work as having proved that raising the activity of a nation was not really a question of improving some isolated economic matters, but of perfecting the social condition as a whole, of "developing all its social institutions," and of encouraging moral and spiritual culture in all their branches.

List himself, in a speech whose closing sentence roused a storm of applause seldom heard in Vienna outside a theatre or a concert hall, proposed "Germany" as a toast, "Germany in art and science, literature and civilisation, a star of the first magnitude among the nations of the earth — Germany destined by its natural resources, by the ability of its people and by a wise commercial policy to be the richest country on the continent of Europe — Germany, whose solidarity and domestic development have won the high position of one of the principal guarantors of European peace — Germany, our great and glorious Germany, the Fatherland common to us all, and beloved by us all — long live united Germany!"

At this banquet (as we are told in L. A. Frankl's interesting notes on the Austria of the time previous to the March revolution of 1848) a toast, proposed by the then American consul in Vienna, in honour of Prince Metternich, was received with expressive silence. We in the present can form no approximate idea of the extraordinary sensation the after dinner speeches of that day produced throughout Austria. It should not moreover surprise us, that after List had given the "tariff question" its national German character, it should have been taken up and debated with a certain amount of passion among all the educated classes. At that time throughout Vienna, and not merely at the List banquet, there was an extraordinary prevalence of patriotic German sentiment.

In 1842, at the laying of the foundation stone in Cologne, the toast which Archduke John is said to have proposed, "No Prussia, No Austria! One great united Germany, fixed as its mountains," to which toast he owed his position at the head of Germany six years later, roused in Austria itself, especially in Vienna, an enthusiasm, which once more proved that the existing state of affairs was not approved by the majority of the people. The wave of patriotic feeling, which had pervaded Germany for two years past, and which through the instrumentality of Becker's song: "They shall not have it, our free German Rhine!" had penetrated to all classes of the people, received a mighty impetus from Archduke John's toast. New hopes animated every patriotic circle and the work of those who laboured for union proceeded with new ardour.

The Legal and Political Literary Club

It is certainly significant that in Vienna new societies sprang into existence at this period, which acquired no little influence over the development of the political life of the state and the formation of Viennese public opinion. Of the various societies thus formed the Legal and Political Literary Club, founded in 1842, was in every way the most important. This club, which Count Sedlnitzky was fond of describing as the "crucible of the revolution," and about which he prophesied, that its members would "read themselves into crime" was, as related in L. A. Frankl's notes, founded in the year 1842 by Eugen von Mühlfeld, Baron von Sommaruga, Dr. Alexander Bach, Dr. Von Würth, Dr. Wildner von Maithstein and Professors Von Stubenrauch and Hye.

In order to get leave to inaugurate this society, its purpose was declared to be, to give the educated, and more especially the legal public an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the progress of literature in all its branches, by means of the publication of the most important pamphlets and of the best scientific and artistic works. The young men who founded the club used the name of Baron von Sommaruga, one of the former tutors of the emperor, court councillor and chairman of the state council, a man held by all circles of society in high esteem; they employed his name as a banner of loyalty to be displayed in the foreground and Von Sommaruga utilised the time during which Prince Metternich was away for his health to personally urge Count Sedlnitzky for his consent to the incorporation of the club. This recommendation furnished the count with the surest guarantee of the innocent character of the club, and shortly afterwards the imperial sanction was obtained; the club announced its birthday by an invitation to join it, published in the imperial *Wiener Zeitung*, whose daring tone, sounding like high treason or a signal of revolution, amazed the whole reading world.

"The club," remarks L. A. Frankl, "drew its members chiefly from

amongst the high legal officials and the military set. Authors from all circles, doctors, and theologians were also enrolled. Such a happily combined society must arrive at further results than the mere reading of books and papers. Each member contributed lively information in the shape of thought, events, and experience; and every man who thought and who struggled was thoroughly convinced that a new and different order of things was approaching. Those who were over-strained in mind and character were also to be found cherishing other hopes in their hearts. The members divided themselves into groups for the livelier debate of different subjects. The longing after free speech found its outlet first of all in smaller circles. Even the club's book of suggestions bore many traces of a yearning for participation in politics. Such intellectual activity was not without its effect, and attracted people in outlying circles, individually and in groups. Electric sparks flashed here and there, and there awoke a more curious impulse, even a noble ambition to belong to a society which had the courage, though that was coupled with caution, to give expression to the discontent which was everywhere simmering.

The club became the home of almost all the intellectual life of the capital. Here correspondents for foreign newspapers drew their material from the best sources. As the exchange was the thermometer for politics, so, if in less undisguised a manner, was the club for the public humour in Vienna. First and foremost, however, it was intended to have free lectures on current questions of common interest. Having contrived to evade the police, application for permission was made at the students' "court of commission" and the permission obtained. Dr. Joseph von Würth led off with lectures on the state of the prisons, which were attended by all the notabilities of high officialdom, by excellencies, directors of police, nobles, diplomatists. These lectures resounded in all parts of the capital, and were discussed with avidity in foreign journals. This, and more particularly the fact that Count Sedlnitzky had been cajoled, ensured these lectures being the last, as well as the first.

The club intended to publish a collection of laws belonging to the eighteenth century, edited by an official named Polivka. The government had given permission for printing them; the minister of finance, or as he was then called, the president of the imperial and royal court chamber, Freiherr von Kübeck, had promised that they should be printed free of charge by the state press; Count Sedlnitzky stopped the printing, in spite of the clear verdict of the law, to which the club appealed. Such arbitrary measures as these, inspired by hatred, could only breed bitterness and win warmer sympathy for the club.

The Concordia did not become so important an organisation as the Literary Club. It was a club of authors and artists, which, in order to avoid the required sanction by the police, which certainly would not have been given, posed as a perfectly commonplace social club; but the discussions had so decided a tendency toward freethinking politics that the police found it necessary to keep them under strict surveillance. In many Concordia evenings, the lecturers and speakers who addressed the meetings, both in prose and verse, struck so radical a note, that List, who on one occasion was present as a guest, said, "You fellows, if you celebrate a few more suppers like this, there will be only one course open to you — Revolution."

The Vienna Men's Choral Society, founded just about this time, played an essential part in fostering the steady flow of German patriotism in Vienna. The political movement, spreading so cautiously and increasing so steadily, was felt not merely in intellectual circles; the petty bourgeoisie and the smaller citizens also began to feel conscious of a constant discontent. At

any rate it is very significant, that on the 28th of December, 1841, the full court of magistrates felt itself constrained to raise the question of establishing a select committee of townsmen, a measure which had been proposed as early as 1838, by Burgomaster Czapka. Walter, a municipal councillor, who was in the chair, moved the adoption of the proposal as it would have a favourable effect on the humour of the citizens; the committee of townsmen, he suggested, should number one hundred members, should take part in discussing and fixing the year's estimates, should be convened on extraordinary occasions, and should be elected by means of voting papers, by the municipality and some four hundred other citizens. A single municipal councillor, Küsswetter, was in favour of giving a wider sphere of activity to such a committee; all the rest declared themselves more or less against the chairman. Nevertheless, the majority of the municipal council decided to apply to the government for permission to form a select committee of townsmen consisting of sixty members.

The request of the municipal councillors was warmly recommended by Count Kólowrat, received by Prince Metternich on the contrary somewhat unfavourably, and by Archduke Ludwig, before whom it finally came, it was shelved with the note, "The Czapka at his crazy tricks again." That is the account given in the journal of a municipal official of that time. There was no more question of a committee of townsmen, until in March it suddenly came into existence.

Baron Andrian's Pamphlet

In the year 1843 appeared an anonymous pamphlet, published by Hoffmann and Campe in Hamburg and entitled *Austria and Her Future*. Although, or perhaps because, it was strictly prohibited in Austria, immediately after its appearance, this book, whose author was subsequently known to be Baron Andrian, a government official, made an immense sensation. The severe prohibition did not prevent the booksellers from distributing thousands of copies of the pamphlet throughout Austria, and its contents were for weeks the talk of the cultivated classes. Not merely in the political literature but also in the political life of Austria this pamphlet marks a new epoch. *Austria and Her Future* contained an oratorical appeal to the class feeling of the Austrian aristocracy, and brought home to them the fact that their position in Austria was one of little honour, and that it must depend on themselves to rise from their fallen condition and press toward the restoration of their ancient constitutional rights. Baron Andrian was not a feudalist in the sense that he desired the fall of absolutism only to erect in its place aristocratic supremacy in Austria, by which the people, hitherto kept in leading strings by the bureaucracy, would henceforth be under the tutelage of the aristocracy. Rather did he appeal to the nobility in the conviction that the latter, by its past, its wealth, and its powerful interest was pre-eminently qualified to reform conditions in Austria, peacefully, and in the least dangerous way. Baron Andrian would have liked to see all the "estates" of the nation taking a share in public affairs, and called on the nobility to make it its object to obtain that the popular element should receive a sufficient sphere of activity and its due place in the state, through the representation of all classes in the provincial estates and in the future imperial estates, through the liberty of the press and the publicity of judicial proceedings, but above all through the freedom of communal life. This appeal to the noble order, whose institutions had been pitifully crippled during the last decades was not without effect; the estates, especially in Bohemia and Lower

Austria awoke to new life and prepared the way for that liberal opposition by which in the course of three days the system of the days before the March revolution was completely abolished for all time.

The Estates of Bohemia and Lower Austria in the Forties

In Bohemia the movement in the diet was most vehement, but it was less dangerous to the government than that in Lower Austria, because it was, for the most part, of a markedly aristocratic character, although it must be admitted that in the Bohemian diet, during the forties, many important matters of democratic interest were openly debated. The Bohemian diet, in the ardour of its opposition, went in the teeth of the government, to the very last extremes of legal defiance. It was bold enough to remind the emperor of the terms of his Bohemian coronation oath, by which in 1836 he had sworn to uphold the privileges of the estates. They did not think twice in 1847 about refusing their consent to a tax that the government desired to impose; and if 1848 had not arrived, it might perhaps have come to pass that the Bohemian estates would have called upon the German Confederation to help them in their administration of justice and in protecting the constitution of their country. Indeed the German Act of Confederation declared that in all countries included in the union, the existing constitution provided by the diet was to be upheld, and personal freedom respected; and where these did not exist at the date of the act (1815), they were to be introduced and placed under the protection and support of the confederation.

The movement of the estates in Lower Austria was more concerned with asserting the general well-being of the people, and was therefore a greater danger to the government, for whereas in Bohemia, many members of the provincial diet were lulled into serenity in the conviction that the pressure of centuries had long ago burst the paper fetters of treaties, concessions, and reservations, that most of the old charters had become impossible, and that the world could not return to the chaos of the Middle Ages, the opposition in the estates of Lower Austria believed that their constitutional right and duty enjoined them to guard the well-being of their country by word and deed. In acting thus they did not for a moment blind themselves to the fact, that in order to give effect to this right and adequately to perform this duty, the institution of the provincial estates required the assistance of a new organisation, a comprehensive strengthening by means of the "fourth" (citizen) estate. Their efforts were all the more disquieting to the government, in that it was impossible to foist upon them the view that their business was, after all, mainly to look after their private interests.

The estates, therefore, displayed courage, endurance and determination in a high degree, when they refused to allow odious attacks of the government to frighten them, but continued their work in a liberal fashion. Several of their measures admitted of no misrepresentation or misconstruction, as, for example, their motions for the institution of a bank for farmers (1846), their petition for the reduction of the tax on food, the alteration of the stamp tax "which in its then existing condition was for the poorer classes a particularly hard measure, whilst the upper classes scarcely felt it," for the introduction of a general income tax (1846), for the improvement of national education and teaching, and for the introduction of autonomous municipal regulations in Lower Austria (1847). It was in the end the government itself which fell into the difficult position it had prepared for the estates.

Many of these manifestations were greeted with so loud an echo in wider

circles, that the government could not risk the consequences of directly refusing all the demands of the estates; instead, they neglected to answer the proposals for measures of reform laid before them. Well meant and greatly to the interest of the public as these measures were, they had not the slightest practical consequence, because it did not please the government, until the days of March, 1848, to take a single one of them into consideration.

A deputation from the estates which was sent to present an address of thanks for the reduction of the period appointed for military service, and which desired to place the address upon the steps of the throne, was not admitted, because to permit this address of thanks might justify the estates in presenting, in other circumstances, an expression of censure; another deputation, arriving to present to the emperor an appeal to consider their right of being asked for an opinion in any matter of importance for the province, was also refused admittance. In fact, the government systematically proceeded to oppose a stiff-necked resistance to any and every measure proposed by the estates. But, although in every journal at their disposal in Germany and other foreign countries they might misrepresent the estates as "that nuisance of the Middle Ages," public opinion was very soon enlightened as to the truth of the matter. This enlightenment was due to Kuranda's *Grenzboten* (border-messenger), which described the action of the estates throughout Austria, and thereby aroused the liveliest attention, and which never tired of encouraging the estates to stand firm, and of reminding them that their vocation was not merely to establish their own constitutional rights, in these struggles with the government, but effectively to assert the general interests of the community.

The Growth of Opposition in Hungary

Meantime in Hungary the opposition which had grown up in previous diets under the emperor Francis had made itself conspicuous only as the champion of the privileges of the estates and the opponent of encroachments on the part of the government. The first reference to nationality came from a young orator, Vagy Pál by name. "Privileges may perish," he said "nations never!" The principle thus enunciated powerfully affected the minds of the younger generation, and indicated a fresh phase in the history of the opposition, but the first opposition party of any importance came into existence during the diet held after the Wallis state-bankruptcy. The government wished to impose its scale upon Hungary by law, but the diet was distrustful of the paper money and wished to take the currency as the basis of the scale. Thus it came about that no law was enacted. The emperor, however, gave his scale to the courts of justice, commanding them to judge according to it. This proceeding aroused great dissatisfaction and was the first thing that called forth the wrath of the opposition which grew to such great proportions later. The emperor, apprehensive that the next diet would attack this patent, postponed it from year to year. He was fortified in his views upon the postponement by the fact that during the Franco-Russian war he had received voluntary subsidies in response to a mere imperial rescript. In fact, during the war of liberation the country went beyond the emperor's expectations, for when he called upon the comities and towns by a rescript to furnish a voluntary levy of light horse, the utmost the government expected to get was eight thousand cavalry, but in a little more than a month the country raised sixteen thousand, or twice as many. The Emperor's absolutist principles made him think it easier, as it was in his opinion better, to give laws by rescript than through the diet.

After the second Peace of Paris, however, signs of growing opposition began to be manifest in the comities. The increasing strength of this opposition was due, to some extent, to the fact that the Hungarian coast had not been restored to Hungary but was now governed as German territory, and to the tenor of the royal edicts, which were not always in harmony with the laws of the land, but it was also due to a certain extent to the action of the archduke palatine, who frequently recommended men from the opposition party in the comities for advancement and distinction, and of the government which acted upon his recommendations. The archduke palatine was actuated partly by a desire to enhance his own popularity, partly by the belief that at the decisive moment his extraordinary ability would ensure him the victory over the opposition in spite of all. But he did not consider that an individual grows old, while his method was calculated to keep the opposition perpetually young. The government thought that it could weaken the opposition by promoting its opponents. It was mistaken, for no sooner did the Magyars (whose besetting sin is greed of titles and offices) perceive that the way to office and honours lay here, than members of the opposition sprang out of the ground like mushrooms.

But the government made a mistake even greater than this in its treatment of the opposition, for it broke down one of the strongest barriers by which it had been confronted ever since the house of Austria bore sway in Hungary. The Catholic clergy were legally recognised as the first estate. Wealthy, well-disciplined, and dispersed over the whole country, represented in the diet by deputies in the chamber of estates and by the bishops in the chamber of magnates, they exercised a great and often decisive influence in political affairs. The emperor Francis did not realise this political aspect of the Magyar ecclesiastical establishment, and said bluntly that "he liked the cleric best who troubled himself least about politics." The Catholic clergy no sooner became aware of this than they began to withdraw by degrees from the political arena, and thus it came to pass that in the course of the first thirty years of the reign of the emperor Francis their influence on politics fell to zero. The efforts they made afterwards to regain the political power they had formerly wielded failed to accomplish the desired result; the barrier, once broken down, was not to be restored.

Another element, too, came into existence in the comities, where it worked indescribable confusion later. This was the small squirearchy, the owners of inconsiderable landed estates, or of none. At the time with which we are at present concerned this inferior squirearchy, which was called the cortes (why no man knows), was admitted into the assemblies of the comity, at first only at the election of the officers of the comity, afterwards at all elections, then to deliberations upon political matters, and finally even to the decision of private affairs. The cortes was venal, its vote went to the highest bidder; it was easily worked upon by political machinations, a prey to the richest or most audacious agitator.

Thus the state of politics was not auspicious for the government when the emperor, deceived by the apparent tranquillity of Hungary, promulgated two royal edicts, which, if successfully carried out, would have suspended the Hungarian constitution. By one of them it was decreed that taxes should be paid in currency instead of paper money, by the other a levy of recruits was enjoined. Now, as it happened, the right of levying taxes and recruits was one of the chief privileges of the Hungarian diet, upon which the two edicts were consequently a direct encroachment. Several comities yielded none the less, safeguarding their national privileges by protests addressed to the emperor.

When, however, the comity of Varasd refused compliance and declared openly that it would not carry out these commands, its example was followed by the comities of Neutra, Trencsén, and others. Then those comities which had limited their opposition to protests likewise refused to carry out the imperial command. Soldiers were despatched to the refractory comities, and they submitted, but the excitement of the country was intense. To smooth matters over the emperor Francis restored Fiume to Hungary and convoked the diet to Presburg for the coronation of the empress Caroline. The general opinion in Vienna was that the diet would be appeased without much trouble. Count Karl Zichy, the minister, a very able man, thought that "a few gracious expressions from the throne would set everything right." But in the diet it was evident that a distinction was drawn between the king's person and the government. He and the uncrowned queen received profuse demonstrations of affection and respect, but a furious campaign was organised against the system. Then were heard the first references to the German ministers who exercised a baleful influence over Hungarian affairs, the first allusions to the lack of Hungarian advisers of the crown. The result of this stormy diet, which sat for over a year, was the enactment of fresh laws to protect and safeguard the Hungarian constitution. That it closed in peace was due chiefly to Count Adam Reviczki, to whom (first as vice-chancellor and then as chancellor) the emperor transferred the direction of the Hungarian chancellerie after the sudden death of Prince Kohary, the Hungarian chancellor, during the session. This man, the most gifted chancellor Hungary ever had, soon convinced both emperor and opposition that it was in the interest of the dual monarchy that the Hungarian constitution should be maintained. "The king must be the first Hungarian; and the constitution can only be altered if, under a strict administration of the laws, it should demonstrate its inadequacy." These were his words, which were accepted as expressing the fact; and nearly all the opposition in the diet went over to the government. They had desired to maintain the constitution and had succeeded in doing so; and they no longer felt called upon to put obstacles in the way of the government. On the contrary, it was their duty to support it in all constitutional action.

The Transformation of the Hungarian Opposition (1825 A.D.)

