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HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

CHAPTER I.

MODERN, OR EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.

The student of civilization, who has brought down its history to the close of the Roman period, may well seat himself among the ruins of its ancient forms, and thus hold communion with himself. What, thus far, have been the tendencies of the race? How many, and what, of the great elements of humanity, industry, religion, government, society, philosophy, and art, have the power and genius of man succeeded in separating, and when separated, to what extent have they been developed?

What has been the course of his industry? How far has he succeeded in drawing from the earth the materials upon which he is to subsist? How far has the science of political economy been developed by his industrial pursuits?

In the element of religion, what have been the deities worshiped, what the powers, dispositions and characteristics assigned them? What the forms under which they have been worshiped? What the modes of worship? What the powers, classes of feeling, states of the soul which have been called into exercise by the act of worship, and what the effects legitimately produced upon the human heart and character?

In the element of government, what great primal truths regarding the state have been brought out and acted upon? What has reason suggested, and experience tested in relation to the disposition and action of political forces?

What checks and balances have been discovered and applied to enable the machine of government to move equably in all its parts?

In the element of society, what has been accomplished? What are the forms of social intercourse, what the manners and customs, what the degree of refinement attained, and how successful has society been in excluding the displays of the lower propensities and passions, and encouraging those only of the higher sentiments?

In the element of philosophy, how far has man succeeded in developing the pure reason? What have been his most advanced forms of thought? Upon what processes of reasoning are his systems of philosophy built? What great problems in science has he solved? What fruit, what real practical results, have been derived from his exercise of thought?

In the element of art, under what forms are we to find his thought realized? How shaped, and carried out into objects of beauty and sublimity? How have the arts of design succeeded, and how those higher arts of music, poetry, and eloquence, that delight, captivate, and enchain every human power and faculty? And in what direction has art moved? Has it sought to delight simply the senses, or have its aims been to address the reason, to invoke the action of the higher sentiments, to influence the spirit, and cause the purest emotions to well up from the depths of the soul?

The answers to these questions must be far from satisfactory. Other and higher attainments are yet to be made; loftier forms of civilization yet to be achieved; before the race can be permitted to cease from their labors. And Europe and America are to be successively the theatres where these elements of humanity are to be entirely separated, and developed to their utmost capacity.

And first, in regard to Europe; and here we are introduced to a theatre far more extensive; having an amplitude of range; a variety in physical arrangements; a diversity in all those physical relations that furnish motives to action; very far superior to any yet considered. No one can cast his eye over Europe, and consider its adaptations to every variety of effort, without feeling that he must linger long here, in making up his record of the history of civilization.

Europe, in its physical arrangements, as also in its great agency in developing the elements of civilization, bears relations to Asia somewhat similar to those borne by Greece to Europe. Both are peninsular; the one stretching westward to the pillars of Hercules, the other southward, to the Tænarian promontory. Europe, on the east, is in part based upon the Ural mountains, which separate it from Asia, while Greece, on the north, is based also in part upon the Cambunian mountains, which separate it from Europe. In both are mountain ranges, interspersed with river valleys, and plains of considerable extent. Both are maritime in all their essential features, and both are alike in affording numerous facilities for commercial intercourse, and in furnishing the strongest motives to individual activity.

But while Europe, in its physical aspects, much resembles Greece, it is a curious fact that it contrasts strongly with the continents both of Asia and of Africa.

The great controlling feature in those continents is to be found in their table lands and mountains. The plateau of Central Asia stands forth as a marked feature, traversed by four immense chains of mountains, which support vast table-lands of from five thousand to fourteen thousand feet in elevation. This high region is some two thousand four hundred miles in length, and one thousand five hundred

in breath. And so in Africa, south of Sahara, there is an enormous pile of elevated lands. The mountains and plateaus of Asia are estimated to cover five-sevenths of its surface, and those of Africa two-thirds.

Thus Asia, particularly, is a continent of mountains and plateaus. Its immense interior has been inaccessible, and has nourished strong races of men. It seems never to have been designed by nature, that the nations of that vast continent should intercommunicate with each other, or sustain towards each other friendly relations. That lofty region has ever been peculiarly the land of the nomades, and such it is ever likely to remain.

But Europe presents to us a different aspect. Its mountains are less elevated. Its plateaus hardly deserve the name. There are no deserts to cross, no impassable mountain barriers. The continent opens on all sides, and is accessible in all its parts.

Europe has but one system of mountains which may be termed continental in their character; and this system assimilates it, in a faint degree, to the continent of Asia. That continent has its southern peninsulas, which are walled on the north by the immense range of the Himmalehs, which effectually shut them out from Northern and Central Asia.

So, also, has the continent of Europe its southern peninsulas. Greece, Italy and Spain, which in their turn are walled in on the north by ranges of mountains which separate them from the central and northern parts of the same continent. On the east is Mount Hæmus, or the Balkan chain, from whose central point, the Despoto Dagh, or ancient Scomius, four chains extend. Of these the first is the Albano Dalmatian, which passes between the feeders of the Danube and the Adriatic sea, thus connecting the Balkan with the Alps.

The second, which is the true Balkan range, stretches eastward until it meets the waters of the Euxine. The third is an inland chain, separating Thrace from the Ægean sea, while the fourth, rejoicing in the glorious names of Olympus, Pindus, Œta, Parnassus, Helicon and Lycæus, crosses Greece and passes into the islands of the Archipelago.

Proceeding westward, we arrive at the second peninsula, Italy, which finds its northern barrier in the Alps. Of these, there are various ranges known by various names, as the Maritime, Cottian and Gray; the Bernese, Valois, and Central Swiss Alps, including the Pennine, Lepontine and Rhetian Alps; and the Austrian Alps, which includes the Norian, Carnian, Julian, and Dinarian Alps. Their greatest length is some six hundred miles. They culminate in Mont Blanc, the highest mountain in Europe, which elevates its snow-capped summit into the walks of ether fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine feet. Others are also lofty, as Monte Rosa, fifteen thousand two hundred and ten; Mont Cervin fourteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-six; and the Jungfrau, which is thirteen thousand six hundred and seventy-two feet.

Traveling still further west, and crossing the mouth of the Rhone, we encounter the Pyrenees, which constitute the western wing of this great system of mountains. These mountains ascend to an elevation of ten or eleven thousand feet, and interpose themselves as a barrier on the north between the Spanish peninsula and the rest of Europe.

Besides this general system of mountains, there are others either entirely independent of them, or sent off as spurs from some part of the chain. Among the former are the Dopines, or Scandinavian Alps, extending from the southern point of Norway to Cape North in the island of

Magercœ. These are completely isolated from the other mountains in Europe. Although their most elevated summits are not more than seven or eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, yet they abound in steep rocks, frightful precipices, high cataracts, and glaciers, besides varied and picturesque beauties.

Among the later are the Apennines which run southward from the Alps, dividing much of the Italian peninsula into its eastern and western coasts. Their height is from four to nine thousand feet.

So also the chain of Cevennes and its dependencies, the volcanic mountains of Auvergne, are considered a branch of the Alps, although they are really united to the Pyrenees by the Black mountain, and separated from the Alps by the narrow valley of the Rhone.

Another system of mountains very central in their position, are the Carpathian and Hercynian, which are separated from the Alps and Hæmus by the Danube. The general elevation is from four to five thousand feet, their highest summits rising as high as nine. They are not steep, have no glaciers, but are richer in minerals of gold, silver, and copper, than any other European mountains. Their breadth is considerable, and they bound immense plains, as those of Hungary and Bohemia, or enclose high valleys. The Transylvanian mountains, anciently the Bastarnian Alps, form a part of this range; as also the Carpathian or Crapack mountains between Hungary and Poland; the Sudetes, or Hills of the Giants, between Silesia and Bohemia; the Erzberg between Bohemia and Saxony; and the small chains in Central Germany, once included in the Hercynian forest.

In the north-eastern part of Europe we find the tableland of Valdai, a lofty plain crowned with hills from twelve to thirteen hundred feet above the level of the sea.

Here are to be found the sources of the Volga, which descends into the Caspian, the head waters of the Dwina, which flows into the Baltic, and also of the Dneiper which winds its way to the Black sea. This table-land becomes lower on the side of Poland, and the sources of the Beresina, the Niemen, and the Pripets are only about two hundred feet above the sea at the mouth of their rivers.

The mountains are the most prominent features of a continent. Their situation, direction, extent of range, height, and character of slope, present so many distinct points from which to determine a great multitude of physical relations. Their slopes and summits present the out-croppings of geological strata. Around their summits gather the clouds, which discharge upon them their treasures of rain, hail and snow. From these, the first mentioned especially, descend the ten thousand little rills and rivulets, which uniting together, at length form the river, which carries its continual tribute to the ocean. The celerity with which it travels is made to depend upon the declivity of the slopes over which it descends. The valleys both in their direction and extent receive their configuration from the mountains; and the plains are little more than extended valleys.

The mountains have also much to do with the climate of a country, and thus influence directly all its animal and vegetable productions. The direction and extent of its valleys and plains afford facilities for mutual intercourse, in the opportunities they offer for the canal and rail road. But the water-courses or means of communication in a country are of vast importance. In them, and in the climate and facilities of production, are bound up all the economical elements of a people.

In regard to all these, Europe is immensely favored. First, she is begirt by seas, that everywhere offer to com-

mercial pursuits their safe and commodious harbors. On her south-east lies the Caspian and Black seas; on her south, the Mediterranean of singular shape, washing the shores of Asia with her Levant, bathing the harem of the sultan with her sea of Marmora, lying around Greece with her Ægean, and stretching out her Adriatic to lave the bases of the Alps. On her eastern shores breaks the wave of the Atlantic ocean and of the North sea. On her north, that of the White sea and the Arctic ocean, while in her north-eastern portion stretches the Baltic, extending its two great arms the one towards the north, the other towards the west, in the two gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. No other continent can, compared to its extent, exhibit one-half the vast variety of coast outline as the European. No other can exhibit a greater number of safe and commodious harbors, or points from which all portions of the world are readily accessible.

The continent of Europe is also interlaced with rivers, which present a highly interesting feature in its physical geography. Commencing at the south-east into the Caspian, rolls the waters of the Volga through its numerous mouths, after traversing a large proportion of Russia, having had their sources in the table land of Valdai. Into the sea of Azof, flows the Don; and into the Black sea, the Dnieper, the Dniester, and the Danube, the latter gathering up its waters from the very heart of Central Europe.

This latter, the second river in Europe, the Volga, being the first, constituted for a long period of time, the boundary between civilization and barbarism. On its southern bank was Rome, with its ancient and worn-out forms of civilization. On its northern, stood the Goth, and other embodiments of the new civilization, with all the energies of the new world in embryo, and ready to be developed to their utmost capacity.

This river is, perhaps, more important, and runs through a greater number of countries, than any other in Europe. Its sources are on the heights of the Black forest. It receives the Iller, and then the Lech and Isar, after which it winds to the north near Ratisbonne, and approaches Austria and unites with the Inn. Swollen successively by the waters of the Ems, the March, the Drave, the Save, the Theiss, the Pruth, besides several others, and having gathered up its tributary streams from Bavaria, Bohemia, the Tyrol, etc., it pours its still accumulating waters through Hungary, and a large portion of Turkey in Europe, including the Danubian provinces of Servia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, etc., into the Black sea.

Without particularizing the three southern peninsulas, we find on the south, the waters of the Po discharging into the Adriatic, and those of the Rhone into the Mediterranean, while on the west, into the bay of Biscay flow the Garonne and the Loire; into the English channel, the Seine, and into the North sea, the Rhine and the Elbe.

On the north into the Baltic, are poured the waters of the Oder, the Vistula, and the Niemen; into the gulf of Riga, the Duna; and into the White sea, the Dwina.

Thus Europe presents a net work of rivers, whose sources are principally in the table lands of Valdai, the Carpathians and the Alps, whose courses are almost infinitely diversified, here running over extensive plains, there embosomed in fruitful valleys, and anon rushing through deep and frightful gorges; and whose mouths open into the various seas that lie in and around this most favored of eastern continents.

The plains, valleys, and river basins of Europe, present features of great interest. Its plains are generally smaller than those in Asia, Africa, and America. A plain, however, of very great extent, stretches from the mouth of the

Rhine in the west, over the whole of northern Germany, and the larger part of Poland, to the base of the Uralian mountains in the east. In fact, the whole of northern Europe is very considerably less elevated than the southern, and so great is this difference in elevation, that were the waters of the Atlantic ocean to rise one thousand five hundred, or one thousand six hundred feet above their present level, the whole of northern or lower Europe, with the exception of the mountainous districts in Norway and Scotland, would be submerged; while the southern or upper, being higher than the level of such an inundation, would form one or two large and high islands.

There are also the extensive plains of Wallachia and Bulgaria, and those on the lower Danube. Hungary also contains two large plains; one about forty leagues in length, and twenty-five in breadth; the other about one hundred and twenty leagues long, and eighty broad. This latter forms lower Hungary, and no small portion of it is a saline and sandy desert, limited by the Danube, the Theiss, and immense marshes. The level of this lower plain is not more than one hundred and forty feet above that of the sea, while the other is some thirty feet higher.

There is also the basin of Bohemia, encompassed by mountainous chains, circular in its form, and which was once, probably, filled by a sea, in the depths of which were deposited the calcareous rocks which abound in that country. This may be compared to the valley of Cashmere.

Valleys are formed by the separation of chains of mountains or of hills. Those found between high mountains are commonly narrow and long, as if they had originally been only fissures dividing their respective chains, or to afford a passage way for torrents. A singular symmetry

is sometimes found in the direction of their angles. In the Pyrenees are some valleys, whose salient and re-entrant angles so perfectly correspond, that if the force which separated them were to act in a contrary direction and bring their sides together again, they would unite so exactly, that even the fissure would not be perceived.

The valleys on the plain of the upper Rhine are the largest of any on what is strictly termed the Alpine chain; but that of Carinthia, although less celebrated in romance, does not yield to it in picturesque scenery. Those of Norway and Scotland are generally circumscribed by long and narrow outlines, and near the centre of many of them, are situated lakes of the same form.

The physical aspects of Europe exert great influence upon its climate, and this again upon its different productions. The character of these productions not only exerts its legitimate effect upon the producer, but also aids essentially in the formation of that great system of exchanges, by means of which the commercial relations come to be established between different nations and peoples.

The climate of a country is made to depend very much upon the altitude of different portions of its surface. The Alps present the highest land in Europe, and a great part of its centre, on the north and west of these mountains, descend by a continued inclination towards the Baltic, the North sea, and the Atlantic ocean. This may account for the reason why Normandy is not much colder than Burgundy, and why the winter in Denmark is so little variant from that of Bohemia. But while the descent on the north and west is extremely gradual, that from the Cevennes and the Alps, on the south, towards the basin of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic sea, is very rapid, the traveler having it in his power to walk on perpetual snow in the morning, and to lie down in the evening among

olives and myrtles. This rapid descent causes the rain, which descends in torrents, either to flow too rapidly, or to remain stagnant. To this cause is attributable, to some extent, the number of fertile fields, naked rocks, and uncultivated marshes at the base of the Appenines, Olympus, and Parnassus. Although the lands in the north are in general less fruitful, yet being more equally watered, they longer retain their strata of vegetable mould.

There are several causes that modify European climate. One cause arises from its proximity to Asia; nearly its whole breadth lying contiguous, on the east, to northern Asia, which, from the great elevation of its central plateau, is extremely cold. Thus the cold air of Siberia is wafted across the vast plains of Russia and Poland. No barrier interrupts the course of the east wind over all the plains of eastern Europe, which renders all that portion of the continent much colder than the western regions under the same parallels. Against these winds, Italy is protected by her Alps and Appenines; Upper Hungary by her Carpathians; and Bohemia by the north-east rim of her basin.

But while so large a portion of central Europe is thus exposed to the cold blasts of the north-east, all the southern portion lying south of the Pyrenees, Alps, Hæmus and Balkan, and bordering upon the Mediterranean, is open to the winds from the south and south-east. These winds come from the burning deserts of Sahara, and the arid rocks of Nubia; but they are somewhat modified on their passage by the exhalations which rise from the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding, however, this modifying influence, the sirocco, with its destructive influences, sometimes advances to the very foot of the Alps, and the plague at Athens was produced, according to Hippocrates, by a south wind. So also Spain is exposed to the solano,

a sultry and unwholesome wind, not even the Sierra Nevada affording sufficient protection against it. The whole mass of European atmosphere in its southern portion is rendered warm and dry by the winds from Africa.

Again the temperature is affected by the vicinity of the Atlantic ocean, and the different seas in and around Europe, particularly the North sea. The constant motion of the mass of waters along the western coasts of Europe prevents the ice of the polar seas from approaching the shores. So also the oceanic atmosphere, or that over the Atlantic ocean, is subject to regular movements, which exert a modifying influence upon the climate. While still retaining the temperature of winter, it is often attracted to the European continent, and fills the space of an atmosphere rarefied by heat. The British islands, from their isolation, are wholly exposed to the ocean climate, and are, therefore, in a much less degree liable to the sudden effects of the great conflict between the maritime and continental winds, and hence their temperature, although variable, is never subject to excessive heat or extreme cold.

After losing its wintry temperature, the oceanic atmosphere is driven above the western coasts of Europe, by south-west winds, and these exert a modifying influence upon the climate of the region over which they pass. Thus we have the ever continual spring and summer of southern Europe, the great variety of seasons in its western maritime coasts, while its inland regions, which are connected with Asia, exhibit the horrors of winter, the stillness of frozen lakes, ever verdant pines, and the repose of vegetation and nature.

The flora and fauna of Europe are found to vary with its climate. On the plains of Sicily and Andalusia, vegetation assumes an African character, the stiff foliage

of the aloe appearing on the massy trunk of the Indian fig tree, and in some fields appears the slender date tree. The vegetation south of the Alps differs from any north of those mountains. The vine there entwines around the elm; and amid forests of olive, almond and fig trees, towers the majestic cypress. The scarlet flowers of the pomegranate delight the eye, while the fragrant exhalations of the orange, obscured under a dark green foliage, are scattered abroad by the balmy atmosphere. The fields glow with the gladiolus, the varied-colored convolvulus, the narcissus, while the banks of streams are sheltered by groves of the rose laurel.

The north is the region of forests. There grow the loftiest trees. The fir is found in the whole of Europe within the sixty-seventh parallel. The wild pine is scattered throughout most countries of Europe, below the sixty-eighth parallel. The beech and the lime are found in great perfection towards the south of the Baltic, and on its islands, while the aspen tree and the birch extend beyond the verge of the Arctic circle, and enliven the solitary regions of Lapland.

The cherry and plum flourish in northern climates; the apple ripens at the fifty-fifth degree, while the apricot and peach have been cultivated with advantage at the fiftieth parallel. Two very useful plants, lint and hemp, may be raised throughout the greater part of Europe.

The vine flourishes between the forty-fifth and fiftieth degrees of latitude, decays in the neighborhood of the North sea, and thrives in inland countries. It also flourishes above the fiftieth parallel in Saxony and Bohemia, owing to the great uniformity of the temperature.

Beyond the region of the vine, the hop flourishes, appearing between the fiftieth and sixtieth degrees of latitude.

The different kinds of grain ripen in the whole of Europe. The secale or rye grows in Finland, at the sixty-fourth degree of latitude, but it yields more abundant harvests under a lower parallel. Wheat is cultivated at the sixty-second degree, but thrives the best between the thirty-sixth and fiftieth. Maize succeeds at the fiftieth degree, and rice grows at the forty-seventh. The potato is now spread over the whole of Europe.

In regard to the European fauna, the white bear and the blue fox are found on the shores of the Frozen sea. The reindeer in Scandinavia and Russia; the elk is below the polar circle. The plains that bound the sea of Azof and the Caspian, serve as pastures for the Bactrian camel, while the Circassian sheep graze near the Oca and the Dneiper. The strongest horses and oxen are found on the extensive plains which reach from the Ukraine and Moldavia to Denmark and Flanders. The urus, or ancient ox, is still seen in Poland. In the whole of central Europe are found sheep originally the same as those of Spain and England. The wild goat and the chamois frequent the great mountainous chains of Europe, the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, the Carpathians and Hæmus.

Thus Europe, in several of its aspects, exhibits quite a variety. In its mountains, valleys and plains; its seas, lakes and gulfs; its great net work of rivers; and its variety of fauna and flora; it presents a vast assemblage of interesting physical relations which proclaim it a highly favored quarter of the globe. While nature has protected her southern peninsulas by her Pyrenees, and Alps, and Hæmus, and Balkan, she has upreared around the plains of Hungary, her Carpathian wall, and surrounded Iceland and the British isles with her ocean barriers. In her vine-clad hills of the south, and her dense forest growths of the north; in her varying climates and the diversities

of her animal and vegetable productions, she furnishes motives to every variety of human effort, in all the various departments of industry. In her spacious harbors, her long and indented line of coast, and her numerous rivers penetrating far into the interior of the continent, she affords natural facilities for intercommunication and commercial pursuits, much superior to those anywhere else afforded on the eastern continent. In addition to this her extensive plains afford facilities for canals and rail roads by means of which her commerce may be still further extended, a new stimulus may be supplied to industry, and new relations established between her different peoples. She presents, therefore, altogether a theatre exceedingly well adapted for developing the germs of a civilization, possessing superior elements to any hitherto considered.

Europe has been subjected to three great series of movements, to which the attention of the student of history should first be directed. In reference to some of these movements we must understand Europe to be limited to that portion of it lying north of the Alps, Mount Hæmus, and the Balkan.

The first one of them we shall mention, although not the first in the order of time, consists in the invasions of Europe from the east. These all fall within the historical period. The first of the series is the invasion by Xerxes, with his immense Persian army, his defeat and hasty return to Asia in the year B. C. 480.

The second time Europe may be said to have been endangered by an eastern invader was when Attila swept over her with his hordes of Huns, and encountered Ætius and Theodoric on the plains of Chalons. This was in A. D. 448, and a terrible defeat sustained by Attila rescued Europe from the power of the Hun.

In the year A. D. 732, the Saracens, having made themselves masters of the Spanish peninsula, scaled the barriers of the Pyrenees, and entered upon the subjugation of Europe. Having defeated and dispersed two Christian armies, and advanced to the banks of the Loire, they there, near the centre of France, met Charles Martel, who, after seven days of conflict, gave them a total defeat, thus saving Europe from the dominion of the crescent.

The fourth occasion upon which Europe was made to tremble upon the very verge of subjugation to an eastern conqueror, was as late as the year A. D. 1236, when Batu Khan, one of the grandsons of the terrible Zingis Khan, rolled along his hordes of Tartars, crossing the Volga, the Kama, the Don, the Borysthenes, the Vistula and the Danube, reducing to ashes the cities of Moscow and Kiow, penetrating into the heart of Poland, as far as the borders of Germany, scaling the Carpathian mountains, and all but depopulating Hungary, and finally retreating slowly from the Danube to the Volga.

These several invasions have already been separately alluded to. One only has since occurred, viz., that of the Turks, when they obtained a foothold in Europe by the taking of Constantinople in A. D. 1453, and subsequently, at different times, pushing on their successes until they reached the walls of Vienna. These will embrace all those which are contained in the first series of movements.

The second is prior in the order of time, and much more important. The movements it embraces, mostly precede the historic period, and relate to the different races, or varieties in the human species, which constitute the different populations of Europe. These, with few exceptions, like the different geological epochs, go back to periods of time when no records can be found, excepting what results from an identity in manners and customs,

in forms of thought, habits, modes of belief, and in the nature of the language, and forms of expression. This has already been so fully considered as to supersede the necessity of any reconsideration of it in this connection.

The third series brings under our view these different races in motion; presents the upheavals and displacements; the disorganizations and reorganizations; the migrations and new settlements, which occurred at the downfall of the Roman empire, and which resulted in laying the foundation of European history. To these, therefore, we will now direct our attention. And it will be important, as we bring under review the different tribes, to note the races to which they respectively belong, as the entire history of Europe, including also its destiny in the future, has been, and will continue to be, largely influenced, by the different characteristics of its different races.

The first in order of these great migrations, involving both the Celtic and German nations, commenced in B. C. 113. The Cimbri, a Celtic tribe, appearing in Noricum, on the banks of the Danube, defeated the consul Papirius Carbo, ravaged Gaul; turning south, defeated successively the consuls M. Junius Pilanus, and L. Cassius Longinus, and subsequently the proconsul, Q. Servilius Cæpio, annihilating two consular armies, and slaying eighty thousand soldiers, and forty thousand camp followers. After this they moved down into Spain, committing great ravages in the Spanish peninsula. Returning again into Gaul, they, with the Teutoni, a German nation, hovered upon the confines of Italy, threatening its invasion, and the subjugation of the waning republic of Rome. One Roman, however, was found competent to stem the torrent, and that was Caius Marius. Near the location of the present city of Aix, in B. C. 102, he engaged, defeated, and literally annihilated the hosts of the Teutones, and the year follow-

ing, 101, put to a total rout the armies of the Cimbri while they were desolating the plains of Lombardy. So complete was the original emigration of these latter, and so entire their destruction, that they have never reappeared in history.

This migration, although unsuccessful in its results, had nevertheless the effect of disturbing the equilibrium which had hitherto prevailed among the northern nations. It had brought face to face the free man of the north, rude, unlettered, and undisciplined; and the Roman of the south, with a decaying civilization, a waning patriotism and freedom, a growing weakness and effeminacy, but a perfection of military discipline, that had walked over the civilized world in one continued career of conquest. The Roman triumphed; but the seeds of a warfare were here sown, whose fruit, some centuries later, was seen in the waving of the flag of Odoacer, from the walls of Rome. The barbarian, in his turn, had triumphed.

The on rush of the barbarian forces was long kept in check by the resources, arts, and discipline of Rome. The fierce and bloody battles fought by the first Cæsar, the victories which he achieved over the barbarians in Gaul, Germany and Britain, taught them a terrible lesson, which they long remembered. Although, therefore, he gave to the Roman republic its death-blow, yet he also gave to the empire a life-lease, which probably carried it far beyond any limit it would otherwise have attained.

The barbarians, as they were termed, inhabiting the shores of the Baltic and German ocean, dwelling amid the wilds of Scandinavia, and scattered over the forests of Germany, had learned that there was a country and a power south of the Alps; the one possessing attractive features, which invited to occupancy; and the other marshaling forces, which stimulated them to every species of warfare.

Through all these then benighted regions was felt the force, and witnessed the stir, of movement. Ancient Germany was far more extensive than modern. It was bounded on the south by the Rhine and Danube, on the west by the ocean, on the east by the Vistula, or by the uncertain limits of Sarmatian tribes, while towards the north it had no limitation. It comprehended even all the countries beyond the Baltic, which were supposed to be islands, or clusters of islands in the Northern ocean.

This large extent of country was peopled by different tribes, bearing towards each other strong affinities, and together composing the German or Teutonic race. The entire country, however, was not peopled by tribes exclusively German. Here were the remains of the aboriginal people of Scandinavia; here were also the Celts of Boyohemum, or Bohemia, and of the Hercynian forest. The first wave of emigration, after the Pelasgic or southern European, was the Celtic. These originally settled in Spain, France, and the British isles, thus pursuing their course to the western shores of Europe, from whence, in some instances, they were reflected back into the interior. There seems to have been a time when the Celts prevailed in power over the people beyond the Rhine, as many remains of Celtic nations are found in Germany.

The next wave of population succeeding the Celtic was the German, and numerous were the tribes belonging to this race. They found the south already occupied by the Pelasgians, and the west by the Celts. They, therefore, located in the centre, extending their conquests north against the Finns, so called from the lightness and vivacity with which they pursued their course over the snows and ice, on wooden skates. It is to the development of the different tribes composing this race that European history and civilization is so largely indebted.

This race was divided into two great nationalities, which were:

First, the Scandinavian, or Norman.

Second, the Dutch, or Gothic.

The first include the Danes, Longobards (Lombards), Angles, Jutes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Icelanders.

The second is the main stem from which the German nations take their point of divergence. To this belong the Gothic nations, the Souabians (Swabians), the Bajoars (Bavarians), the Markomanni in Bohemia, the Thuringians in Central Germany, the Franks on the Rhine, the Vandals, Burgundians, Herules, Rugians—all on the Baltic, the Vistula and Oder, the Frisians on the German sea, and the Saxons on the Elbe.

The third wave of population bore forward the Slavic race; the Sarmatian or Sclavonic tribes. Their progress westward occurs at a later period, first appearing in the fourth and fifth centuries, and continuing until the eleventh and twelfth. These followed in the wake of the Germans, being pushed on from the east by the Huns, and afterwards by the Chazars, and other Turcoman tribes from beyond the Caspian.

To return to the Teutonic or German race: the different tribes composing it, prior to the second century, were distributed as follows:

Along the shore of the German ocean, and across the isthmus of the Cimbric peninsula, were spread the tribes of the Chauci and Frisii, the Anglii, the Saxones, and the Teutones or Jutes. In the higher and more central parts were spread a people anciently called the Hermiones. At the west, and on the Rhine, was the country of the Sigambri, and near the Weser and the Hartz, that of the Cherusci and Angrivarii, including the Chatti, the Longobardi, the Hermanduri, the Marcomanni and Quadi, the

Lugii, and beyond the Vistula, and near the Carpathian hills, the Bastarnæ. East and north, and near the lower course of the Vistula, were the early abodes of the Goths.

The second century was the era of movement among the German nations. It is important to understand their combinations, migrations, and the seats which became their final settlements.

The movement commenced among the northern and western nations, giving rise to extensive changes in their relative positions, and bringing them into new combinations. The confederacies assumed new names, and hence there is some difficulty in preserving the identity of some of the tribes.

One of the earliest of these combinations was that bearing the name of Alemanni, or All-men. They were made up principally of the Suevic nations. Their territories extended between the Danube, the Rhine, the Necker, the Main, and the Lahn. They were powerful on the Rhine, and in the north-eastern parts of France, until they were conquered by Clovis and the Franks. From the Suevi or Suabi, come the Suabians, and they, as also the German Swiss, are the descendants of the Alemanni.

Contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the Alemanic confederacy, was that of the Franks. The Franks and Saxons, lying, as they do, at the foundation of the English and French nationalities, become important subjects of investigation.

The Franks, or Freemen, were composed of a number of German tribes, as the Chauci, the Sicambri, the Chamavi, the Cherusci, the Bructeri, the Cutti, the Ampsivarii, the Ripuarii, the Salii, etc., situated between the Rhine, the Maine, the Weser, and the Elbe. At the close of the fourth century the whole country lying within the Rhine, the Weser, the Maine, and the Elbe, was called Francia.

The most interesting of these tribes were the Salian Franks upon the lower, and the Ripuarian upon the upper Rhine. These were finally united under Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy; each, however, preserving their own laws and peculiar customs.

Prior to the Frank ascendancy, in the early history of Europe, the countries lying between the Werra, the Aler, the Elbe, the Saal, the Mulda, and the Danube, composed the Thuringian kingdom, which was one of great extent and power in the centre of Germany. This, however, fell before the rising genius of the Franks.

In the recesses of the Hartz forest, between the Elbe and the Ems, were to be found in early times the Langobards, the Cherusci, Angrivarii, Chauci and Chamavi. Of these, the first mentioned tribe moved towards the south-east, and the last mentioned to the Rhine, where they united with the Franks. In this region, we first hear of the Saxon, into which, doubtless, the old tribes were absorbed.

The Saxons are first mentioned as marauders; they were termed a nation inhabiting the coasts and morasses near the ocean; and by their bravery rendered themselves terrible to the Romans. They were a Gothic, or Scythian tribe, and descended probably from the Sakai, or Sacæ; the Sakai-Suna, or the sons of the Sakai, being abbreviated into Sak-sun, Saxon. In Europe they originated from small beginnings. A territory on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and three small islands, contained the entire stock of a people whose descendants are now spread over a portion of Germany, England, North America and British India.

From their dwelling places on islands and coasts of the sea, they naturally became pirates and freebooters, and, therefore, while the Franks and the Alemans were spread-

ing themselves over the interior of Gaul, the Saxons were infesting the coasts, and even extended their incursions into Britain.

The Saxons and the Franks were the chief nations in the western part of Germany during the fifth and sixth centuries. They were frequently at war after the formation of the Frankish confederacy. But that confederacy acquired a preponderance upon the continent, commencing with Clovis, and attaining its culminating point under Charlemagne.

Near the Saxons were the Angli, a Suevian tribe, who lived on the Elbe. They combined at an early period with a branch of the Saxons and Jutes; and, during the latter part of the fifth century crossed over into Britain. These were called the Anglo-Saxons, to distinguish them from the Saxons who still remained on the continent.

Between the Ems and the eastern Rhine or Issel, was the country of the Frisians, who, afterwards, and upon the downfall of the Roman empire, extended themselves as far as the middle Rhine. They were the only considerable people in the maritime tracts of Germany, to the westward of the Franks and the Saxons.

A German, or Scythian race, of more importance in the early history of Europe, than any yet mentioned, was the Gothic. They are first found on the shores of the Baltic, near which is the island of Gothland, and also another Gothland in the centre of Sweden. They do not, however, appear historically until after their southern emigration, when they are found inhabiting the country between the Vistula, the Dniester, the Borysthenes, and the Tanais or Don.

The Goths were the most civilized of all the Germanic tribes, and were the first to embrace the Christian religion. They were early divided in their ancient settlements

beyond the Danube, into two principal branches. That branch which inhabited the districts towards the east, and the Euxine sea, between the Dniester, the Borysthenes, and the Tanais, were called Ostrogoths; while the branch which extended westward, and occupied ancient Dacia, and the regions situated between the Dniester, the Danube, and the Vistula, had the denomination of Visigoths. Besides these, another Gothic tribe called the Gepidæ, or Loiterers, remained north of the Carpathian mountains, at the sources of the Vistula.

Over all these reigned the great Gothic emperor Hermenrich, in the year A.D. 375. He was in apparent security, having little to apprehend from the aggressions of the eastern or western Roman empire. Suddenly, however, the terrible Hun steps upon the theatre of European history. His onslaught was irresistible. The old king perished in battle. The Ostrogoths and Gepidæ immediately submitted; but the Visigoths, defeated on the Dniester, on the Pruth, and attempting in vain to make a stand upon the Carpathian mountains, finally retreated to the Danube, and there implored the protection of the emperor Valens. They were permitted to cross the Danube, and more than a million of Visigoths, with the consent of the emperor, fixed their abode in Thrace, in Mœsia, and the frontiers of Dacia. Settlements were also granted to the Ostrogoths in Pannonia.

Misunderstandings arising between the Visigoths and the imperial officers, they twice ravaged Italy, under the command of Alaric, sacked and plundered Rome, and finally ended their conquests by establishing themselves in Gaul and in Spain. One branch of these Goths appears to have been the Thuringians, whom we find in the fifth century established in the heart of Germany, where they erected a powerful kingdom.

The first half of the fifth century was characterized more especially by the pushing forward of barbarian tribes into Gaul. This region had so long been under the dominion of Rome, that most of the arts and luxuries of civilized life were there found in great abundance. It furnished, therefore, the greater temptation to those barbarians who found their wants to increase with the more abundant means of their gratification.

The first of these were the Visigoths. They arrived under the command of their king Atulf, or Adolphus, in A. D. 412, and took possession of the country lying within the Loire, the Rhine, the Durance, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. Their capital was the city of Toulouse.

The Burgundians, another celebrated race, were, while in their original seats, neighbors of the Goths, being separated from them by the lower Vistula. They occupied the countries between the latter river and the Oder. At this period of general movement among the Gothic nations, the Burgundians are also found to be in motion. About the year A. D., 413, they established themselves on the upper Rhine, and in Switzerland. Soon after the great battle of Chalons, they obtained their final settlement, and founded the kingdom of the Burgundians, which was situated between the Alps and the Rhone, and extended from the Vosges mountains to the Mediterranean.

The Alemanni and the Suevi invaded the countries of Gaul, since known under the names of Alsace, the Palatinate, Mayence, etc., and extended their conquests over a considerable part of Rhetia and Vindelicia.

Another German race who finally obtained a permanent foothold in Gaul, was the Frank, who, under Clodion, their chief, passed the Rhine, A. D. 430, and became master of the greater part of Belgic Gaul. After the terrible

conflict between the Huns and the Romans and Visigoths, and defeat of the former in A. D. 451, the Salian Franks under their kings Meroveus and Childeric I, still more extended their conquests, until Clovis, son of Childeric I, overcame the Romans in the battle at Soissons in A. D. 486, routed the Alemanni completely in the year 496, at the battle of Tolbiac, or Zulpich, and attacked the Visigoths and defeated and killed their king, Alaric II, in a battle fought near Poictiers in 507, and thus stripped them of all their possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees. His descendants overthrew the kingdom of the Burgundians in A. D. 534, having previously extended their dominions in the interior of Germany, by the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom in A. D. 531.

Another German race that visited Gaul while on their southern emigration, was the Vandalies, the Vandals, a name unknown in the early history of Germany, but coming forward in the universal movement among the tribes, and appearing as the designation of one nation or confederacy of warlike emigrants. These are supposed to have been the Lygian tribes mentioned by Tacitus, as situated on the left side of the Vistula, and between that river and the mountains which bound Bohemia towards the east. It appears to have comprehended most of the German tribes to the eastward of the Suevi, and reaching thence to the Vistula.

About the beginning of the fifth century, the Vandals, in conjunction with the Suevi and the Alani, after having settled some years in Gaul, turned their ambitious views towards Spain. They crossed the Pyrenees, A. D. 409, and fell down upon its fertile regions. The Vandals seized Boetica, and a part of Gallicia; the Suevi seized the rest of Gallicia; while the Alani took possession of Lusitania, and the province of Carthagena.

The Alani submitted to the Vandals, but the Suevi preserved long their native princes. But soon other conquerors appeared in Spain. The Visigoths, under Adolphus, their king, carried their arms south of the Pyrenees, making themselves masters of Barcelona, in A. D. 415. In A. D. 584, the entire conquest was effected by reducing the kingdom of the Suevi. The monarchy of the Visigoths, in its flourishing state, embraced the Spanish peninsula, Septimania or Languedoc in Gaul, and Mauritania Tingitania in Africa. It maintained itself until the commencement of the eighth century, when it was finally overthrown by the Arabs.

Another tribe, whose influence has been felt in the progress of European civilization, is the Longobards, Longbeards, Lombards, originally a Scandinavian people, from the north of Jutland. They abandoned their early home during an inundation of the ocean, and settled for a time on the Elbe. Soon after the commencement of migration among the German nations, we find the Lombards in northern Pannonia (Hungary), where they form a powerful and warlike nation. Here they were vanquished by Attila; but, after his death, uniting with the Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, and Heruli, they drove the Huns back towards Mount Caucasus, and established themselves on the left bank of the Danube, eastward to the Theiss. Here they remained until A. D. 568, when Alboin, their king, crossed the Alps with a large army, and fell down upon the valley of the Po. Hence northern Italy became known by the name of Lombardy. The Lombards, under the successors of Alboin, extended their dominion into the interior, and as far south as Beneventum.

The Heruli were another German nation, whose primitive seats are unknown. They are first mentioned by name as accompanying the Goths on the Pontus, in their

piratical expeditions against Thrace and Greece. Driven from the banks of the Palus Mæotis, by the Huns, they retreated towards the Danube, and locating on the right bank of that river, between Vienna and Buda, they formed a powerful kingdom in A. D. 476.

The Heruli seem to have been the most wandering people of the whole German race. They fought in almost every country in Europe, while the German nations were establishing themselves in the provinces of the western empire. It was the peculiar destiny of this German tribe to complete the destruction of the western Roman empire. They chose for their king, Odoacer, under whom they seized Ravenna and Rome, and dethroning Romulus Momyllus Augustulus, the last of the Roman emperors, in A. D. 476, they brought to a final close, the Roman dominion.

In directing our attention towards the north of Europe we find the countries beyond the Baltic originally peopled by the Jotuns, or the Finn, and Lappish tribe, a race different from the German. But the German, or Teutonic, soon gained the ascendancy. The early writers describe Scanzia, Scandinavia, as extending north to the boundary of the habitable globe, where, in winter, the earth is covered with darkness for forty days, and in summer, the sun remains above the horizon for an equal time. In this remote region, they describe as dwelling, first, the Goths; and nearest to them the Suethones (most probably the Swedes).

These are described as chasing the wild animals that inhabit their woods, with swift horses. In the same regions dwelt also the gentle race of Finns, and in the country adjoining, the Danes, a nation of huge stature. Denmark, Danne Mark, south of the mountains of Gothland, and east of the islands of the Baltic, is considered the residence of the ancient Cimbri.

Sweden was called Svea Land, or Svea Rike, the kingdom of the Svear, or Svenskar. Norway signifies North realm, Nord-rige contracted, Norge. The early history of Scandinavia is mythical in its character, and little reliable can be collected until the introduction of Christianity by missionaries from France, in the ninth century. There are, however, three great historical events, that transpired much earlier, and which, in their consequences, will reach to the end of time. Of these, one is the migration of the Langobards from Jutland; another, that of the Goths from Gothland, or northern Sweden; and the third, that of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, to Britain. All these have already been briefly stated.

The insular position of Britain gives it a peculiar history. Its first inhabitants were a mixture of Cimbri, Gaels, and Iberians. Then follows its invasion by Cæsar, and its occupancy by the Romans. In the north-western extremity of the island were the Scots, the ancient Caledonians, who were of Celtic origin, and called themselves Gaelic, and their highland home Gaeldoch. They belonged to the Celtic race, and were poor, savage and brave. These were the ancestors of the Highlanders of the present day.

On the south-east of these, and on both sides of the Grampian hills extending southward towards the borders of England, were the Picts, the present Lowlanders. These were not Gaelic, but obviously Scandinavian in their derivation. The connection of Scandinavia with Caledonia dates far back.

The original Britons, the Celts, on the Saxon invasion under Hengist and Horsa, were driven into the mountainous region of Wales, where their descendants are still to be found.

The original colonization of Ireland took place from some country inhabited by Celtic people. The Irish Celts,

however, are supposed to have been a peculiar tribe, distinguished both from the British and Gaulish Celts, before they left the east. They are supposed by some to have made their way into Ireland through Spain and across the bay of Biscay. From Ireland they passed to the west of Scotland in the third century, and to the Isle of Man.

The ancient Iberia and Lusitania, the country south of the Pyrenees, seems to have been originally peopled by at least two primitive races, or the one invaded the dominions of the other prior to the historic era. These were the Iberian and Celtic races, some supposing the former to have been aboriginal, and the latter the invading race, but the localities in which the latter are found, go far to negative that supposition. The strongest traces of them are found in the mountain fastnesses of the interior, more resembling retreats than seats of hostile aggression, and also in the remote extremities of the peninsula, near the western promontories. These Celts, or Celtici, seem, at the earlier periods, to have been more widely spread over the peninsula, where they have given names to places, afterwards giving way to the Iberians.

Bætica, anciently Turdetania, comprehending most of the south of Spain, was inhabited by the Turdetani, who were the most civilized people in Spain. They were acquainted with the use of letters, and preserved records and poems, and laws composed in metre, which had been handed down from a remote period.

Lusitania, and the north-western parts of Spain, was peopled with Iberians, while the high mountainous region in the central parts, constituting the high table land from which the different rivers take their source, and anciently termed Celtiberia, was inhabited by a mixture of Celts and Iberians, who were termed Celtiberians.

The coast of the Spanish peninsula was always open to colonization, and conquest. The earliest colonists were the Phœnicians, who founded Tartessus, and, at a later period Gades, now Cadiz. These, together with all maritime Spain, afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. All its maritime coasts were conquered by them. Their rapine and cruelty prevented their forming any relations with the inhabitants of the interior.

Next came Rome, who introduced, to some extent, her manners, customs, and even language into the peninsula. The downfall of her dominion was signalized by the visitation of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Visigoths, who mingled with the Celts and Iberians, producing the different races still observable in Spain. The first mentioned descended the Duero, and chose Braya for their capital. The Vandals made their way to the centre, fixing their residence at Toledo. These, in their turn, were conquered by the Visigoths under Theodoric, who extended their conquests from the Ebro to the straits of Gibraltar. The Visigoths made a permanent lodgment in a large portion of the peninsula, and the title hijo del Goda, son of the Goth, changed by the Spaniard into hidalgo, has ever since been made use of to mean a noble, or a free and powerful man among a people of slaves.

Next came the Arab or Moor, after the Visigoths had held possession for three centuries. The Moors maintained their authority in Spain over seven hundred and fifty years. They adorned Cordova, Grenada, and other towns with the embellishments of a highly advanced civilization. Their sway was mild and easily borne, and in itself little calculated to provoke those severe enactments, and cruel measures, backed up by the horrors of the inquisition, which finally resulted in their expulsion from Spain.

It will be readily seen from all this that a mixture of races must be found in Spain equal, if not superior, to that found in any other country.

Having now glanced at the races successively occupying the northern, central, western, and south-western portions of Europe, the Italian and Grecian peninsulas having been formerly in part considered, we now turn to her eastern and south-eastern portions.

It has been before remarked that the third wave of population, that which succeeded the German or Teutonic, was that which bore forward the Slavic race; the Sarmatian or Slavonic tribes. The progress of these, the settlements they formed, together with those of other races in eastern Europe, present much interesting subject of inquiry.

The movements we have before remarked among the German nations, were not altogether from causes originating with them. They were often acted upon by nations beyond them, and these by others still further east, until the last link in the chain of causes would finally be found attached to the summits of the Ural, the Caucasus or the Altai. The record of these migratory nations, as gathered from the traces they have left of their progress, the places of their origin, and those of their settlement, or ultimate disappearance from the world, are among the facts that lie at the foundation of history.

The first power appearing in the east, that in its march westward carried destruction among the Teutonic races, was the terrible Hun, whose desolating course has already been mentioned. It is, however, a question prompted by no idle curiosity, what became of those terrible invaders? The ferocious Attila expired in his camp in Buda, in A. D., 453. His savage sons, all owning the same father, but different mothers, disputed with each other the

succession. The enslaved Germanic nations, the Ostrogoths, Lombards, Gepidæ and Herules, united against the common enemy, and on the banks of the Neutra in Pannonia fought a terrible battle in which thirty thousand Huns with Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, fell. The Hunic power was broken forever. The camp at Buda, all Dacia and Pannonia from the Carpathian mountains to the Euxine, were divided between the Gepidæ, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. The remaining hordes of the Huns retreated to the Volga, spreading themselves over the plains which stretch from Bolgaci to the Euxine.

Here we find the country of Great Bulgaria, and its inhabitants are pretty clearly identified as being the remains of the Huns. They were divided into two hordes: the black Bulgars, and the Wolocks or white Bulgars, the latter mingling much with the Sclavonians, whose language they adopted. In the beginning of the sixth century the black Bulgarians crossed the Volga, and following the track of the Huns, marched towards the Danube.

While roaming over the plains between the Don, Dniester and Pruth, they were attacked and subdued by the Avars, but in 619 they revolted and succeeded, under their khan, Kuvrat, in achieving their independence.

In 678 they crossed the Danube and founded the Bulgarian kingdom in Mœsia, between the Hæmus and the Danube, which is the present Bulgaria. This was a territory of great extent and fertility, and had already been occupied by Sclavonian emigrants. Into this mass of population the Bulgarians, although a Turco-Tartar, and dominant race, became in time absorbed, adopting the Sclavonic language, but giving their own name to the country.

The Bulgarians carried on various wars with the Greek emperors, and about the beginning of the ninth century,

taking advantage of the defeat of their old enemies, the Avars, by Charlemagne, they crossed the Danube, totally prostrated their ancient foes, and founded on their ruins the great Bulgarian empire which stretched from the Theiss and the Carpathians across the Danube even to the frontiers of Greece.

The Bulgarians were subdued by the Turks in 1396, and are now distinguished by a character of mildness, if not servility.

Another eastern people, whose bloody footsteps are found tracking the early pages of eastern European history, are the Avars. These were a race of Tartars, and for centuries had roamed over the eastern slopes of Mount Ural. They appear in history about the middle of the fifth century, and about a hundred years later, they subdued the Bulgarians on the Euxine, and made their appearance upon the Danube. For more than two centuries they proved the scourge of Europe, desolating all Slavia and eastern Germany as far as Franconia and Bavaria. They occupied all Bohemia, subdued the Sorabian Slavi, and in 563 penetrated into Thuringia. Uniting with the Longobards, they destroyed the Gepidæ in Pannonia, and when their associates left for the conquest of Italy, they occupied Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia. In its greatest extent, the empire of the Avars, of Avaria, lay at the south, upon the Danube, the Euxine, and the western Caucasus, on the east it touched the Volga, on the north-east extended to modern Moscow, and along the Carpathian range, while its western border ran down the Elbe, from Magdeburgh to Bohemia. Many of the Sclavonian tribes were subdued by them. Others fled before them, forcing their way across the Danube, inundating Thrace, and settling in northern Greece and the Morea. To protect themselves against the Franks, the then dominant power of western

Europe, they transformed southern Germany into a desert, thus separating Avaria from Bavaria by widely extended, dense, and almost impenetrable forests.

The Avars were nomadic in their character and habits, never dwelling in cities, but in strongly fortified camps. They were tall, handsome and excellent archers, fighting in complete armor and upon barbed steeds. They were brave and warlike, but faithless, perfidious and avaricious. Within the wooden walls of their capital, the ringus, or fortified circular camp at Buda-Pesth, on the banks of the Danube, in Pannonia, was immense booty, the plunder of many vanquished nations. They displayed a savage cruelty towards their vanquished subjects. From the time they came into collision with the Frankish armies their power began to wane. The Bulgarians attacked them in the east; the Bohemians rebelled in the west; Prince Pepin, with his Franks, after several destructive campaigns, subdued all western Avaria as far as the river Raab and the Danube; and in 803 the heavy sword of Charlemagne caused them to disappear from history; some of the most eastern tribes finding a refuge on Mount Caucasus where they still exist under the name of Awars or Uars.