In this diet a young magnate, Count Stephen Széchényi, first came into prominence. He devoted a whole year's income — which he estimated in round numbers at 40,000 florins — to the foundation of a Hungarian academy. He immediately became the most popular man in the country. When the session of the diet was over, this same count published a work written in Magyar and entitled *Credit*. In this book the author lays the axe to the root of the Hungarian constitution, and from its publication dates the first transformation of the Hungarian opposition. The former opposition had fought for the maintenance of the constitution, that which now began to take shape aimed at its subversion, and the subsequent struggle between opposition and government turns merely upon the manner and form of the remodelling.

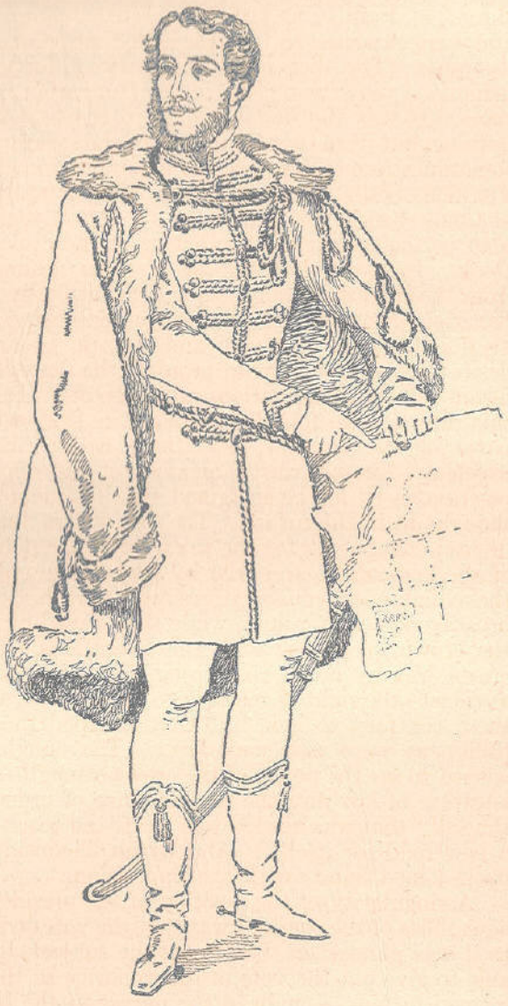
Diets should be held in Hungary every three years, and when this interval had elapsed the diet was again convoked. At the very end of the previous stormy session, Count Reviczki had conceived the idea of having the heir to the throne crowned in Hungary during the emperor's lifetime. The far-sighted statesman saw clouds gathering on the horizon and was anxious to keep the tempest from breaking. The emperor had acquiesced in the idea, but the matter had been kept so secret since then that no one had the least

suspicion of it until the writs convoking the diet declared the purpose for which it was called together. The coronation was held with pomp and splendour, but in the transactions that immediately followed, the first separatist leanings of one party in Hungary made themselves apparent. The expulsion of the Bourbons from Paris, the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and the consequent commotions which had taken place and were expected to take place in Europe, rendered an increase of the army desirable. The diet voted the levy of forty-eight thousand recruits, but demanded that the officers of the Hungarian regiments should all be Hungarians. It was the first attempt to create a Hungarian army. It came to nothing, but from that time forward the separatist agitation gathered strength, sometimes fermenting below the surface, sometimes dimly manifest above it. The democratic tendency of the Magyar movement, fostered by the works of Count Széchényi, lasted for about ten years. He was the most popular man in the country. The leader of the opposition in the diet was Francis Deák. Incontestably neither of them desired the separation of Hungary from the dual monarchy; they held firmly by the union, and the Pragmatic Sanction was sacred in their eyes. Széchényi repeatedly compared the connection between Hungary and Austria to an indissoluble marriage. He desired above all things to promote the material prosperity of his country by means of steam navigation, railroads, etc. In order to rouse public spirit in this direction he founded a casino in Pest, which soon had imitators in all parts of the country, but these casinos became centres of opposition. Széchényi himself was a member of the opposition, but was blind to his position in it, for he imagined that he could hold it in check whenever he thought fit in the future. The loss of this illusion was bitter to him. Deák desired enactments for the taxation of the nobility, oral procedure, publicity of the law-courts, and trial by jury. The only difference between him and the enlightened conservatives was that he wished to base all changes on broadly democratic lines, while they aimed at making the increased power of the crown keep pace with the alterations. In Hungary the power of the crown was by no means strong, for not only had the jurisdictions (*Jurisdictionen*) the right of refusing to fulfil the royal commands if they considered them contrary to law, but they usurped the privilege of ignoring them if fulfilment were not convenient. The enlightened conservatives therefore wished to see the power of the crown strengthened, so as to ensure the administration of law and the maintenance of order. The opposition maintained that all "that was needed was to lift the coach out of the ruts, it would make a new road for itself." And by an ill-considered measure the Government itself joined hands with the opposition.

A singularity of the position of the presidents of the Hungarian diet and assemblies of the comities was that the votes were not counted but "weighed," as it was phrased in the law on the subject, by the president, who was thus able to give out the vote of the minority as the decision of the assembly if it seemed to him — again in the phrase of the law — "more reasonable." On the other hand, neither the relation of the supreme count (*Obergespan*) to the comities, nor that of the palatine to the diet was defined by the law. Such a state of things could exist only in a country where social relations were to a certain extent patriarchal and presupposed reverence towards superiors and towards the government; and the position was already insecure when the government imprudently broke it down. In consequence of a few untoward occurrences in some of the comities, the fiat went forth that in future the votes were to be counted. The result was that the cortes gained incalculably

in importance. The government soon realised what a mistake it had made, but it could not draw back, nor did it take the only measure to counteract it that still lay in its power. The relation of the president to the diet was not legally determined, and the government allowed the diet to reduce the voting power of all clerical deputies in the chamber of estates to a single collective vote, and to do the same with those of the representatives of forty-seven free royal boroughs; thus giving an enormous preponderance to the opposition, which was mainly drawn from the comities. The clergy and the towns, ready for any bold venture, appealed in vain to the government for help, it had not the courage to enter upon a struggle with the opposition for the sake of these two bodies which were still loyal to it. The coach of the state was lifted out of the ruts, but the government had not resolution enough to settle what new ruts it was to run in.

Dissensions then arose in the opposition itself. There were some members who had the vision of an independent Hungary more or less clearly in view; and this fraction of the party was anxious to go much farther than its leaders. Its aspirations took shape and found expression through the medium of a person who was at that time wholly insignificant.



LOUIS KOSSUTH
(1802–1894)

Louis Kossuth

In that diet of the Empire which sat for forty months, a young and handsome advocate was observed among the audience. His name was Louis Kossuth. He published lithographed reports of the proceedings, radical in tone and marked by a veiled separatist tendency. The government confiscated his lithographic press, he continued his reports in manuscript; they were circulated all over the country and met with a favourable reception in many quarters.

Proceedings for high treason were instituted against certain persons, those which attracted most attention being the trial of Nicholas Wesselényi for a speech made in the comity of Szathmár and the imprisonment of Louis Kossuth for continuing to issue his manuscript newspaper.

Wesselényi was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The country was in a ferment of excitement, and the proceedings of the ensuing diet turned almost exclusively upon this treason trial. The end of it was that the government quashed all the legal proceedings for treason and pardoned all the prisoners. During this session of the diet the government had again been vainly warned of the separatist tendencies of the fraction of the opposition before mentioned. It felt itself all the more secure because the diet had closed amidst general rejoicing and a show of satisfaction amongst all parties. Tranquillity was restored! It was soon to be awakened from this delusion.

Kossuth, now pardoned, took a leading position as editor on the staff of a Magyar newspaper. The tone of the paper was radical, and it met with an extraordinarily sympathetic response. From that time forward the separatist tendency came more and more plainly to light. The opposition outstripped its former leaders; new leaders arose. Count Louis Batthyányi was the head of the opposition among the magnates, Kossuth led the party in the comities. Magyarism and independence were the catchwords of the opposition, which strained every nerve to keep the country in a perpetual ferment, and succeeded only too well.

Any and all means were made to serve this purpose, and for three whole years the excitement was kept up over the question of mixed marriages. Every measure of the government, good or bad, was impugned. When it inaugurated a trade in tobacco there was an uproar in all the comities. The object of the agitators was to make government impossible. This end was served in the comities by the cortes, which decided questions of the utmost moment without comprehending them in the least. When soberminded men protested that the government would ultimately be constrained to curb the license of the comities by force, and that it would therefore be better for them to keep within bounds, the opposition's invariable reply was, "In the independence of the comities lies the salvation of Magyar liberty," and, "these excesses must be endured for the sake of saving liberty," whereupon the excesses of the comities rose to a fabulous height. Thus, the legal decisions of the septemvirate, which the king himself had no power to alter, were disregarded in the comity of Bihar because they were given in favour of persons obnoxious to the opposition. Kossuth organised a league for the protection of Hungarian industries, no one was to wear any textile fabrics or use any manufactured goods that were not made in Hungary, the customs dues between Hungary and Austria, which had been the subject of Magyar grievance for a hundred years and more, were now taken under the patronage of Kossuth and Co., and when the question of abolishing them and allowing free trade between Austria and Hungary was discussed, the proposal was violently opposed by Kossuth and his followers because it would have meant the loss of a means of severance. Everything was done, nevertheless, under the motto "No separation!" Wesselényi declared in print, "Hungary's connection with Austria is so advantageous to her that the Hungarians would be forced to set the house of Austria on the throne to-day if it had not been done three hundred years ago." Kossuth repeated this phrase in speech and writing, and to it the whole opposition pointed when reproached with wanting to tear Hungary away from the union. It could say, "Trust to my word, not to my works."

The wretched confusion of the country was worse confounded by the language question. The exertions of the Czechs in this matter, were child's play to what took place in Hungary. By the programme six million inhabitants who did not speak Magyar were to be translated by magic into Hungarians. When disputes arose over accounts which were not drawn up in Hungarian the comities refused to decide them. Petitions in German and Slavonic were often returned to the petitioners, the official letters of the Croat comities were sent back if the address was written in Latin. The Croat deputies could not get a hearing in the diet because they spoke Latin. Registers of births, marriages, and deaths had to be written in Magyar, even in communities wholly unacquainted with the language, and extracts from such documents were sent abroad, and were not translated even at the request of the foreign authorities. The Protestant clergy received orders to preach in Hungarian one Sunday out of three, even if there was not a creature in the congregation who understood a word of it. Religious instruction was to be given in Hungarian, the children were to learn the Hungarian catechism by heart, even if they happened to be Slovaks. Magyar ministers were set over Slovak congregations, and if the congregations objected they were brought to reason by hard knocks, "because the dignity of the nation requires it." The Slovaks were naturally furious, the rather because nobody took their part. Two magnates, and two only, raised their voices against this tyranny of language, Count Stephen Széchényi and Count John Majláth, but all they said or wrote was lost in the general uproar, the storm that was then raging.

Opposition had become the fashion, the dullest could be sure of the applause of the gallery and the acclamations of the cortes if only he abused the government. Men who were absolutely ignorant of the Hungarian language were cheered if they brought out the laboriously conned phrase, "I vote with the opposition."

Society poured contempt upon the adherents of the government, and here women played a great part. Some towns, weary of the vain expectation of help from the government, had thrown in their lot with the opposition. Opposition principles were inculcated in the minds of the boys in the public schools (*Gymnasialschulen*), Kossuth's newspaper was supplied gratis to influential village notaries and schoolmasters. The opposition started a fund for the promotion of its objects. No small courage was required to take the part of the government in the comities, which in many places had bidden farewell to all order, discipline, and discretion.

The government now resolved to combat the excesses of the comities by a measure which, had it been taken when first proposed, might have proved successful, but which now merely poured oil upon the flames. It directed that the supreme counts and administrators should reside in the comities in which they held office and exercise a stricter supervision over the government of the comity. Their stipends were raised, and more than thirty appointments of this sort were made at once. The opposition set up a tremendous clamour. Hitherto they had reviled the government for its inaction, now this step was described as a violation of the law and an attempt to coerce the electors for the next diet.

There was a split in the conservative party itself. Some members considered that the liberties of Hungary were bound up with the exemption of nobles from taxation, and these were dissatisfied with the government because it would no longer defend this privilege. The frequent changes in the chancellorship also had a bad effect upon the party. Each chancellor had formed a party of his own, distinguished from the rest by niceties of opinion. The

strict Catholic party complained of the neglect of its interests, and, in one instance, conservative as it was in other matters, voted with the opposition and against the government upon an ecclesiastical question. Such was the state of affairs when the archduke palatine died.

The Death of the Archduke Joseph

Archduke Joseph, the palatine, had filled this high office for half a century, and had amassed a rich store of experience. He commanded the respect of all parties, though the conservatives deplored in him the lack of the resolute spirit demanded in many matters of importance. But for this very reason he was popular with the opposition, and he cared much for popularity. The opposition had made great strides under him, but his extraordinary good sense, his wide knowledge of men and affairs, his cunning (we may use the word now without offence), had always supplied him at anxious moments with the means of preventing the attacks upon the main pillars of the throne from coming to a climax. The throne did not stand as firm as it had done fifty years ago, but it had not begun to totter when, in a happy hour for his reputation, the archduke passed away.

His obsequies were not over before his son, Archduke Stephen, was nominated *locum tenens*, *i.e.* proxy; and the nomination was received with great approbation by the whole country. In a tour which the archduke made through Hungary his personal charm won all hearts, and there was not the slightest doubt that he would be elected palatine. In the next diet, therefore, the government reckoned upon the archduke's personal influence, upon the attainments of the chancellor, Count György Apponyi, and the talents, energy, and resolution of his younger followers. The Transylvanian chancellor had brought the Transylvanian diet to a successful conclusion, and a similar result in Hungary was hoped for.

The parties which were to try their strength in the diet were extremely energetic in their preparations for the struggle. It was ominous of the event that Kossuth was elected deputy in the comity of Pest. The prudent members of the opposition did not want him, they dreaded his extravagant schemes, and only allowed him to be nominated as a concession to the eager wishes of Count Batthyányi. Batthyányi favoured Kossuth because to do so added to the perplexities of the government, and he cherished the vain hope that he should be able to guide him. When the diet assembled, however, not only was Kossuth the leader of the opposition in the estates, but Batthyányi was forced to obey the impulse given by Kossuth.

It may well be asked by what means Kossuth acquired such an extraordinary ascendancy in Hungary. The answer is that it was by his intellectual abilities, which were in many respects remarkable; he was an extraordinarily gifted orator, a born tribune of the people, and with the exception of Mirabeau and O'Connell, no other man of recent times was able so to sway the masses by the magic of words. As a martyr for the cause of liberty, for as such he was regarded, he inspired sympathy in generous minds. His very weaknesses — lack of deliberate reflection, unbridled imagination, boundless self-esteem — were effective, for they were the weaknesses of Magyar character, and were carried to an extreme point in him. He laid hold of the Magyars by their national pride and the notion of independence. He concealed from himself and from others the dangers that lurked upon the road to independence, and only exhibited the glorious end afar off. His active spirit lighted upon days when the general disaffection of the country weighed heavily upon the monarchy, and thus produced the readier effect. Besides this, he was attractive and adaptable, and gained over by roundabout methods those whom he could not win to direct assent to his schemes. For the fact that his talents were wholly destructive, that nothing which he built up could bear the test, that it all came to nought in his hands, he cast the blame upon the government, and was believed. His attainments were superficial, but on knotty questions he used to get his friends to collect data for him, which he put together himself, whether rightly or wrongly was all one to him, so long as the result was brilliant, and the brilliancy was guaranteed by his eloquence. In a word — he found the country disaffected, with rare talent he exploited the weaknesses and the generous qualities of the Magyars, and he carried his audience away by the charm of his oratory. He was that (happily) rare phenomenon, a consummate revolutionary.

The diet had sat but a few months, before the government arrived at the conclusion that no good thing was to be expected from it, and that it must be dissolved. But ere the intention could be carried out monarchical government was overthrown in France, and the days of March with their consequences were upon the Austrian monarchy.[k]

THE STORM DRAWS NEAR

And now the Viennese government found itself in a condition of diplomatic isolation. England and France were both opposed to Metternich's Italian policy and the relations of the *Staatskonferenz* with most of the Italian governments had become strained. Offensive and defensive treaties concluded with Modena on the 24th of December, 1847, and with Parma on the 4th of February, 1848, brought no accession of strength to the Austrian government, and, threatened by the daily increasing agitation in the home provinces, the Viennese cabinet lost the power to control the situation and to take united decisions.

The uneasy feeling in the ranks of the government increased daily and, in proportion, the hope of a timely escape from the approaching storm grew less. Here, better than anywhere else, it was known that no firm hand guided the administration, that no energetic decision would be taken by the cabinet, that helplessness and unwillingness to act were increasing with the perils and difficulties of the situation. It is true that Metternich, according to his custom, indulged in soothing commonplaces, and delighted in calming himself and others by directing attention to the inexhaustible resources of the empire and to the possibility of permitting the introduction of political reforms into Austria "at the right time." When the beginnings of a constitutional existence had been created in Prussia, Metternich had declared himself to be well disposed towards the states and let it be understood that he desired an extension of privileges for the Austrian estates also. But neither he nor the other members of the *Staatskonferenz* thought for a moment seriously of making real concessions to the people; the guides of the state never thought of an essential change in a system whose existence was closely bound up with the duration of their personal power. The government was roused to take action only in a single instance. The clamours raised on all sides against the unworthy oppressiveness of the censorship were last to win a hearing. A control of the censorship and a superior censor college came into existence on the 1st of February, 1848. Intended to provide the author with greater freedom and to protect him in his rights, it

actually received such a direction that everyone regarded it as a further tightening of the existing restraints of the censorship.

As neither considerations of foreign policy nor the warning afforded by the efforts towards progress on the part of Germany and Prussia had any power to bring about a reform of the prevailing system, so neither could the needs of the exchequer suffice to break the unconquerable disinclination for any change. When the condition of the state finances came under discussion, criticism was wholly pessimistic in tone. Except amongst those connected with the money market it was generally believed that a state bankruptcy was imminent, that neither the government nor the national bank, which was unfortunately only too closely connected with it, possessed the means to meet the demands that would be made on it in a time of excitement. This was doubtless a great exaggeration. If it had been possible to obtain a complete insight into the budget the true sources of the financial distress would have been recognised. The constantly recurring embarrassments of the exchequer were not due to an over-straining of the national resources, but to an irrational consideration for individual interests, a reprehensible dread of leaving the beaten paths and raising the receipts, whose amount was no relation to the capacity of the country. But the budget remained a sealed book, locked with seven keys, and all that the citizens knew was that the government, as soon as it perceived a dark cloud on the political horizon, had recourse to extraordinary measures and trembled helplessly.

A lasting improvement in the Austrian treasury could be attained only if a reform of the budget was undertaken, and, above all, if the people's horrible distrust of the good faith and solvency of the state could be broken. The recollection of the ill-omened finance patent would not fade from the memory of the people, the fear of a repetition of like arbitrary measures would not disappear. To get rid of these was the most pressing task for the president of the exchequer, a task to the performance of which he diligently turned his attention; having grown gray in bureaucratic traditions, however, he was no longer susceptible of being moved to a rapid change of front and was not capable of finding the right ways and means.