Another eastern and Tartaric tribe that for a time exerted an influence upon the destinies of eastern Europe was the Petcheneges. They first appear on the steppes between the Yaik and the Volga. About the middle of the ninth century, having been driven from their homes by the Kumani, their eastern neighbors, they commenced their journeyings westward, forcing before them the Magyars. They crossed the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Pruth, and halted not until they arrived at the foot of the Carpathian mountains. Here, for more than two centuries, their hordes occupied the whole region

from the Don and the Donetz along the shores of the Black sea, through the plains of Wallachia to the Aluta. They carried on continual wars with the Russians on the north, and on the south, crossing the Danube, they ravaged Macedonia and Thrace. They were faithless, perfidious, brutish, and beastly, subsisting on the raw flesh of cats, rats, foxes and wolves. In 1122, they were attacked by the Kumani and Uzi, and also by Kalo-Johannes, the great emperor. By a series of well concerted manœuvres they were so effectually entrapped that they were utterly exterminated, and never again reappear in history.

Another eastern people, and which appear to have been kindred to those last mentioned, were the Kumani and Uzi. These, until their rebellion and migration westward, formed a part of the eastern empire of the Chazars. They were of Tartaric blood, and appear about the middle of the eleventh century on the steppes west of the Volga. Their numerous hordes pressing westward crossed the Danube in 1065, and carried a desolating war into the Greek empire. They scaled the Carpathian mountains, and entered Transylvania, where they met with a defeat in 1089. They ruled over a territory extending from the Caspian sea and mount Caucasus along the shores of the Euxine to the mouth of the Danube, the whole of southern Russia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries being called Kumania.

In 1222 the approach of the Mongols compelled them to fall back on the Volga, where they made a stand, and, in conjunction with the Russians, encountering the Mongolian armies in 1224 on the banks of the Kalka, they met with a total defeat, and from that time disappear from history. Some tribes in Hungary survived, and their descendants still inhabit the plains of Great and Little Kumania. Their manners and customs, food, and general

character, are all described as very similar to the Petcheneges. Like them, the Europeans considered them as monsters in human shape.

Another migrating race that have thus far exerted, and are yet to exert, a much more important influence upon the destinies of Europe, than those we have been considering, is the Magyar. This, unlike those, was a race of Finnish origin. Its original home was on the north-western slopes of the Ural. There, in Ugria, still reside its ancestors.

The Magyars, or as some term them, the Ugri, Hungri, hence Hungarians, left their original seats as early as the fifth century, and marched southward. For some time they remained on the lower Volga and Caspian. Coming in conflict with other eastern hordes, and prevented from ascending the Volga by the Russians under Ruric, they turned westward, and their wild hordes of cavalry followed by trains of carts, crossed the Dniester and Dnieper, and spread over the plains of Dacia. Then penetrating through the defiles of the Carpathian mountains, they fell suddenly upon the Bulgarians, and, expelling them, advanced westward, occupying all the country between the mountains and the Theiss. There and on the plains stretching between the Theiss and the Maros, the eyes of Europe beheld with astonishment the camps of nearly a million of unknown barbarians. They were divided into divisions or swarms, each of thirty thousand horsemen, commanded by Voivods, who elected as their great khan, Arpad, the founder of the Arpadian dynasty. Finding themselves in the very centre and heart of Europe, surrounded by stranger races and enemies, the Magyars, before commencing their conquests, entered into a compact with each other which consisted of the following points:

1. The chief power was to be hereditary in the family of Arpad, while the power of the chiefs of the respective tribes was to be hereditary also.

2. Each successive prince was obliged to undergo an election, before assuming the supreme power.

3. Treason or faithlessness on the part of the chief of the state was to be punished with banishment, and in the case of the chiefs of the tribes, with death.

4. The fruits of the conquest were to be divided according to merit in the work of the conquest.

The ceremony by which this compact was ratified presented a scene for a painter. In the centre of a circle was placed a rude vessel of hollowed stone, and around it stood the assembled chiefs of the tribes. All being in readiness, first Arpad pierced with the point of his falchion his bare arm, until the blood flowed into the basin of stone. The chiefs of the tribes then successively followed his example, until the vessel reeked with the warm blood. Each stern barbarian chief then put his lips to the bowl, and quaffing the mingled draught, testified in the presence of the high sun, which they worshiped, their solemn purpose to conquer or die together. With such a compact, thus ratified, we may well expect to see the Magyars become a permanent people in the very heart of Europe.

The race, however, was originally a nomadic one. The Magyars fed on horse-flesh. They covered themselves with the skins of wild animals; and this, although they wore heavy armor made of iron obtained from the mines of mount Oural. They fought only on horseback, their most terrible weapons being bows and arrows. They were rapid, impetuous and cruel, and, during the century commencing with 855 and closing with 955, they devastated central and southern Europe, causing untold miseries to its

population. In the year last mentioned they received so terrible a defeat on the Lech-field by the great Otho, that only seven fugitives returned to Hungary to tell the woeful tale, and the Magyars from that time ceased the invasion of Germany.

It was about the year 1,000 under Stephen I, that Christianity was generally introduced among the Magyars, and that the government became more regularly organized. They then occupied the whole of modern Hungary, bordering on Poland and Moravia, on the north; on the west reaching the Austrian marches; on the south separated by the Danube from the Bulgarian kingdom; and on the east the Carpathian range protected them from the Petchengers, then a most formidable power.

The Arpadian dynasty established its head-quarters at Buda-Pesth, on both banks of the Danube, and which was once the site of the camp of Attila, and subsequently of the Avars. On the adjoining plain the Magyar nobility, on horseback, and in complete armor, held their national diet, enacted their laws, and decided political questions. The Magyars at this period lived mostly in villages, having but few cities. The feudal system was introduced, or something very analogous to it, the Magyars forming the army, and the poor Sclavonian subjects, the serfs, being kept in degrading subjection.

Another power in the east, which began to develop itself westward in the first half of the thirteenth century, was the Mongolian, or Tartar. It was born on the southern slope of the Altai in the latter part of the preceding century. Its manifestations in Europe were principally by Batou-Chan, the grandson of Zingis. He, with his Mongolian hordes, descended through the defiles of Dervend, in 1222. The frightened Kumani fell back upon the Volga. They united their forces with the Rus-

sian princes, and both together made a stand upon the river Kalka.

The Mongol triumphed. Myriads perished in the river. The whole country was laid open to the terrible invader. He overran and ravaged it as far as the sources of the Volga and the Dnieper. The cities of Kiew, Resan, Moscow, Smolensk, and many others, were laid in ashes. The rising power of Russia was broken, and out of its fragments was founded, in 1230, the Mongol khanate of the Golden horde of Kaptchak. This was a very extensive empire, stretching westward to Lublin and Cracow, on the upper Vistula in Poland, along the Carpathian range to the Black sea and the Crimea, and eastward across Mount Oural, along the Caspian and Aral seas, towards the lakes of Siberia, and Mount Muztag, on the borders of Tshagatai.

The great city of Novogorod was saved by the Mongolian hordes taking a more western direction. Crossing the Vistula and the Oder, they vanquished the Poles and knights of the Teutonic order, at Liegnitz in Silesia, in 1241.

Next we find him in Hungary, warring with the Magyars. On the plains of Mohi, near the junction of the river Hernad and the Theiss, was fought the great battle between Batou-khan and the Hungarians. The latter, outflanked and overwhelmed by the Mongol myriads, were totally defeated. Instead of pursuing his course westward, as had been apprehended, he returned to Russia to organize his conquests.

For more than two centuries, 1224 to 1487, the sway of the Mongol extended over nearly all Russia. They finally retired from the cold region of the upper Volga, to the smiling banks of the Caspian sea and the Yaik. Here was built the immense camp town of Sarai, and the Golden

tent, which gave the name to the ruling horde of the Kaptchak.

This khanate, or empire, like most of the Mongolian and Tartar empires, finally sunk under its own weight. The line of Batou-khan became extinct in 1361; at which, disputes among the Mongolian princes began to arise, regarding the succession. These led to fierce civil wars, and the Golden horde became split into the khanates of Astrakan, of the Crimea, of Kasan, and of Tucan. These divisions encouraged the Russians to attack the Tartars, which they did with varying success. In 1389 and 1395, the mighty Tamerlane swept down with his numerous hordes, and gave the fatal blow to the Mongol dominion in the Kaptchak.

One other remaining power in the east, which, advancing westward, has essentially influenced the destiny of Europe, is the Turkish. Those now known under that name, are termed Osmanli, or Ottoman Turks, from the founder of that dynasty, Othman, or Osman, that is, Bone-breaker. He was one of those emirs, who, after the subversion of the Seljukians by the Mongols, shared among themselves, the shares of their ancient masters. He began his career of conquest in 1327, by taking Prusa or Brusa, the principal city of Bithynia, which he made the capital of his new state. This state soon gained the ascendancy over all the other Turkish sovereignties, which, like it, were formed from the ruins of Iconium, and the Greek empire.

The son and successor of Othman, Orchan, created the order of the Janissaries, took from the Greeks the cities of Nice and Nicomedia, subdued most of the Turkish emirs in Asia Minor, and took the title of sultan, or king, and also that of pasha, equivalent to that of emperor.

His son, Soliman, by taking the city of Gallipoli, in 1358, opened a passage for the Turks into Europe.

Amurath I conquered Adrianople and all Thrace; he attacked Macedonia, Servia, and Bulgaria, and subdued several Turkish princes of Asia Minor.

Bajazet I, his successor, put an end to all the Turkish sovereignties which still existed in Asia Minor, defeated Sigismund, the Hungarian king, at Nicopolis 1396, completed the reduction of Bulgaria, and laid siege to Constantinople itself. In the midst of his successes, he was called back into Asia to defend his dominions against the Tartar, Tamerlane, who, with his Mongolian hordes, was sweeping over the western part of Europe. The two conquerors met near Angora, where a terrible battle was fought, in which the Tartar triumphed, taking Bajazet a prisoner, and afterwards taking and pillaging the whole of Anatolia. This retarded, for some time, the progress of the Turkish empire. So also did the dissensions which arose on the death of Bajazet. But Amurath II terminated these divisions, and restored again the Turkish empire.

At length appeared Mahomet II, 1451. Ascending the throne in his twentieth year, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men and a fleet of three hundred sail, he commenced the siege of Constantinople in 1453. The city was carried by assault on the 29th May, 1453, and delivered up to unrestrained pillage. The inhabitants were carried into slavery, and a dismal solitude took the place of the once busy and populous city.

This was followed by the reduction of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago. The Greek empire of Trebizond in Asia Minor, also submitted to the conqueror, 1466. Thus was founded the Ottoman upon the ruins of the Greek empire.

It will be seen that about one century and a quarter, from 1327 to 1453, was sufficient for the rise and final triumph of the Ottomans; and that, too, although within

that period it fell once under the sword of Tamerlane. It has been asked how a power can have so obscure an origin; be once annihilated; and yet achieve so rapid a growth within so short a period?

The answer to the question is found:

1. In the fact that to the Turkish nation, or race, belonged a religious fanaticism and a warlike spirit.

2. The leaders were of a high-toned character, and inventive genius.

3. The institutions they gave, and the laws they enacted, were adapted to the genius and spirit of the nation.

The conquered lands were divided into hereditary fiefs, with military tenure; pashas (commanders) were created, and other military and civil officials, which were well adapted to the wants of an active and enthusiastic people, continually increasing by new tribes from the east. By these and other similar means, a band of a few hundred Tartar horsemen in a century and a quarter organized the best drilled and bravest regular infantry; the Janissaries, the most impetuous and efficient cavalry; the Sipahis and Silihdars; and an artillery more formidable than any at that time in civilized Europe.

Under all these circumstances it is not perhaps surprising that the Ottomans in 1356 subdued the warlike Slavonian tribes on the Danube, swept away all the Latin principalities in Greece, the relics of the Crusades, and on the ruins of the millennial Byzantine empire founded that Sublime Porte whose frontiers toward the middle of the sixteenth century extended from the Adriatic gulf and the Carpathian mountains, across the Black sea and Mount Caucasus, to the Tigris, the Persian gulf, Egypt, and lost itself in the distant deserts of Africa.

Having now glanced at the migratory tribes that within the historic period, have appeared upon the theatre of

eastern Europe, either effecting permanent settlements or disappearing from history, it remains to notice briefly the different races that have achieved a final settlement, and are occupying that portion of the continent.

A line drawn along the Vistula from its mouth to its source, and then skirting the eastern borders of the Carpathian mountains, would nearly define the western limits of ancient Sarmatia. From thence it stretched far eastward to the Oural mountains and river, which forms the eastern boundary between Europe and Asia. This region of country exceeds in extent all the rest of Europe, and so gradual is its rise into the table land of Valdai, that it varies little from a vast plain. Indeed from the term, pole, signifying flat, is derived the name of that portion of it which has gone under the name of Poland.

This entire region, except two small portions on its western boundary, constitutes the present Russian empire in Europe. Of this immense country, the table lands of Valdai embrace the sources of those rivers which on the north flow into the Frozen ocean, and on the south into the Pontic and Caspian seas. On the northern slope the principal cereals are rye and barley, while on the southern flourishes the oak and the elm, and wheat and oats are indigenous to the plains watered by the Volga and the Dnieper.

On this great northern slope, from time immemorial, have resided the Finnish race, comprising the Finns, Lappes, Jotuns and Tschudes. To these might also be added the Ougres, or Ugorian tribes, dwelling on the slopes and in the valleys of the Ural. These people, under the name of Fenni, are described by Tacitus as destitute of arms, horses and settled abodes; their food, wild herbs; their clothing, skins; their bed, the ground. Their arms were arrows, and their only protection from storms and wild beasts, was a covering of branches twisted together.

The Finns appear to have derived nothing from their German neighbors. Their customs, manners, religion, arts, habits of thought, whole manner of existence, were distinct from anything appertaining to the southern nations of Europe. When conquered by the Swedes the Finns were so far from having any knowledge of dancing that they had no word in their language to express it; they were unacquainted with any game or contest for gain; the women were degraded, and the fathers sold their daughters to their lovers, the term to sell a maiden being equivalent to the giving a daughter in marriage. In proportion as the Slavonians became more civilized and powerful, they reduced the aboriginal hordes, driving them further to the north. The relics of this people are to be found in some parts of the mountain chain of Valdai.

The mighty difference between the Magyars who inhabit the plains of Hungary and their ancestors on the southern slopes of the Ural is accounted for in part by the difference in climate, difference in industrial pursuits, and, probably more than all others, by the difference in the moral influences by which they were surrounded; the former being surrounded by German nations whose advancing civilization could not but influence their neighbors.

Again moving towards the south, we find in early periods of time the old Pruthenians or Prussians, the Lithuanians and Letts, inhabiting east and west Prussia, Lithuania and Lettland, forming a group of nations distinct both from the Teutonic and Slavic races. They had a peculiar system of religion, and a language approaching nearer to the Sanskrit than did any other European idiom. This race, occupying the narrow extent of country included between the Finns and the Goths, are considered as a distinct tribe, and as having preceded the Slavic race in their occupancy of the country.

Another race which it is of vast importance to understand is the Slavonian. This race, although comparatively of recent date, occupies the greater part of Europe east of the Vistula. The Slavonians are not distinctly recognized until near the sixth century of the Christian era. So comparatively recent is the advent of this race, that its mission to the world has not yet received a sufficiently definite form to give to it any character of certainty. The region of country was first known under the name of Sarmatia, and the people were called Sarmatians.

Of this people there are two great branches, the names first given them being Antes and Slavini, the first being the eastern, the last the western branch of this wide-spread family. Under the eastern are included all the Russian dialects, the old Slavonian, the modern Slavonic or Illyrian prevailing in Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, the Croatian, and the Wendish prevailing in Carinthia, Carniola, and Stiria. To the western branch belong the Slovakian, the Bohemian, the Wendish in upper and lower Lusatia, and the Polish with its Silesian variety.

Of all these those speaking the Russian dialects are the most numerous, occupying regions the furthest east of any other. At an early period they were resolved into two states, the northern near lake Ilmen, of which Novogorod was the capital, and the southern on the Dnieper, whose capital was Kiew. The other eastern Slavonian dialects are much more nearly allied to the Russian than to the Polish or other western Slavonian nations.

The western Slavic nations include the Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Sorabians, and northern Wends. Among these, particularly the Poles and Bohemians, the missionaries of Rome early diffused the light of Christianity, and the blessings of civilization which it dispenses, will account in a great measure for the vast difference between

these two branches of the same cognate race. The interval between 1577 and 1610 was the Augustan age of Bohemia. There is a mixture of several different races in Bohemia.

These were: 1. The Celtic Boii, hence its name.

2. The German tribe of the Marcomanni.

3. The tribe of the Moravians.

4. The Slavonians, who entered upon its occupancy about the middle of the sixth century.

The Slovaks are a Slavish people, occupying the north-western parts of Hungary. A Slavic population inhabited the whole of this country before the arrival of the Magyars; the region about the Carpathian mountains having been the centre whence the Slavic nations spread through eastern Europe.

The Poles, or Lechs, the term Lekh signifying free or noble men, occupied the country on the Vistula and Warta in the sixth or seventh century.

When the northern German tribes on the Baltic moved south in the barbaric warfare upon the Roman empire, the Sorabians and northern Wends, a stem from the great Slavic stock, passed over the Vistula, and spread themselves along the sea border from the mouth of that river to that of the Elbe; thus establishing independent communities through northern Germany, and building flourishing towns at the mouths of rivers emptying their waters into the Baltic.

The earliest distinction between the Slavonians, then termed Sarmatians, and the Germans, are given by Tacitus. The former, he says, differed from the latter in living on horseback and among horses. They built no houses, or fixed habitations, but had their dwellings upon wheels, or in movable wagons. In warfare they used no shields.

In a later age, they are described as roving about the steppes of Scythia, with numerous herds, directed by the

choice of pasturage or the pursuits of war; their movable towns, or camps, consisting of wagons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents, being the ordinary abode of their wives and children. They had, in fact, all the vices of orientals, including polygamy and abject servility.

The Germans, on the other hand, had fixed or permanent houses and villages, or towns. Their armies consisted of foot soldiers. They were cleanly, and of comparatively pure morals. In the domestic relations they practiced monogamy. They respected the female sex, enjoyed personal freedom, and had a regard for the rights of men. Here, therefore, were foundations, broad and deep, upon which to erect a time-lasting civilization.

Not only were there early inundations of Slavonians in the north and centre of Europe, but also in the south. Numerous hordes, mixed with Bulgarians and Avars, during the revolutions on the Danube in the beginning of the eighth century, descended through the pass of Thermopylæ, and took possession of Thessaly, Bœotia, and the Peloponnesus. They occupied Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, Messenia, and the valley of Laconia, the Greeks flying to the coasts, and the higher mountain regions. Although these Slavonic tribes were subsequently reduced under the dominion of the Greek emperors, yet the large infusion of the Slavonian element into the population of Greece has undoubtedly had the effect very much to vary the essential character of that population in modern times.

The destinies of this race may yet be of vast importance in the world's history.[1] Stretching from the Adriatic to the mouth of the Amoor, on the Pacific, and from Poland to the borders of Persia, it serves as a barrier for the protection of Europe against the inroads of the savage no-

[1] *Bruce*, 335.

mades of Northern Asia, and the more barbarous and roving Mongol and Turkish hordes that roam over the central and eastern portions of that vast continent. Its past history is a sufficient guaranty of the adequacy of this protection. It was its fortune to settle near the outworks of European civilization. The Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Chazars, and Mongols have rolled over them their fiery tides, and although they exterminated some of the Teutonic tribes, yet those of the Slavic race reappear after the storm has passed, and, in some cases, have denationalized their conquerors, and merged them into the great Slavonic family. One reason of this is, that, whatever may have been their original habits as wandering nomades, yet in their present homes they have for many centuries been the peaceful cultivators of the soil. They were even in advance of the Teutons in the peaceful arts,[1] and the word plough, as well as some portions of agricultural knowledge are said to be derived from them. Their language, according to Müller, contains powerful resources, and "is as flexible as the Greek and Latin, yet all, as it were, without self-respect and self-dependence, always looking abroad, and vainly decking itself with the tinsel of foreign countries, instead of gathering strength from within, and putting forth, without shame, the genuine fruits of its own not barren soil." The race is characterized by toughness and endurance, is naturally peaceful, but when roused, develops strong fighting qualities.

The different tribes of this race vary greatly in their physical type. Those at the north are fair, with light hair, while the southern or south-eastern, as the Kroats and Servians,[2] are dark, with black eyes and hair. The Slovaks have long flaxen hair, and coarse, strong features. The

[1] *Bruce*, 113. [2] *Idem*, 144.

Poles have dark eyes and hair, with tall, well made figures. The form of the skull generally is what is termed brachycephalic, that is, shorter from front to back than those of most other European peoples.

They have deeply implanted within them the feeling of unity of race, so that Panslavonism expresses their devotion to their race beyond all barriers which creeds or diversities of dialects or separations of governments, may have erected to the contrary. This strong sentiment of race, thus prevailing through all Slavonian tribes, serves to bind the whole together as if for a common destiny. Although they have thus far represented the principle of despotism, yet that may be the result of circumstances. They have a communal organization, which has afforded them relief against the oppression of their rulers, and the present efforts making both by people and government for the emancipation of the serfs, promises much for the future.

We have now taken a rapid, general view of the different populations of Europe; the primitive races into which those populations may be resolved; the tribes composing those races; and, to a small extent, the different movements of those tribes. All this has been done with the view of presenting the European man as the subject of history and civilization. No claim is made of ethnological completeness. Those races, and divisions of races, only are considered, who have furnished, or are still furnishing, contributions to general history and civilization. No express reference has accordingly been made to the Basques, dwelling around the bay of Biscay, nor to the Albanians in the south-east part of Europe. These appear to be fragments of other races, which, in the earlier revolutions or displacements in society, became located in their present seats, and have ever since maintained their position, although surrounded by strangers.

It will be noticed, however, that our attention has been mainly confined to the known migratory races, composing altogether the Indo-European race, the larger subdivisions of which, are the Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic. All these, through the dim traditions of early ages, are traced, descending from the table lands of Mount Caucasus, and the more distant Altai, taking a western direction towards Europe. We have in this, and other connections, noticed the four great streams, or waves of population, viz: the Pelasgic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic, which have followed each other from Central Asia, at varying periods of time; all speaking languages differing from each other, but having a common root in the Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. Of these, without considering the Pelasgic, which was noticed in another connection, the Celtic was the oldest, the Germanic next, and the Slavonic last. The effect of this has been to locate the Celts in the west of Europe, the Germans in the centre, and the Slavonians in the more eastern portions.

The question, however, must be met and answered: whether these were in fact the primitive races; whether they found Europe unoccupied, and voluntarily and without opposition or mixture, except with each other, settled down in the different localities in which they are now found? The most enlightened ethnologists of the present day have felt themselves compelled to answer this question in the negative. They have seen in portions of Europe, widely distant from each other, the outcroppings of an elder, primitive, Allophylian race or races, seldom indeed presenting themselves in their native purity, unmixed; but preserving, nevertheless, in their blended combinations, many features that were original, peculiar, and distinctive. These were the aborigines of Europe, and from whatever point they may have been derived, the south

seems to be a more congenial climate, or that in which they have received their fullest development.

The pure type of this primitive Allophylian race presents forms, features, and traits of character, in almost all respects in strong contrast with those which characterize the Indo-European races. In the latter the head is generally large, of elongated, and often square form; while in the former it is generally small and round. The eyes are black or brown, or of some color resembling these, or one of them; the hair and beard black, but sometimes, where there is albinism, red. They are short of stature, and of brown skin.

Their disposition is never migratory. They are opposed to distant expeditions, and attached to the particular localities where they reside. As a natural result of this, they had fixed habitations and agricultural pursuits. As they developed themselves in an early period of the world's history, they were but little given to manufactures and mechanic arts, and still less to commerce. We, accordingly, find them in mountains, islands, and in countries lacking natural channels of communication.

In modes of warfare they were variant from the migratory races. They preferred infantry to cavalry; they chose rather to defend than to attack; they delighted more in the ambuscade than the open movement, in the guerrilla warfare than in the pitched battle.

In character they were reserved, uncommunicative and perfidious. In their religious beliefs, they were credulous, intolerant, fanatical; wedded to the superstitions of Shamanism; believing in sorcery and spells, and the rudest materialism.

They were unsympathetic, holding strongly to ancient usages; better adapted to resistance than aggression, and tending peculiarly to immobility and isolation.

The faculties belonging to this race are best developed in the south, and hence we find belonging to it the Libyans and Berbers, and in southern Europe, the ancient Iberians with all their varieties: the Sicanians, Ligurians, Cantabrians, Asturians, Acquitanians, and other people of brown skins, who were originally found occupying Spain, Italy and Gaul.

Within the past few years a number of interesting facts have presented themselves relating to the Allophylian or prehistoric races of Europe. The first relate to certain rude works of art found in the great deposits in Denmark, and also in Danish shell mounds. The former are very early deposits, and the latter, termed kitchen-refuse heaps, are found at certain points along the shores of nearly all the Danish islands, and chiefly consist of cast-away shells of the oyster, cockle, and other mollusks, rising sometimes from three to ten feet in height, while in area some of them are one thousand feet long, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet wide.[1] Through all these are found scattered such works of art as are found in the most primitive periods of human history. These consist of flint knives, hatchets, and other instruments of stone, horn, wood, and bone, with fragments of coarse pottery, mixed with charcoal and cinders. The hatchets and knives had been sharpened by rubbing. They do not appear to have discovered any instruments of bronze or of iron. Human skulls have been obtained both from the peat and shell mounds. These are small and round, and have a prominent ridge over the orbits of the eyes, showing that the ancient race was of small stature, with round heads and overhanging eyebrows, considerably resembling the modern Laplanders.

[1] *Lyell's Antiquity of Man*, 11, 12.

Another fact, or series of facts, is presented in the Irish crannoges, or lacustrine fortresses, or small stockaded islands. These were originally small islets or shallows in the lakes which were enlarged and fortified by piles of oaken timber, and in some cases by stone work.[1] They were generally completely insulated, but a few were approached by moles or causeways. They were surrounded by stockades driven in a circle, from sixty to eighty feet in diameter, the enclosures in some cases being larger and of oval shape. The surface within the enclosure was often covered over with a layer of round logs, cut into lengths of from four to six feet, over which was placed stones, clay or gravel. In the centre, and sometimes at other points within the enclosure, was found a collection of flat stones, apparently serving for a hearth. The foundations which mark the site of some fifty or sixty of these crannoges have been disinterred in the small lakes of the north of Ireland. Some of these are sufficiently spacious for the site of villages. Their interest chiefly lies in the works of art, and organic remains that are found in them. They yield great quantities of articles not warlike only, but include also household implements and personal ornaments. The earliest discovered and examined in modern times, that of Lagre, presented a huge circular mound of five hundred and twenty feet in circumference, whence about one hundred and fifty cart-loads of bones of oxen, horses, and other animals, together with a vast collection of antiquities, warlike, culinary, personal and ornamental, of stone, wood, bronze, and iron, were taken. Stone weapons and tools are rare, bronze is even rare, iron and bone being the principal materials used. The animal remains are of a domestic kind. No articles of gold have yet been

[1] *Eclectic Magazine*, October, 1862, 197.

discovered. All the indications proclaim that these crannoges are of much more recent origin than those we shall next allude to, although we know that the use of them was coeval with the earliest historical records of the Irish population. They have been traced in Irish chronicles from the ninth century after Christ down to the seventeenth.[1]

But the recent facts of much the greatest interest are presented in the lately discovered lacustrine abodes of man in the lakes of Switzerland. The discovery of these only date back to the winter of 1853–4, and first occurred in the dredging of lake Zurich when the water was uncommonly low. The investigation of what seemed at first a mere accidental obstruction, and the prosecution of like investigations in other localities, revealed the doings of a former world to the astonished eyes of the present generation. The lowest presentation was a number of heads of piles or stakes (as high it is said as forty thousand upon one site), which were disposed in some sort of arrangement,[2] and slightly protruded above the silt at a small distance from the shore, and in from five to fifteen feet depth of water. Upon these, from the fragments of wooden beams found roughly squared, it was ascertained that a platform was raised which served as a foundation for the houses. Twisted wattles, together with bits of clay-casing, similarly concave with the former, indicated that circular huts once stood perched upon the platform. A double range of stakes often found in a straight line from the mass of stakes to the shore, denoted that a bridge had once connected the settlement with the main land. These differed from the Irish crannoge in that they are found in deeper waters, and instead of being constructed by fill-

[1] *Eclectic Magazine*, October, 1862, 198. [2] *Idem*, 190.

ing in and thus elevating above the shallow water of the surface, they are completed by uprearing the platform upon the pile, and then erecting the hut upon the platform. While the crannoge may have served as a place of refuge or defense, the Swiss lake-dweller must have looked to his cottage as his permanent habitation.

These lake dwellings were very nnmerous. In the larger lakes, as Zurich, Constance, Geneva, Neufchatel, Bienne, Morat and Sempach, and also in many smaller ones, as Inkwyl, Pfäffikon, Moosseedorf, and Luissel, similar sites have been traced. Twenty-six such villages were discovered in the lake of Neufchatel alone; twenty-four in that of Geneva, and sixteen in that of Constance. Probably a large number yet await the future discoverer. But the largest amount of interest has attached to the objects that have been drawn up from the silt of the lakes where the foundations of these villages have so long reposed. Twenty-four thousand of these have been raised from the single locality of Concise, in the Lake of Neufchatel. From all these remains many inferences have been drawn in reference to that ancient people. From the concavity of the wattles and casings, the cottages are inferred to have been from three to four yards in diameter. From the hollowed trunks of trees the use of the canoe is inferred. By the number of piles the size of the platform is calculated. From the size of the cottage and that of the platform the number of cottages may be estimated, and supposing there are four inmates of each cottage, the total of population, at the time of their destruction, has been estimated at seventy-four thousand three hundred and seventy-five.[1]

In some cases the objects of a permanent nature that were obtained were exclusively of stone, or mixed only

[1] *Eclectic Magazine*, October, 1862, 195.

with fragments of wrought bone and earthenware, thus indicating that the use of metals was unknown to the people. In other cases, weapons and domestic implements of bronze are found mingled with those of stone; such, for instance, as sword and hatchet blades, arrows, and domestic and personal ornaments. This would indicate a succession of races of which the former were limited to the use of stone implements only, while the latter had arisen to some knowledge of metals, or it might have resulted from an advance of the same race. It has been inferred by some that the latter were new comers, who, being superior, conquered, and either mingled with, and elevated, or exterminated their feebler predecessors. The villages which are limited to the stone implements are in eastern Switzerland, in the lakes of Constance, Zurich, Moosseedorf, etc., while those of the age of bronze, mingled with that of stone, are found in western Switzerland only, as in the lakes of Geneva, Neufchatel, etc. The boundary between these two coincides with that which divides the French from the German population of modern Switzerland. This has led to the suggestion that the men of bronze implements may have emigrated from the Mediterranean up the valley of the Rhone, and through the broad gate of Lake Leman, stopping short eastward in their occupation of the Alpine land at this point.[1]

Several inferences have been drawn in reference to the mode of life of these lacustrine races. Thus the people, especially of the age of stone implements, were smaller than the present inhabitants of Europe. This is inferred from the size of their ornaments, and by the grasp of the handles of their implements. That they were a race of hunters is shown by their arrow-heads and lance-heads,

[1] *Eclectic Magazine*, October, 1862, 194.

and also by the bones of wild animals, such as the deer, wild boar, etc., which were heaped together around their dwellings. That they were also pastoral is evidenced by the bones of sheep and oxen found mingled with the former. They were also agricultural, for grains of wheat and six-rowed barley, kernels of cultivated fruit, nuts, slices of apples and pears, and cakes of unleavened bread are found among the other relics. Also traces of mats, or cordage, of hemp or flax. That there were no murderous or savage rites practiced, is inferred because few human bones are found among the relics of the earlier periods. That they possessed dogs is obvious from the fact that almost all the bones containing marrow are broken, and many of them are marked by canine teeth. As to the mode of interment the usage of the men of stone was to deposit the body in stone chests or cells, constructed generally of three or four large flat slabs, adapted to contain bodies doubled up, face and knees together, and the arms crossed over the breast. The men of bronze seem to have deposited the body in its natural attitude. In regard to amusements, stone quoits are found in the lakes, resembling those which the North American Indians still employ in their sports.

Investigations are still in progress relative to these lacustrine habitations. Recent facts have rendered doubtful their great antiquity, and made it questionable even, whether they belonged to the Allophylian races. The fact that these people had the sheep and the dog, both of very improbable indigenous origin, indicates their descent from a still earlier people.[1] These lake dwellings are alleged to be certainly more than two thousand years old, and probably they reach back from one thousand to two thousand years before Christ.[2] It is clearly settled that

[1] *Vuller's Lake Dwellings*, 359. [2] *Idem*, 346.

the settlements of the same people who erected the lake dwellings,[1] were also spread over the main lands;[2] and in the same districts are still found a race of men, who, besides using an old dialect, which, for the most part, has disappeared from other parts of Switzerland, bear in the shape of their skull, the stamp of a much earlier age.

It is also denied that there is any foundation for the hypothesis that the inhabitants of these dwellings are to be separated into distinct races,[3] because some are found with, and some without, metal implements. The simple exchange of material, the transition from the use of stone to that of metal,[4] is not deemed in itself, a sufficient ground for inferring a change of population. It may be readily accounted for by the advances made by one race, from one stage of civilization to another.

In regard to whether those using stone implements belonged to the Celtic,[5] or to an earlier Allophylian race, it is asserted that "thus far is certain, that they do not differ in the smallest degree, either in their abilities, their manner of life, or their industrial attainments, from the people who were provided with metals; but that in the whole phenomena of lake dwellings, from their very beginning to the end of their existence, a gradual, quiet, peaceful development may be observed."

Based upon facts collected from these and such like sources, the following generalizations have been made. There are three ages; those of stone, of bronze, and of iron. Of these, the age of stone is the earlier. The countries around the Baltic are assumed to have been at one time occupied by a race of men who were ignorant of the use of metals; who were principally hunters, and

[1] *Vuller's Lake Dwellings*, 369. [2] *Idem*, 359. [3] *Idem*, 389. [4] *Idem*, 399. [5] *Idem*, 398.

agriculturists only to a small extent;[1] who were of smaller stature than of modern Europeans, who buried their dead unburnt in stone chests; whose dwellings were on the shores of the sea, or of the Hvers, fiords, and fresh water lakes of northern Europe. It has been thought (although this can be no other than conjectural), that while this people migrated hither from the east, following the course of the Russian rivers and the coasts of the Baltic, another division of them penetrated into central Europe, along the shores of the Mediterranean, both leaving memorials of themselves along their line of march. This age is entirely prehistorical.

The second is the age of bronze; which is signalized by another and later race, or the same still further advanced, who knew the use of metals, but employed almost exclusively, a compound of copper and tin, called bronze, for their implements of war and peace. This race, not only occupied the settlements of their predecessors, but also added new ones, venturing further into the interior from the navigable waters, than the preceding race had done. Its habits were also more agricultural, altogether constituting a more advanced type of humanity. These have been claimed by some to be identical with the Celt, Goth, or other historical races.

Next follows the age of iron, which brings us to the historical races, the Celt, Teuton, etc., who have ever had a progress and a history.

In this view, the ages of stone and of bronze might be considered as giving us the Allophylian races, and that of iron the Celtic, Teutonic and Slavic. These latter have, no doubt, generally met the former as enemies, and probably, in many cases, utterly annihilated them. This may

[1] *Vuller's Lake Dwellings*, 186.

have been the case with these lacustrine abodes in the Swiss lakes. The men of bronze having there exterminated the men of stone, long held the abodes they found or constructed in the lakes. This is shown by the thickness of the strata of relics, and the considerable difference of length in the uncovered portions of the stakes in the different bronze villages. But at last came the men of iron, wielding the sword and the spear, and before these the destruction of the men of bronze was nearly complete, for out of sixty or eighty villages of which the existence in the bronze age is hitherto established, eleven only show signs, and these slight, of having still been occupied in the iron age. These men of stone, and men of bronze, seem, in Switzerland, to have utterly perished before the men of iron; but in Spain the Celts becoming blended with the ancient Iberians, give us the Celtiberians. Traces of the Iberian race are still found in the British isles, being more especially recognized in the dark-skinned, dark-eyed and dark-haired Irish, and occasionally in Great Britain itself. Although it is here assumed that the peoples belonging to the stone, bronze, and iron ages, respectively belonged to different races, yet there is no clear evidence that such was the fact. All we can probably say, with entire truth, is that the stone, bronze, and iron ages mark so many successive steps or stages in the march of civilization, and that these steps or stages have been signalized by the advent of new races, or that the same race has been constantly making advances in civilization, and has thus traveled through, successively, the stone and bronze, until it reached the iron period.

The extent to which the mingling and interfusion of the Allophylian with the Indo-European races has modified the character of the populations of Italy, France, and the Spanish peninsula, it is impossible fully to determine.

Owing to this, or to some other cause or causes, the inhabitants of these countries appear to have some peculiar traits of character which make them to vary, in some repects, which I shall presently mention, from other European nations and peoples.

A few generalizations, based upon the doctrine of races, will enable us better to comprehend the course and current of events composing European history. With comparatively slight exceptions, such as the Magyars, Turks and others formerly noticed, Europe is ethnologically divided into three great groups of peoples, nearly equal in number. Of these the western is the Celto-Roman group, about eighty-eight millions. The central, the Germanic, about eighty-two millions. The eastern, the Slavonic, about seventy-nine millions. The first has also, not inappropriately, been termed the Græco-Latinic, as the languages spoken are mainly derived from the Greek and Latin.

These inhabit the southern islands and peninsulas of Europe, being mostly found in the Spanish peninsula, Italy and ancient Gaul, the modern France. The volcanic regions on or near the Mediterranean sea are peopled by this group.

The most obvious remark concerning this great variety of people is that in comparison with those composing the other groups, they are presenting, united together, a vastly greater variety of elements, being as far as possible an amalgam resulting from the fusion of many different races and peoples. We have at the foundation, the old Allophylian races, and superinduced upon them the settlements of the Celts, the Pelasgi, the Phœnicians, the Saracens, and the intermixtures, during the middle ages, of the Germanic element.

The peculiar position of the localities in which this group is found would naturally lead to this blending, or

intermingling of races. The Allophylian from the south here met first the Celtic and next the Germanic wave of the Indo-European from the east. The waters of the Atlantic presented a barrier which these successive waves of population could not pass. Their natural course, therefore, particularly of the Celts, was to blend with the Allophylian races, and for both to melt down so as to become as far as possible one people.

This fact is sufficiently proclaimed by the physical characteristics of this group. The head of the Gaul, or Celt, is described as "being so round as to approach the spherical form; the forehead is moderate, slightly protuberant, and receding towards the temples; eyes large and open; the nose, from the depression at its commencement to its termination, almost straight, having no marked curve, its extremity being rounded as well as the chin."

So also the peoples, composing this group, are described as "exhibiting graceful, unconstrained movements; having black eyes, black hair, brown complexion, and sharp, distinctly marked features; are lively, ardent, courteous, but generally fickle and frivolous, easily influenced by the passions, and indefatigable in their efforts towards the gratification of their wishes and desires. They are, nevertheless, temperate in eating and drinking. Some of their moral characteristics will presently be noticed.

The second group mentioned was the Germanic, and the peoples composing this group are found living upon the central chain of mountains and upon the North sea and the Baltic. They form a broad belt of population, having its southern base upon the Alps, and extending northward to the Baltic and the North sea; including the people of Germany, Holland, Demark, Scandinavia, and England.

The German head is large, with the anterior part of the cranium elevated and fully developed. The frame is also

powerful, and the features are far less sharply marked than in the preceding group. The hair, instead of being black, is mostly blonde, and the eyes blue, or gray. The carriage is much more sedate and firm, and there is accompanying it a kind of fixed ease of manner.

As the large and well developed head would seem to indicate, the intellect is distinguished by tranquil reflection, and strong reasoning powers. The feelings are deep and quiet; there is great firmness, candor, absence of all falsehood and duplicity, and the ability and willingness to undergo the severest labor. The people generally are fond of spiritous liquors. Although the Germanic character is, in the main, quite uniform, yet the English and Dutch, in consequence of their maritime commerce, have acquired one somewhat different from that above stated.

The third most eastern, and most recent group is the Slavonic. This, with some few exceptions, covers Europe east of the Germanic. It is the oriental stock, which inhabits Russia, Poland and Non-German Austria.

"The contour of the Slavonian head, viewed in front, approaches nearly to a square; the height surpasses a little the breadth, the summit is sensibly flattened; and the direction of the jaw is horizontal. The length of the nose is less than the distance from its base to the chin; it is almost straight from the depression at its root, but is slightly concave, so that the end has a tendency to turn up; the inferior part is rather large, and the extremity rounded. The eyes are rather deep set, and are perfectly on the same line. When they have any particular character, they are smaller than the proportion of the head would seem to indicate. The eyebrows are thin and very near the eyes, particularly at the interior angle; and from this point, are often directed obliquely outwards. The mouth, which is not salient, has thin lips, and is much

nearer to the nose than to the top of the chin. They have very little beard, except on the upper lip."

It has been claimed recently, and with a great show of reason, that these three races, and more especially the two first named, embody certain ideas, which lie at their very foundation, and which have all along constituted the very main-springs of historical development. Before adverting more particularly to that development, it may be well to notice these ideas.

The essential idea of the Celto-Romanic, is absolutism, the sway of absolute, irresponsible power both in the state and in the church. The first acknowledges no constitutional guaranties; the second, no freedom of opinion. There are masses in both, but in the first they take their secular affairs submissively from the state; in the second, their religion unquestioned from the church. The masses are without will, and without purpose. Their movements, both secular and spiritual, are all subservient to a machinery in the creation and action of which they can exercise no influence or control. The very principle is to guaranty that no individual of the mass shall act different from the mass to which he belongs. Hence, despotism in the state, the pope, the council, the jesuit, the inquisition in the church. Here, too, despotism and popery have ever gone together. They will ever continue to. They are both parts of the same great systems; both draw their nourishment from the same source. Like the Siamese twins they are so bound together that they must necessarily follow the same destiny.

It by no means follows that the different peoples composing this race are imbruted, ignorant, are unable to comprehend the truths of science, or are dead to the higher beauties of nature, or insensible to the charms of art. On the contrary many of them have made great attainments

in science, have excelled in the lighter walks of literature; have been ravished by the beauties of nature, and in the perfections of art have excelled all other people.

The idea embodied in this race, developed, would tend, other things being equal, to give the nations or peoples composing it, the ascendancy in political affairs. This results from the entire subordination of all the depending parts, the absolute control exercised by the supreme head. Where all the secular machinery is controlled by the monarch as the head of the state, and all the spiritual by the pope, as the head of the church; where there can be unity in council, definiteness in design, secrecy in execution; where everything is obedient to the mandates of a single will, we may well expect the accomplishment of all that human means render possible.

The essential idea of the Germanic race is personal freedom. Self is the centre from which radiates every species of influence. It is all individuality, self-responsibility. This requires in the state a constitutional government, gives a tendency towards democracy. In religion it has uttered its loud protest against popery, and is protestant in its forms of worship. It demands freedom of opinion. It asserts the rights of conscience. It proclaims that responsibility in thought and act, can only be based upon entire freedom.

Where there exists such a decided tendency to individual development, coupled with great capacities for effort and endurance both in body and mind, we may well expect to witness displays of great energy and power. So far as concerns the individual we shall not be disappointed. But as regards communities and states, that freedom of opinion and energy of will in the individual, has often led to divided councils, impotent conclusions, and disastrous results. When all wills are united, and move in harmony,

we may expect a tremendous display of energy; but when split and divided into a thousand different factions, all expenditure of energy is profitless and unproductive.

The Slavic race differs from both the preceding. It lacks the mental qualities, the artistic skill of the Celto-Romanic; and the energetic, self-reliant, distinctly marked individuality of the Germanic. It is a race that has developed itself far less than the other two.

The Slavonians are a soft, peaceful race, in some respects rather effeminate in their character. They are greatly given to musical performances, being thought by some to be the most musical people in the world. They are kind, hospitable, and affectionate within the circle of their families. Everything about them proclaims their eastern origin. Like other eastern nations they have great reverence for the patriarchal character. A patriarchal democracy is their great ideal. In this all families are equal, but the head of the family only enjoys electoral rights.

The Slavonic mind is much given to hero-worship. It has great reverence for, and confidence in, superior energy and capacities. Passiveness and receptiveness are its chief characteristics.

The Slavonians are docile, but not liable to be swayed by impulse. They are a dreamy, melancholy kind of people. Their passiveness and mystic reverence for superiors lead to an almost idolatrous worship of sovereign power. Hence the power of the autocrat, and his limitless influence over the Slavic mind.

This race has ever presented the raw material, with an ever open susceptibility to be moulded according to the wishes of the dominant powers. Its destiny has been shaped according to the will of its czar; who, uniting in himself all the powers of the state, and all the energies of the

church, has, through a long succession of sovereigns, wielded, both for his own aggrandizement, and the extension of territory for Russia, at the north-west, west, and south-west. This immense mass of energies, hanging like a dark cloud over the entire east of Europe, has long been a subject of increasingly painful apprehensions, lest their fearful waking into life should prove a more terrible visitation to central and western Europe, than that of the Hun, the Saracen, the Turk, the Tartar, or the Mongol.

Before entering upon the historical sketch of European nationalities, it may be well to allude to a few considerations, and

First, In regard to the limitations in subjection to which this sketch is presented, or what is excluded from entering into it, and this exclusion relates

1. To everything appertaining to the industrial element. The march of industry, as it has successively and successfully unfolded its productive powers in the vast varieties of agricultural pursuits; in mechanical, and manufacturing operation; and in the originally perilous adventures of commerce, will come to be considered under the element of industry.

2. To all that part of the religious element that relates to the successive unfolding of religious ideas among the different peoples of Europe; to the formation and development of religious systems, and the influence exerted by them as a civilizing element. Religious belief and faith has no place here, except when it culminates in wars, and battles, and sieges, and international treaties.

3. To all that interior history of the different states which has relation to the organic law to which the people are subject. The different governments originally constituted, the revolutions and changes to which they have

been subject; the ascertainment of the central point, from which radiates all power and influence; the disposition and management of political forces, the exposition of those fundamental principles and laws, which make of the members of a community an organic whole, as also the power and influence possessed and exercised by the government upon the citizen or subject, will all be more appropriate subjects for discussion under the element of government.

4. To all those remarkable inventions and discoveries that have been evolved from the bosom of society; to all social habits and customs and institutions; to all the systems of thought, the speculations of philosophy; the outgoings of the mind in pure intellection; to all the varieties of art worship; all those arts and products that spring from a sense of the beautiful, and proceed from æsthetic culture. These all belong to other connections.

The history, therefore, which we shall proceed briefly to detail, will be an outward history. It will deal with the external relations of the state, its negotiations, its treaties, its wars, and the causes which led to them. I am not, however, without the hope, that a law of order, a convergency towards a settled plan, purpose, or system, may be evoked out of the apparent confusion that is seemingly scattered over the busy scenes of modern European history; and that when, rightly considered, the different nations and peoples of Europe have been merely cooperating as different parts of an organic whole, only that the grand result may in the end, be more certainly and effectually accomplished.

We would have it here clearly understood that every state, having its own organic law, possesses and exhibits both an interior and an exterior life and history. Its interior history is derived from its life, and its life is nourished from many different sources. All the elements of

civilization combine together, and produce, as their joint result, the life of the state. It is the progress and development of these that constitutes its interior history. That history is, therefore, the more perfect, the more complete this progress and development become. But as the individual man must manifest his interior life by its exterior action, so also must the state. Hence its exterior or outward history.

Again, if we are right in supposing that from the fullness of its interior life its outward history results, we can easily arrive at the elements of a law, which will determine the intensity of that history. In proportion as that life has its fullness, its completeness, its higher organic intensity; in the same proportion will the events of its outward history brighten or darken the historic page and tell with wonderful power upon the present and future of the race. The two will be perceived to be reciprocal to each other.

Inasmuch, then, as all the elements of civilization are found mutually cooperating and conspiring together to produce the life of the state; so ought we also to find the outgoings of that life, as proclaimed in the outward history of the state, as unfolded in the actings and doings of the different states of the civilized world in relation to each other, still carrying out the same principle, and gradually working up the world's different communities into the evolving of a higher life as the joint and inevitable result.

In order that we may not lose sight of this idea, but may come into some realization of it, let me here call the attention to four general considerations, which should never be lost sight of in prosecuting the outward history of the nations of Europe, considered as a whole.

The first one of these considerations presents itself in the fact that it becomes important to note the different

reigning houses, out of which come the different sovereigns who have sat upon the thrones of the different kingdoms of Europe. These reigning families prevail as well in the little German principalities, as in the larger kingdoms of Europe. The general prevalence of this fact through Europe proclaims that hereditary monarchy is the government the most generally found among its different nations. The principal necessity of keeping in view the different genealogies in order to preserve the thread of European history, grows out of the fact that several of the fiercest and most destructive wars that have, at different times devastated Europe, have been wars of succession, being caused by contested claims to the crown of some one of its kingdoms. Among the most prominent of these will be found the war of the Spanish succession, and that growing out of the pragmatic sanction.