In the year 1810, in the midst of the severest pressure of the earlier financial difficulties, a resolution had been taken at Vienna to summon deputies of the estates to the control of the court, and from this measure — which of course was not carried out — an improvement of credit had been expected. Kübeck now gave a similar counsel. Representatives of the provincial estates should assemble in Vienna and there "receive the fullest documentary explanation of the condition of the finances." He was also willing to listen to their opinion as to the means by which the balance between receipts and expenditure might be restored. This suggestion was not disapproved by the Staatskonferenz, but it was not carried to a resolution, not executed. It was the same with other propositions which reached the members of the cabinet from one side and another. The feeling of general insecurity and the dread of the approaching political storm had such an effect that the strict, deliberate opposition to all innovations was gradually silenced, while pious wishes and whispered hopes as to whether the privileges of the estates could be increased and the condition of the peasants be definitively settled, expressed themselves here and there. But as to passing from these to serious action or even to a formal promise, this was never aimed at. Completely unprepared, without fixed plan or clear aim, only tormented by a fear which merely strengthened it in its indecision — this was the situation in which the revolution of February found the government.

THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY AND THE VIENNESE STATESMEN

At Vienna, as everywhere else, the first tidings of the fall of Guizot, of the flight of Louis Philippe, and of the erection of the republic produced complete stupefaction. Men were unable to form a clear idea of the course which events had taken, or to descry the faintest light which might shed a glimmer on the immediate future. When the power of thought returned, the Staatskonferenz made no attempt by extensive concessions to hasten the removal of all fuel for the spirit of unrest. Even reforms which had been recognised as useful and permissible were again put off, because they would now have drawn on the government the suspicion of giving way to the pressure of external coercion.[c] In this, in spite of their occupying totally different standpoints after the 29th of February, the archduke Ludwig and Metternich were completely agreed.

A group of other statesmen, with whom Metternich had hitherto been essentially in agreement with regard to the principle of reform, had by no means come to the same conclusion, but under the changed and urgent circumstances were rather in favour of greater promptitude, and in part even for a still further extension of concession, since in principle they were less opposed than Metternich to the appearance of moral compulsion, or did not consider it so dangerous as he did. To this group belonged especially Kólowrat and Kübeck, and the archduke John hastened to join himself to them, or rather to place himself at their head.

Altogether in these critical days, the strangest schisms and alliances took place in the leading circles. Notably a third and most remarkable group was formed by the most prominent and influential personages of that court party, which had already often proved adverse to Metternich in matters connected with the church. The members of this group, most of whom belonged to the imperial house, had hitherto adhered to the archduke Ludwig in matters of politics, and had consequently gone far beyond even the conservative principles of Metternich in their conception of absolutism, so that they felt so little sympathy for the latter's reforming notions that these had even proved a new source of discord. It was just these men, however, upon whom events in Paris made so powerful and alarming an impression — whilst Metternich was rendered all the more rigidly determined and impelled towards an alliance with the archduke Ludwig — who, on the other hand, suddenly deserted Ludwig and showed that they were prepared to make concessions which would lead to the triumph of principles diametrically opposed to those of Metternich. The immediate result was the unexpected alliance of this third group with the second, that is, with those statesmen who were eager for the immediate introduction and extension of reforms, from whom it had hitherto been completely divided on questions of principle. But the result most noteworthy and fruitful in consequences was this: that whereas before the court party had been estranged from Metternich because he had set his face against the ecclesiastical reaction for which it was labouring, it now broke with him completely because he set himself to work to moderate, restrain, and check the political liberalism which its leaders suddenly came to represent. Hence from that hour it toiled with every means that could be devised to effect his overthrow.

The metamorphosis of the reactionary church party of the court into a party of political progress had important consequences. Henceforward this court coterie was the principal pivot of action; but with the desirable came also the undesired. The archduchess Sophie was again at its head. On the

very day after the arrival of the bad news from Paris, where these processes of transformation and schism were still in their first ferment, Effinger wrote: "They say that the archduchess Sophie, who never enjoyed greater popularity in Austria, and whose conservative sentiments are security that she is governed only by a conviction of the absolute necessity of certain innovations, will succeed in winning over the archduke Ludwig to favour changes. As president of the Staatskonferenz it is with him that the decision rests, and he has always shown that he was not disinclined to them. The views of Count Kólowrat on this point are well known. As to Prince Metternich, he is too great a statesman to refuse his consent to constitutional reforms and improvements in internal administration, when they have become urgently necessary if Austria is to preserve her importance as a great European power."

Respecting the private intentions of the archduchess Sophie, only mysterious glimpses were and still are obtainable. According to these we must conclude that she, like other members of the imperial house, feared the fate of the "royal family of Orleans," for her own dynasty, and in the hope of being able to avoid it by a bold and startling movement, aimed at and demanded nothing less than (1) the immediate abdication of the emperor Ferdinand and the elevation to the throne of either her husband, the emperor's next brother, or her son Francis Joseph; (2) the removal of the archduke Ludwig and, more especially, of Metternich; (3) and finally the convention of an imperial assembly, which assembly might easily be again abolished when the storm and fury had spent themselves.

From this time the indignant court party, under the leadership of the archduchess Sophie, made alliance with the leaders of the opposition in the estates. This was evidently done in the belief, that, with the help of the Lower Austrian estates whose meeting was to be opened on the 13th of March, the revolution might be brought under, while at the same time a change in the government might be effected.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CONCESSION (1848 A.D.)

On the 12th of March Professor Endlicher, who had close and constant intercourse with the emperor and was one of the two deputies from the university, first ventured to demand in plain terms from the archduke Ludwig, the dismissal of Metternich. In spite of some handshaking, the deputation was dismissed with evident displeasure, and without an answer. But in the evening secret influence opened the door to the chamber of the emperor himself. Ferdinand, indeed, merely promised to consider the matter; it was still a hard thing for him to permit the overthrow of the man whom — without liking him — he had accustomed himself to regard as the main prop of the throne.

At the same moment that shocks from without, and from above even more than from below, were endangering Metternich's position it was also beginning to be shaken from within. For, on that same 12th of March, Metternich himself began to have doubts of his system. As he saw the tide mount, and the universal agitation and storm increase around him, he too was no longer himself. He, in whose system only willingly accorded reforms had a place, allowed himself to be impelled into forced concessions. On the day mentioned the *Landesmarschall*, Count Montecuccoli, had a long and secret interview with him, no doubt with the intention of convincing him of the necessity of quieting the estates and of restoring the general satisfaction

by offering a concession at the approaching opening of the provincial diet on the following day. The facts show his success. In the afternoon was the sitting of the Staatskonferenz. The summoning of a "joint committee of the estates," which had already been agreed to "in accordance with the spirit of the law," but which had afterwards been laid on one side, was to be considered and decided on anew. For again on the evening of the 12th, notes in the emperor's own writing were sent to the *Landesmarschall*, Count Montecuccoli, promising the "speedy summons" of that committee.

But this tardy reform, now regarded, as under the circumstances it must be, in the light of an extorted concession, appeared as so extraordinary a compromise that it would have been more prudent to omit it altogether. For it was all done in such a way as to challenge rather than to silence, rather to fan the flame than to extinguish it. It has justly been described as a bad beginning, "thrilling almost defiantly the dying song" of the expiring Staatskonferenz. At the same time there can be no doubt that it was neither Metternich nor Kólowrat, but solely the obstinate and invincible absolutism of the archduke Ludwig which decided in favour of this monstrously short-sighted grant. In accordance with it members of the estates were indeed to be summoned to Vienna from all the provinces whose representative privileges were founded "on ancient and long unaltered constitutions"; but only "one from each estate." These deputies were to be "brought into touch" with a "committee appointed for the purpose," that they might deliberate on their position as estates. It would seem to have been a partial victory for Metternich and Kólowrat that at least the "reservation" was added that "the measures demanded by the necessities of the moment should be indicated" to these deputies, "in order that the declaration concerning them, of the views of the deputies, and, necessarily also of the united body of their estates, might be received as soon as possible." It was obvious that this concession fell far short of those intended by the estate's address, which demanded the summons of a central committee of all the provincial estates, reinforced by special delegates from the corporations and in the nature of an assembly representative of the whole people, the scheme for which had been already submitted.

Amid these strange shocks of the reform convulsion, the 12th of March drew to a close, to give place, with the dawn of the 13th, to the critical phases of the fever of Revolution. At the Hofburg the Staatskonferenz held its permanent sitting; beset by a threatening mob of the people, assailed by vehement deputations and agitated by its own impotent fancies, its life was flickering out like a dying lamp. But once more the proud vitality of the old system blazed up in self defence; when the estates actually met they were put off with the meaningless phrase: "that a committee shall inquire into and the emperor decide what is expedient to be done." But when, like spring floods, revolutionary demands came rolling up, when watchwords like "National Guard!" "Liberty of the press!" "Metternich's resignation!" "Constitution!" came thundering though the doors of the audience chamber like whistling shot: then the rising spirit sank again, and the blaze became a small flame which, growing ever weaker and weaker, at last dwindled to the faint glimmer of a spark.

It was to no purpose that while the grants were conceded, a struggle was still maintained; this was only damaging and it came to the same thing, if instead of a national guard a "citizen militia" was granted; instead of liberty of the press the "removal of the censorship"; instead of a constitution the "constitutionalising of the fatherland." Only one demand seemed capable

of no emendation — Metternich's resignation. And yet it was; instead of the dismissal of the old Metternich they granted the dismissal of the new.*f*

THE MARCH REVOLUTION (1848 A.D.)

The ministerial rescript, in which the emperor declared that he had determined to "summon to Vienna members of the estates of all the provinces, from each estate one member, there to bring them into contact with a government committee that they might confer together concerning the affairs of the estates," was communicated to the estates on the morning of March 13th, but never came to the knowledge of any wider circle. For while the moderates among the members of the estates were vainly striving to prevail with the government and while the Staatskonferenz was making this pitiable venture upon the semblance of reform, another disturbing element came upon the scene — the Vienna students.

For some time the temper of the students had given cause for disquiet. The superficiality of most of their teachers and the crying insufficiency of the whole scholastic system rendered a profound absorption in academic studies the exception amongst them, while every ebullition of the turbulent spirits of youth or of the self-confidence of lads at the university, which, though perhaps presumptuous in form is at bottom perfectly harmless, was repressed with nervous precaution. The students were not only thwarted in their natural tendencies, but felt themselves wilfully forced into a false position. A blind terror was writ large on the attitude of the government towards them, and it was no wonder that they acquired a belief in their own peculiar importance and cheated themselves with the illusion that they were a power in the state. In the chorus of complaints they heard raised against the government, the first place was assigned to its insolent neglect of learning, its hatred of any kind of culture. The students seized upon this as a personal grievance, they felt themselves the victims of a direct affront on the part of the cabinet and consequently justified in offering a particularly vigorous resistance to the old system.

The Students' Petition

The idea of a students' petition was started in a tavern in the Alser suburb on the 7th of March, and, the most unusual and extraordinary proceedings appearing in those days a mere matter of course, was unanimously approved by the students there assembled. When they met again two days later to compare the schemes drawn up in the meantime and to consult upon the final drafting of the petition, the wiser heads amongst them could not disguise the extent of their perplexity. No state can be saved by literary exercises, no government brought to naught by borrowed phrases. Nothing but the fact that the enterprise was already too widely known to be dropped and that "the honour of the whole body of students was involved" determined them to proceed. By the evening of the 11th of March the petition had been put into shape. It informed the emperor that "a great event sets the public peace at stake," it assured him of "the readiness of the students to defend their common fatherland against all enemies, whether they menace it from west or east," of liberty it averred that "it renders men capable of great actions and disposes them to endure sore trials with fortitude," and

expressed the opinion of the students that "the actualisation of liberty is a pressing need in so critical a condition of the world." Buttressed by these arguments the students demanded liberty of the press, of speech, of instruction, of study and conscience, and universal suffrage, and ended with a vague sentence that referred to the reform of the German Confederation.

There was no real reason for attaching great importance either to the contents of the petition or to the character of the petitioners. Nevertheless this seemed to the government more serious than any other political demonstration. They had allowed the petition of the *Juridisch-Politischen Lesevereín* (Juridical and Political Reading Union) to be circulated without hindrance, they had opposed to the projects of the estates the barrier of invincible indolence, nothing but the prospect of a students' petition was capable of stirring them to energy. On March 12th the professors were summoned to the university by command of the chancellor. The tutors, who had hitherto been intentionally kept apart from the students, were to exert their influence to prevent the presentation of the petition. They did their duty by warning and dissuading them. When the dry observations of the *Studiendirector* Kremer failed of effect on the growing excitement of the vast concourse of young men, Hye and Endlicher, both popular professors and men of note among the liberals, endeavoured to turn them from their purpose. Had they been able to address each man individually they would have carried their point, but in the dense throng every one drew courage from his neighbour. One concession only could they obtain — that when the students had signed the petition they should leave it to be presented by Hye and Endlicher. That same morning the two professors hurried to the castle to beg for admittance to the presence of the emperor. They knocked at many doors, were received by Kólowrat with hollow phrases of condolence, had to listen to solemn exhortations from the archduke Ludwig, but were unable to accomplish their mission. Not till evening, when a meeting of the privy council had been held and had recognised the necessity of at least a semblance of compliance, were they granted audience of the emperor, and then by the backstairs. He received them with courtesy and kindness, it was not in his gentle nature to do otherwise; but even he could not give them a plain answer or a definite explanation.

The Thirteenth of March

Thus the 13th of March, the day awaited by many with dread, by all with intense curiosity, the day appointed for the assembly of the estates, dawned without the least attempt having been made to avert the threatening storm. The first black clouds gathered from the quarter of the university. Hye and Endlicher had promised to report to the students upon the result of their mission, and early in the morning they found an immense crowd awaiting them. Their words awoke a feebler response to-day than yesterday. The students' excitement had gathered strength during the night, their pretensions had waxed with it, their political demands began to take tangible shape. Denunciations of Metternich and Sedlnitzky as "traitors and thieves" grew audible, together with outcries for their prompt dismissal. Who could suppose that such a tumult could be allayed by assurances of imperial favour and good will couched in general terms? While Hye was vaunting this day as "the greatest in the history of Austria," declaring that "the eyes of Europe were bent upon the university," and entreating his hearers to seek

progress by the ways of order and punctual attendance at lecture, in the lecture-rooms and quadrangle the procession was making ready to start for the *Landhaus*, where, in defiance of traditional usage, the estates were assembling without ceremony, furtively, and as it were by stealth. Tokens were gathering on all sides to show that the programme devised by the liberal party in the estates — the accomplishment of reform by peaceful means — could not be adhered to.

Thousands of people, most of them of the better class, thronged the streets near the Landhaus and presently surged into the open courtyard. The mood of manifest perplexity which at first prevailed in the crowd forbids the assumption — which was afterwards mooted — that the events of the day had been deliberately planned and were inaugurated by old revolutionary hands. This mood would have lasted longer, for each man was anxious to play the part of spectator and hoped that some one else would put an end to the painful period of waiting and suspense, but for the heated imagination of a young physician, Fischhof by name, well known as a sentimental enthusiast. With a cheer for liberty he began, with a cheer for the Hungarians and Italians he ended a speech which, though distinctly audible to only few of those about him, incited others to speak in their turn and brought life and movement into the crowd. But it was not until, amidst general applause, a student began to read aloud Kossuth's speech of March 3rd, that political passion really began to rise and revolutionary desires to stir in the breasts of the multitude. Now they, too, were provided with a programme, and it therefore seemed all the more imperative to take steps to realise the same, and to find a means of communication with the ruling powers, or, as one of the orators phrased it, "to convert into a dialogue the monologue which had hitherto been recited from the well-roof in the courtyard of the Landhaus."

A crowd of people, squeezed by the pressure of the throng into the entrance hall, stairway, and anterooms of the Landhaus, were already busy with preparations to this end. A moment more, and the intruders, with an ever-increasing mob at their heels, would have been in the room where the estates were assembled, and a motley intermingling of the representatives of the estates and the populace would have rendered further deliberations impossible. To obviate such disorder the Landesmarschall made an agreement with Fischhof, who was the leading spokesman in the anteroom, as he had been in the courtyard, by which a certain number of delegates — six citizens and six students — were to be present at the session to assure themselves of the honest intentions of the estates. So far nothing had occurred to disturb the concord between the estates and the populace. The crowd in the courtyard repeatedly called for popular individuals among the members of the estates — Montecuccoli, Dobblhof, Colloredo, Schmerling — greeted them with applause when they appeared at the window, and listened quietly to their speeches. It was reserved for one of those historic misunderstandings which seem to have been epidemic in the year 1848 to sow the seeds of hostility and to propagate a fierce lust of battle in the mob. At an earlier hour, while Fischhof was negotiating with Montecuccoli, the crowd below had been seized with nervous anxiety for the safety of its friends, and had been appeased only by the appearance of Fischhof at the window, hand in hand with the Landesmarschall. Suspicion was again aroused by a note dropped from the upper story, and the reading of Kossuth's speech was interrupted that its contents might be made known. It contained the request of the estates that the budget should be published and a committee of estates

summoned from all the provinces. The limited scope of the aspirations of the estates could not have become known at a less opportune moment than when Kossuth's speech had set the minds of men aflame and made them ripe for the widest and loftiest demands. The sheet of paper was caught by a student, who then declared in the name of the people that the petition of the estates left the wishes of the nation unfulfilled, and tore it up. In the midst of the ensuing excitement a cry was raised that the delegates of the people were being kept prisoners in the chamber of the estates, while from the other side an alarm was started that the Landhaus was being surrounded by soldiers. The agitated crowd leapt to the conclusion that they had been treacherously betrayed. Blind passion cast off all restraints and broke all bounds. The staircase and the rooms were stormed in one furious rush, and the mob vented its fury on window-panes, benches, chairs and tables. The members of the estates were seized with consternation and panic. Impelled by the desire to make good their escape from the disquieting atmosphere of the Landhaus they declared their willingness to petition the emperor in person to comply with the wishes of the people. The revolution pressed hard on their heels and they put themselves at its head. And, in the train of the estates, panic and irresolution entered into the castle likewise.

The members of the Staatskonferenz, supported by Prince Windischgrätz and several privy councillors, had been in session for several hours without coming to any definite conclusion. They had looked forward to the Ides of March with doleful misgivings, but had made no provision whatever for any particular occurrence. Even the most ordinary precautions had been neglected; such as the timely posting of soldiers at dangerous points, the concentration of the executive power in the hands of a single individual, the issuing of summonses to the *Regierungspräsident* (president of the administration), to the chief of the police, and to the mayor. The Staatskonferenz learned no more of the late proceedings than the thronging petitioners thought good to tell, nor could it communicate with the people except through their means. To all these evils was added the disastrous irresolution of the emperor himself. He was and remained inaccessible the whole day long, and there was no other person who had authority to give a final decision in his name. The Staatskonferenz as a corporate body had no legal functions, not one of its members could take absolute responsibility upon himself nor wield the whole authority of the government. Such was the constitution of the body which was called upon to display energy and wisdom if a strong curb was to be imposed upon the revolution. The deputies of the estates naturally met with no vigorous opposition, but they were as little able to congratulate themselves upon getting a definite answer to their petition. After a long discussion, in which the isolated position of Metternich, the only one who advised strong measures, was made plainly apparent, the Staatskonferenz agreed upon the following concession: "the measures called for by the present condition of affairs shall be inquired into by a special commission appointed for the purpose and submitted to his imperial majesty (*Allerhöchsten*) for decision; and his imperial majesty (*Allerhöchstdieselben*) will thereupon with all speed decree whatsoever shall serve the common welfare of his beloved subjects."