The second consideration presenting itself, is, that on a general review of European history, it will be seen that at different periods of it, some one of the European nations has been in the ascendant, sometimes to so great an extent as to threaten the subversion of the others. This has been more especially the fact since the commencement of that period in its history, which is historical in its character. There seem to have been in a nation's existence, I might almost say in each nation's existence, particular periods in which its full swelling floods of life have developed such a vast amount of power and fearful energy, as to endanger the safety of surrounding nations. This has usually, perhaps invariably, occurred under the lead and immediate direction of some master genius, such as Charlemagne, Charles V, Louis XIV, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

Different nations have taken their turn in this ascendancy. France, Spain, Austria, even Sweden, have been

among the participants. Many, indeed most of the wars of modern times, have arisen out of excess in the exercise of a nation's forces, under the lead of some powerful mind, producing on the other side combinations formed for the special purpose of protecting the weaker, and of humbling the strong.

A third consideration immediately connected with the preceding, and which has really furnished the aliment by which it has been nourished, is that in the south and centre of Europe, in Italy and Germany, have, during every period of European history, existed small states and principalities, some of them independent, and some nominally dependent on some stronger power; but all of them so very weak as to be incapable of protecting themselves against the stronger nations. These have been the ever fruitful sources of innumerable wars. They have also been the subjects of negotiation, of marriage settlements, of disputed succession, and thus have exercised the skill of European diplomacy, as well as the activity of her physical forces. Italy has, in consequence, been repeatedly deluged with blood, and Germany has by no means escaped the evil consequences of such a short-sighted policy. Wars of the most sanguinary and exhausting character have been waged, to preserve on the one side, or to secure on the other, the nominal dependency of some insignificant duchy, whose entire population, if reduced to absolute slavery, would never be able to make good scarce a tenth part even, of the actual expenditures in conducting them. This single feature in European polity has been productive of consequences truly immense in her whole history.

The fourth consideration is perhaps more properly a result from all these, and may sum them all up in the term, balance of power. This may almost be said to have been a new principle introduced into national polity.

There is, perhaps, some trace of it to be found in the history of the Grecian republics, but it never was affirmed and distinctly acted upon, until developed in the progress of European history. It is that principle which leads to combinations, and arms the weaker nations against the strong one threatening their subversion. It seeks, not so much the equalization of power among the different nations, as the continuance of existing nationalities, the prevention of one power from annihilating any other. In this principle is, therefore, found an organized force exerted entirely in reference to the external or outward history of the nations. So far as it possesses any efficiency, the nations of Europe present an organized point in their exterior relations, each striving for the realization of a result, not alone beneficial to itself, but also equally as advantageous to others similarly situated.

This principle has been very constantly kept in view for the last three centuries. It will be found, during that period, to have lain at the foundation of very much of the European diplomacy, and to have very extensively influenced the movements of nations, in the wars they have waged with each other.

It is, however, essentially based upon the strong desire of governments to provide for their own safety; and is no further or otherwise a popular sentiment, than to the extent that the government is identical with the popular will. It is, therefore, a principle that may lose its organizing efficacy when the peoples of Europe obtain a supremacy, and all governmental institutions are the direct offspring of the will of the people.

A brief reference should also be made to two other facts. The one is, that amidst all the early changes, and shifting scenes, and alternations of peace and warfare, that were constantly passing over the surface of south-

western, western and central Europe, the south-eastern portion, and all under the dominion of the Greek empire, continued stationary, presenting a comparatively fixed point amid the changing scenes that surrounded it. It seems rather a singular allotment of Providence, that the merely conservative forces embodied in that empire, representing, as they did, a civilization exhausted of its vital forces, should, nevertheless, have been permitted to hold on their way amid the terrible warfares of the Christian, the Slavonian, the Bulgarian, the Saracen and the Turk, until the middle of the fifteenth century. During those many long centuries of waste and desolation, the city of Constantinople stood sentry upon the confines of Europe and of Asia; with a civilization, it is true, worn out and consigned over to the past, but yet almost infinitely in advance of that of all the surrounding nations. All the results of previous civilizations were there, gathered together, and preserved through the dark ages that had settled over Europe.

Not only was Constantinople the focal centre of light, but for a long time Italy also, or large portions of it, was under the same dominion, and enjoyed the same civilization. Neither should it be forgotten that Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, had for ages been basking in the sunshine of Roman civilization; that through, and over all these, cities and towns had sprung up and flourished, and during long periods had been the abodes of wealth and luxury. These, although checked in their progress of refinement, were not annihilated. Their influence upon the ruder Celt and German was never lost, but served essentially to modify the sterner features of their rough and energetic character.

The other fact is, that no nation ever has attained to any historical importance, except in the homes to which its

people had emigrated. It is the emigrating, or migratory races, that have ever furnished the materials for history, and these have been furnished from the seats in which they have finally located. No nation ever flourished in the seat of its origin. This principle is as fully proclaimed from Greek and Roman, as from modern European history. It is a great fact demonstrated from the experience of all ages, and of all countries.

CHAPTER II.

EUROPE—ITS HISTORY.

In passing under review a brief sketch of European history, nothing more can be attempted than to call the attention to certain great leading points, from a cursory survey of which, it will be easier to comprehend the general course and current of historical events. The great bearings of history will be more easily seen and understood, by confining the attention to its leading events, while those of minor importance are entirely disregarded; in the same manner that the course of a mighty river is more clearly arrived at by devoting the whole attention to the large bodies floating onward at its centre, thus evidencing the tendency, direction and force of its current, without distracting the thought by observing the thousand little eddies that are playing at its margins.

We have already seen the general movements of the migratory races, which, during the first five centuries, made Europe the theatre of incessant changes. The middle of the fifth century, the year 448, was signalized by two remarkable events: the one of which was, the proclamation of Merovius, as their king, by the Salian Franks, thus establishing the Merovingian, or first line of French kings; and the other the landing of Hengist and Horsa, the two Saxon leaders, with fifteen hundred followers on the shores of Britain, of which, after defeating the Scots and Picts, they soon became the masters.

The real founder, however, of the French monarchy was Clovis, the grandson of Merovius, who, in 481, at the head

of a petty tribe, undertook the conquest of Gaul. In order to form some notion of the strange mass of materials from which the present population of France has been derived, it is worthy of remark that Gaul was at that time divided into four sovereignties.

1. The Romans occupied between the Somme and the Loire.

2. The Armoricans, who seem to have been of the same race with the ancient Britons, the modern Welch, were in possession of the maritime portions of Gaul.

3. The Burgundians occupied from the Upper Rhine to the Mediterranean, and from the Upper Loire to the Alps.

4. Acquitania, all the south-western part of Gaul, was held by the Visigoths.

The battle of Soissons in 486, ended in the defeat of the Romans, and Roman Gaul submitted to the victor. The battle of Tolbiac in 496, defeated the invading army of the Allemans and Suabians. It was during this engagement that Clovis made the vow to embrace the religion of his wife Clotilda, who was a Christian, should the God of the Christians give him the victory; a vow which he afterwards kept. He defeated the Burgundians in 500, and the Visigoths in 507, after which he fixed his residence at Paris, where the whole Frankish nation became united under his sceptre.

On the death of Clovis, the Frank empire was divided among his four sons, the eldest receiving the eastern kingdom, Austrasia, and the three younger the western, Neustria. Thuringia was conquered, and united to Austrasia in 530, and Burgundy was connected with Neustria in 534.

The history of the Merovingian line of kings exhibits a sad picture of human depravity. Civil wars, murders, treachery, the explosion of unbridled passions, impart to

its annals a frightful significance. The wanton destruction of human life caused by the animosity of two queens, Brunehaut and Tredegonda, was particularly dreadful. The Merovingian race wasted away under these terrible enormities. The kingly line became so imbecile, that the only occupation of the one occupying the throne was to visit the yearly assemblies of the people, upon a carriage drawn by four oxen.

As, however, power can never fail of being exercised somewhere, and of manifesting itself wherever it is, there gradually grew up by the side of the throne an authority and power, that at last overshadowed it. This was the steward of the royal possessions, called mayor of the palace. Each of the three kingdoms, Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, had at first its own mayor until Pepin d'Heristal succeeded in uniting the three, and in making them hereditary in his own family. His descendants were called dukes of Franconia, and in reality exercised the regal power.

In the meantime, England exhibited many scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The band of Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, were not content with repressing the incursions of the Picts and Scots. Reinforcements were constantly arriving from the continent, and a fierce warfare was waged for dominion over the ancient Britons. These, after a protracted struggle, were driven into the province of Wales, where they succeeded in maintaining their independence. At the same time, a number of fugitive Britons took refuge in Gaul, were received into Armorica, and part of Lyannois, to which they gave the name of Brittany.

As the dominion of the Angles and Saxons, the Anglo-Saxons, was gradually extended over Britain, there arose successively in that island, seven petty kingdoms, viz:

Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia. These had a kind of union known as the heptarchy, and this continued until 827, when it was abolished by Egbert the Great, who raised himself to be king over all England.

During this period, the beautiful region of Italy presents many a scene of revolution. Having successively been desolated by the Visigoths, the Huns, and the Vandals, it finally fell a prey to the Herulians, in 476. These, however, only retained their sovereignty for seventeen years, when the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric, invaded Italy, vanquished the Herulian armies, and finally ended the rule and life of their king, Odoacer.

The sway of the Ostrogoths was not of long continuance. After about fifty years, the Greek emperor, Justinian, employed his generals, Belisarius and Narses, in its subversion, which they succeeded in accomplishing, after eighteen years of sanguinary warfare, the last king of the Ostrogoths, Teias, the successor of Totilla, being defeated and slain by Narses, in Campania, in 553.

In the year 568, occurred a new revolution in Italy, more important in its consequences to that country, and to Europe than any of the previous ones. That year was signalized by the advent of the Lombards under Alboin. They subdued and settled in upper Italy, to which they gave the name of Lombardy, making Pavia their capital. They also wrested from the Greeks, and reduced under their dominion a considerable portion of the middle and lower districts.

This last completed the migrations of the German nations, and at this point it may be well to remark that these tribes of the Teutonic stock were formerly bounded by the Rhine and the Danube, but they had now greatly extended their territories beyond those rivers. A new

era has opened upon European history. The primitive names of the Germanic tribes, to be found in the historian Tacitus, have pretty much fallen into oblivion. They have become replaced by the five or six grand confederations, the Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Allemans, Suabians, and Bavarians. Of these, the Allemans, Suabians, and Bavarians occupied the greater part of upper Germany, on both sides of the Danube, as far as the Alps. The Franks were masters of Gaul, embracing territories beyond the Rhine, and those of which they had deprived the Allemans and Thuringians. In Lower Germany, were the Thuringians, Saxons and Frisians. The more eastern parts, situated beyond the Saal and the Elbe, having been deserted by the German tribes, and by the destruction of the kingdom of the Thuringians, was left open to the Slavonians, who appear from thenceforth upon the theatre of European history, although not very prominently, for some centuries to come.

Another result of vast importance may be traced to the introduction and partial extension of the Lombard power in Italy. In the year A. D. 711, we find Luitprand, king of the Lombards, having fixed the seat of his government at Pavia, and contemporary with him, Leo, the Isaurian, emperor of the east, and Gregory II, the Roman pontiff. The Greek emperor, through the exarch of Ravenna, then claimed, and partially exercised dominion in Italy. Rome had been governed by a duke from the Byzantine court. Up to this point of time the Roman pontiff had exercised no other than spiritual power. The idea of uniting with that the exercise of the secular power also began now to be entertained.

Leo, called the Iconoclast, undertook to abrogate the doctrine of image worship through his dominions. An edict to that effect was attempted to be enforced in Italy.

It met with strenuous opposition from the Roman pontiff. The attempt by the exarch to enforce the edict, led to opposition and sedition. This enabled Luitprand to possess himself of the city of Ravenna, the residence of the exarch, and to annex it to his kingdom. He had similar designs on Naples and Rome. In this he was opposed by the Roman pontiff.

Gregory II seems to have been placed between what he considered as two evils, viz: the enforcement of the edict abolishing image worship, and the extension of the Lombard sway over Italy. Instead of choosing the least of the two, he conceived the idea of pitting one against the other, and thus of uprearing a secular power upon the ruins of both. Thus arose the idea of the balance of power, or sustaining the weaker against the stronger, and in this manner of acquiring importance, and ultimately authority, of secular character, by the Roman pontiff. Thus we recognize here the germ of a principle, which, in its development, was destined to exercise a vast extent of influence in European history.

The fruit of this policy was to enable the popes to maintain themselves in Italy, by making it the perpetual seat of war. Accordingly, Italy has been the battle-field of Europe; the field on which the armies of France, Spain, Germany, especially the house of Austria, have striven for mastery. Had that small and fragmentary portion of the European continent south of the Alps been sunk by an earthquake when the Roman power was extinguished, the history, and entire civilization of Europe must have been cast in a different mould. No one can estimate the amazing extent of influence which that small portion has exercised upon the history and civilization of the race.

Had not the first steps initiatory of this policy been then taken, the Lombard empire must have been extended

over Italy; a compact kingdom south of the Alps would have existed always adequate for its own protection; its contentions and battle-fields would at least have been its own, and it would never have become the assignation house of Europe; and the popes would have been merely the bishops of Rome, and primates of the kingdom of Lombardy.

But the affairs of Europe took a different turn, and this was the point of their departure. The pope, by the assistance of the Venetians, drove the Lombards out of Ravenna, and restored the exarch. A difficulty subsequently occurring between the emperor and the pontiff, the latter threw his weight into the Lombard scale, and thus the advancing power of the Greek emperor in Italy was checked, and ultimately destroyed.

The Lombard power under Astolph, the successor of Luitprand, having taken Ravenna, and reduced to subjection the province of the exarchate in 751, all Italy was on the verge of reduction under Lombardy. In this extremity pope Stephen II, pursuing the policy of his predecessor Gregory II, solicited the alliance and aid of the Greek emperor. But that power was distant and slow in its movements, while the Lombards were his neighbors. In this extremity the pope applied to the Franks, and repaired in person to Paris. A peculiar state of things there gave rise to the origin of the secular power of the pope in Italy.

We have seen the decline of the Merovingian dynasty and the rise of the Carlovingian, in the person of Pepin d'Heristal, the mayor of the palace and duke of Franconia. He died in 714, when the attempt was made to liberate the Merovingian kings from their dependence, and revive their authority, which had ceased in everything except in the name. The grandees of Neustra undertook to impose a new mayor, Rainfroi. But Charles, afterwards

surnamed Martel, the hammer, a natural son of Pepin, being proclaimed duke in Austrasia, obtained three successive victories at Stravelo, Vinci, and Soissons, over Chilperic II, and his mayor, Rainfroi, and having become master of the throne and sovereignty, he confirmed the royal authority to Chilperic. Afterwards, in 732, he placed France at the head of European sovereignties, by the victory which he gained over the Saracens, near Tours, a victory, which, in all probability, saved Europe from the dominion of the crescent.

His son and successor, Pepin le Bref, the short, deemed the occasion auspicious for uniting the title with the power of the sovereign. Accordingly, he first caused himself to be elected king in a general assembly, next to be solemnly consecrated and crowned by an archbishop, St. Boniface, A. D. 752, this being the first instance in which this ceremony occurs in European history; and lastly, on this occasion of the visit of Pope Stephen II, to Paris, his coronation was renewed by the Roman pontiff in the church of St. Denis, his two sons, Charles and Carloman, were consecrated, and the three were made patricians of Rome.

In consideration of all this, Pepin, in pursuance of his agreement, undertook an expedition into Italy, compelled Astolph to acknowledge himself his vassal, and to deliver up to him the exarchate of Ravenna with the Pentapolis, which he immediately made over to his holiness, the pope, thus secularizing the holy see, and superadding the temporal to the spiritual dominion.

The pope, however, had not yet attained to the sovereignty of any part of Italy, that of the exarchy having been merely transferred from the Greek emperors and the Lombards to Pepin, as patrician of Rome; and, accordingly, at a period shortly subsequent, we find Pope Leo leaving

the whole administration of civil affairs to Charlemagne, who exercised the sovereign power in Rome. His successors became less tenacious of the exercise of this power, and in proportion as they relinquished it, the popes possessed themselves of it, until they came really to exercise the supreme power, and finally in 876, Charles the Bald renounced all his rights, and ceded the sovereignty of Rome to the apostolic see.

As the power of the Merovingian princes culminated in Clovis, so that of the Carlovingian did in Charlemagne. He was the son of Pepin le Bref, who, although a prince of great wisdom and foresight, made, nevertheless, the very common mistake of dividing his dominions, at his death, between his two sons Charles and Carloman. Carloman dying soon after, all the dominions composing the Frank monarchy became united under Charles, who subsequently became known as Charlemagne, or Charles the Great.

He ascended the throne in 768. At the call of the pope, Adrian I, he undertook an expedition against the last of the Lombard kings. Having taken him, with Pavia, his capital, he annexed Lombardy to his own dominions. Some years subsequently, in A. D. 800, on the occasion of a visit to Rome, and while on his knees at the foot of the grand altar, the pope placed on his head the imperial crown, proclaiming him emperor of the Romans, thus reviving the Roman empire in the west after about three hundred years from the date of its extinction.

The reign of Charlemagne forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Europe. Under him the monarchy of the Franks was raised to the highest pinnacle of glory. When he commenced his reign the Saxons on the continent were a powerful, warlike nation, whose dominion extended from the lower Rhine to the Elbe, and the Baltic sea. Their religion was pagan. After a war, with occa-

sional intervals, of thirty-three years continuance, he entirely annihilated their power, reduced them under his yoke, and compelled them to embrace Christianity. These reverses, and ultimate subjugation, so humbled and broke the Saxon spirit on the continent, that history has little more to record of them there as a distinct race or power. But for this, the then oncoming ages might, perhaps, have taken their deepest coloring from the individual energy, achievements and civilization of the Saxons.

The power of Charlemagne was also equally felt in other directions. Several of the Slavonian nations that were pressing on from the east, were destined to fall beneath his crushing weight. The Albotrites, the Wilscians, the Sorabians, the Bohemians, became his tributaries, and the Eider became the northern limit of his empire. The powerful monarchy of the Avars fell before him, which comprehended all the countries known in modern times by the names of Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, and Croatia.

Nor did the Moors in Spain, whose invasion of Europe was so effectually repelled by Charles Martel, escape the weight of his heavy hand. He, in his turn, scaled the Pyrenees, took Pampeluna and Saragossa, and united the whole country as far as the Ebro to his own dominions.

Thus the new Roman empire of the west, under this mighty monarch, embraced the principal part of Europe. He reigned from the Ebro on the south, to the Eider on the north, and from the Atlantic ocean on the west to the Raab and Elbe on the east. With the exception of Constantinople and its dependencies, constituting the Greek empire, and the British isles, the entire civilized world bowed beneath his sceptre. The Frank stood forth not only as the dominant, but the sole power in Europe. All western Europe, at the commencement of the ninth cen-

tury, except those portions south of the Ebro, and north of the Eider, was united under two dominions, of which the pope was the spiritual, and Charlemagne the secular head. The first has continued a vast centralizing power to the present day: the second fell when Charlemagne descended to the tomb.

The close of the eighth, and the commencement of the ninth century, to him who views history as an organic whole, presents a remarkable standpoint for observation and reflection. It is signalized by the following facts:

1. The ending of the kingdom of Lombardy, and the placing of its iron crown upon the head of Charlemagne.

2. The extinction of the rising power of the Saxons on the continent.

3. The overthrow and utter annihilation of the dominion of the Avars.

4. The commencement of that system of aggressive action upon the Saracens, or Moors, in Spain, which ended some centuries later, in their entire expulsion.

5. The revival of the western Roman empire, in the person of the emperor Charlemagne.

6. The complete separation of the pope from the eastern empire, and his becoming supreme bishop of the western.

7. The dawn of an era of greater light, and knowledge, and enlightened legislation, inaugurated by the policy of Charlemagne.

8. The termination in 827, of the heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms in England, and their union under Egbert, king of Wessex, under the name of England, or the land of the Angles.

9. The first appearance of the Northmen, the Sea-kings, or Vi-kings of Scandinavia, particularly of Denmark and Norway, who commenced their ravages on the coasts of

France and England. Excepting these incursions, which only occurred during the latter part of the reign of Charlemagne, the monarchies of the north and north-east, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and those of Poland and Russia, had not then emerged from the thick darkness which still covered those parts of continental Europe.

Soon after the death of Charlemagne in 813, the vast fabric reared by the energy and power of the Carlovingian princes fell into ruins. His son Louis, the Debonnaire, (the gentle), made an imprudent partition of his dominions, even in his lifetime, between his three sons, Lothaire, Pepin and Louis, by which the seeds of discord in the family were sown, and the downfall of the empire accelerated. Pepin died, and a fourth son, Charles the Bald, came in for a share.

After much war and bloodshed, a treaty was concluded at Verdun in 843, by virtue of which Lothaire received the imperial dignity, together with Italy, Burgundy, and Lorraine; Louis, surnamed the German, the lands on the right bank of the Rhine, Spire, Worms, and Mayence; and Charles the Bald, Gaul, and the march of Spain, being the territories south of the Pyrenees conquered by Charlemagne.

This treaty of partition is important as it defines the point of time and circumstances under which France and Germany, as distinct powers, had their origin. Modern France commences at this period with Charles the Bald, for its first king, and for a long time it retained the boundaries then assigned it, and, in fact, possesses now nothing beyond except the conquests it has made since the fourteenth century. From this time, also, commenced a change in the government and language, which was greatly instrumental in rendering France and the French people distinct from every other nation and people.

From this point of time, also, Germany is first embodied into a monarchy, having its own particular kings, of whom Louis the German was the first.

It is true the empire of Charelemagne was, for a short period of time, in 884, united under Charles the Fat, a younger son of Louis the German, but this continued only for four years. In 888 occurred its final dismemberment, giving birth not only to the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, but also to three new states, the kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy and Navarre.

These internal divisions were attended with great weakness and inefficiency. Charlemagne had united under his laws all the people of Teutonic origin, except the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, besides the Celtic and other races in the south and west of Europe. But beyond the Germans were found other races of barbarians, ready to pour their hordes upon civilized Europe. His death, and the subsequent divisions and weakness removed the barrier, and the empire was at once assailed on the west by the Normans, on the north by the Slavonians, on the east by the Hungarians, and on the south by the Saracens. The conversion of the first three to Christianity, and the expulsion of the last, preserved Europe from barbarism.

Of these, the Normans, or men of the north, the followers of Odin, are worthy of particular attention. Leaving to the Slavonians, agriculture and the breeding of cattle, they loved war, the chase, and the exercise of arms. Theirs is a noble history, and their influence upon Europe and its civilization, has been great and beneficial.

Belonging to the German race, they shared with it the passion for liberty, the love of action, and the disposition to wander. They were divided into numerous tribes, acquainted themselves with navigation, and became addicted

to piracy. They ravaged the coasts of the North sea, sailed up the mouths of rivers in their small ships, and returned to their homes ladened with booty. They established stations, or colonies, at the mouths of the Scheldt, and the Rhine, the Loire, and the Seine; from which their light barks were enabled to penetrate into the very heart of the country, thus carrying on a very wide-spread system of pillage through the whole land.

All the maritime coasts of Europe were open to their incursions, and these were continued from the end of the eighth century for two hundred years. Paris was three times sacked and pillaged by them, and all France trembled at the Norman name. The sons of their kings volunteered as chiefs of pirates and brigands; became Sea-kings, or Vi-kings; and, urged on by the desire of plunder, or a spirit of adventure, visited every coast in southern and western Europe, and sailed up the principal rivers.

Nor did they confine themselves to merely temporary visits. Besides the colonies and stations already mentioned, they aimed at and effected more permanent establishments. They discovered and peopled the remote island of Iceland, founding there a flourishing republic, possessing the religion, language, laws, and institutions of the mother country.

Another permanent location, succeeded by important results, was their acquisition of Normandy in France. In 892, Charles the Simple, with the view of checking their continual incursions, abandoned to Rollo, their chief, a large territory on the coast of France, subsequently known as the duchy of Normandy. Rollo, embracing Christianity, receiving the baptismal name of Robert, married the daughter of the king, became a vassal of the crown of France and the first duke of Normandy.

The Normans invaded Ireland as early as 795. They founded the cities of Waterford, Dublin and Limerick, which they formed into separate petty kingdoms. Of these, they remained possessed until the reign of Henry II of England, in 1170. The islands of Orkney, the Hebrides, the Shetland and Faroe islands, and the Isle of Man, were also discovered and peopled by the Normans.

The foundation of the Russian monarchy was laid by the Normans about the middle of the ninth century. Ruric, a warlike prince of the Varangian race, on the invitation of the Slavonic inhabitants of the shores of the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, established himself at Novogorod, and became the progenitor of a race that ruled over Russia, till the end of the sixteenth century. He and the grand dukes, his successors, extended their conquests from the Baltic and the White sea to the Euxine; and during the tenth century made the eastern emperors tremble on their thrones. Embarking on the Dnieper, or Borysthenes, their fleets infested the coasts of the Black sea, carrying terror and dismay to the very gates of Constantinople.

Another branch of the Northmen were the Danes, who commenced making their descents upon the coasts of England as early as 798, and although suspended for a while under the rule of Egbert, yet they were subsequently resumed, and, on the death of Ethelwolf, in 857, the divisions among the English princes exposed the whole country to the pirates of the north.

The reign of Alfred the Great from 871 to 900, retarded for a century the Danish invasion. He defeated them in the battle of Devon, and compelled them to acknowledge his authority. He became to England what Charlemagne had been to France, Germany and Italy, and the reign of each presents a bright period amidst the darkness of those

ages. But England, notwithstanding the reign of Alfred, and the laws he promulgated, and the wise institutions he established, was nevertheless destined to submit to the men of the north. Sweyn the Fortunate, king of Denmark and Norway, recommenced the predatory incursions, and was proclaimed king of England in 1014.

He was succeeded in 1015 by his son Canute the Great, who, for twenty-one years, continued to wear the united crown of England, Denmark and Norway. After his death, and that of his son, Hardicanute, Edward the Confessor, a descendant of the ancient royal family, ascended the throne. It was by virtue of his appointment that upon his death, William, Duke of Normandy, made a claim to the throne. This was resisted by the English nation, who elected Harold as their king. The battle of Hastings, in 1066, ended the Saxon dynasty and inaugurated the Norman under William the Conqueror. The flower of the Anglo-Saxon nobility fell on that bloody field, together with Harold, and as William came into possession by conquest, he established an entirely new condition of things. He introduced the French language and the Norman law, endowing his Norman knights with the estates of the Anglo-Saxon landholders, everywhere enforcing the rigors of the feudal system in all their severity.

About the same time, Robert Guiscard, a Norman noble, succeeded in making himself master of the greater part of lower Italy. He became Duke of Apulia and Calabria, acknowledging the pope as his feudal superior. His son, Bohemond, still further increased his territory, and although Robert's family soon became extinct, yet his brother's son Roger II, in A. D. 1130, united Sicily with lower Italy, obtained from the pope the title of king, established the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which, for the period of fifty-six years, remained in his possession, and in that of

his descendants, after which it passed to the house of Hohenstauffen.

While the power at the north thus became aggressive in the affairs of Europe, that at the south was not inactive. During the ninth and tenth centuries France and Italy, along the whole coast of the Mediterranean, were assailed by the Mahometans of Spain and Africa. In A. D. 888 they succeeded in establishing themselves at Fraxinet, and for a series of years made continual incursions from thence into Arles and Italy. Their guards covered the chain of the Alps from Frejus to Saint Maurice. After devastating for a century they were finally expelled from thence by Count William I, in 972.

In 827 they became masters of Sicily, and from the port of Palermo, the residence of the African emirs, they equiped and dispatched their fleets to different points of Italy, where they formed military establishments. Thus, for a long period, they distressed southern Italy, and checked the rising power of the republics of Ragusa, Genoa, and Pisa, which were then growing into importance.

The Slavonians at the north and north-east were kept in check by the arms of Charlemagne. At his death they once more appeared on the further side of the Elbe, and again prepared for action. Their hostile movements, however, tended more to secure the independence of the Slavonian nation, than to menace the Carlovingian provinces. The Poles secured their dominion under their first dukes of the race of Piast, from A. D. 842 to 1025, The most illustrious of these was Bolislaus Chrosry, first honored with the royal dignity in A. D. 1000.

On the east were the Hungarians, who, under Zoltan, son of Arpad, in A. D. 907, entered Germany and gained the battle of Augsburg, laying waste the kingdom as

far as the banks of the Rhine and the Saal. Under the pacific reign of their Waivode Toxun, they became a settled people. Christianity was introduced among them, and their Waivode Waic was baptized under the Christian name of Stephen, in 996. His people conferred on him the royal dignity, and the pope, Sylvester II, added the apostolic crown, in 1000. Stephen, the apostle and legislator of Hungary, is regarded as the real founder of the monarchy, which continued under the kings of the race of Arpad, till 1302.

The outside pressure of all these different races upon the vast empire of Charlemagne, accompanied as it was, by the principle of dissolution which prevailed internally after his death, led to a new order of government. This is known by the name of the feudal system, hereafter more fully considered, which embraced in the same bond of reciprocal duties, and in one vast hierarchy of suzerains, vassals and bondsmen, every class and individual of the state, from the monarch as supreme seigneur, to the serfs attached to the glebe.

Upon the cessation of the vast central power exercised by Charlemagne, the principle of dissolution ran through his vast dominions, and his immense territory, as we have already seen, became subject to a great variety of divisions. The era of feudality prevailed, and generations of men came and passed away, accomplishing little either for themselves, or their nation or race.

We have hitherto seen the Frank to be the dominant power, taking the lead upon continental Europe, and under Clovis and Charlemagne, exercising a sovereignty that came at last to be undisputed. But there was now to be a change. The destinies of Europe were to be under another lead, and empire to take, for a time, its departure from the land of the Gaul, to visit that of the German.

Germany was erected into a monarchy at the peace of Verdun in 843. Its first Carlovingian monarchs were hereditary, but on the death of Louis the Infant, in 911, the succession of Charlemagne failing in Germany, the crown became elective. The four chief vassals, viz: the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria and Saxony, made choice of Conrad of Franconia; and this may be regarded as the first real exercise of power by the great German feudatories.

Conrad dying in 919, the suffrages of the diet were cast in favor of Henry, chief of the royal house of Saxony, from which, without further right than the voice of the nation, descended five kings of Germany, and through which was ultimately restored the empire of Charlemagne.

Henry I, surnamed the Fowler, was a prince of genius and energy. He extended his conquests beyond the Eider, the ancient frontier of Denmark, establishing the march or margravate of Sleswick against the Danes. He won back Lorraine to the empire on the west, and by this means extended the limits of Germany towards the west as far as the Meuse and the Scheldt. He waged a successful war with the Slavonians, who inhabited the banks of the Saal, and the country between the Elbe and the Baltic, establishing the march of Meissen to keep them in check. During the nine years truce which he purchased of the Hungarians or Magyars, he introduced a new system of tactics; accustomed his troops to military evolutions; originated and equiped a formidable body of cavalry; so that at the termination of the truce, in 933, he gave them two bloody defeats on the fields of Sondershausen and Merseburg, entirely freeing Germany from the tribute it had paid them. He also built numerous strong fortresses, and citadels, around which in time grew up towns and cities, so that he, in fact, became the originator of the

burgher class in Germany, and earned the name of the founder of cities. During the twenty-five years of his reign from 911 to 936, much was done to shape the course and influence the future destinies of Germany.

He was succeeded in 936 by his son, Otho I, the great Otho, whose reign forms an era in the history of Germany and of Europe. The prevalence of feudality for some time rendered him unable to restrain his great vassals, but the fortune of arms having thrown into his power and rendered vacant the duchies of Suabia, Franconia, Lorraine, and Bavaria, he gave them to chiefs of his own family, but without attaching to the tenures the privilege of succession.

He twice marched into Bohemia, and compelled the submission of Bosleslaus I, who had assassinated his brother and seized on the government. The Magyars again renewing their inroads upon Germany, he gave them such a terrible defeat and slaughter on the field of Lechfeld, near Augsburg, that it entirely put an end to their depredations.

But the most important changes were made in Italy, for there he laid the foundation of a dominion, and a controversy out of which grew in the future, important results. This had been for Italy a disastrous epoch. The governments being weak, factions were excited among the nobility, anarchy ensued, and the country was ravaged by the Magyars, and Saracens. The feudal system was prevailing with all its disorganizing effects. The kings of Burgundy were endeavoring, at the expense of the Italian feudatories, to secure the iron and the imperial crown, which came to be regarded as inseparable. At this juncture the crown of Burgundy and upper Italy rested upon the head of Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, and she, to avoid the importunities of Beranger II, to marry his son, appealed to Otho.

He accordingly entered Italy, married the young queen, gained the kingdom of Italy, and was invested in Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy.

Proceeding to Rome, in 963, he received from the pope the imperial crown which thereafter remained attached to the German crown. He received the oaths of the pope, of the Romans, and of the Lombard princes and seigneurs. All Italy, to the extent of the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, now fell under the dominion of the Germans. From this time the Germans claimed that as the imperial dignity was strictly united with the royalty of Italy, the kings elected by the German nation, should, by virtue of that election, become kings of Italy, and emperors. The practice of the triple coronation of Germany, Italy, and Rome, continued for many centuries.

There was also another act of Otho I, which had an important bearing upon the future; and whose long lines of influence ran through the fierce contests between the Guelphs and Ghibelines of subsequent times. Having established the protectorship of the German emperor over the papal chair, he exacted an oath from the Romans, that they would never acknowledge a pope without the knowledge and consent of himself and his successors. Hence the doctrine afterwards insisted upon, that no pope could exercise the papal function, without previously having obtained the approval of the emperor to his election.

The house of Saxony, through the energy, and great powers displayed by Henry I, and Otho I, gained such an ascendancy, that it became difficult to choose a successor from any other. Hence the family of Otho possessed the imperial dignity as well as thrones of Gascony and Italy until its extinction. It gave, however, but three successors to the first Otho. These were Otho II, 973; Otho III, 983; and Henry II, 1002.

By the superior powers and address of the first Otho, all the principal governments composing the German empire had been united in his own family, and the feudal system in Germany was arrested in its progress. Upon his death it again resumed its course, and each one of his successors of the house of Saxony was compelled to resist the pretensions of the great German and Italian vassals, who opposed the royal power in order to free themselves from its authority. It is important to notice that the actual establishment of the German constitution dates from the period when its emperors were chosen from the house of Saxony.

Henry II, the last of the Saxon dynasty, was surnamed the Saint, from his love for the church and the clergy. He founded the cathedral of Bamberg, which was consecrated by the pope in person, upon which occasion the emperor received from the pope the signs of his imperial power, the sceptre and the golden apple. These ceremonies, here practiced, afforded to succeeding popes a pretext to represent the imperial throne as their fief.

The Saxon dynasty expired with the second Henry in 1024. That of Franconia succeeded, in the person of Conrad II, the Salic. Under him became united to the German crown the kingdom of Burgundy lying upon the Rhone and the Jura. This, however, was but a feeble addition to the power of the German emperors. The principle of dissolution so essentially involved in the feudal system, had deprived it of strength. It was also under the rule of this prince that the Italian seigneurs obtained the sanction of their hereditary rights, by an edict published in 1037. The quarrel, which for a long time was carried on between the empire and the church, prevented the successors of Conrad II, from attempting to reduce the feudal power.

Conrad II was succeeded by his son Henry III, under whose reign Germany attained its greatest limits, embrac-

ing nearly two-thirds of the monarchy of Charlemagne. It included all Germany between the Rhine, the Eider, the Oder, the Leita, and the Alps; all Italy, as far as the confines of the Greeks in Apulia and Calabria; Gaul, from the Rhine to the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhone; while the dukes of Bohemia and Poland were tributaries. Germany, at this period, ranked as the ruling power in Europe.

The idea was then prevalent, and much favored by the popes, that all Christendom really made but a single power, of which the pope was the spiritual, and the emperor the secular head. The duty of the first was to see that nothing should be done contrary to the general welfare of Christianity. That of the last, to protect and preserve the catholic church, to convoke its general councils, and exercise such rights as the interests of Christianity should demand.

But Germany had now attained the acme of its greatness. Its emperors were monarchs, possessing large domains in all parts of the empire; dispensing at their pleasure, dignities, both civil and ecclesiastical, and exercising, individually, various branches of the sovereign power. From this period dates its declension, arising from causes which will come in for consideration under the element of government.

In France, the Carlovingian dynasty was rapidly passing away. Under the reign of the feudal system, the dukes, counts, and great vassals, more and more usurped the rights of royalty, frequently raising the standard of revolt, and making war on each other. The kings continued to alienate the royal revenues, until there was left a scanty subsistence for the court. Although the rule of the Carlovingians continued longer in France than in Germany, yet it possessed neither strength nor dignity.

Charles the Simple nominally succeeded Charles the Fat, and he was followed by two other kings of the Carlovingian race; but their power had become so limited, that, at last, they possessed nothing but the town of Laon, with the surrounding country. A change of dynasty became indispensable; and the throne must fall to the share of the most powerful and daring of its vassals. This occurred on the death of Louis V, the Slothful, the last of the Carlovingians, in 987.

At that time, Hugh Capet was count of Paris, duke of France and Neustra, possessing the central parts of the kingdom. He caused himself to be proclaimed king at Noyon, and crowned at Rheims. He restored to the possession of the crown, the lands and tenements which had belonged to it, between the Loire, the Seine, and the Meuse. He brought a fresh accession of power and lustre to the royal dignity, which he succeeded in making hereditary in his family. Although the commencement of the Carlovingians had been brilliant, and that of the Capetians attended with less pomp, yet this family offers the only example known in history, of a dynasty existing through thirty-two generations of kings. Nothing occurred to distinguish the reigns of the immediate successors of the founder of this dynasty.

The next series of events of much interest or importance in European history have reference to the quarrels between the emperor and the pope. The relations between these were two-fold. First, the consecration of the emperor by the pope; and second, the right of the emperor to approve or reject the pope elect. This latter continued to be claimed by the emperors, while the pope began to be ambitious of founding a temporal supremacy on a pious ceremonial. Thus the two powers came in conflict.

We find Henry III, son of Conrad the Salic, deposing three popes, and as often disposing of the pontifical chair in favor of three Germans. The emperors also disposed of the states of the church in their own dominions by the solemn investiture of the ring and crosier. In secular affairs, therefore, the emperor controlled, the dominion of the pope being entirely spiritual. But the era of Gregory VII, 1073, was approaching, which was to open the avenues to papal supremacy. The remarkable events of this era belong to the element of religion. It may be barely stated that the great contest was carried on between Gregory and his successors, and Henry IV, the son and successor of Henry III. The pope finally triumphed, and the emperor, after a series of misfortunes, finally wasted and died under the anathemas of the church, his body remaining for five years unburied in an unconsecrated chapel at Spire.

The contest was also continued by his son and successor, Henry V, until the concordat concluded at Worms, in 1122. The death of Henry V, in 1125, put an end to the imperial house of Franconia. The period of this house has been regarded as remarkable for the extraordinary increase of power among states, and the entire decline of that of the emperors.

We have now arrived at the era of the Crusades, the facts of which may be briefly stated:

Both Sylvester II, and Gregory VII, had conceived the design of arming Europe against the east for the deliverance of Jerusalem from the dominion of the infidel. It was reserved, however, for Urban II, to carry the project more fully into execution. His first act was to commission Peter the Hermit to traverse Europe, and everywhere preach a crusade against the infidel. After the public mind had become sufficiently prepared, a council was

convoked at Clermont in 1095. Here he called upon the west to arm itself against the east, and, as in conclusion, he exhorted every one "to deny himself and take up his cross, that he might win Christ," one simultaneous shout, "It is the will of God," broke forth from the lips of the assembled thousands, and ascended exultingly into the skies.

The Crusades were eight in number, and their continuance was during two centuries. For two hundred years Europe continued to pour out its hundreds of thousands to bear the red cross into Asia, and to sweep the crescent from the holy city. An electric chain of communication seemed to run through Europe. One thought, one impulse, one desire, animated all classes. It prevailed less in Germany than elsewhere, owing in part to the phlegmatic character of the Germans, and in part to the controversy existing between the emperor and the pope. An enthusiasm so universal, so long continued, so productive of results immediate and consequential, has no parallel in the world's history.

It is worthy of remark that it had a progress; commencing among the lower orders of the people. The first consisted of lawless bands with nameless leaders, marching without order or discipline; pillaging the countries through which they passed; and finally, meeting with total destruction on the plains of Hungary and Bulgaria. To these succeeded hosts of men that bore some resemblance to armies; having more regular appointments, under some degree of discipline and subordination, and whose leaders were feudal barons, some possessing large territories, and great distinction. These succeeded in accomplishing some results, and in wresting, for a time, Jerusalem from the Saracen. After the enthusiasm had worked through and worked up this class, it next seized upon the monarchs of Europe,

and we find them marching in person, at the head of their armies, fully resolved to win laurels or a grave on the plains of Palestine.

What were the causes that operated so widely, so thoroughly, and for so long a period, through all the different classes of society from the lowest to the highest, producing these fearful upheavals, and precipitating Europe upon Asia? They were

1. The eloquence of the Roman pontiff, and of those who went forth to preach under his commission. Every pulpit in Europe sent forth its voice of denunciation, of encouragement, of appeal, of supplication. The perils of the pilgrim to the holy city; the scoffs, insults, and cruelties of the ferocious infidel; Jerusalem, with its holy places, bowing beneath the crescent, and all supplicating the aid of the followers of the cross, were painted with an eloquence that burnt into the soul of the hearer. Whether the pope, and his agents, were influenced by the desire of thereby increasing their own importance and extending their influence, or whether they were themselves the victims of the enthusiasm they created, or both, will be, most probably, among the latest revealed secrets.

2. There was a deep moral cause enveloped in the fact that between the follower of the cross and the crescent there ever existed the most irreconcileable hostility. Europe, itself, had hitherto furnished the fields upon which this hostility had exhibited its workings. Spain, the southern part of Gaul, Italy, the islands of the Mediterranean, had felt the Moslem's tread, and experienced his hostility to the Christian. This was only a continuation of the warfare, substituting the plains of Asia for the battle-fields of Europe, and having for its special object the possession of Jerusalem and the holy places, and the protection of the pilgrim.

3. A great social expansion, at this particular period, laid hold on the minds of men. This, as a civilizing element, should not be overlooked, or underrated. Everything had hitherto been local. Even commerce had as yet originated no extensive system of exchanges, and its feeble existence was confined within the narrowest limits. The court with its supple courtiers, the city with its population of mechanics and small tradesmen, the baronial castle with its surrounding tenantry, the monastic establishment with its pious inmates, would include all the population of Europe; and these were all localizing in their nature and tendency. The human mind felt a new necessity, that of enlarging the sphere of its own experience. It felt the utter insufficiency of that treadmill of life, that eternal monotony of being, that hung with its leaden weight upon the very springs of existence. Along with this was undoubtedly mingled that love of adventure, which can never completely die out, and which now, for the first time, presented, on a gigantic scale, the opportunity for its indulgence.

All these combined, present causes sufficient to account for those extraordinary events. Owing to the joint action of these, the occasion was such as thrilled every heart, fired every soul, and nerved every power for its extremest effort. It was the first great general fact common to Europe; the first that broke down local and sectional feeling, and brought different nationalities to harmonize together. In this view, it should be hailed as the introducer of a new era; of one in which the local, sectional, and purely national, seeks to merge itself in the more general, human, universal.

So far as attainment of the object sought is concerned, the Crusades were comparatively barren of results. It is true, Jerusalem was wrested from the Moslem, and for

some time remained under the sway of Christian princes. But the Saracen again triumphed, the Christian was expelled, and the crescent restored. And thus it has ever since been; as if, by an irreversible decree of God, no mere phantom, imitation, or figure of the cross can ever be permitted on the spot where the real cross once was planted. True Christianity has at least been spared the spectacle of so great a mockery.

The general results of the Crusades, the effects they produced upon Europe and its civilization, were numerous and of vast importance. They were carried into, and modified more or less extensively, every element of humanity with the single exception, perhaps, of that of philosophy. In those, more especially of industry, religion and government, and to a less extent, in society and art, we shall not fail, in their proper places, of noticing the effect produced by the Crusades.

In Germany, upon the death of Henry V, without children, in 1125, the imperial dignity was conferred upon Lothaire II, of the house of Saxony. His death occurred in 1137. There were then two great families, or houses in Germany, in whose possession all the principal fiefs, except Lorraine, were united. These were the Welf and the Hohenstauffen. The greatness of both these was due principally to Henry IV, who, in 1071, bestowed the duchy of Bavaria on Welf, and that of Suabia, in 1080, on Frederick of Hohenstauffen. Since that, Henry the grandson of Welf had added to Bavaria the duchies of Saxony and Tuscany, and Conrad, son of Frederick, Franconia. From these two, Welf, and Waibling, the name of one of the hereditary possessions of the Hohenstauffens, were derived the terms Guelphs and Ghibellines, which are applied to two great parties, or factions, whose inveterate hostility and deadly feuds destroyed the peace of Germany and Italy,

especially the latter, for a great number of years. It eventuated in contests between the pope and the emperor, the partisans of the former being the Guelphs, and those of the latter, the Ghibellines.

On the death of Lothaire II, childless, in 1137, these two houses presented their candidates for the imperial dignity, and the choice of the Germanic diet finally fell upon Conrad of Hohenstauffen, who was duke of Franconia. With him began a line of powerful monarchs, of the house of Hohenstauffen.

The result of this was a war between the two rival houses. Henry the Welf having refused the required homage to the new emperor, had pronounced against him the ban of the empire, and the forfeiture of his dukedoms. Saxony was bestowed on Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, and Bavaria on Leopold of Austria.

After a series of contests, and the prevalence of civil discord, the diet of Frankfort restored the duchy of Saxony to the house of Welf, but separated Brandenburg from it, which was raised to the rank of an immediate fief of the empire, A. D. 1142. Ten years subsequently, Bavaria was also restored to the same house, and the margravate of Austria was erected into an immediate duchy. Thus, in the duchy of Brandenburg, we have the commencement of what afterwards became the kingdom of Prussia, and in that of Austria, what subsequently expanded into the empire of Austria.

Conrad III was succeeded by Frederic I, surnamed Barbarossa, of the same house. This great, heroic, and sagacious monarch, reigned from 1152 to 1190. His great powers were expended in efforts to maintain the former dignity and authority of the emperor, in resisting the disorganizing tendencies of the feudal system. He encountered the greatest obstacles in Italy, into which he made

no less than six expeditions. In one of these, he destroyed the great and flourishing city of Milan, causing its walls and edifices to be leveled with the earth. On another occasion, being deserted by Henry the Lion, of the house of Welf, to whom Bavaria had been restored, he suffered a defeat. He finally succeeded, however, by the treaty of Constance, in 1183, in placing the affairs of Italy on an advantageous footing. Returning to Germany, he procured the ban of the empire to be pronounced against Henry the Lion, deprived him of his two dukedoms, Bavaria and Saxony, and banished him for three years to England. He married his son to the Norman princess, Constantia, heiress to Naples and Sicily, and finally, assuming the cross, he undertook the third Crusade, and found his death in the distant east.

He was succeeded by his son, Henry VI, who was avaricious and cruel; and, after the death of the last Norman king, succeeded in acquiring the possession of Naples and Sicily, as the inheritance of his wife Constantia.

A war of ten years was now waged between the Welf and Hohenstauffen factions. It resulted in the temporary elevation of Philip, of the latter house, and, on his death by violence in 1208, of Otho IV, a Welf. During these troubles, Pope Innocent III, a worthy successor of Gregory VII, destroyed the authority of the emperors in Rome, repressing entirely the republican spirit of that city, and interfered also with the affairs of Germany. He procured a renunciation by Otho, of all the imperial feudal rights over Rome and the central provinces of Italy. And, finally, when he could procure nothing further from Otho, he launched against him the thunders of the church, and set up as his rival, the Sicilian prince Frederick, the son of Henry VI, who was his ward. His accession in 1215, restored the empire to the Hohenstauffens.

Frederick II was brave and wise, and filled the throne with great glory. The severe contests between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, and the interference of the pope, clouded the reign, and embittered the last days of Frederick. As he united under the same dominion, both upper and lower Italy, his position was a threatening one to the temporal power of the pope. While absent to attend the holy wars in Palestine, a Crusade was preached against him by pope Gregory IX, and his son Henry, and father-in-law John, joined with the pope and the Lombards. But Frederick returning, repulsed the papist troops, restrained the increasing feuds and depredations, gave the inhabitants of lower Italy a new code of laws, and encouraged trade, industry and poetry.

The attempt to enforce the treaty of Constance in upper Italy led to a war, in which the army of the Lombards was overcome, and most of the towns reduced to submission. But the church and the Guelph party proved ultimately too strong for Frederick. Anathematized by Innocent IV, and deserted by many of his friends and supporters, he finally died of a broken heart in 1250.

His son, Conrad IV, died probably of poison in 1254. The pope bestowed the provinces of Naples and Sicily upon Charles of Anjou, a French prince, and brother of Louis IX. In the attempt to regain from him his patrimonial dominions, Conradine, the grandson of Frederick II, and the last of the Hohenstauffens, was taken and perished upon the scaffold.