The Mob

While those in the castle drew breath more freely after having accomplished this bold deed, events went their way careless of them in the streets

of Vienna. After the departure of the estates a considerable crowd stayed behind in the courtyard of the Landhaus, paying homage to an improvised revolutionary committee — composed of students under age — and otherwise content to relieve its feelings by noisy expressions of impatience. The space in front of the Landhaus and the streets in its immediate neighbourhood wore a more disturbed aspect. Youthful orators heated the popular imagination and furnished popular fury with a definite object by such catchwords as "*Pereat Metternich!*" "Down with Sedlnitsky!" The clamour grew steadily louder and more general on the tennis ground in front of the Chancellerie (*Staatskanzlei*), in the Herrengasse, and in the Freiung. In the intervals might be heard the screams of those who were borne down or crushed in the throng, and adjurations to the soldiers to keep the peace; for soldiers at last began to emerge from different points to purge the Landhaus and to clear the streets between it and the castle, and as they advanced they came upon a dense and immovable mass of people everywhere, and themselves became involved in the press. The military had no thought of resorting to violence, the unarmed mob was not prepared to fight, and yet a collision was in the long run inevitable. The soldiers, pushed to and fro in the surging mass, ended by losing patience; their hesitating indecision in the early hours of the morning and their incapacity now to obey the word of command, roused the mocking laughter of the populace and gave a handle to the impudence of a set of pert lads. The closely packed crowd behind, ignorant of the way events were tending, were principally concerned for their personal safety; they tried to get breathing-space by pushing and shoving, and rent the air with hideous din. In the turmoil discretion went to the winds. Every hasty word was caught up and repeated by a thousand throats, every action found a thousand imitators. When some engineers advanced to take the place of a grenadier division which had been driven back step by step before the mob, some voices raised the cry of treason, while others whistled, hissed and cursed. One part of the throng penetrated into the upper rooms of the Landhaus, wrecked the furniture, and threw it out of the windows on the heads of the soldiers, who replied by a volley. In a few seconds the Landhaus was cleared, but on the other hand the riot spread into remoter streets and extended its sphere to an element which had hitherto held aloof from it, the citizen class proper.

The report that innocent and defenceless persons were being fired upon decided the sympathies of citizens who already felt aggrieved at seeing the loyal Viennese treated as if they were rebels. The citizen militia (*Bürgercorps*) assembled in uniform, men of reputation from patrician families, such as Arthaber, Hornbostl, and Bach, urged the mayor, who had not gone outside his private residence all day, to exert his influence to obtain the withdrawal of troops from the city; militia officers, relying on their privilege of free access to the castle, joined the deputation of the estates which had been besieging the Staatskonferenz since noon. They had no better success than the deputation itself in extorting definite concessions from the government, but their appearance contributed not a little to shake the resolution of the ministers. When Metternich persisted in talking of a rabble misguided by French, Polish, and Swiss emissaries they contradicted him sharply, and when he called upon them to put an end to the "street row" they answered in a loud voice that "it was not a row but a revolution." The members of the Staatskonferenz were driven to credit their words, for even the rector magnificus, the over-timorous Jenull, who had once been made to tremble by a visit from Rotteck, came on the scene with an outrageous demand, no less than that the

students should be provided with arms. The latter had assembled again in the Aula that afternoon, had again listened with applause to Hye's temperate speeches on liberty and order and on the obstinacy of the government; and on the sacrifices which he, "though the father of four children," was making for the good cause; but when the rumour reached them of the slaughter in front of the Landhaus they had demanded arms and threatened to storm the armory. Fortunately one of those present called to mind the rectorial privilege of entering the imperial presence at all times unannounced. The venerable Jenull was sent for, and willingly undertook the office of applying to the government for arms for the students. He met with a kindly reception from the archduke Francis Charles; "as a man of honour" the latter could assure him that "concessions" were in process of being made. The archduke Ludwig offered a stouter resistance. Not until the old man flung himself upon his knees and set forth the dire consequences of a refusal could he obtain so much as a promise that the Staatskonferenz "would promptly take the matter into consideration." With a heart but little lightened the rector returned to the university, whence the students in their impatience had already despatched another deputation after him, composed this time of members of the medical faculty.

By the time the latter reached the castle the excitement there had come to a climax. The rumour that citizens in uniform had actually been fired upon from the police buildings set the blood of most of the deputies in a ferment and caused them to forget the attitude of loyalty they had hitherto maintained, nay, to forget civility itself. Even the Staatskonferenz perceived that the moment had come for abating something of its stubborn determination. Of all popular grievances the censorship of the press was the oldest, the most general, and the best grounded. They would begin by redressing it. It was just possible that they might lay the storm by this means, or at least divert the educated classes from taking part in the commotion. Had the boon of liberty of the press been granted a few days earlier it might have called forth some gratitude, though it could hardly have averted the catastrophe from old Austria. Now it merely whetted the appetites of men for further concession.

The Retirement of Metternich

Prince Metternich withdrew from the archduke Ludwig's presence chamber to an adjoining room to draw up with his own hand the scheme of a press law on the model of the Prussian press regulations of March 8th. The chancellor had scarcely left the room before the cry for his dismissal was raised from the deputation of the estates, in the first instance by a member of the *Grafenbank* (bench of counts). It was caught up with ever increasing violence, and the noise drew Metternich back from the next apartment. Not a voice was raised in his favour, not only were the intruders eager for his fall but he felt himself abandoned by his colleagues in office, and, realising that all was lost, he himself took the lead, saying, not without dignity — "It has been the business of my life to labour for the welfare of the monarchy as I understand it; if it is thought that I imperil its welfare by remaining at my post, it can be no sacrifice to me to leave it." Not a voice was raised in protest, no one begged him to retract this declaration; nay, he had to listen to an old militia officer who answered: "Your serene highness, we have no objection to your person but every objection to your system, and we must therefore repeat that the throne and monarchy can be saved only by your resignation." He had no option but to consummate the sacrifice.

The old system did not perish with Metternich, as had been imagined, but it lost its most brilliant exponent and its most typical representative. Hence the people might well sum up the news of his resignation in the sentence, "Everything is conceded." The first concession was arms for the people. No remaining member of the Staatskonferenz was strong enough to defy the persistence of the university deputation. The archduke Ludwig ratified the decree that "for the maintenance of tranquillity and order arms should be supplied to the students, foreigners only excepted." And when a member of the estates added a corollary to the effect that all citizens should be required to enrol themselves in the standing militia of the city the Staatskonferenz again acquiesced. The deputies hurried into the streets to proclaim the triumphs of the day, only to be met, before they could reach the university, by bands of students whom the regierungspräsident, terrified at the disorderly conduct of the proletariat in the suburbs, had authorised to take arms on his own responsibility, and who, with a lighted torch for their banner, were now marching to the town armory, there to provide themselves with the panoply of liberty — rusty sabres and muskets without locks.[c]

The Grant of a Constitution

The next morning the improvised *Stadtwehr* (town guard) assembled. It must be acknowledged to the credit of the students and townsmen that they maintained peace and order. The citizen militia acquired and retained the name of "national guard," and Count Hoyos was appointed to the command. The spokesmen of the revolt now thronged into the emperor's anti-chamber in order to announce their farther wishes; it had, however, been determined not to allow the emperor to treat immediately with these boisterous petitioners and admonishers. The chamberlain, a wealthy Hungarian magnate, therefore refused to announce them; they determined to take no notice of the refusal and to penetrate to the emperor's apartment. The chamberlain — mindful of his duty and his oath — placed himself before the door, laid his hand on the hilt of his sword, and declared that so long as he stood on that spot no one should cross the threshold. The impetuous intruders drew back, but on searching found a back door which brought them to the emperor. A short time after it was announced in the streets: "The emperor has been pleased to decide on the removal of the censorship and the immediate publication of a press law." The general rejoicing had scarcely begun when a cry for a constitution was raised in the streets. In the evening, at the motion of the archduke Francis Charles, the Staatskonferenz held a meeting which was also attended by Francis Charles' son, the archduke Francis Joseph, now emperor of Austria. At this meeting it was decided that it would be advisable for the emperor to anticipate the wishes of the people by granting a constitution on his own initiative.

When Vienna awoke the next morning it was surprised by the information that the emperor had decided to assemble the estates of the German and Slav kingdoms, as well as deputies from Italy, at latest by the 3rd of July, in order to secure for himself their advice on legislative and administrative questions. Thus the constitution was granted without the utterance of the word constitution. The jubilation was extraordinary and when, in the afternoon, the emperor drove out, the enthusiastic people wanted to take out the horses and drag the carriage themselves.

The same evening a deputation of the Hungarian diet, with the palatine archduke Stephen at its head, appeared, to submit to the emperor the wishes of the diet. Here we must go back to see what had been happening in the meantime at Presburg.

A Separate Government Granted to Hungary (1848 A.D.)

So soon as the news of the events in Paris had reached Presburg, the table of the estates held a meeting and passed the foll wing resolutions: "Hungary shall receive an independent ministry, responsible to the diet. When the king is not in the country the palatine, the archduke Stephen, takes the king's place as his *alter ego*. He is irresponsible. All decrees must be countersigned by a minister. The Hungarian ministry has its seat at Budapest. All business which has been hitherto carried on by courts at Vienna shall be exclusively the affair of the Hungarian ministry. The king, or his representative, appoints only the prime minister, who then nominates the other ministers." The following phrase was added: "without prejudice to the maintenance of the unity of the crown and the connection of the monarchies and having consideration to the relations of Hungary to the hereditary domains."

At the time of this decision the palatine was in Vienna. For ten days the *Judex curiæ*, George Majláth, refused to permit a sitting of the table of magnates to be held. The table of estates was already anxious to impeach him when the palatine at last returned. The hall of the magnates and the galleries were filled with a fearfully excited crowd of young men. No one ventured to speak, and so the decision of the table of estates was made into a resolution of the diet and the deputation already mentioned proceeded to Vienna. The enormous demands which it brought, and which threatened to burst the bonds of the monarchy excited profound misgivings in the government, but the Magyar deputation persisted in its demands; the archduke Stephen declared that he would lay down the office of palatine if the royal sanction was not given. The pressure was great; the emperor gave his consent.

The Flight of Metternich (1848 A.D.)

In the general commotion which had taken place throughout the monarchy, our attention is primarily attracted by the fate of one individual, namely, the man who for nine-and-thirty years had guided the fate of the Austrian monarchy. It is probably unnecessary to say that we mean Prince Metternich. It has been already told how he withdrew from his exalted position. On the evening of the same day he discussed the event with his entourage with as much calm as though he had no share in it. To the remark of some friends that his retirement was not yet final, since the emperor had not yet approved it, he answered that he could not remain in that way because then his resignation would appear to be merely done for effect, and only the petition of those who had brought it about could determine him to withdraw it. He went quietly to bed.

In the morning he was warned of a rabble approaching the chancellery. Two friends appeared and conducted him and the princess across the Bastei to the dwelling of one of the said friends. Here he remained till evening. A hackney coach was provided and brought there secretly. One of the prince's friends wished to take his seat on the coachbox, but the driver said, "No, that will attract attention. Rely on me, I will get the prince away."

With extraordinary speed the man drove off, the prince, the princess, and one friend in the carriage. The gate of the Rothethurm was barred; the driver spoke into the carriage, "do not be alarmed, I will get you out." Four or five other hackney carriages were there and the gate was finally opened to their insistence; the driver drove swiftly through. He brought the prince to another friend in the lines of the *Jäger*. There a carriage was already prepared and into this the fugitives and their companions stepped. They came safely through the lines. The prince remained five days with a friend and continued his journey. At Olmütz he was refused admittance into the town. He took a circuitous route to the railway, while a report was intentionally spread which credited him with having taken another road. The friend who accompanied the fugitives gave out that the carriage was empty; the blinds were drawn so that no one could see in, and it therefore passed for a luggage van. Seventeen hours the prince and princess spent shut up in that carriage. Overcome with thirst, the prince said: "to die of thirst or another way, is all one; I must drink." He demanded a glass of water. The passengers were thus informed that the carriage was not empty and immediately the word was passed round; "they are suspects." At this critical moment the friend initiated the conductor into the secret and the man gave the signal to start; several passengers who had alighted were left behind, but the prince was saved.

Once more the prince was in great danger. It happened at an inn, that the pretended Englishman and his wife continually spoke French, and their linen looked suspicious on account of the embroidered initial, and was finer than that usually belonging to persons of the condition of which they declared themselves to be. It was whispered "it might be Prince Metternich." Whereupon some one said, "If I knew that I would kill him with my own hand." The journey was immediately continued and the prince again eluded the danger. He encountered no further perils till he reached Holland and England, where he was received with that consideration which misfortune merits. The affectionate care of the friend who had rescued the prince had saved the population of Vienna from a crime which would probably have occurred if he had fallen into the hands of the excited crowd.[k]

While England afforded Metternich the shelter of her hospitality a severe judgment was passed on him by her minister for foreign affairs. On June 15th Lord Palmerston wrote to Leopold, king of the Belgians:[a]

"As to poor Austria, every person who attaches value to the maintenance of a balance of power in Europe must lament her present helpless condition; and every man gifted with ever so little foresight must have seen, for a long time past, that feebleness and decay were the inevitable consequences of Prince Metternich's system of government; though certainly no one could have expected that the rottenness within would so soon and so completely have shown itself without. Lord Bacon says that a man who aims at being the only figure among ciphers is the ruin of an age; and so it has been with Metternich. He has been jealous of anything like talent or attainment in individuals, and of anything like life in communities and nations. He succeeded for a time in damming up and arresting the stream of human progress. The wonder is, not that the accumulated pressure should at last have broken the barrier and have deluged the country, but that his artificial impediments should have produced stagnation so long."[l]

One after another the high state officials withdrew from their posts. A new ministry was formed. Ficquelmont for foreign affairs, Pillersdorf for the interior, Taafe for justice, Sommaruga for education, Kübeck for finance,

Zanini was soon after added as minister of war. But a partial change in the ministry quickly followed. Kraus took Kübeck's place, Latour Zanini's, and Sommaruga provisionally took over the ministry of justice as well. By the addition of Doblhoff as minister of commerce and agriculture, and of Baumgartner as minister of public works, the number of ministers was increased to eight.[k]

CHARACTER AND END OF THE MARCH REVOLUTION

We have now finished with the description of the occurrences of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March, 1848, in Vienna, and of the causes which led to them. The reaction, which later triumphed over the Austrian upheaval, has chosen to represent even the March revolution as the logical outcome of a propaganda set going by French, Italian, Polish, or Hungarian emissaries. There is, for any thing the writer has been able to discover, no trace of this. As evidence against it, it is known that even before the days of March there was a strong party at court which attempted to compass the downfall of the Staatskonferenz, which was dominated by Archduke Ludwig and Prince Metternich, because the domination which these two statesmen especially had managed to secure had become unendurable to it.

This party, which was not concerned with the reforms in favour of freedom, but only with the possession of the power, in which the archduke and Prince Metternich would not allow it a share, supported the efforts of the liberals in so far as these were directed to the downfall of the all-powerful chancellor. But the liberals, who desired not a mere change of officials but a radical alteration of the whole system of government, were not content with Metternich's withdrawal. The revolution, far from ceasing to grow, struck deeper and deeper root, and the constitution had to be proclaimed in order to put an end to the revolution. That court party which by the downfall of the chancellor, had attained their utmost wishes, would not have hesitated to annihilate the revolution in Vienna by means of bombs and grape shot, if they had been possessed of the necessary power. It was indeed their weakness which compelled them to submit to the people, who at this time possessed but one mind, one soul, as though all differences of class and fortune had suddenly ceased to exist.

A Contemporary Estimate

The *Wiener Zeitung*, shortly after the days of March, published an article dealing with the causes of the Vienna movement, part of which we here quote:

"The movement was twofold: the sincere and peaceable, but now urgent entreaty of the well-disposed for the improvement of the state organisation was the movement of the great majority of the people of Vienna. But besides that a comparatively small number of the proletariat in the suburbs and outside of the town had risen, with the idea of making use of this opportunity to perpetrate atrocities. This was the seamy side, the second part of the movement.

"The man who possesses insight into the deeds of his Fatherland is day and night in company with the idea, and so acquires a conviction of what is required. The severest censure and denunciation cannot stifle this first germ of all wishes of the people. The friends of the Fatherland, who have acquired a common conviction, exchange their views, for mutual instruction, and the

supplying of one another's defects. This is the second step in formulating the wishes of the people. Intercourse between business colleagues in all classes extends the acquirements of the mind in all sections of the state-family; and so the desires of the people become general.

For years this was the course of public opinion in Vienna; and in the whole empire it formed itself and spread, in spite of espionage: and the censorship had no other effect than to prevent the rulers from becoming acquainted with the desires of the governed. A shock, a chance occurrence suffices to make a long-disregarded public feeling burst into action; and so it was in Vienna: the training, extending over long years, of the public mind to an understanding of what it really wanted, the events in western Europe, the example of Germany, the students' agitation — these are the true causes of the single-hearted uprising of the people. No other need be sought. There were no secret societies organised; there was no excitement, no pamphlets were distributed; nor were any of those means employed, of whatever sort, which some have thought to discover. It was not a manufactured thing; it was like the sun, rising by force of the ever-inscrutable natural laws of the world's history. It was a peaceable reversal of conditions, not a revolution. Simultaneous pillagings on the part of individual bands of the mob did, it is true, take place; but they had no union, no cohesion. The strongest proof of this lies in the fact that the pillagers did not betake themselves to the imperial palace nor to the mansions of the nobility and statesmen, but to just those places where the legitimate desires of the people could obtain no satisfaction— to the factories and the dwelling houses of their employers."

Löhner's Estimate

A particularly exact estimate of the political importance of the events of March has been arrived at by Löhner. He writes: "Into the time that separates the commencement from the close, a number of alterations were compressed, which in the ordinary course of events would need a life-time for their accomplishment. Therefore in their rapid transition the different stages through which the revolution passed, from the few isolated reforms to the foundation of a completely new order of government, are, though faintly accentuated, recognisable. Almost all the parties who took part in the movement found themselves in quite a different position at its conclusion from that which they had occupied at its commencement.

"The new Austria which had replaced the old was, as regards both its domestic and its foreign relations, in the condition of a state whose radically altered conditions of existence had nothing in common with the old. These very circumstances later involved various consequences, in all directions, whose results already forced themselves on the notice of the quiet spectator as concrete subjects of observation, even as early as the joyous evening upon which the constitution was celebrated.

"The most important of these results were as follows: At the conclusion of the popular insurrection by the grant of the constitution, the court party had at first supported it and later, though against their will, actually joined it; they now seceded from this confederacy and adopted an opposite policy. They had supported the movement as long as a common objective was in question. This was quite sharply defined and restricted to the removal of Metternich. From the time this was accomplished their friendly or unfriendly attitude was decided entirely by the measure of reform, in no direction to be exceeded, that they considered necessary. The farthest formal limit of this

was, in fact, a representative constitution. From the moment that was conceded, the original dynastic interests would naturally reappear in their full determination, as a jealous endeavour to keep the consequences of that constitution down to their minimum.

"The reform party of the estates was in a similar position. At first supported by the people, then outstripped by them, it feared lest, in the natural course of things, when the division of power came to be arranged, it would be more neglected than before.

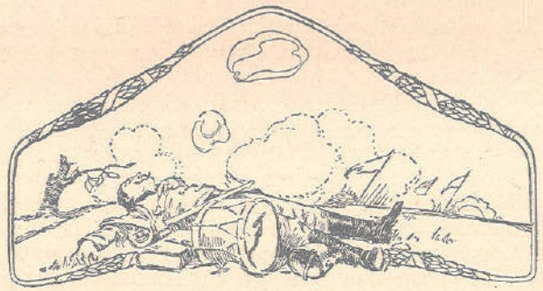
"A constitution can become a gain to a body consisting of nobility only when it is an aristocratic one. The Austrian estates had gone hand in hand with the people in the cause of freedom; arrived at equality, they would be forced to join the one stable party — namely, that which continually seeks to hold in steady condensation the steamlike capacity for expansion of a political relation.

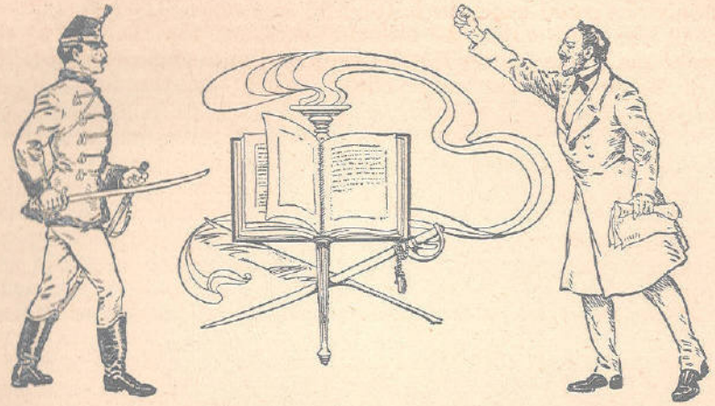
"Valuable and full of results as the events of the three days had been, they none the less bear in their effects the same relation to a true revolution as an armed demonstration bears to a battle of annihilation. What is properly called government, the exercise of state functions, was, even if only nominally, still in the hands of those officials who had been previously intrusted with it. The fundamental guarantee of the new state of affairs — the promise of a constitution — had, so to speak, come into effect by agreement. The effective pillars of the absolutist system, the official, the military, the clerical clergy, were transferred in uninterrupted power to the new order, so that the safety of the constitution was left in the keeping of the very people in the teeth of whose opposition and interests it had come into being. Principles, however, cannot be divided from the parties which hold them; and whereas the French Revolution triumphed because it brought into power a government of its own school, the Austrian constitution presented the fantastic picture of a fortress whose strong posts had been entrusted to its enemies.

"If already the existence of political parties presents itself in the light of a succession of violent transitions, so those which could be foreseen in Austria were further complicated by the parties of the nationalities. The principle of liberty and equality, when put to the test of practice, is simply government by the majority. But this only holds good within the confines of the individual nationality; beyond that it becomes just the reverse — servitude and hegemony. The movement which broke the iron ring of benevolent despotism, which had maintained the totality of things and conditions in some kind of confused co-existence, prepared the way for calling in question everything which had hitherto existed, as purely artificial; and so its break-up was a signal for the nationalities, after shaking themselves free from the former laws of gravitation, to choose a common centre. This principle once decided, claim now opposed claim, independence was confronted by independence; and this was manifestly true of the whole empire to its extremest borders without distinction or exception. As in the Greek myth the iron men who threatened Cadmus fought one another when he threw a stone into their midst, so now for the people of Austria the constitution played the part of the stone.

"Finally, as regards foreign affairs, while political sympathies for Russia had, until now, held the scales of conflicting material interests in the East, so now constitutional Austria must have appeared as the direct enemy of Russia. Along a large extent of its boundary the related peoples of Austria would be the most dangerous vehicle for propaganda of political and social changes amongst those of Russia. In Austria revolution and imperialism met face to

face; only one could leave the battle-field victorious. Therefore Russia had to try all means to ensure the ultimate decision. For the present the conclusion of the whole matter may be expressed in a single sentence: On the 15th of March the Austrian revolution ended; on the 16th the reaction began!" *i*





CHAPTER III

REACTION AND REVOLT

[1848–1850 A.D.]

ABRUPTLY as the shock of revolution had come, both Frankfort and Berlin retained self-command enough to link the new state of things with the old, even if by nothing more than a slender thread of legal continuity, by means of the united diet in the one case and the confederation diet in the other. In Austria it was not so. The country passed at a bound from the coercive measures of absolutism to a constitutional government, which (with the levity of political immaturity) it fancied that it had already attained, together with all the attributes of constitutional liberty, because most of the towns had improvised a town militia in imitation of Vienna and had abolished the censorship, and because nobody obeyed the authorities unless he pleased. The ministry, which had taken the place of the defunct Staatskonferenz, went so far as to dub itself responsible. At first it was under the presidency of Count Kólowrat, after the 3rd of April under Count Ficquelmont, who himself was succeeded after the 4th of May by Baron von Pillersdorf, a well-known opponent of the old system, but a man who, enfeebled by the burden of years and bureaucratic habit, thought he had done all that was necessary if only outward tranquillity was maintained, and in all other matters held himself in subordination to the powers that were, and they — the archduke Ludwig and the archduchess Sophie — were none other than those who had occupied that position before the 13th of March. And the sole concern of them both was to get through this turbulent period as creditably as might be, and with the least possible injury to the government and the dynasty. The free state of the future could have been built on no more rotten foundation.

THE REVOLUTION AT ITS HEIGHT (1848)

But the fall of absolutism dragged the unity of the imperial monarchy down with it. In Germany the desire for freedom and the desire for unity

blended together and strengthened each other reciprocally; the effect of the revolution in Austria was "like the pouring of a hot liquid into a cold glass — it shattered it." The antagonism of diverse nationalities, hitherto kept in check with difficulty, broke ungovernably forth. As matters stood in Hungary, nothing but this shock was required to allow the radical party to outflank the old opposition party, which took its stand upon the ancient constitution. And the radicals had inscribed upon their banner the unconditional autonomy of Hungary, and thus forced the constituted authorities into a struggle for the unity of the empire and all non-Magyars into a struggle for their nationality.

The chamber of magnates, though it now hastened to concur in the representation of the estates of the 3rd of March, had found itself thrust aside by the chamber of estates, which, carried away by the eloquence of Kossuth, decreed absolute liberty of the press, universal liability to taxation, and the relief of urbarial burdens. When the monster deputation of the diet, which Vienna, drunk with liberty and eager for fraternity, received with acclamation, brought back the concession of a responsible ministry, Count Louis Batthyányi formed that ministry out of the spokesmen of the nationalist opposition — Kossuth, Eötvös, Francis Deák, Francis Esterházy, and Széchényi, who self-denyingly joined his former rivals. The Austrian colours and the imperial eagles disappeared; but the diet had barely time to enjoy its victory before it fell under the yoke of the sovereign will of the people as represented by the Pest committee of security; and when Kossuth extorted from it the abolition of the Urbarium and *Herrenstühle* by the bugbear of a peasants' war, he won the peasantry over to his side, constrained the nobles to assume a more friendly tone, and the clergy to resign the tithe.

The language used by the diet towards the government at Vienna became all the more haughty. The conditions under which the latter (after dallying as long as possible) acceded to the Hungarian claims — namely, the retention of the supreme authority over the combined imperial and Hungarian armies, the civil list for the king, the contributions towards imperial national burdens and the imperial national debt, and the maintenance of the imperial troops quartered in the country — were promptly rejected. In order that Batthyányi should not make good his threat of resigning, the palatine had been obliged to promise to hand in his own resignation if his personal representations at Vienna proved ineffectual; and these representations the diet backed by the declaration that they awaited the result of his voluntary intervention in the resolute spirit demanded by their country's peril. The Hofburg was only too well aware that refusal meant revolution; and therefore all and more than all for which Hungary had fought so long was granted at a single stroke: the right of the palatine to exercise royal prerogatives in the absence of the king, annual diets at Pest, a democratic law of elections, the abolition of *robot* (forced labour) and tithes, of manorial jurisdiction and *Aviticität*, reform of the assemblies of the comities, equal privileges for all religious bodies, distinct national colours, and the abolition of the censorship and the Hungarian chancellerie. The relation of Hungary to the dual monarchy hardly amounted to a common sovereignty (*Personalunion*). The commanders of Hungarian troops were forbidden to take orders from Vienna.

On April 14th the emperor Francis went to Presburg to close the diet and confirm the laws it had passed, and the government was transferred to Pest. But the real ruler of Hungary was Kossuth, the tribune of national rights, the idol of not only his own people but of the Austro-Germans. "I am a plain citizen," he could say in the diet, "strong only in the might of

truth; and yet providence has so ordered it that by the turn of my hand I can decide the existence or non-existence of the house of Habsburg."

But these very successes sowed the evil dragon-seed of future conflicts. They were so great that the Austrian government could but strive with every fresh accession of power to withdraw concessions extorted from its weakness, and they incited other nationalities to imitate the Magyars. The latter had barely begun to enjoy the sensation of having shaken off the old bureaucratic administration of Vienna, before the demands of the Slavonic nationalities of the south began to grow audible with new insistence. In spite of their common hatred for the fallen system, these claims clashed irreconcilably with the aspirations of Pest to a Magyar autocracy over all other national elements under the dominion of the crown of St. Stephen. The national committee of Agram demanded complete severance of the three kingdoms from Hungary, and their combination into an Illyrian state in which Dalmatia and the military frontier were also to be incorporated, the revindication of districts that had been incorporated with Hungary, and a separate Croat ministry. On receiving these proposals the Vienna government obediently appointed Colonel Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, without the concurrence of Pest; and his first official acts were to proclaim martial law over the peasantry, who had been deluded into revolt by the Magyars, and to issue to the tribunals a prohibition of direct intercourse with Hungarian officials. The hatred that the Servians bore the Magyars broke out with even greater violence, being complicated by religious differences. The rude rejection of their demands led to a convocation of the national assembly at Karlowitz by the metropolitan, Rajacic, the election of Colonel Suplicac to the voivodeship, and the proclamation of the liberty and independence of the Servian nation under the Austrian sceptre and the dual crown of Hungary.

In Transylvania alone did the Magyars gain their end. Suspicious, apprehensive for their charter and the possession of the royal demesnes (*Königsboden*), the Saxons endeavoured to withstand their flattering allurements and their promises of liberty; but, terrorised, left unsupported by Vienna, and in dread of the Wallachians, whom they hated no less than the Magyars and who had likewise put forth a claim for equal rights in a great national assembly at Blasendorf, the diet of Klausenburg let itself be coerced on May 30th into sanctioning the union of Transylvania with Hungary, little dreaming that it was thereby signing the death-warrant of Saxon nationality.

Among the Czechs matters took the same course as in Hungary; there was the same out-flanking of the old liberals by the democrats, the same conversion of a democratic into a nationalist movement. In Prague the lead was taken by a national committee created by combining the committee of safety with the *Gubernial-commission* appointed by the estates; deputations brought from Vienna the imperial ratification of the claims of the Bohemian nation, a separate Bohemian ministry and the indissoluble union of all Bohemian provinces appertaining to the crown — in a word, the transformation of Bohemia into just such another state as Hungary, united by very loose ties with the rest of the monarchy. The imperial proclamation of the new Bohemian constitution, dated April 8th, went so far as to declare the coming Bohemian diet a constituent assembly, to assert that the constitution of the state was dependent upon its decrees, and to place the German and Czech languages on an equal footing. The institution of a Czech militia and the newly invented Czech national costume were indications of the attack upon Teutonism which was beginning under the leadership of the Slowanska

Lipa; Palacky's refusal of the invitation to join the committee of Fifty was the bill of divorce between the Czechs and German Bohemia, and in the greater part of the country the national committee frustrated the elections to the parliament at Frankfort.

Moravia and upper Silesia offered no footholds to the separatist aspirations of the Czechs; Galicia and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, on the other hand, went so far as to make an attempt at absolute severance. In the latter the struggle grew into a war for Italian unity. The Polish nobility had a forcible admonition to an attitude of cautious reserve in the memory of the bloody year of 1846 and the unquenched animosity of their peasantry, but when the amnesty of the 20th of March brought a swarm of political refugees back from France the bridle of prudence gave way. But the insurrection which broke out at Cracow on April 26th came to the common end of all Polish rebellions on the same day. The town was laid under martial law, and thenceforth the allegiance of Galicia was secured by the vigilance of its governor, Count Francis Stadion.

The "Fundamental Law of the Empire"

With the Italians in open rebellion, the Poles always ready for the same, the Magyars, Czechs, and southern Slavs dubiously loyal and cherishing aspirations after national autonomy, which left no room for doubt; with the Austro-Germans, rudely awakened from their torpor, a prey to the wildest revolutionary extravagances on the one hand and shamefully subservient to radical demagogues on the other; with, to boot, a financial depression, an absolute lack of ready money which drove the minister of finance, Kraus, to embrace the most desperate remedies in order to avoid pronouncing the hideous word "bankruptcy" — in face of this situation, as it presented itself after four weeks of civil convulsion, was it to be wondered at that faith in the integrity and permanence of the empire grew dim, that the voluntary abdication of the Polish and Italian provinces seemed almost a matter of course? For even in the Centre itself confusion became ever worse confounded. The absolute uselessness of the patent of March 15th, with its pedantic adherence to the old formulæ of the estates, was obvious to all the world; and therefore on April 25th a "fundamental law of the empire" was promulgated, which was nothing whatever but another toy to quiet political babes: for it left untouched the main question at issue — whether Austria should continue to be a federal state or should adopt a centralised form of government; and in like manner said nothing of imperial relations with the Hungarian crown lands and the Italian provinces, because, as Ficquelmont confessed with the utmost naïveté, "they were merely of a transitory nature."

The whole of this great act was received with indifference or rejection in all quarters. The Czechs and Poles repudiated any interference with the autonomy which they claimed as their due; the Germans distrusted a ministry which carried its complaisance towards the Slavs to the pitch of offering the education department to Palacky; the democratic party was indignant at the two-chamber system and the composition of the senate; the mob expressed its dissatisfaction by nightly caterwauling, and on the 3rd of May extorted Ficquelmont's resignation. Whereupon the Aula, the organised association of students, combined with the representatives of the national guard to form a political central committee for the protection of the rights of the people, which proceeded to usurp government prerogatives without

more ado. In the same Austria where, little more than two months ago, no breath of political agitation penetrated the silence of an all-powerful bureaucracy, a handful of raw boys, in concert with the rabble, gave itself the airs of a sole and supreme authority. When the ministers, who had not felt it beneath their dignity to remain in office after the insult offered to their president, summoned up enough courage to forbid the national guard to take part in the committee, the enraged Aula extorted by the help of the mob a retraction of the unheard-of affront. Helpless as it was, the government submitted to anything. For, with a just perception of the fact that the fate of Austria would be decided on the battle-fields of Italy, the war minister, Latour, had despatched all the available troops thither. It was obliged not only to concede the joint garrisoning of the gates and the citadel by the military and the national guard, but to consent to an electoral law that abolished the censorship, and to the convocation of a constituent assembly of the empire — that is to say, to the abandonment of the constitutional charter of April 25th.[b]

The Flight of the Emperor (May, 1848)

The continuous tumults and the dread of still more threatening scenes determined those about the emperor to persuade him to a flight to Innsbruck, which was effected on the 17th of May. This was soon followed by a change in the public humour. The emperor's departure was altogether too much for the loyal Viennese, who besieged him with petitions to return to his capital. But instead of utilising at once this favourable turn of affairs, to take energetic measures, the ministers, who had made the disbandment of the students' legion the condition of the emperor's return, and had already published the decree of disbandment, on the 26th of May, let themselves be driven by a third rising and fresh barricades to concede the revocation of the decree and the return of the troops to the barracks. More than this, the minister of the interior, Freiherr von Pillersdorf, actually handed over the restoration of order to its former disturbers, and permitted the installation of a committee of security which was composed of municipal councillors, national guards, and students. This was nothing but a popular dictatorship, by which not only was the effectiveness of the ministry thrust aside but the educated and moderate section of the population was driven from the dangerous channel of the agitation.

SUPPRESSION OF THE PRAGUE REVOLUTION (JUNE, 1848)

To complete the measure of the embarrassments — as though the rising in Italy which had begun on the 18th of March, the independent dreams of the Magyars, even now clinking their spurs, the committee of security in Vienna were not enough — Prague also entered the ranks of the revolutionary cities. There the Czechs declared their hostility to the German population and were determined no longer to remain a member of Germany, but to form a separate Slav kingdom with Moravia and Silesia, which should have an independent government.

In order to organise themselves as a powerful party, on the 2nd of June they instituted a general Slav congress at Prague, under the presidency of Palacky, established a provisional government in opposition to the unfree ministry at Vienna, and caused a Czech constitution to be drawn up by Rieger. Here also the students pursued high politics. There was no lack of conflict with the Germans, menaced by the Czechs, and with the military, who

had, in Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, a determined but very aristocratic commander. It is to him that is attributed the historic piece of *naïveté*, "Man begins with the baron." He refused the demand of the Czech students that he should hand over to them a battery and sixty thousand cartridges; for it was easy to see that these cartridges were intended for no one but the prince and his soldiers, and that it was designed to establish here, as at Vienna, a popular government and one composed of Czechs. On the 12th of June a sanguinary encounter took place before the prince's palace between the Czechs and the military, when the prince's wife, who was watching from a window, was mortally wounded by a ball. On this and the following day a few cannon shots quelled the rebellion, the situation was made clear to the vainglorious Czechs, the Slav congress was dispersed, and, after a long pause, the fact was made manifest that the military power of Austria had no desire to abdicate.[c]

The richest fruits of the revolt of Prague were garnered by the army. All other consequences, such as the break-up of the Pan-Slavic party and the indirect strengthening of the system of centralisation, were of minor importance compared to the fact that, for the first time since the revolution, the military were exalted in their own eyes and the soldiers stood forth, not merely as the strongest bulwark of order but also as the true pillars of Austrian power and unity. Up to this time it had been the fashion to conciliate the radicals at the expense of military pride; the army had been condemned to play a very subordinate part, constrained first to share its privileges with carpet-soldiers, students, and artisans, and then (in May) compelled to the deeper degradation of flight at the command of its superiors. Despite these measures, peace and tranquillity had not been restored; on the contrary, the pretensions of the radical party had waxed more arrogant. At Prague the general in command had neither been intimidated nor cajoled into retreating before the authority of the people, and he had subdued the rioters and suppressed the revolution. From this time forth the conservatives began to cherish the idea that the army was destined to be the salvation of the state, and to many the fate of Austria seemed wholly dependent on the attitude of the military. The greatest of Austrian poets, Grillparzer, once the idol of Vienna, became the most zealous apostle of this soldier-worship. He lauded the army in enthusiastic verse as the most deserving member of the body politic, in which wisdom was combined with strength, and true patriotism was alone to be found. Another poet, himself a soldier, was not satisfied with depicting the contrast between anarchic Vienna and the patriotic army; according to him the latter had the right to exercise judicial functions and had received authority to punish rebels and enemies of Austria. Grillparzer[1]

[1] Grillparzer's poem to Field-Marshal Radetzky was first published in the constitutional *Donauzeitung*. The following verses passed into a motto among the conservatives :

In Deinem Lager ist Oesterreich,
Wir andern sind einzelne Trümmer.
Aus Trägheit und aus Eitelkeit
Sind wir in uns zerfallen,
In denen die du führst zum Streit
Lebt noch ein Geist in Allen.
Dort ist kein Jüngling, der sich vermisst
Es besser als Du zu kennen,
Der was er träumet und nirgends ist
Als Weisheit wagt zu benennen.