The fall of the Hohenstauffens was followed by an interregnum in the empire, of some eighteen years continuance, during which a frightful state of anarchy prevailed. This devolved upon men the necessity of forming new combinations, and we shall accordingly find, in the elements of industry and government, that during this period

new institutions were either originated, or much improved, strengthened, and enlarged. This interregnum was finally terminated by the election to the imperial dignity of Rodolph of Hapsburg, in 1273.

Before commencing the dynasty of the house of Hapsburg, which was the root of the present house of Austria, it may be well to take a brief survey of other parts of Europe.

Italy, about the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century, was a fruitful producer of republics. These claimed the rights of sovereignty, although acknowledging their fealty to the emperor. The distracted state of the empire, and the consequent weakness of the emperors, favored the efforts of these republics. But Frederick Barbarossa, in 1158, asserted the ancient rights of the emperors, and as the opposition was traced principally to the Milanese, he made himself master of the proud city of Milan, in 1162, and utterly destroyed it, dispersing the inhabitants.

Afterwards in 1167, was formed the league of Lombardy, in consequence of which the city of Milan was rebuilt. This league combated the claims of the emperor with various success. The treaty of Constance, in 1183, guarantied to the cities of Italy the forms of government they had adopted, and the exercise of the regalian rights they had acquired, reserving to the emperor the investiture of the consuls, and appeals in civil cases.

The league was renewed against the emperor Frederick II, and the pope, Gregory IX, being drawn into it, a long and bloody war was the consequence. The forces of the league proved too strong for the emperor.

But the removal of the external pressure caused by the enforcement of the claims of the emperor, did not establish the peace of the republics. Their fury was then let loose

against each other, and they were seized with the rage of conquest. They were also torn to pieces by the internal factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and by the contests which had, in many cases, arisen between the nobles and the free cities.

It was also during this period that the wants of the age called into existence the maritime cities of Italy, and, by means of commerce, gave them wealth and importance. The most prominent of these were Venice and Genoa. The origin of the first dates as far back as A. D. 452, when the invasion of the Huns, under Attila, compelled many of the inhabitants of ancient Venetia to take refuge in the isles and lagoons on the borders of the Adriatic gulf, where they laid the foundation of the city of Venice. It was from its birth a commercial city, and in the days of its prosperity, its magnificient churches, gorgeous palaces, splendid squares, and boldly constructed bridges, made it the wonder of the world. The commencement of its grandeur dates from the end of the tenth century.

Venice became a party to the league of Lombardy, on the occasion of which the pope, Alexander III, in 1177, granted to her the sovereignty of the Adriatic. It was this that gave rise to the singular ceremony of annually marrying this sea to the doge of Venice. She came, during the Crusades to obtain very extensive possessions, consisting of several cities and ports in Dalmatia, Albania, Greece and the Morea, and also the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, and Candia, or Crete.

Genoa, the rival of Venice, originally formed part of the kingdom of Italy, until 1238, when it joined the Lombard league. This republic also grew into importance during the Crusades, and the foundations of its greatness rested on a commercial basis. In the latter part of the thirteenth century, by restoring Constantinople to the do-

minion of the Greek emperors, the Genoese acquired great privileges, and became at one time an important power.

The beautiful city of Florence made its appearance in the political world on the accession of the emperor Frederick II. It was chiefly noted, during this period, for the fierce contests of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions.

Pisa, another Tuscan city, was at one time, superior in maritime strength to Genoa, and disputed with her the empire of the Mediterranean. The principal subjects of dispute were, which should possess the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. After a variety of contests stretching through nearly two centuries, and continuing until 1290, the supremacy was finally yielded to Genoa.

In lower Italy we have seen Naples and Sicily come under the dominion of the Norman. They passed to the German emperor, Henry VI, in right of his wife Constantia, the heiress of the Norman line. On the death of his son, Frederick II, Mainfroi, a natural son of the latter, seized upon the sovereignty in 1258. The popes, Urban IV, and Clement IV, upon certain conditions, made an offer of the kingdom to Charles of Anjou, count of Provence, who defeated and slew Mainfroi at the battle of Benevento, in 1266.

In 1282, Sicily became separated from Naples. On the 30th of March of that year, occurred the famous Sicilian vespers, at which all the French in Palermo, with one exception, were massacred. The revolt extended to other Sicilian cities, and everywhere the French were put to death. The Sicilians, knowing their inability to contend successfully with Charles, offered their crown to Peter III, king of Arragon. He accepted, and maintained the possession of it against Charles, so that it became the inheritance of a particular branch of the Arragonese princes.

The Spanish peninsula, during this period, presents nothing of interest in its history. It was divided into several sovereignties, both Christian and Mahometan, and their wars with each other were attended with continual commotion and carnage. The Christian states, during most of this period, were Navarre, Castile and Arragon. The former, from its local situation, was less exposed either to losing any portion of its provinces as the result of war, or to any new acquisitions by conquest. It retained, therefore, nearly its original state. It was different with Castile and Arragon. They were gradually increased by the conquests made over the Mahometans.

The establishment of the kingdom of Portugal was an immediate result of the war against the Mahometans. The kings of Castile and Arragon having conquered a part of it from the latter, formed it into a distinct government, under the name of Portocalo, or Portugal. It was for some time governed by dukes, but in 1139, Alphonso I, son of Count Henry, a French prince, by virtue, as he pretended, of an apparition from heaven, proclaimed himself king in the face of the army, and totally routing the enemy on the plains of Ourique, founded the kingdom of Portugal. He afterwards convoked the estates of his kingdom, declared his independence by a fundamental law, and regulated the order of succession.

Leaving the peninsula, and fixing our view upon the west of Europe, we find the first period of rivalry between the two crowns of England and France. This occurred between the years 1087 and 1270. France had been under the rule of the Capetians since 987, and England under that of the Normans since 1066.

The great political mistake made by Philip I, king of France, was in permitting his vassal, the duke of Normandy, to conquer England. That, once done, his sub-

ject became his rival; and all the more formidable, because, being possessed of Normandy, he had a ready access to any part of the French king's dominions.

The first war which had ever taken place between the two nations, occurred in 1087. It was renewed under the subsequent reigns. But the strongest cause of real rivalry took place in 1152, on the occasion of Henry II marrying Eleanor of Poitou. This princess was the divorced wife of Louis VII of France, and the heiress of Guienne, Poitou, and Gascoyne. Henry, surnamed Plantagenet, was duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and afterwards king of England. He had therefore, both in his own right, and in right of his wife, vast possessions in France. He afterwards added Ireland, subduing it in 1172. This island had never before been conquered either by the Romans or the barbarians. It was divided into five principal sovereignties, viz: Munster, Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Meath, whose several chiefs all assumed the title of kings. One of these, however, enjoyed the dignity of monarch of the island; but his power was little more than nominal, and entirely insufficient either to secure internal tranquillity, or to repel the attacks of enemies. Hence the easy conquest of a large portion of the island by Henry. Its entire reduction, however, was not effected until the reign of Elizabeth.

Had the sons and immediate successors of Louis VII, and Henry II, inherited the precise qualities of their fathers, it is hardly possible to calculate the consequences upon the French monarchy. But the first was succeeded by Philip Augustus, and the last by John Lackland. While the sturdy barons of England were wresting from the latter magna charta, and he was surrendering up his dominions to the pope, and becoming his vassal, the former was annexing, under different titles, the provinces of

Artois, Vermandois, and the earldoms of Evreaux, Auvergne, and Alençon. He also dispossessed the English of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Lorraine, and Poitou, and maintained these conquests by the brilliant victory which he gained at Bouvines over the combined forces of England, the emperor Otho, and the count of Flanders.

His son and successor, Louis VIII, continued to prosecute the Crusade, which Pope Innocent III had proclaimed against the Albigenses, or heretics of Albi, and desolated Languedoc with an army of two hundred thousand men, until his army was dreadfully ravaged and himself carried off by a contagious disease in 1226. This religious war, which in the tale of horrors it unfolds is hardly equal to any other, was terminated by the treaty of Meaux in 1229, and one consequence of it was, the founding of the order of Dominicans, and the establishing the terrible tribunal of the inquisition at Avignon.

Louis VIII was succeeded in 1226 by his son Louis IX, called St. Louis, whose influence was the most strongly felt by improving the laws, organizing courts of justice, and more thoroughly reforming the internal affairs of the kingdom.

Contemporaneously with him was Henry III, of England, the son of John Lackland, whose long reign of fifty-six years, from 1216 to 1272, was one of revolt, defeat and disaster. During its long continuance, wars were waged between England and France, and also civil wars were carried on in England.

The north of Europe, during this period, presents nothing of interest. No regular succession to its thrones; no fixed principles of reciprocal rights, will lead us to expect little more in Denmark, Norway and Sweden than confusion, anarchy, and bloodshed. In the midst of these disorders, the Slavonians, inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic, in imi-

tation of the ancient Normans, committed numerous piracies and ravages on the coasts and islands of Denmark.

We hear nothing of Prussia before the end of the tenth century. About the year 1215 Christian Abbot of Oliva was named by Innocent III, first bishop of Prussia. The inhabitants, following the religion of Odin, not being disposed to receive him, Innocent proclaimed, in 1218, a crusade against them. Armies of crusaders immediately poured into Prussia, laying waste the country with fire and sword. The Prussians revenged their injuries upon Poland, and the Polanex called to their aid the Teutonic knights, granting them the territory of Culm, and promising them all the conquered lands. A war, little short of extermination, was carried on against the ancient inhabitants, and in 1201 a new order, called the army of Christ, being founded and subsequently incorporated with the Teutonic order, the whole of Prussia as well as Livonia and Courland was reduced into subjection by the year 1283.

In turning towards the east we find the Slavonians and Hungarians, and other eastern races exhibiting nothing more during this period than has already been briefly alluded to in another connection.

We now return to the rise of the house of Hapsburg, which was the root of the house of Austria. This was in the year 1273. We have seen France at first the dominant power in Europe. Next the sceptre of empire passed to Germany. It was under the German supremacy, that the pope acquired so great a preponderance of power in Europe. Shortly subsequent to the accession of Rodolph of Hapsburg, and in 1294, occurred the accession of Pope Boniface VIII, under whom the papal power was carried to the summit of its grandeur. From this period may be dated its declension, so that the close of the epoch we have been considering is deemed by many as the crisis of the

evils of Europe. There is little doubt but the declension of the political power of the pope was among the principal causes that led to a better state of things.

We have now arrived at a period when no particular kingdom in Europe can be said to be a predominating power. Italy is made up of a number of republics and states really independent; the Spanish peninsula of four Christian kingdoms and ten Mahometan states; France and England are exhausting themselves by their wars of rivalry with each other; Scandinavia exhibits its three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden at one time united together, at another at war with each other; Russia, Poland and Prussia have hardly yet come to exist; and Germany presents a sovereignty over sovereigns that renders it powerless in action.

In the election of Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, to be emperor, the electors had reference to his talents, both political and military, in the enforcement of order, and more especially to the smallness of his patrimonial estates, rendering him less an object of jealousy. His election was generally recognized, except by Ottacar, king of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. He protested against the election, and refused to render homage, upon which he was outlawed by the diet of Augsburg, and summoned to restore the Austrian provinces. Rodolph, to execute the sentence of the diet, marched into his territories with an army of Swiss and Alsatians, and of German princes, whom he had connected to his house, by marriages with his numerous daughters, and won the battle of Mackfield. Ottacar fell in that battle. His son Wenceslaus IV, by the treaty of Iglau, renounced Austria, Styria, and Carniola, which Rodolph had the address to procure for his sons Albert and Rodolph, thus becoming the founder of the Austrian house of Hapsburg.

The great service he rendered to Germany, consisted in his securing peace to the country, and in the restoration of law and order. He everywhere called the robber nobility to a severe reckoning, executing twenty-nine knights in Thuringia, destroying sixty castles, and reducing in a single year, upwards of seventy fortresses in Franconia, and on the Rhine.

But the electors became jealous of the greatness of Rodolph and his house, and on his death, at an advanced age, in 1290, a stranger reaped the rewards of his toil and glory, and the empire, pacified by his care, and reestablished by his exploits, seemed on the point of passing to another family. The fruits, however, of his policy, were destined to be enjoyed by his posterity, and the new house of Austria, whose foundation he had laid upon the firmest basis, was, after many reverses, to reap the full advantages of the labors of its founder.

His immediate successor was Adolph of Nassau, who was deposed at the diet of Mayence in 1298, and slain soon after at the battle of Galheim.

Albert of Austria was elected his successor, a man energetic, but severe, gloomy, and inflexible. His severity was the foundation of the Helvetic confederation in 1308. This is the first appearance of Switzerland upon the stage of history.

This country, the ancient Helvetia, had long depended on the crown of Germany, and was now divided into two hundred immediate fiefs, besides four imperial towns, and the three Waldstettes of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, which acknowledged no authority but that of the emperor. Over these three cantons Albert attempted to convert the mere rights of patronage into those of sovereignty. The tyranny of his governor, Gesler, gave rise to the conspiracy of Grutli, rendered so memorable by the story of William Tell. The authors of this conspiracy were Stauffacher,

Walter Fürst, and Melchthal, who formed between the three cantons a league for ten years, which was subsequently converted into a republican confederation. This was in 1308.

Albert attempted to reduce the Swiss to obedience, but in the midst of his preparations he fell, in 1308, by the hands of his cousin John of Suabia, whom he had deprived of his patrimony. His designs, however, were taken up by his son Leopold, who marched against the forest cantons with an army in 1315, but suffered a severe overthrown in the narrow pass of Morgarten.

This broke the power of the Hapsburgs in Switzerland. A perpetual league was entered into by the victors at Brunnen under the sanction of Louis of Bavaria. The Austrian town of Lucerne acceded to it in 1332, by which the whole shore of the lake of the four cantons fell under the power of the confederation. It was soon after joined by Berne, Zurich, Zug, and many other towns.

But the house of Austria still retained its resentment, and determination to reduce the Swiss to obedience. Accordingly, in 1386, Duke Leopold of Austria, with a host of armed nobles, attempted the subjugation of the freedom-loving mountaineers. Then occurred the ever memorable battle of Sempach, in which the heroic Arnold Winkelreid made a path for his countrymen into the iron-clad ranks of the knights, by embracing a number of their lances and burying the points in his bosom, the proud duke, with six hundred and fifty-six of his nobles, falling beneath the maces of the Swiss peasants. This battle secured the liberties of Helvetia. In 1424 the Grisons also entered into an independent confederation, under the name of the Grison league.

On the death of Albert in 1308, the German crown passed to the house of Luxemburg. It was conferred

upon Henry VII, whose son John had married the princess Elizabeth, sister to Wenceslaus V, king of Bohemia. He died in 1306, and with him the old Slavonic dynasty of the dukes and kings of Bohemia became extinct. John, the son of the emperor, was elected king, and commenced a dynasty to which Bohemia is indebted for its civilization. By these two elections of emperor and king, the house of Luxemburg, hitherto obscure, came at once into importance.

Henry now sought to revive the ancient rights of the empire in long neglected Italy. He crossed the mountains with an army, was welcomed with joy by the Ghibelline faction, received the crown of Lombardy in Milan, was crowned at Rome after a contest, was marching against the Guelph city of Florence (which had expelled the great poet Dante) when his sudden death, supposed from poison, occurred near the Arno in 1313.

A contest now occurred for the vacant throne between Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria, which resulted in an eight years war, and the final triumph of Louis. He is known as Louis V of Bavaria.

He attempted once more to enforce the rights of the empire in Italy, and was at first successful, but afterwards, in consequence of his exacting heavy levies of money from the Italian towns, his prospects in that country became changed, and he returned to Germany. After an unquiet reign, he died in 1347.

Upon his death, or rather previous to it, the imperial crown was transferred again to the house of Luxemburg, and conferred upon Charles IV, the son of king John of Bohemia. The principal aim of this monarch was to increase the power of his own house, and he procured Silicia, Lusatia and Moravia to be incorporated with the kingdom of Bohemia. He transferred the royal residence to Prague, where he founded the first German university in 1349.

He effected many valuable improvements in Bohemia, encouraging trade and agriculture, building roads and bridges, and bringing heaths and forests into cultivation.

Through him the imperial power lost all respect in Italy. He renounced his supremacy over the pontifical possessions, disposed of Padua and Verona to the Venetians, and appointed Galeas Visconti perpetual vicar of the empire in Lombardy. Subsequently, in 1368, he sold in detail what he had hitherto failed to alienate.

From this period the contests between the Guelphs and Ghibellines ceased, and were succeeded by contentions between the princes and free towns concerning the enlargements of their territories.

In Germany also, Charles sold the liberties and privileges of the imperial towns, and granted letters of nobility for money. During his reign important changes were made in the constitution of Germany. He has been reproached with having left the imperial authority both ruined and degraded.

Wenceslaus of Luxemburg, surnamed the Drunkard, the eldest son of Charles IV, succeeded both in the empire and kingdom of Bohemia. During his reign the imperial authority was much decayed, and confusion and lawlessness prevailed all over Germany. The towns in Suabia, Franconia, and on the Rhine, were compelled to unite their forces to preserve the peace of the country, and to protect themselves against the rapacious nobles. The knights who lived by plunder and highway robbery, followed their example in combining together their forces. The two confederations were perpetually engaged in war with each other, and thus extreme distress was everywhere produced expecially in the south of Germany.

The confusion finally became so great that Wenceslaus was deposed, and Robert of Bavaria elected in 1400. In

attempting to restore Milan to the empire he was defeated, and was also unsuccessful in attempting to restore tranquillity to the church.

On his death, in 1410, the imperial authority again returned to the house of Luxemburg in the person of Sigismond, who brought with him not only the electoral dignity, and crown of Hungary, but the expectation of that of Bohemia also. During this reign occurred the war of the Hussites, occasioned by the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague for propagating the doctrines of Wickliffe, which were branded by the church as heresies. Their followers, under John Ziska, put to death the whole senate of Prague. The war between them and the emperor was waged with various success for fifteen years and until the pacification of Iglau in 1434. Sigismond died in 1437, and with him fell the royal house of Luxemburg.

The sceptre of the empire next passes to the house of Austria. Albert II was placed on the imperial throne of Germany in 1438, which from that time to the present, over 400 years, has remained in the possession of the Hapsburg Austrian family. He wore three crowns, the imperial, that of Hungary, and Bohemia. He enjoyed them, however, but two years.

He was succeeded in the empire by his nephew Frederick III, in 1440, whose long reign of fifty-three years was characterized by inefficiency and indifference to passing events. During its continuance, comprising almost the last half of the fifteenth century, Europe was making rapid advances in the new epoch in her history which may date from the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. He looked on with profound indifference while the Turks were establishing themselves in Europe, and even extending their ravages into the hereditary territories of Austria. He saw Hungary and Bohemia elect native kings, and

Charles of Burgundy extend his dominions to the banks of the Rhine. He looked quietly on when Milan and Lombardy were separated from the German empire. In Germany he beheld the imperial authority fall into utter contempt; princes making themselves independent, and exercising the privilege of private warfare with each other. In one war, nine battles were fought and two hundred villages reduced to ashes. The neighborhood of the Rhine and the Neckar was also desolated by the war of the Palatinate.

The necessity of some change in the constitution of the empire was most strongly felt, and accordingly, under the reign of his son and successor, Maximilian I, that constitution was new modeled; and, although the right of private warfare was restrained, yet the authority of the emperor was completely undermined.

"Maximilian's reign forms the transition period between the middle age and the modern time. He, himself, with his stately aspect, his bold and dangerous huntings, his valiant deeds in battle and tournament, may well be looked upon as the last knight on the imperial throne of Germany. His love of the decaying chivalrous poetry, his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, his wars in the Netherlands and in Italy, are all stamped with the character of the middle age. On the other hand, it was at this time that the commencement of a more refined political science, and of a greater intercourse among nations, displayed themselves; which, combined with new discoveries and inventions, brought about the modern period."

Leaving Germany under the reign of Maximilian, at the close of the fifteenth century, we hasten again to take a cursory view of the other nations of Europe, during the period we have just been considering.

The easiest transition is from Germany into Italy, where we find the numerous republics which had sprung up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, torn in pieces by contending factions, and a prey to incessant hostilities. The practical withdrawal of the imperial authority by the neglect to exercise it, led to a state of anarchy in many parts of Italy. All Italy was in a ferment. The names of Guelphs and Ghibellines still continue, but they finally became names without meaning; the parties they represented having no longer any determined object.

Many of the developments in the Italian peninsula during this era, are more appropriately considered in other connections, under the elements of industry, religion, and government. One of the most important agents or instruments by which the wars were carried on among the states or republics, was the Condottieri. These were mercenary adventurers, mostly foreign, who let out their services to the highest bidder. The spoliations practiced in Italy during this period, were mostly their work.

A large portion of upper Italy, which once constituted the kingdom of Lombardy, fell under the power of the Visconti of Milan. The founder of this house was Matthew Visconti, who, being invested with the titles of captain and imperial viceroy in Lombardy in 1315, conquered in succession all the principal towns and republics of Lombardy.

In 1395 John Galeas, his great-grandson, purchased from the emperor Wenceslaus for one hundred thousand florins the title of duke of Milan for himself and his descendants. The house of Visconti reigned at Milan till 1447, when it was succeeded by the house of Sforza.

Francis Sforza was a fortunate adventurer, who, profiting by favorable circumstances, seized on the duchy, and commenced in 1450 a new dynasty. This beautiful coun-

try constituted one of the principal bones of contention between the two rival monarchs Charles V, and Francis I, in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In the western part of upper Italy, Savoy was gradually enlarged into a dukedom which extended northward over the south of Switzerland to the Jura, including Geneva, Vaud and Valois, and towards the south embracing Piedmont, Turin and the country of Nice. At subsequent periods, however, it became much circumscribed.

The two Italian states, however, whose rivalries and contests were the most strictly European in their character, were those of Venice and Genoa. These rival republics, mistresses of the Levant, took but little interest in the quarrels of Italy. The former directed her view to the Adriatic and Ægean seas, and sought to make conquests on their coasts in order to obtain suitable havens and other facilities for their extensive commerce. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries she attempted to extend her rule on the Italian continent, and obtained possession of Verona, Padua, Brescia, and other cities in upper Italy. Her ambition, great wealth, and extent of conquest, at length awoke the jealousy and hostility of other European powers. In the beginning of the sixteenth century was formed the league of Cambria, composed of the emperor Maximilian, Louis XII of France, Ferdinand the Catholic of Arragon, and Pope Julius II, the object of which was to humble the power of Venice, and even to divide among themselves the Venetian territories. But the Venetian council succeeded in dividing the league, and in gaining over the pope and Ferdinand, by means of which the city was saved, and the French driven out of Italy.

Genoa was the rival of Venice in the trade of the east. This occasioned many wars between them, and many bloody engagements, generally naval. In these the Ve-

netians were generally the victors, although in the Chioggia a war, waged in 1378–81, the Genoese under their great naval commander, Peter Doria, obtained a signal victory before Pola in the Adriatic gulf, and penetrated into the very midst of the lagoons of Venice. The Venetians were about abandoning their city to seek refuge in the isle of Candia, when a fortunate turn in their affairs enabled them to retrieve their misfortunes.

But Genoa was tortured by domestic dissensions, those of Spinola and Doria. This reduced her strength. Having become incapable of self-government, she fell alternately under the power of the French and Milanese.

The rich country of Tuscany was, during this period, divided into cities and republics in which the contests between the Guelphs and Ghibellines raged with great severity. The most considerable of these were Florence and Pisa. The latter was conquered by the former in 1406. The free cities of Tuscany were now reduced under the dominion of the Florentines with the exception of Lucca, which still maintained its independence. From 1430 for over a century, with occasional interruptions, the house of Medici reigned over Florence.

The founder of this house was John of Medicis, who acquired the enviable surname of the Father of the Poor. His son, Cosmo, surnamed the Father of his Country, was for thirty years the arbiter of the republic. Lorenzo, the grandson of the latter, by his encouragement of learning and the arts, rendered Florence the glory and the pride of Europe.

Rome, during much of this period, was torn by domestic factions. The family quarrels of the nobles, particularly of the Colonna and Orsini, caused frequent scenes of violence and bloodshed. At length arose a singular phenomenon, Rienzi, the tribune. By his fiery eloquence he so trans-

ported the Romans that they drove the nobles from their walls, and reestablished the ancient republic, creating him their tribune. His great success turned his head, and he fell more rapidly than he had risen. This occurred from 1347 to 1354.

In southern Italy, Naples, under the descendants of Charles of Anjou, had become a papal fief. They were Guelphs, while the house of Arragon, that governed in Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, belonged to the Ghibelline faction.