(In thy camp is Austria, we others are scattered fragments. By indolence and vanity we have fallen into decay. Amongst those thou leadest to battle one spirit still lives in all. There is no youth who dares to boast that he knows better than thou, who dares to put forth as wisdom what he dreams and what has no existence.)

In Marsano's soldier-song the most outspoken verse ran :

Ihr Bürger Wien's, wir warnen euch,
Ihr mögt's auf der Aula erzählen :
Bedenket dass Wien nicht Oesterreich
Und dass ihr uns nichts zu befehlen.
Doch hört ihr die warnende Stimme nicht,
Die das Heer aus Italien sendet,
So setzen wir selber uns zu Gericht
Wenn hier unsere Sendung vollendet.

(Citizens of Vienna, we warn you, you may tell it forth in Aula. Remember that Vienna is not Austria and that you have no commands for us. But if you hear not the warning voice that the army sends from Italy, we will take our place on the judgment seat when we have accomplished our mission here.)

laments that Austria, once so great and mighty, is now to be met with only in the soldiers' camp, while Marsano converts the lament into a threat against Vienna and the Aula.

The mere fact that a poet here and there should ascribe a mission of such significance to the army was not in itself enough to have aroused the apprehension of fresh political complications; but this belief did not exist only in the imagination of poets: after the events of June the army itself was inspired with a like proud conviction. The lengths to which this feeling went are best seen from the address of Prince Windischgrätz to the Bohemian nation when (on June 20th) he abrogated the state of siege. In this he declared that the least attempt at a fresh revolt would restore the military dictatorship, and the first cannon shot re-establish martial law, under which every rebel would be executed without mercy. The concluding words of this imperious proclamation run: "I hereby solemnly guarantee to every well-affected person protection and the maintenance of his just rights, life, and property; but to the wrong-doer who shall dare to disturb the public peace let it serve as a final warning." Such language had been unknown since the days of March; and, in spite of his victory over the Czechs, Prince Windischgrätz would hardly have ventured upon using it at this juncture if the favourable turn of events in the Italian theatre of war had not furnished a powerful reserve upon which he could fall back.[d]

RADETZKY SAVES LOMBARDO-VENETIA (1848 A.D.)

The news of the events of March had scarcely reached Milan, when the viceroy, Archduke Rainer, foreseeing the storm, set off by Verona for the Tyrol (March 17th). Soon after, the struggle began; it had already lasted three days when Count Radetzky, the commander-in-chief in Italy, received the news that the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, in spite of the most solemn assurances of peace, only recently repeated, had crossed the frontier with a well-equipped army. There was but one means of defying the storm and the way to do it was "backwards." It was, as the old general himself says, "a terrible resolution, but it had to be taken."

It is only in reverses that man is great; and no hero ever encountered greater reverses than those which in these days fell, blow on blow, on Radetzky, an old man in his eighty-third year: the unexpected, energetic rising, the treacherous attack from without, the scattering of his resources, the

desertion and treachery in his own army, the confusion and helplessness at home, the fall of so many fortresses, losses of so formidable a character as that of Venice. That he immediately perceived the point at which a rein might be put upon misfortune, and afterwards clung to it with the firm resolve of succumbing there or again conquering, is an achievement to be placed on a level with the greatest of its kind and is greater than the subsequent victory.

The Austrians left Milan and withdrew to their reinforcements. The little town of Melignano refused them a passage; it was taken by storm and partially plundered. At Lodi Radetzky learned the situation of the army and of Lombardy. At the first news of revolt, General d'Aspre had collected his army corps and had marched straight to Verona. He had left everything else in order to maintain this decisive point or march thence to meet the field-marshal. Mantua had been preserved to the emperor by the steadfastness and penetration of General Gorzkowski. The little fortress of Peschiera was in the power of the imperials; these were the most favourable tidings. The unfavourable news outweighed them. Charles Albert had passed the border on the same day on which the Austrians had left Milan. Of twenty Italian battalions, seventeen had deserted *en masse* or in part; and hence the towns of Udine, Treviso, Padua, Cremona, and Brescia had fallen into the hands of the revolutionaries. The same was the case with Osopo and Palmanova; in the last-named place alone thirty cannon and fifteen thousand rifles fell into the hands of the insurgents.

More grievous than all was the loss of Venice. The first tumults there had been quickly suppressed by the troops. The next morning the governor, Count Aloys Pálffy and the commandant, Count Zichy, allowed themselves to be persuaded, in order to avoid bloodshed, not to permit the troops to march out; and they sanctioned the arming of the citizen guard for the purpose of preserving order. All seemed quiet; but, when the news of the proceedings in Milan arrived, the revolt broke out (21st of March). The revolutionaries calculated on the weakness and incapacity of the heads of the imperial party. When the rising began, the governor made over all his powers to Count Zichy, but the latter was entirely helpless; he was separated from his troops, roughly treated, intimidated, and agreed to a compromise which delivered the fortifications, the precious, irreplaceable navy, and the Italian soldiery to the rebellion. The loyal troops marched out and the republic was proclaimed. The loss was immeasurable — far more than a lost battle.

The fall of Venice determined Radetzky to withdraw to the Adige and Verona. Here the fate of Italy must be decided. His headquarters were in Verona. Charles Albert marched after him and began the siege of Peschiera, where there was a lack of provisions. Here it became manifest that the pre-March government had made many mistakes in regard to the defence of Italy. The army was neither so strong as Radetzky could have desired, nor was it composed of wholly reliable troops. Twenty battalions of Italian troops had been left in Italy: it had been thought that they could be relied on because they had remained faithful in previous wars; but in this supposition the fact was lost sight of that for years they had been exposed to seduction. Seventeen battalions had, as already said, gone over wholly or in part to the enemy, but very few took service with the latter; they left their officers in the Austrian army and went back to their homes. Each withdrawing battalion left the Austrian army the weaker by a thousand men.

Lombardy and the Venetian mainland were in rebellion, the imperial army occupied only Mantua, Peschiera, Legnano, and Verona, and the district commanded by those fortresses. The salvation of the monarchy lay in the

Italian army, and it had at least one of the finest defensive positions that could be imagined; but Radetzky could not advance to the attack till he had received sufficient reinforcements; for, if the imperial troops in Italy were to suffer a crushing defeat, the Austrian army would be practically overthrown.

The minister of war, Count Latour, made every effort to strengthen the army; he formed a reserve corps under Count Nugent, the master of the ordnance; it was seventeen thousand strong and was intended to subdue the Venetian mainland. Before this was done Radetzky could hardly advance to the attack. Charles Albert was well aware of this and he attacked an Austrian division at Pastrengo, but the fight was insignificant; the Austrian division attacked withdrew to the main army. Thereupon he attacked the imperial main army at Santa Lucia (May 6th). The Piedmontese were effectually beaten, but on the side of the Austrians it was merely a defensive battle. They had only taught Charles Albert that it was not so easy to dictate peace in Vienna as he had boastfully averred. Charles Albert received important auxiliaries from the revolted Modena, Tuscany, and, above all, from the states of the church. Here a regular crusade against the Austrians was preached. The able general Durando led the Romans; the pope disapproved of the attack on Austria, but could not prevent it; the reins of government had already been torn from his hands.

RADETZKY
(1766–1858)

In a moment of discouragement the Austrian government proposed to the Lombards to sever their connection with the monarchy on condition of their taking over a considerable portion of the state debt, and granting a favourable commercial treaty. The vainglorious Lombards did not accept this offer; they disputed among themselves as to whether Lombardy should become a republic or whether Charles Albert should be chosen king; but they neglected the means to secure the success of their plans. Charles Albert was only sparingly assisted with money and still more sparingly with troops. They reckoned on France and England, who had offered their mediation. Whilst the cabinets were discussing as to how and where the negotiations should take place, the efforts of Radetzky gave the situation a turn very different from that which the Italians expected. Radetzky assumed the offensive.

The forces which Charles Albert had at his disposal could not be computed at less than eighty thousand men. The Austrian army, on the other hand, in addition to the seventeen thousand men whom Nugent had brought up, and

the garrisons at Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona, consisted of forty-three battalions, forty-four squadrons, and one hundred and fifty cannon. They were divided into three corps under generals Wratislaw, D'Aspre, and Wocher. The forces which Radetzky could lead to the attack might then be reckoned at more than forty thousand. General Hess was the chief of the staff. The troops were animated with the best spirit and full of trust in their leaders. By a march prepared with as much boldness as foresight, the field-marshal appeared before the enemy's entrenchments at Curtatone; he wished to take it and then to compel the enemy to give battle along the line of the Mincio or to abandon that river. A victory would have had the greatest results. Hindrances due to the elements were the cause that the success was only partial. The skilfully constructed entrenchments were stormed, and 2,000 prisoners with five cannon fell into the hands of the Austrians (May 29th). The army advanced, but a tremendous rain suspended further movements, in addition to which came the news that, after a gallant resistance, Peschiera had been compelled by famine to capitulate. Moreover, the enemy had found time to assemble his whole power, and the field-marshal therefore desisted from attacks on this side; he sent a part of the troops back to Verona and with the rest directed his way to Vicenza.

The town was well fortified and provided with a numerous garrison, and in Charles Albert's camp it was believed that it could hold out for fourteen days against an army of one hundred thousand men. Radetzky appeared before the walls with forty thousand men and took it in one day. The entrenchment on Monte Berico, which was regarded as impregnable, was stormed by the tenth *Jäger* battalion under Colonel Kopal. The regiments of Latour and Reising followed suit; the other entrenchments were also taken by storm, and the same evening the town was fired on from Monte Berico. General Durando capitulated (11th of June). The fall of Vicenza was followed by that of Padua; General Welden took Treviso, Nugent had already won Udine. Thus the whole Venetian Mainland had been again subdued and free communication with the monarchy established. The corps of Count Thurn, who had taken over Nugent's command on the latter's falling ill, joined the main army. A great result had been attained with relatively small sacrifices. The field-marshal returned to Verona.

THE BATTLE OF CUSTOZZA (JULY, 1848)

Charles Albert prepared to besiege Mantua, but Radetzky determined to break the enemy's lines. Three days of brilliant fighting (22nd, 23rd, and 24th of July), in which General Simbschen's brigade was alone unfortunate, led to the battle of Custozza (July 25th), in which the Piedmontese were totally defeated and with extraordinary speed and in boundless disorder the Piedmontese army fled to Milan. There the greatest confusion prevailed. The mob rose against the Piedmontese; the palace where the king was lodged was fired on and he was kept in a species of captivity. It was only by the steadfast fidelity of a part of his troops that he escaped the rage of the people. The Piedmontese evacuated Milan and a municipal deputation requested Radetzky to march in with the imperial troops as quickly as possible, because only thus could murder and destruction be prevented and the fury of the people be tamed. The Austrians marched in; Charles Albert concluded an armistice; Lombardy was again subdued. But the Piedmontese admiral, who lay before Venice with his fleet, refused under various pretexts to withdraw. It was long before he left the waters of the Adriatic.[e]

THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION SUPPRESSED (1848 A.D.)

Meantime the constituent imperial diet had assembled at Vienna and had been opened on the 22nd of July by Archduke John, the *Reichsverweser* [imperial vicar of the German Empire]. There was a confusion of tongues as at Babel and little in the way of a constitution could be expected from it, especially since foreign affairs furnished continual material for the most lively

CATHEDRAL OF ST. STEPHEN
(Foundation laid by Duke Rudolf IV in 1359)

debates; the return of the emperor, which followed at the special request of the diet, on the 12th of August, contributed nothing towards calming men's minds. A motion for the removal of all obligations connected with the *Robot*, or compulsory labour, and with servitude — that is, the shaking off of all feudal burdens as had been done during the French Revolution of 1789 on the famous night of the 4th of August — was carried, with the stipulation that an equitable indemnity should be given by the state to those entitled to it.

The diet soon found itself in an untenable position between the ministry and the working-men's unions, and daily lost influence; for through the general desertion of the Slav members it had already shrunk into a rump parliament. Matters could not fail to come to an open struggle. Conditions

conformed themselves more and more to a copy of those prevailing among the Parisian workmen. Trade and barter were at a standstill. The wealthy families sought more idyllic abodes. The proletariat became thereby more numerous and enhanced their claims. Public works, Parisian national workshops, had to be inaugurated by the government, and the already languishing exchequer must pay the company of loungers a fair day's salary.

The Wessenberg ministry, which had succeeded that of Pillersdorf, finally took courage, began by reducing the wages to five kreutzers, and suppressed the rebellion of the refractory workmen by the help of the national guard (August 23rd). Then came a fresh development. The breach with the Hungarians was determined on. A portion of the Vienna garrison was to march against Hungary on the 6th of October. A grenadier battalion refused obedience, and when the cavalry attempted to compel it to set out, a struggle took place in which the grenadiers were supported by the students, the national guard, and the workingmen. General Bredy was shot and several cannon were made spoil by the people. Barricades were set up in all directions, the alarm bell tolled from the St. Stephen's Tower; an infuriated mob hurried to the ministry of war in search of the minister Latour, whose measures with regard to Hungary were not in agreement with the views of the Viennese democracy. Dragged from his hiding-place, he was hauled into the court-yard, and murdered in the most cruel fashion with sword thrusts and blows from hammmers, after which the body, bleeding from forty-three wounds, was suspended from a gas-lamp. Thereupon the arsenal was stormed and its rich contents, consisting in part of rare and costly weapons, were divided among the crowd. The diet declared itself permanent, and in an address to the emperor demanded the formation of a new ministry, the dismissal of General Jellachich, ban of Croatia, and similar concessions. This time the Viennese democracy had conquered but it was nevertheless lost.

Under such conditions the emperor could no longer remain in Schönbrunn. On the 7th of October he fled with a strong escort to Olmütz in Moravia, and ordered Prince Windischgrätz to reduce Vienna. The prince, who was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops except those in Italy, set out from Prague with his army, arrived before Vienna on the 20th of October, joined the troops of the ban Jellachich from Croatia, and the Vienna garrison which Count Auersperg had conducted out of the city, and on the 23rd demanded unconditional surrender.[c]

Meanwhile, preparations had been made for defence of Vienna, with much bustle but little practical ability. Bodies of fighting men had flocked in from the country round; barricades and fortifications had been raised, and mounted with cannon; the command of the national guard had been given to Messenhauser, formerly an officer in the Austrian army, and that of the mobile guard to General Bem, a Pole, and a man of remarkable military talent. The forty-eight hours allowed by Prince Windischgrätz having expired, the attack began on the morning of the 26th; and, after twelve hours' fighting, the exterior line of the Leopoldstadt faubourg was taken, but the interior remained in the hands of its defenders. The next day was spent in unavailing negotiations. On the 28th, the attack was renewed on all sides with great vigour, especially on the east and south. The city was set on fire in many places, and the contest was continued all night in the Leopoldstadt and Wieden faubourgs. On the 29th, the Viennese sent a deputation to Prince Windischgrätz with proposals of surrender. The prince refused to abate his previous demand for disarming the workmen and the students, but agreed to suspend hostilities for twelve hours, while the besieged held a last deliberation.

The deputation returned, and summoned a meeting of the town council, which was attended by Messenhauser, the commander of the academic legion, and some members of the diet. Messenhauser declared that he and the officers under him were ready to hold out, if the council decided to do so; but the situation was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession of the suburbs to the foot of the glacis, and the walls were incapable of general defence against escalade. On the question being put to the vote, it was resolved by three-fourths of the town councillors that the defence should cease. This resolution was announced to Prince Windischgrätz, and the disarming was actually commenced; but, on the 30th, a brisk cannonade was heard in the direction of Hungary, the sentinels on St. Stephen's Tower announced the long-expected approach of the Hungarian army, and the citizens were again summoned to arms, notwithstanding their engagements to surrender. To punish this breach of faith, Windischgrätz recommenced the bombardment of some of the faubourgs known as the most rebellious, and the firing was continued until nightfall.

The Battle of Schwechat (1848 A.D.)

The cannonade which had so raised the hopes of the Viennese in the morning was that of an engagement which took place at Schwechat, twelve miles from Vienna, between a Hungarian army of twenty-two thousand men, coming to the aid of the city, and twenty-eight thousand imperial troops despatched against them under Auersperg and Jellachich. The Hungarians had been awaiting on the frontier for many days the call of the Austrian diet. At last, on the 28th of October, Kossüth himself joined the army. The twenty columns of fire that rose that night from amid the palaces of Vienna showed but too fearfully the need there was of speedy aid for the devoted city; and without waiting longer on the Austrian diet, Kossuth gave the order to advance. It was too late, for on that very day had the fatal blow been struck. On the 30th the Hungarians came up with the scattered detachments of the imperials, drove them out of Fischamend and Albern, carried Mannsworth by storm, and pushed on toward Vienna, whilst Jellachich and Auersperg awaited their approach in most secure and advantageous positions.

The main body of the Hungarians was between the Danube and the Schwartzen Lachen, a sluggish arm of that river, as broad and deep as the Danube itself. At the head of this body of water the Austrians, with a park of sixty guns, stood ready to receive them; while ten regiments, principally cavalry, had been sent out to gain their rear and enclose them in the defile. So gross a blunder could not escape the military eye of Görgey, who was at that time invested with but an unimportant command; he directed Kossuth's attention to the fact, and by an immediate retreat they narrowly escaped the trap and avoided a total defeat, in which an hour's advance would inevitably have involved them. They were pursued by the victorious Austrians both that day and the following, and driven back into Hungary. This was the battle of Schwechat, in which Colonel Görgey, for the efficient service rendered in saving the Hungarian army from the *cul de sac*, was promoted on the ground to the rank of general.

In consequence of the bombardment of the 30th, the city, on the following morning, declared, for a second time, its unconditional submission. A deputation from the municipality communicated to the field-marshal the fact that the greater part of the citizens were willing to surrender without reserve; but

that they were too feeble to carry their determination into effect in opposition to the radical club, the committee of students, and the armed mob, who threatened to set the city on fire, and bury themselves beneath its ruins. After receiving the deputation, the imperial general ordered large bodies of troops into the faubourgs, the unconditional surrender of which was betokened by the white flags hanging from the bastions and the adjoining houses; but no sooner had the unsuspecting troops made their appearance on the open glacis, than their ranks were torn by a murderous fire of grape and musketry, poured upon them from the ramparts.

Incensed by this treacherous act, Prince Windischgrätz ordered a bombardment of the inner city, and an attack by storm on three of the eastern and southeastern gates. The imperial library, several public buildings, and two churches were set on fire. The burg Thor was carried by the troops, and a short but bloody fight began in the streets. The defenders being still, as on the 29th and 30th, divided among themselves — some only of them for fighting, more for yielding — the success of the besiegers was rapid; and before midnight the greater part of the capital was subdued. The contest, however, was continued at detached points on the following day, and the north-westerly parts of the city were not mastered until dawn on the 2nd of November. The fire in the imperial library was extinguished without much injury to its valuable contents, but the Augustin church was nearly destroyed. Prince Windischgrätz proclaimed that, in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions which he had at first agreed to were null and void; he declared Vienna in a state of siege; the academic legion dissolved forever, and the national guard for an indefinite time; all newspapers and political associations suspended; domiciliary visits to be made for the discovery of concealed arms, etc.

The loss of property occasioned by the siege of the Austrian capital has been estimated at about a million and a quarter sterling. The loss of life was much less than might have been expected after so protracted and desperate a struggle. Of the 1,600 persons arrested, nine only were punished with death, nine sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years, 996 discharged, and the remainder were tried by civil tribunal. Many of the most influential participators in the revolt escaped by flight before the troops entered the city. General Bem made his way into Hungary in disguise. Among the prisoners tried by court-martial were two members of the diet of Frankfort, sent thence by the deputies of the extreme Left to aid by their counsels the insurrection in Vienna. One of them, Robert Blum, member for Leipsic, being condemned, "on his own confession of having made revolutionary speeches, and opposed armed resistance to the imperial troops," was shot on the 9th of November. The other deputy, Fröbel, was sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards received a free pardon on the score of "extenuating circumstances." Messenhauser, the commander of the national guard, was shot.

THE REHABILITATION

Even as Old Austria had passed away during the days of March, so in these terrible October days the old jovial Vienna passed away for evermore. The subjugation of Lemberg by General von Hammerstein on November 2nd formed an after-piece to that of the capital itself; with them the revolution was stamped out in the Polish-German half of the imperial dominions. But the question of the method and principles on which the reconstruction of the

empire was to be accomplished became the subject of lively controversy, not only between constitutionalists and absolutists, but in an even greater degree between the petty jealousies of bureaucratic and military authorities. The whilom president of the exchequer, Von Kübeck, advocated as the simplest method the dissolution of the diet, the proclamation of martial law throughout the empire, and the appointment of Windischgrätz as dictator — that, having subdued the rebellion, he should proceed to take in hand the requisite "rejuvenation" of the political system. Stadion, however, backed by the Czech renitents of the diet, succeeded in convincing the court of the necessity of retaining the diet, though in an innocuous form. After the resolutions passed by the diet previous to the 6th of October had been confirmed by a patent dated the 19th of the same month which guaranteed the unimpaired enjoyment of all the rights and liberties conceded, the diet itself was prorogued, but summoned to meet again on November 22nd in the country town of Kremsier in the Hannak district, suggested by Palacky.

The ultimate decision rested nevertheless with the army, which had saved the tottering unity of the empire and had still to fight for it in Italy and Hungary. Windischgrätz had prudently stipulated when he assumed the chief command that no step should be taken nor any enactments promulgated that dealt with organisation, without his previous concurrence. But the real leader of the military party was not even Windischgrätz, but Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, a dissipated man of fashion who had held various diplomatic appointments and had recently fought with some distinction in Italy. This man, in whom pride of rank took the place of moral earnestness, whose attainments were represented by a coarse contempt for everything unmilitary, and in whom heedless audacity stood for statesmanlike insight, assumed the premiership of the new cabinet as minister for foreign affairs. Stadion became minister of the interior; Bruck, the gifted creator of the Austrian Lloyd, minister of commerce; while a mockery of the constitutional system of the late cabinet was preserved by the inclusion of Kraus and the converted democrat Bach, who had still a further process of conversion to undergo, as ministers of finance and justice respectively. The ministerial programme of November 27th contained the principal liberal demands, a liberal municipal law (*Gemeindegesetz*), and the reform of the administrative and judicial system.

But for Austria the true solution of the vital problem lay not so much in a greater or less degree of liberty as in the adjustment of her relations with Hungary and the Italian provinces on the one hand, and on the other with the new Germany which was still in process of formation. The programme, while passing lightly over the one subject, was all the more explicit on the other: "Not until rejuvenated Austria and rejuvenated Germany have attained to new and stable form will it be possible to define politically their reciprocal relations. Until that time Austria will continue faithfully to discharge her obligations towards the German Confederation."

The diet, which had assembled in full force in its place of exile, received this programme with loud applause. After which the dominant powers willingly allowed it the pleasure of immersing itself in vague discussions of fundamental rights or equally barren disquisitions upon federalism and centralisation, or spending its time in spiteful Czech attacks upon the German Left, while they themselves strode unfalteringly to their goal. In accordance with their political code, which did not treat pledges given by one ruler as binding on his successor, they had long since settled upon the expedient by which they would remove the insuperable barrier placed in the way of reaction

by the solemn promises the emperor Ferdinand had made to his subjects in general and to the Hungarians in particular. On the 2nd of December the emperor, heartily weary of the burden of rule, abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. He died at Prague, June 29th, 1875. A proclamation put into the mouth of the new eighteen-year-old emperor expressed the hope that he would "be able to weld all the countries and races of the monarchy into a great united body politic."

The confident expectation of an easy subjugation of Hungary, and particularly the exaggerated importance attached to the victory of Kápolna, inspired the government to delay no longer the stroke of policy demanded with increasing vehemence by the court, the aristocracy, the military, and the clergy, but to put an end to the farce of the diet. On March 6th Stadion submitted to a meeting of Deputies from the Right and Centre the scheme of a chartered constitution. The consternation with which they received it, the open opposition of even the rigid conservatives among them, appeared to make some impression on him, and he promised to exert his influence in the ministerial council to procure delay. Nevertheless, on the following morning the deputies found the hall of session barred by soldiers and an imperial manifesto posted at the street corners to announce the closing of the diet, "which by its debates had placed itself in conflict with the existing conditions of the monarchy," and the grant of a constitutional charter to the whole of Austria.

In this bungled patchwork, made up of shreds of all the constitutions in existence, the one thing that was meant to be taken seriously (apart from the restrictions placed upon religious liberty) was the abolition of all distinctions between the various dominions of the Crown and the reduction of all to the status of mere administrative districts. By this means, to outward seeming at least, the finishing touch was put to the tedious process which for a century had been at work on the transformation of the conglomerated states of the pragmatic union into a centralised political unit modelled upon the army. The maintenance of the constitution which was promised to Hungary, (though coupled with the separation of the voivodeship of Servia, of Transylvania, Croatia, and the military frontier) amounted in practice to the same thing as its abrogation. The definition of the relation of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom to the empire was left to be dealt with by special statute.

The dissolved diet vanished and left no trace behind; a "justification" from certain charges made against it, which was issued by thirty-three deputies, is the last we hear of it. Of those who a short while ago had spoken so loudly in the cause of freedom and justice, the majority submitted tamely to the newly constituted authority. Amongst the people at large the chartered constitution was received with the indifference it merited, but from the dragon-seed of equal rights, which found its fullest expression in the *Allgemeine Reichsgesetz- und Regierungsblatt*, printed in ten languages, sprang the armed nationalities which the government had next to dispose of one by one.

The Czechs found themselves dismissed with base ingratitude when once their duty was done; the revolutionary aspirations of the radical young Czech party, which was in touch with the German democrats, were soon brought within bounds by arrests and martial law. The Servians and Croats had a like experience. There was no question that the Hungarians would not voluntarily submit to have the yoke of a universal constitution laid upon their necks, but the government relied upon its ability to enforce it at the point of the sword.

THE HUNGARIAN WAR (1848-1849 A.D.)

After a final and fruitless summons to the Hungarians to return to their allegiance, an imperial manifesto dated November 6th proclaimed the commencement of armed intervention in all the provinces under the dominion of the crown of St. Stephen, and at the same time quashed all such decrees of the diet of Pest as had not already received the imperial sanction. Kossuth and his faction were denounced as traitors to their king and country, and all Hungarian officials were placed under the authority of Prince Windischgrätz. On the other hand the loyal [Transylvanian] Saxons were promised the restoration of their ancient privileges in the repeal of the union of Transylvania with Hungary. The Ruthenians of Galicia were assured of the imperial protection against Polish coercion, and Bukowina was raised to the rank of a distinct administrative province.

The situation of the Magyars was bad enough, indeed it was almost hopeless. The fiction to which the diet of Pest steadfastly held — that the succession which had been accomplished without their concurrence was invalid, that Ferdinand V was and remained their rightful king, that Francis Joseph was a usurper, and that Windischgrätz, not Hungary, was in rebellion — had, it is true, a certain amount of effect upon the army; but the latter, one half of which consisted of the *débris* of the old army and the other of the raw material of the new, could hardly be considered fit to take the field. The battle of Schwechat had severed the connection between the German and Hungarian revolutions, and the Magyars had their own intolerance to thank for the fact that from the island of Mur on the borders of Styria to Kronstadt in Burzenland the whole south was in arms against them. The national tricolour floated only over the region north of this line and up to the Carpathians.

The Servians, though torn by party dissensions, still held the entrenchments of Szent Tomasch against the repeated assaults of Kiss and Mezaros, and thereby helped to divide the forces of Hungary; while both the Servian voivodeship, granted "in recognition of Servia's heroic resistance to the enemies of the throne," and the restoration of the Greek patriarchate at Karlowitz, imparted to the national revolt of Servia more and more of the character of a struggle to maintain legitimate authority. After the sudden death of Suplicac, the newly-appointed voivode, on December 27th, the imperial authority was the only one recognised by the Servian race; and in January, 1849, the Bacska and the Banat were finally evacuated by the Hungarians. In Transylvania, as in Servia, the imperials were forced by their numerical weakness to rest satisfied with opposing revolution to revolution. After Magyar terrorism had proved of no avail to prevent either the mutiny of the Wallachian border regiments or the confirmation and amplification of the Blasendorf decrees, the local commanders, Puchner and Lieutenant-Colonel Urban, acting on direct orders from Vienna, openly renounced their allegiance to the Pest government and helped to organise the Romaic militia which fell upon the Magyar towns with bestial fury. Klausenburg had to buy them off with a ransom of two millions, and by the middle of November nearly the whole of Transylvania was again under imperial domination.

On the west, however, from the Drave to the Carpathians, the castigator of Vienna girdled the rebellious land in overwhelming force. His first army corps, under Jellachich, was to operate on the right of the Drave; the second, under Wrbna, on the left; Nugent was collecting a force of six thousand men

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in the island of Mur, Simunich was posted on the March, Count Schlick at Dukla in Galicia: making altogether a force of 110,000 men, inclusive of the divisions in Transylvania and the Banat. In spite of the stupid pedantry of the commander-in-chief, by which far more time was lost over the military preparations than need have been, the success of the plan devised by Latour seemed to admit of no doubt.

According to this plan, a concentric advance from this periphery was to drive revolution out of the third capital of Hungary, as it had been driven out of Prague and Vienna. So convinced was Görgey, the Hungarian general, of the impossibility of holding this long line against a force so far superior, that he advised the transfer of the defensive frontier, as well as of the seat of government and the diet, to beyond the Theiss; thus to gain time to complete the equipment of an army which was still in embryo. But Kossuth, the president of the committee of national defence, who saw part of the nation fall away from him with every lost hand's breadth of the soil, insisted on maintaining the positions already taken.

The first blow in the Austrian advance was struck by Schlick, who dispersed the militia levies that barred his way, took Eperies and Kaschau; sent Mezaros, who had hurried to the rescue of the latter place, home with his wounded pride (January 4th, 1849); and thus seriously threatened the Hungarian right. Görgey's troops were also scattered at their first contact with Jellachich as he crossed the Leitha. Presburg and the fortified positions at Raab were occupied by the Austrians almost without a blow, Görgey's rear guard only was reached and routed at Babolna on December 28th, and at the same time Simunich crossed the Lesser Carpathians and on the 16th defeated Guyon, who was to cover Tyrnau. From Raab Windischgrätz issued a proclamation threatening to hang anyone who abetted the revolutionary authorities, to rase every hostile town, and to confiscate the property of all rebels. At Kossuth's instance Perczel did indeed turn, in order to counteract the demoralising effect of perpetual retreat; but he also suffered defeat at Moor on December 31st, while trying to keep a far superior force of the enemy from breaking through from the Bakony Forest.

When it was no longer possible to conceal the danger by lying reports, the principal towns were seized with consternation. A deputation consisting of persons of the highest consideration, which was sent to meet Prince Windischgrätz, brought back nothing but a demand for unconditional submission; the field-marshal had refused to receive even its head, Count Louis Batthyányi. Necessity now drove the council of war to decide upon abandoning the capital and retreating, according to Görgey's original proposal, beyond the Theiss, where climate and soil would fight for the Hungarians. The diet and the committee of national defence fled to Debreczen, taking with them the insignia of royalty and the press for issuing bank-notes. Perczel, at Szolnok, covered the retreat, Görgey with sixteen thousand men took up a position at Waitzen, partly with a view to diverting Windischgrätz's attention and partly to relieve Leopoldstadt, which was being besieged by Simunich.

On the 5th of January the Austrians marched into Buda-Pest. The official *Wiener Zeitung* announced "the glorious conclusion of the campaign." Everyone praised the saviour of the monarchy, the only cause for dissatisfaction being that victory had been so easy. The army gave itself up to the delights of a new Capua, no one was hard-worked except the court martial and executioners. Louis Batthyányi, his brother-in-law Count Károlyi, D. Pazmandy, and generals Hrabowsky, Lázar, and Moga were among the persons arrested; "even individuals who had taken the least part or no part at all

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in the revolution" were required to exculpate themselves before a special commission. So desperate did the case of the Hungarians seem that most of their older officers withdrew from the army.

Deliverance came to them through Görgey; through him, too, came perdition, in the shape of discord between the military party and the government. The ambitious and quarrelsome leader hated Kossuth in his character of superior no less than in that of demagogue; in an address to his troops at Waitzen he passed the most acrimonious censures upon the government and the diet, coupled with the express declaration that the army was only defending the constitution sanctioned by King Ferdinand, and the diet was obliged meekly to overlook the insubordination of an indispensable officer. Görgey's real object, after he had been obliged to abandon the relief of Leopoldstadt, was to join the army of the Theiss; but the superior strength of the enemy who encompassed him compelled him to take refuge in the inhospitable and snow-clad mountain region between Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl.

In this lurking-place he conceived the project of throwing himself upon Schlick's rear, which, flushed with victory, was preparing to drive the troops collected at Tokay, under the young and gifted George Klapka, across the Theiss, and to repeat in Debreczen the havoc wrought by Windischgrätz at Pest. Twice Schlick had attacked the encampment at Tokay in vain, when Görgey unexpectedly appeared upon the scene, and, Guyon having provided him with means of egress from the Zips by storming the Braniczko Pass on February 5th, reached Eperies on the following day, joined hands with Klapka, and forced Schlick to quit Kaschau with all speed and, relinquishing his connection with Galicia, to fall back in fugitive haste upon the main army. Even thus he would have run straight into the arms of Perczel, who was marching to intercept him from the south after a successful engagement with the Ottinger brigade of cavalry at Szolnok, if the dissensions between his adversaries and the supreme military authority had not proved his salvation.

The Hungarian Defeat at Kápolna (1849 A.D.)

The committee of national defence fancied that it had at last found its long-sought commander-in-chief in old Dembinski, one of those Poles who in every revolution fought for their native land alone. Hence — over and above his military experience — he brought with him a political programme, according to which Hungary, together with the autonomous states of the Croats and Serbs, was to form a federal state to act as a barrier to Russia, and which palliated every act of military insubordination by the excuse of resistance to aims utterly irrelevant to the Hungarian revolution and repugnant to the majority of the nation. Coupled with his rough and quarrelsome disposition, this discrepancy fanned the flame of discord to a blaze. Perczel sent in his resignation, Görgey and Klabka gnashed their teeth with rage at the contradictoriness which had frustrated their plans and allowed Schlick to slip away.

Under these unfavourable auspices Dembinski attempted an offensive movement against Pest, in which Görgey and Klapka were to co-operate from Erlau, Repásy from Szolnok, and Damjanics, now on the march from the south, by way of Cybakhaza. Just at this juncture, however, Windischgrätz had been shaken out of his sluggish inaction by Schlick, who was on fire with impatience to wipe out his score with Görgey. Before Dembinski could reach Gyöngyös he fell in with the main body of the hostile army at Kápolna, on February 27th, 1849. The battle was still undecided

when Schlick's vigorous attack on his right flank determined Dembinski to relinquish the struggle and retreat.

The battle of Kápolna, unimportant from a military point of view inasmuch as it left the situation as it was, had important consequences for the Hungarian side, for it brought the exasperation against Dembinski to a head. All the divisional commanders, Görgey, Aulich, Repasy, and Klapka, refused to serve under him any longer. Kossuth was forced to sacrifice his *protégé* to them; but he appointed Vetter, not the senior general the suspected Görgey, in his place. Vetter, however, fell ill, and the chief command soon passed to Görgey. Shortsighted and arrogant, the tyrants of Olmütz did not think it worth their while to inquire minutely into the state of things on the Hungarian side — still less to win over those who were inclined to an amicable settlement, or to take advantage of the aversion the majority in the Debreczen diet bore to Kossuth. But in the midst of their triumph the incapable handling of the army beyond the Leitha transformed victory into shameful defeat.

Hungarian Successes (February–June, 1849)

The dire transformation was ushered in by Bem — on whom Kossuth had bestowed the chief command of the Transylvanian army which had practically almost ceased to exist — more with the object of removing an adversary of the democratic party than in the expectation of important achievements. Bem however displayed such a mastery of the art of guerrilla warfare and such marvellous celerity of movement that within a week he had wrested the greater part of Transylvania from Puchner, a brave man but dull. In the open, indeed, at the battles of Hermannstadt and Mediach, the bold factionary lost the advantages he had won and the towns of Klausenburg and Vásárhely which he had taken; but when all thought him lost he fell suddenly upon Urban's division, drove it back into Bukowina, and gave Puchner such a fright that he could think of nothing better to do than to call the Russian troops quartered in Wallachia under Lüders to his assistance. For the emperor Nicholas had taken advantage of the confusion of the rest of Europe to re-establish, by garrisoning the Danubian principalities, that tutelary control which he bitterly repented having resigned by giving up the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.

On February 2nd the Russians marched into Hermannstadt and Kronstadt, and Puchner, under cover of the Russian force, obliged Bem to flee to Schässburg. He nevertheless re-appeared, took Hermannstadt again on March 11th, and drove the Russians, together with Puchner and his whole division, through the Rothenthurm Pass and across the frontier. By the end of March the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of the little fortress of Karlsburg, was in Bem's hands, and he was able to join hands with Perczel, who had meanwhile been successfully fighting the Serbs, had wrested Szent Tomasch and the Römerschanze from them, relieved Peterwardein, and now, in conjunction with Bem, made himself master of the whole Banat.

Meanwhile Windischgrätz stayed as if spell-bound in Pest, vainly waiting for the fall of the besieged town of Komárom, wearing his troops out by useless marches to and fro, and doubly nervous since the discomfiture of his advanced guard by Damjanics at Szolnok on March 5th. His inaction allowed Görgey to concentrate the main body of the Hungarian army, now amounting to 50,000 men with 182 guns, on the line from Kápolna to Poroszlo. The operations were opened by Gáspár and Pöltenberg, who flung Schlick back from Hatvan upon Gödöllö on the 2nd of April; and on the 4th the

engagement at Tapio Bicske put Aulich, Klapka, and Damjanics in possession of all the roads leading from the Thiess to the capital. Menaced thus on the right flank and again repulsed at Isaszeg by Aulich's opportune arrival, the field-marshal continued his retreat to the very walls of Pest, "in order" as his bulletin phrases it, "to draw nearer to his reserves — a movement which the enemy followed up with the utmost rapidity." Damjanics took Waitzen on the 10th, and the fight at Nagy Salo on the 19th drove the Austrians beyond the Waag and completed the relief of Kamárom.

Loth as the government was to take any action adverse to the much vaunted saviour of the monarchy, and thereby to aim a blow at the foundations of the reactionary system, the prince's political and military incompetence made it imperative to recall him at once, though with the greatest possible show of consideration. His place was taken by the aged Welden as a temporary makeshift, and the equally incapable Jellachich was transferred to Essek as commander of an army destined to keep the southern Slav under control. The new commander-in-chief promptly arrived at the conviction that his task must be limited to the extrication of the army, decimated as it was by war, cholera, and typhus, and that the main objective of defence was no longer Pest but Vienna. Committing the charge of the citadel of Buda to General Hentzy, with instructions to hold out as long as possible, he himself set out on his retreat to the frontier, and the war had to be begun over again from where it had started four months before.

Kossuth Proclaims Hungary Independent (April 14th, 1849)

Much of the advantage of these brilliant successes was, however, lost to the Hungarians, not merely through the dissensions of their leaders but through the headlong violence of political passions. In the intoxication of joy at a turn of fortune so far beyond their hopes, the laboriously fostered chimera of a lawful struggle for a rightful king faded away, the party of reconciliation left the radicals masters of the field, and Kossuth swept the diet along to the irreparable breach. On April 14th he proclaimed from the pulpit of the Reformed church at Debreczen the independence of Hungary and the deposition of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine, and therewith a life-and-death struggle in place of peace for which most men yearned. Though not expressly christened a republic, the new state was virtually a republic with Kossuth for its president.

The consequences of this extreme measure were not what its author had anticipated. The sundering of ties hallowed by time robbed both nation and army of their unquestioning confidence in the justice of their cause, begot confusions and divisions, and deprived the Magyars of the sympathy which their gallant resistance to a brutal reaction had won at home and abroad. The storming of Buda, which Hentzy defended to the death, and the triumphal entry of Kossuth into liberated Pest, seemed at first fresh pledges of ultimate victory; but the fact that — to the amazement of the Austrians — the pursuit of Welden was neglected for the sake of the tedious reduction of Buda was perhaps the turning-point of the war.

The independence of Hungary was only possible on two assumptions: (1) that she would never have to assert herself against any enemy except Austria, and (2) that the flower of the Austrian army would continue to be locked up in Italy. Both were fallacious. The victorious conclusion of the war with Sardinia allowed Austria to place generals of the school of Radetzky in the field, and by that means to restore to her troops that confidence in

their leaders which they had lost. From Italy, invested with absolute authority, came the new commander-in-chief, Haynau, an illegitimate son of the first elector of Hesse, a man of fierce and pitiless energy, who had gained a terrible reputation as commandant of Verona and by the cruel chastisement he had inflicted on rebellious Brescia. In like manner, while the Hungarian Republic was vainly striving to gain recognition abroad, the young emperor found a foreign ally.

The Russians aid Austria (1849 A.D.)

The rebuff, with which a confidential inquiry relative to an occupation of Galicia by Russian troops had met, had not stood in the way of their co-operation in Transylvania. Now, under the hourly apprehension of seeing the Hungarians before the gates of Vienna, Schwarzenberg bowed his proud neck to the deepest of humiliations and entreated the help of Austria's ancient rival in subjugating them. The emperor Nicholas, that heaven-born defender of the common interests of all governments against the international propaganda of the revolution, who had a Polish revolution to ward off in Hungary into the bargain, saw with supreme delight that same Austria which had so often proved intractable now at his feet, and no magnanimity mitigated the manner in which he granted the boon. He would not give his consent to the levy of an auxiliary corps, and Austria was obliged to acquiesce in an arrangement by which the Russian army under Paskevitch (the strength of which the czar reserved to himself the right of determining) was to pose as the real main army; and the Austrians, who were joined by special request by the Panjutine division, were to take the position of subordinates. Moreover, at an interview between the two emperors at Warsaw, the commencement of their joint operations was deferred to the middle of June.

Paskevitch came down with four columns through the passes of the Carpathians to the lowlands of Hungary, and at the same time Lüders made a fresh invasion into Transylvania, their combined forces amounting to 150,000 men. The Hungarians had been seized with the wildest consternation at the announcement of Russian assistance. Kossuth urged that the invasion should be rendered impossible by laying the country waste and destroying all dwellings and provisions; but the people, exhausted, sobered, and impoverished by the lavish issue of paper money, could not rise to such desperate measures. The magnitude of the danger, instead of enforcing concord, merely inflamed the mutual jealousies of the generals and their exasperation against the president; Görgey in particular made an open exhibition of his opposition to Kossuth whenever he could. After a long period of indecision he threw himself upon the left bank of the Danube to prevent the junction of his opponents, without a suspicion that Haynau had decided to take the offensive independently on the right in order to avoid direct contact with his haughty ally. Hence, while Görgey was repulsed at Pered on the 21st and 22nd of June with considerable loss as he attempted to carry the right bank of the Waag, Haynau wrested the poorly garrisoned town of Raab from the Hungarians on the 28th, under the eyes of his emperor. These two mishaps brought the council of war to the determination to concentrate the army on the Theiss and Marosch with the Banat as its base, leaving only a strong garrison in Komárom, and to make separate attacks upon the enemy as occasion offered.

For the second time the government and the diet fled to Szegedin. To the prevailing misery Kossuth added the blunder of taking the chief command

away from Görgey and giving it to Mezaros, who was invariably unlucky in the field. The outspoken opposition of the corps of officers obliged him, however, to keep Görgey at the head of the army on the Danube. Görgey showed all the less inclination to fall back upon the Theiss, and not until he had made two futile attacks on the Austrians at Acs (July 3rd and 11th), did he set out, at the risk of having his retreat cut off by the Russians on the left bank of the Danube, or by the Austrians on the right. Klapka stayed behind at Komárom with eighteen thousand men. Moving in a wide circle, by Miskolcz and Nyiregyhaza, Görgey reached Grosswardein after some successful engagements with the Russians. If the Austrians had fastened upon his retreating heels, according to their agreement with the Russians, he could hardly have escaped annihilation, but Haynau was in a hurry to be beforehand with the Russians in occupying the capital. Concerned above all things to maintain the glory of the Austrian arms by stamping out the revolution in the south by his single and unaided exertions, he intended next to relieve the hard-pressed garrison of Temesvár and to join hands with the ban, who had been repulsed on the 14th of July by Vetter and Guyon, but was still holding his own within his main ramparts on the Tittel plateau. Haynau reached Szegedin on August 3rd, before the Hungarians could effect the proposed concentration of their forces at that place. What was left of the diet migrated to Arad, which had fallen on the first of July after a three months' siege, and had been selected as the final *point d'appui*. But Haynau forced the passage of the Theiss, and by a successful engagement at Szöred on August 5th drove the enemy from the Arad road to that which led to Temesvár. On the same day Bem's army, which had defended itself against overwhelming numbers with the courage of despair, was dispersed by Lüders at Gross-Scheuren. He himself arrived wounded under the walls of Temesvár just in time to take over from the unskilful Dembinski the direction of the battle by which Haynau relieved that fortress on August 9th.

Görgey Surrenders at Világos (August, 1849)

Görgey had reached Arad too late to save it. All was lost. Reluctantly, at the urgent request of the council of war, Kossuth resigned his dignity and authority to Görgey on the 11th and took flight for Turkey. Nothing was left for the army but unconditional surrender. On the 13th of August more than 23,000 men with 144 guns laid down their arms on the field of Világos before the Russians, with whom Görgey had been negotiating for some time previously with the cognisance of his government. "Hungary," Paskevitch wrote to the emperor Nicholas, "lies at your majesty's feet. I have the satisfaction of announcing that the only condition stipulated for was permission to surrender to your majesty's army." The remaining divisions surrendered one after another. After a last stand at Lugos on August 15th Bem sought safety in flight, also to Turkish soil. Komárom held out till September 27th, when Klapka capitulated on honourable terms.

The imputation of treason has been cast upon Görgey, but unjustly. Yet he laid an even greater burden of guilt upon himself by ignoring the Austrians out of sheer animosity and surrendering to the Russians; for the course he thus took was the exact opposite of the one that might have served to alleviate the lot of the vanquished and those who had nothing but punishment to anticipate, and by which he might have contributed to the preservation of the national rights of Hungary.

THE PUNISHMENT OF HUNGARY (1849 A.D.)

Exasperation and the thirst for revenge had now free play. Haynau, according to Radetzky's verdict "sharp as a razor, that should be put into the sheath directly it is done with," was a stranger to the impulse and the art of forgiveness, and no higher hand bridled his cruelty. The victor was converted into the executioner, punishment became vengeance. At Arad thirteen Hungarian officers of high rank were executed, nine of them by the halter; Görgey escaped a like fate by the intercession of Russia, and was interned at Klagenfurt. Louis Batthyányi met his doom at Pest by powder and shot, a self-inflicted wound in the neck making the use of the rope impracticable. There were incarcerations, degradations of Honvéd officers to the ranks, and other punishments without number, and the depreciation of Kossuth notes reduced thousands of families to poverty. Things came to such a pass that Palmerston conveyed to the Austrian government in the strongest terms the indignation felt by the English people at the reign of terror set up in its name.

The Hungarian constitution was treated as forfeit; the country remained under martial law; even the idea of breaking it up into several crown provinces was discussed. The blindness of this hatred even induced Austria to lend a hand in browbeating the Sublime Porte, which in April Russia had forced to consent, by the Treaty of Balta Limani, to her protectorate of the Danubian principalities for a period of seven years. Both powers demanded with threats the surrender of the fugitive ringleaders, but an English fleet at anchor in the Dardanelles and the encouragement of the other ambassadors gave the Divan courage to refuse the demand, in the name of humanity; and the two powers were forced to be content with the internment of the fugitives.[b]

RADETZKY'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SARDINIA (1849 A.D.)

Meantime in the spring of 1849 hostilities were renewed in Italy. The Piedmontese minister Gioberti had desired to delay the resumption of the contest till the army should have been reorganised; but on the 20th of February, 1849, he was forced to resign, and on the 12th of March Charles Albert urged on by the radical party, declared the armistice at an end.[a]

The auspices under which Sardinia re-entered the arena were by no means calculated to inspire lively confidence. Forced to rely in this struggle upon her own unassisted exertions, she looked in vain among Gioberti's successors in office for the man of genius whose breath should be able to inspire the state, the nation, and the army. With the last-named body the war was unpopular. Of the 120,000 men who composed it, 85,000 only could be put in the field, the staff was of inferior quality, and the equipment left much to be desired. There was great difficulty in obtaining a competent commander-in-chief after Bava, the only man fit for the post, had been sacrificed to the animosity of certain officers of high rank. As no Frenchman was to be had, the Pole Chrzanowsky was sent for at Bugeaud's suggestion — a man of mean appearance, a perfect stranger to the army, and ignorant even of its language. But the worst evil was the right of interference which, in spite of his sorry qualifications as a general, the king reserved to himself under the title of the supreme command. On the other side, Radetzky had only seventy thousand men, but most of these were seasoned veterans, each one proudly

conscious of superiority in everything that conduces to victory. His artillery was also the stronger by a third. The second reserve corps, under Haynau, stayed behind in Venetian territory.

The field-marshal shrouded his plans in profound secrecy. While doing everything to confirm the enemy in the belief that he intended to confine himself to acting on the defensive, merely holding fortified places and thinking of nothing but his retreat across the Adda, he quietly made preparations to take them unawares by a flank attack of astonishing vigour and celerity. Under cover of a close line of outposts along the Ticino, he succeeded in entirely concealing his strategic dispositions from the enemy up to the actual commencement of the decisive struggle. In order to complete the deception he chose to march from Milan, on March 18th, by the road that led eastwards to Lodi, but turned sharply to the right towards St. Angelo; and on the morning of the 20th arrived, to the amazement of his own troops, at Pavia. Thither, too, came by forced marches the troops posted along the right bank of the Po as far as Piacenza and north of the line of the Adda up to Brescia.

On the stroke of the hour that proclaimed the expiration of the armistice, the Austrians crossed the river frontier. This movement took the enemy so completely by surprise that their counter evolutions fell into confusion before they could be fairly developed. Ramorino, who had occupied the strong position at La Cava with the Lombard legion, evacuated it after a short struggle, and by retreating across the Po left the passage of the Gravelonne open. Meanwhile the king and Chrzanowsky had crossed the Ticino at the head of their army at Buffalora, and then, amazed at finding no enemy, returned to Trecate. The news of Radetzky's invasion did not arrive from Pavia till nine o'clock in the evening, and it brought all the Sardianian plans for offensive action to nought. Chrzanowsky resolved to divide his army; Durando and the duke of Genoa were to detain the Austrians before Mortara until he himself could come up with the rest of his forces; General Bés was to march by way of Vigevano, cut off their communications with Pavia, and drive them to the Po.

Radetzky, unaware of these dispositions on the part of the enemy, met with determined resistance at both these places on the 21st; but by evening Durando was obliged to abandon Mortara with heavy loss to the storming party under D'Aspre, after an engagement in which Colonel Benedek greatly distinguished himself. At Vigevano the opportune arrival of Wohlgemuth, who had crossed the Ticino at Bereguardo, decided the day in favour of the Austrians. Strategically the campaign was lost to the Sardinians after these two battles, their line of retreat to Alessandria was cut off, that by Vercelli to Turin was seriously threatened.

Battle of Novara (1849 A.D.)

Radetzky assumed that as a matter of course they would withdraw behind the Sesia, and accordingly ordered Thurn's and Wratislaw's divisions to the Vercelli road; but this assumption was falsified by Chrzanowsky, who collected his whole force (which still amounted to 54,000 men, with 122 pieces of artillery — 22,000 men being isolated on the far side of the Po) in a very advantageous position for a defensive battle at Novara, with his flanks resting on two brooks, the Agogna and the Terdoppio. Even D'Aspre, falling in with the enemy at Olengo on the 23rd, imagined that he had merely come up with the rearguard of the retreating force, and incautiously attacked with his fifteen thousand men.

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Becoming aware of his mistake, he sent in hot haste for reinforcements. By the time that the other corps, guided by the roar of cannon, arrived on the scene of action, his troops had been reduced to the last stage of exhaustion in the struggle with a superior force of the enemy. Thurn took the right wing of the enemy in the rear, and towards evening the key of the position, in the centre, at the hamlet of Bicocca, was carried by assault after an obstinate resistance. Wherever the balls rained thickest Charles Albert was to be found, rigid and immovable; but death disdained a self-devoted victim, and in the end he was dragged away almost by force.

A night of horror followed for the city, where the beaten and utterly demoralised army gave itself up to the grossest excesses. The king sent to beg for an armistice; but, receiving no answer except bitter reproaches for his breach of faith from the mouth of the chief of the staff, Von Hess, he abdicated that same evening in favour of his son, that his person might not serve as an obstacle to the conclusion of peace. Passing unrecognised through the Austrian outposts, he left Nice for Oporto, where he died broken-hearted on July 29th, atoning for many faults in the past by martyrdom for the independence of his country. In so doing he gave a nobler and loftier consecration to monarchy in his kingdom than could have been conferred by the most brilliant victory, and a vital force without which it might have been uprooted before it had firmly established itself by the prevalence of republican ideas.

On the morning of the 24th Radetzky granted the desired armistice in a personal interview with the young king Victor Emmanuel at the farmhouse of Vignale. He turned a deaf ear to the murmurs of his army, which was eager to dictate terms of peace at Turin. Consideration for the situation in Hungary, which was steadily becoming more critical, and the wish to avoid interference from the western powers to whom Sardinia had appealed, induced him to rest satisfied with stipulating that she should place her army on a peace footing, disband the corps which were composed of Austrian subjects, and leave the district between Alessandria and the Sesia in his hands as security for peace.

Such was the end of the six days' campaign, which was lauded as a masterpiece of strategy. Brescia, which had revolted on the day of the battle of Novara, deluded with false hopes by the Mazzinists, was stormed by Haynau on the 31st of March and subjected to most frightful punishment. On the Sardinian side, the fanatics flung themselves upon Genoa, recruited a host of criminals, adventurers, and dock-labourers, and proclaimed the republic; but surrendered to General La Marmora without a blow on April 5th. Ramorino was tried by court-martial and shot, because the army and the populace clamoured for a victim. But the patriots held with unabated fervour the faith that so much blood had not been shed for their country in vain.

Radetzky was eager for peace — he wanted a free hand to deal with central Italy; but Schwarzenberg desired to reduce the vanquished to quiescence for a long time to come. On one condition the young king could have secured more lenient terms — he could have altered the constitution and given in his adherence to the policy of Austria; for a constitutional Sardinia was a thorn in the side of Austrian dominion in Italy. But Victor Emmanuel withstood the temptation. He nominated D'Azeglio, who had been wounded at Vicenza, his prime minister, and D'Azeglio's name was warrant that Sardinia, though vanquished, would not strike the flag of national liberty. More than once negotiations were on the point of being broken off; and although Austria, anxious not to raise the tension to breaking-point, reduced the war-indemnity to 75,000,000 francs, a third of the sum originally demanded, the Turin

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chamber refused to ratify the peace because it included no indemnity for the Lombard fugitives. As Austria remained inexorable upon this point, D'Azeglio, careless of the clamour of the radicals, dissolved the chamber, the king himself addressed an exhortation to discretion to his subjects, and in January, 1850, the new chamber granted the desired ratification.

The fate of Venice had likewise been decided on the field of Novara. On the 26th Fort Maghere was evacuated after an obstinate but unavailing defence, and at the news of Világos the city itself capitulated, stipulating only that the leaders should be allowed to depart unmolested.[b]

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