Two wicked queens, Joanna I, and Joanna II, filled the kingdom with acts of cruelty, war, and confusion. The latter, being childless, named first, an Arragonian, and afterwards a French prince, for her heir. By this means two parties were created, a French and an Arragonian, both of which contended with great bitterness and various success, for the crown of Naples, during the last half of the fifteenth century. At length, Frederick the Catholic, of Arragon, gained possession, and again united it with Sicily, and the two remained subject to the Spanish sceptre for two hundred years. Thus the pretensions to Naples and Milan were among the causes that stimulated the rivalries between Spain and France, and agitated the politics of Europe, during the forepart of the sixteenth century.

The Spanish peninsula, during this period, continues to present a kind of separate and distinct continent, in which events were occurring of little interest to the rest of Europe; but which, in their results, were to influence most extensively the politics of the whole continent. The foundation was then laying for the supremacy of Spain.

For several centuries the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon had stood there side by side in separate independence. They had enlarged themselves in different direc-

tions; Arragon, extending its arms eastward, had embraced the coast lands of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia, the Spanish island Majorca and Minorca; also the more distant Sardinia and Sicily, and finally Naples itself. At the same time Castile was reaching towards the south, and by carrying on successful wars against the Moors, gained possession of Cordova, Seville, and Cadiz.

At length, the marriage union, 1469, between Ferdinand the catholic king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile, united the two kingdoms permanently together, and thus, so late as the last quarter of the fifteenth century, were laid the foundations of Spanish monarchy. The two were animated by two common objects, one to centre all power in the throne, the other to extend their dominion over the whole Spanish peninsula. The first belongs to another connection. In the prosecution of the second, they concentrated all their energies against the Moors.

The Moors had for so many centuries possessed the southern half of the Spanish peninsula, that they had come to regard it as their permanent home. As town after town and province after province were wrested from them, those who did not choose to remain and submit to the dominion of the Christian, retreated still further towards the south, and thus continued under the sway of Mahomet. But the circle became narrower and narrower, until the kingdom of Grenada alone remained, and this at last in 1492, passed into the hands of the Christians, having been forced to yield to the united efforts of Ferdinand and Isabella. Thus the power of the crescent was expelled from the south-west of Europe, with the Moor, forty years after it had been planted in the south-east of the same continent by the taking of Constantinople by the Turk.

The expulsion of the Moors is a dark chapter in Spanish history. Their mere subjugation was not sufficient. They

were subjected to all the horrors of the inquisition. Oppression followed oppression, until at length they were absolutely driven, to the number of eight hundred thousand men, women, and children, from the land of their birth, the houses they had built and the fields they had cultivated, to seek a refuge in other lands. The south of Spain became a desert.

Portugal, during the epoch, continued separate from Spain. With the death of Ferdinand, in 1383, the proper Burgundian line became extinct, and the popular voice called to the throne Prince John, natural son of Pedro their former king, and grand master of the order of Avis. His reign continued through the long period of fifty years, and was both prosperous and glorious.

It was under the patronage of Henry, the third son of John, that the Portuguese led off in those voyages of discovery which, in their results, entirely changed the face of the world, and were among the most important agents that gave birth to the new epoch in history. Their bold seamen first discovered Madeira and the Azores. In 1481 John II made the East Indies the object of his enterprises, in order to wrest their commerce from the Genoese and Venetians. At his death the most southern point of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, had already been discovered, and thus the way was effectually paved for the reign of Emmanuel the Great, and the entire revolution in the commerce of the world by the discovery of the passage around that cape in the beginning of the sixteenth century by Vasco de Gama.

In France, the direct line of kings, descendants of Hugh Capet in the male line, became extinct in the death of the third son of Philip the Fair, in 1328. The French crown then passed to Philip VI, of the house of Valois, who was a son of the brother of Philip the Fair. This was a col-

lateral branch of the Capet line. The house of Valois furnished a series of thirteen kings, during a period of two hundred and sixty-one years.

But Edward III, king of England, was the son of a daughter of Philip the Fair. Being, therefore, in the lineal line of descent, he claimed the crown of France, according to the English law of inheritance. But in France the Salic law prevailed, and according to its provisions, the crown could not be inherited by or through any one in the female line. Edward claimed, however, that his right was perfect under the Salic law, that the exclusion was merely personal, applying to females by reason of their incapacity to govern, and not to males, whose rights were derived through a female. The states of France, however, put upon it a different construction; holding the design of it to be, to prevent the merging of their crown in that of another kingdom, by the very fact which had here occurred, a daughter of France marrying a foreign potentate, whose issue could claim both kingdoms. The original adoption and enforcement of this reasonable law, has very much changed the destinies of Europe from what they otherwise would have been.

The states, therefore, gave the crown to Philip VI, of Valois, in 1328, and in 1337, Edward III assumed the title and arms of king of France, in right of his mother, Isabella. In 1338 he made an appeal to arms in support of his alleged rights. The war was renewed during several reigns, continuing, at intervals, through the long period of a century.

After a bloody contest of a few years was fought in 1346 the battle of Cressy. This was one of the most glorious exploits of England. The power of the French chivalry, together with John, the blind king of Bohemia, fell on the field. This was followed by the reduction of the import-

ant town of Calais, the driving out the French, and the settling it with an English colony. In the meantime, Philippa, the wife of Edward, defeated the Scotch at the battle of Neville cross, in which the Scotch king, David Bruce, was taken prisoner.

The French king, Philip VI, died the year after the taking of Calais, and his son, John the Good, succeeded. In 1356 occurred the great battle of Poictiers, fought between the French king and the son of Edward III, known in history under the name of the Black Prince. The English gained a victory still more fatal to the French than that of Cressy. The king himself was taken prisoner, and thus the Tower of London became the prison house of two kings, John of France, and David Bruce of Scotland.

France, deprived of her sovereign, fell into anarchy. Insurrections were frequent, and were attended with great devastations and outrages. A peace was finally established between France and England in 1360, by which Edward renounced his pretensions to the French throne, but exacted the promise of a heavy ransom for John, and the surrender of Calais and the south-west of France to the English.

Charles V, who succeeded John, in 1364, by a wise course of policy, healed the previous dissensions, succeeded in recovering back the lands that had been lost on the Loire and the Garonne, so that finally nothing of their conquests remained to the English but the town of Calais.

In the midst of these reverses the Black Prince was wasting away under the influence of disease, and died in 1375, and the father, Edward III, followed him in 1377. After all his former successes in Scotland and France, he had lived to see Scotland reestablish her independence under the house of Stuart in 1371, and the fruits of the great victories of Cressy and Poictiers, with the exception

of Calais, lost to the English beyond the hope of recovery, and most of the continental possessions of his ancestors pass under the laws of France.

But it was now the turn of France to experience heavy calamities. Charles VI, the successor of Charles V, soon after his accession, became insane, in consequence of which France again fell into a state of confusion and lawlessness. Two powerful parties at court, the one headed by the duke of Burgundy, the king's uncle, and the other by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, were contending for the regency. Both these were assassinated, the latter in 1407, the former 1419. The burgher class, oppressed with heavy taxes, were also rebelling against the government. About the same period, the latter part of the fourteenth and forepart of the fifteenth centuries, there seems to have been a general upheaval of the burgher or peasant classes, the towns waging war against the knights in Germany; the Swiss peasants contending against the nobility; the citizen and peasant class rising against the court and the nobility in Flanders and France; and a dangerous popular insurrection under Wat Tyler, a blacksmith, in England.

In England, Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, had succeeded Edward III, in 1377, during whose reign the insurrection headed by Tyler occurred. A formidable conspiracy, under the leadership of the earl of Hereford, afterwards the duke of Lancaster, succeeded in dethroning Richard and placing Lancaster, under the name of Henry IV, on the English throne. His was a reign of sedition and turbulence, lasting thirteen years, and ending with his life in 1413.

He was succeeded by his son, Henry V, whose youth of profligacy was succeeded by a manhood of unusual energy, vigor and success. The energetic reign of his father having succeeded, in a great measure, in quieting

factions at home, he was left at liberty to pursue his father's advice, and to embark in foreign wars to draw off the attention of the English people, and thus prevent the organization of factions at home. The distressed and distracted condition of France under her insane monarch presented a favorable opportunity, and accordingly at the head of an army of forty thousand men he invaded that kingdom. The reason he assigned for the invasion, was the refusal of the French to restore to him the former possessions of Edward III in France.

The event the most marked, and that gave its coloring to the whole war, was the celebrated battle fought on the plains of Agincourt. Although the French four times outnumbered the English, yet they here met with a total defeat, the flower of the French chivalry either falling in the field, or surrendering prisoners of war.

The conquest of all Normandy followed in quick succession, and the road to Paris stood open. The whole of the country on the north of the Loire was soon in the hands of the English. The Burgundian party, with the queen Isabella, united with them, while the Orleans party were in the opposition. The English, aided by the queen and the Burgundian party, obtained the possession of the city of Paris, while the dauphin; Charles, passing the Loire, and assuming the title of regent, with the assistance of the state bodies which still existed, formed a parliament and university at Poictiers.

At length, in 1420, the insane king, Charles VI, signed the treaty of Troyes, by which it was agreed that Catharine of France, daughter of Charles VI and Isabella of Bavaria, should espouse Henry V of England; and that the issue of this marriage should inherit the French crown to the exclusion of the dauphin, and in defiance of the provisions of the Salic law, the kingdom, in the mean-

time to pass into the possession of Henry, as regent. Thus the march of events threatened the speedy destruction of the French monarchy, or its entire absorption into that of the English, thus disturbing the balance of power in western Europe.

But in the midst of these events, suddenly died Henry V, in the flower of his age, and he was soon after followed to the tomb by Charles VI, the insane king of France. Henry VI, son of Henry V and Catharine of France, an infant scarcely a year old, was proclaimed king of England and France, fixed his residence at Paris, and had for his regents his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. The dauphin now assumed the name of Charles VII, and claimed the kingdom.

The war was prosecuted with vigor. Charles experienced a succession of reverses, and all France seemed about to pass under the supremacy of Henry VI. The siege of Orleans, the last strong city that remained to the Orleans party who supported Charles, was severely pressed. At this juncture occurred one of those marvels of history, which are really either special interpositions of God in the affairs of men, or which penetrate so strongly into human belief as to produce the same effect as if they were such.

Joan of Arc, called the Maid of Orleans, a peasant girl of Domremy, in Lorraine, announced that she had been summoned to the redemption of France, by a heavenly vision. She threw herself into the besieged city, the last hope of the falling throne of Valois, and which was on the point of being taken. The faith in her heavenly mission revived the hopes of the French, and struck terror into the English. Under her banner the siege of the city was raised, Beaugency taken, Talbot defeated and taken, and the king, after surmounting every obstacle, and a thou-

sand perils, was conducted to Rheims, and there crowned, in 1429.

She now declared her mission ended, and desired to retire to her former obscurity, but being persuaded to remain, and being subsequently taken by the English, she was, to the lasting disgrace of Bedford, and of Charles, who did not interpose for her relief, allowed to be burnt, under a decree of the church, as a heretic and a sorceress.

But the fortunes of war had changed. The English lost one province after another, Paris opened its gates to Charles, and when Philip the Good of Burgundy reconciled himself with the king, the English were expelled from France in 1453, the single city of Calais alone remaining of all their former possessions.

Charles VII reigned over France for twenty-five years, and was succeeded by Louis XI, whose reign of twenty-two years, from 1461 to 1483, had but few relations with other European states, but which, in its results, told strongly upon the destinies of France and of Europe. This was in consequence of the change effected by him in the spirit of the French government, which will be noticed in another connection. He was cunning, crafty, and tyrannical, overthrew Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and made himself master of that dukedom. He spent the last years of his life immured in lonely castles, tortured by the fear of men and the stings of conscience.

He was succeeded by Charles VIII, who, together with his successor, made Italy the theatre of war, at first successfully conquering the Milanese, and, conjunctly, with the king of Arragon, becoming master of the kingdom of Naples. Subsequently, however, the French were obliged to quit Italy, abandoning all their conquests there.

Charles VIII, dying without children, the French sceptre passed to the Orleans branch of the house of Valois in

the person of Louis XII, duke of Orleans, who was a descendant of Charles V.

England was desolated by the war of the roses, as the houses of York and Lancaster, two branches of the reigning family of the Plantagenets were termed. It originated from rival claims to the crown. The house of Lancaster, known as the Red rose, occupied the throne for a period of sixty-three years. It furnished three kings, viz: Henry IV, V, and VI. It was during the reign of the latter that Richard, duke of York, known as the White rose, the great grandson of Edward III, advanced his claim to the throne, and commenced the contest.

The war commenced in 1452, and continued more than thirty years. It was one of the most cruel and sanguinary recorded in history. Twelve pitched battles were fought between the two roses, eighty princes of the blood perished in the contest, and England, during all that period, presented the most revolting spectacles of horror and carnage.

Edward IV, the son of Richard of York, finally got possession of the throne and maintained himself upon it. Henry VI, of Lancaster, four times exchanged the crown for a prison, and at length from commencing as king of England and France, he ended his miserable existence in the Tower, the great prison house of England. His son was also put to death, the war of the roses, so far as regarded the princes of the blood, being a war of extermination.

But a curse seemed to rest upon the house of York. Edward caused his brother Clarence to be assassinated, and on his death, his children, two infant princes, were put to death in the Tower by his younger brother Richard. Having thus paved the way to the throne, he ascended it under the name of Richard III, and endeavored to secure

himself on it by fresh crimes. But England revolted from such cold blooded murders. Henry Tudor, of the house of Lancaster, had saved himself from the general ruin of his family by flying to France. He now landed on the coast of England, and won its crown on the field of Bosworth, where Richard was slain. He now mounted the throne, 1485, being the first of the house of Tudor, and reigned under the name of Henry VII. He fortunately brought about a reconciliation between the roses by marrying the daughter of Edward IV.

The Scandinavian kingdoms, during this epoch, present some points of interest. They sustained few relations except with each other. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Denmark, to which Norway was united, acquired quite an extent of territory under a few warlike kings. Waldemar II, following up the successes of his predecessors, united to his kingdom all the Slavic lands on the south and east coasts of the Baltic, from Holstein to Esthonia, and could call himself king of the Danes and Slavi. His reign was from 1202 to 1241. After his death there occurred a time of confusion, but Waldermar III again governed with a firm hand.

In Sweden, the power of the kings had been much diminished, the powerful family of the Folkungs, which had ascended the throne about the middle of the thirteenth century, experiencing in the end the same fate that visited all the princely houses of Sweden. Of the seven kings of this royal house, five were dethroned, and died either in prison or banishment. After the deposition of Magnus II, the last Folkung, in 1363, Albert of Mecklenburg, his sister's son, mounted the throne, but after a few years he was conquered and robbed of his kingdom by the Danish queen.

The three kingdoms of the north, after many civil dissensions, were at length united into a single monarchy

under the Danish queen, Margaret, who has been called the Semiramis of the North. She was the daughter of Waldemar III, and the widow of Hacon VII, king of Norway. She was first elected queen of Denmark, and then of Norway in 1387, and finally the Swedes, discontented with their king, Albert, bestowed their crown upon her.

She assembled the estates of the three kingdoms at Calmar in 1397, and there caused her grand nephew Eric, son of Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania, and Mary of Mecklenburg, daughter of Ingeburg, her sister, to be received and crowned as her successor.

The union of Calmar provided that the three kingdoms should in future have but one king, who should be chosen with the common consent of the senators and deputies of the three kingdoms; that they should always give the preference to the descendants of Eric, if there were any; that the three kingdoms should assist each other with their combined forces against all foreign enemies; that each kingdom should preserve its own constitution, its senate, and national legislatures, and be governed in conformity to its own laws.

Had this union been of a nature to be durable, so that all Scandinavia could have continued firmly united under one power, its influence in the politics of Europe, as a counterpoise to the power of Russia, would have been great and beneficial. But being a mere federal system of three monarchies, divided by mutual jealousies, and by dissimilarity in their laws, manners and institutions, it could present nothing either solid or durable.

Dissension soon loosened the bonds of the union. Eric was deposed, and his nephew, Christopher the Bavarian, elected king. The latter dying without issue, the Swedes chose a king of their own, Charles VIII. The Danes transferred their crown to Christian, count of Oldenburg.

In 1450 he renewed the union with Norway, and ruled over Sweden from 1437 to 1464. He also acquired the provinces of Sleswig and Holstein, and was the progenitor of all the kings who have since reigned in Denmark and Norway.

At the same time that Christian I was governing Denmark, in 1471, Sweden found a valiant ruler in Stenon Sture. His reign accomplished much for the progress of Sweden. He encouraged learning and the arts, and founded the university of Upsal. Under his second successor, Stenon Sture the younger, the cruel and tyrannical Christian II, of Denmark, succeeded, by the aid of the archbishop of Upsal, in establishing anew the supremacy of Denmark over Sweden. On this occasion Christian caused ninety-four of the most influential nobles to be beheaded at Stockholm. This wanton act of cruelty, after a few years, dissolved forever the bonds between Denmark and Sweden, 1520.

Of Poland we know little until the fourteenth century. In 1320, Vladislaus IV, effected a permanent union of the lands on the Wartha, such as great Poland, with those on the Vistula, as little Poland. He was crowned king at Cracow, and transmitted the kingly title to his posterity. The long reign of his son and successor, Casimir the Great, extending from 1333 to 1370, was still more effective in extending the boundaries and in fixing the character of Poland. He extended his domains over Gallicia and Red Russia, and built a university at Cracow.

But the vice of Poland lay in her institutions, political and social. Her people were of the Slavonic race. They had no early civilization. The power lay in her nobility. They were numerous, and enjoyed political equality. They held the power of the sword, and were greatly addicted to its use. There were no great flourishing com-

mercial cities, and what is of vastly greater importance, there was no free middle burgher class. All the trade was carried on by the Jews. The peasant, the actual cultivator of the soil, led the life of a mere serf, receiving barely sufficient for his existence while cultivating for others the immense and productive corn-fields watered by the Vistula. Under such a state of things it is certainly little surprising that Poland succeeded so imperfectly in earning a name and a place among the nations.

With Casimir expired the male line of the Piasti. From that period, 1370, Poland became an elective kingdom. The Poles transferred their crown to Louis the Great of Hungary, the son of the sister of Casimir. The election carried with it the power of limitation, so that the monarchy really became weaker, and the nobility stronger.

Upon the death of Louis, 1382, the Poles conferred their crown on his daughter, Hedwiga, on condition that she should marry Jagello, grand duke of Lithuania, who agreed, himself and his subjects, to renounce paganism and incorporate Lithuania with Poland. His baptismal name was Vladislaus. The union with Lithuania rendered Poland the preponderating power of the north. The Teutonic order lost its influence, and withered away under the united efforts of the Poles and Lithuanians. Although the crown continued to be elective, yet the race of the Jagellons continued to be selected until their descendants became extinct in the sixteenth century.

Russia, during almost this entire period, was groaning under the yoke of the Moguls and the Tartars. The golden horde of Kaptchak, as we have already seen, lay its heavy weight on Russia from the year 1230 to 1487. The power of the horde becoming at length greatly weakened by dissensions, Ivan Vasilyevitsch of Moscow finally succeeded in freeing his kingdom from tribute, and in

extending it in different directions. He detached from the Hanseatic confederation the rich city of Novogorod, and, robbing it of its ancient privileges, annexed it to his dominions. He built the Kremlin for the defense of Moscow.

His grandson Iván Vasilyevitsch was the first who assumed the title of tzar or czar, or ruler of all the Russians in 1533. He conquered Casan and Astracan, and extended his dominions even to the Caucasus. He made preparations for the subjection of Siberia. He laid the foundation of a standing army in Russia by organizing the Strelitzes.

In Prussia, the Teutonic knights were at the zenith of their greatness about the beginning of the fifteenth century. They then constituted a formidable power in the north, as they ruled over all Prussia, comprehending Pomerania and the New March, as also Samogitia, Courland, Livonia and Estonia. The union of Lithuania with Poland, and the conversion of the people to Christianity, thus depriving the knights of the assistance of the Crusaders, broke the power of the order.

The private dissensions among the Teutonic knights, together with their oppressive government and intolerable burden of taxation, finally drove the nobles and cities of Prussia and Pomerania to form a confederacy against the order, and to solicit and obtain the aid of the king of Poland on their executing a deed of submission to that kingdom, in 1454. A long and bloody war followed, terminated by the peace of Thorn in 1466. Poland obtained Culm, Michelau and Dantzic. The remainder of Prussia was still retained by the knights of the order, who transferred their chief residence to Koningsberg, where they remained until they were deprived of Prussia, by the house of Brandenburg.

In Hungary the male race of the ancient kings, of the house of Arpad, became extinct in Andrew III, 1301. Hungary then became an elective kingdom, and Louis the Great, of the royal Neapolitan house of Anjou, was raised to the throne. He conquered Dalmatia from the Venetians; reduced the princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria to a state of dependence, and finally obtained the crown of Poland on the death of his uncle, Casimir the Great.

He was succeeded in 1382 in the kingdom of Hungary, by his eldest daughter, Mary, who, marrying Sigismund Luxembourg, united the monarchy of Hungary to the imperial crown. Sigismund was unfortunate in his wars with the Turks, but acquired in 1425 by treaty with the prince of Servia, the fortress of Belgrade, which, being situated at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, constituted for a long time, a bulwark to protect Hungary and, in fact, Europe, against the Turks.

Under the weak successors of Sigismund, Hungary was about falling a prey to the victorious Turks. It was rescued from destruction by one of that class of men who seem specially raised up by providence for the accomplishment of some great purpose. This was John Hunniades, who was selected as governor of the kingdom, during the minority of Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert of Austria, who was the son-in-law and successor of Sigismund. Mahomet II, fresh from the conquest of Constantinople, was pushing his victorious arms into Hungary, and had laid siege to Belgrade, in 1456. The safety of Hungary, if not of Europe, seemed to depend on the bravery of this celebrated general. He signalized himself in various actions against the Turks, and finally compelled them to raise the siege of Belgrade, with a loss of above twenty-eight thousand men.

The Hungarian nation, out of gratitude for the invaluable services of this distinguished man, conferred their crown upon his son, Matthias Corvinus, in 1458. This was one of the fortunate events of history. The crescent was just planted upon the soil of Europe. The Turk seemed resolved to carry it everywhere in triumph. Had he not met the stern warriors of Hungary under such leaders as John Hunniades and Matthew Corvinus, it is impossible to calculate the result.

The reign of Matthias, of thirty-two years, was glorious in the annals of Hungary. He proved himself the worthy successor of Stephen, and Louis the Great. He held the power of the Ottoman Turks in check, enlarging his territories towards Austria and Germany, and improving the affairs of the army. He also cultivated the arts of peace; founded a new university in Buda, and promoted the civilization of the people, by the introduction of men of learning, artists, and artificers.

But the successors of this distinguished monarch were less great and less fortunate. The Turks swept like a tempest over Belgrade. Portions of country which had belonged to Hungary were reduced under their dominion. The fall of Louis II, in 1526, occasioned a contest for the crown, the result of which was that the country was divided into two halves. These were Transylvania and east Hungary, as far as the Theiss, which was under the dominion of the Turks; and west Hungary, which Ferdinand of Austria incorporated, for some time with his other dominions, till the whole fell into the hands of his successors.

The Greek empire was fast approaching its fall. In A. D. 330, Constantinople had been made the seat of empire. For eleven long centuries she had looked forth upon the Bosphorus, a queenly city. She had been a

spectator of the wars between Europe and Asia; had witnessed the devastations of the Goth; and heard the tramp of Attila, as he marshaled his Hunic hordes for battle. Her ear had caught the sounds as they rose from the distant battle-fields of Europe, and she had witnessed the empires of Charlemagne and of Otho in their glory and decay. Protected more by her weakness than her strength; shielded rather by her arts than her arms; she had stood forth the wonder of nations, a glorious beacon-fire of light amid the darkness of the ages. In her were garnered up the experiences, the knowledge, and the wisdom of former times; and her great mission was, to preserve them through the dark ages, until the European mind had become sufficiently enlightened to appreciate their importance, and receive them to itself. That mission was now fully accomplished, and her end was near.

The house of Paleologus had occupied the throne of Constantinople since the year 1261. At about the same period the Ottoman Turks left the eastern shore of the Caspian and descended upon Asia Minor. Othman their leader, in 1299, established at Bursa the seat of his empire. His successors improved the army by organizing an effective infantry, the Janissaries, composed of youths selected from the Christian captives. Amurath I, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, having reduced all Asia Minor, passed into Europe, and conquered all the country between the Hellespont and the Hæmus. His son, Bajazet, called the lightning, from his swiftness, conquered Macedonia and Thessaly, and passing the straits of Thermopylæ desolated Greece and the Peloponnesus.

Europe took the alarm. Sigismund of Hungary, John of Burgundy, the flower of French chivalry, German and Bohemian nobles, an immense army, one hundred thousand

strong, marched to the lower Danube. A terrible battle was fought at Nicopolis, in which the Christians were totally defeated, and ten thousand prisoners taken and put to death by the orders of Bajazet. This terrible defeat seemed to lay Europe open to the armies of the Turks. The first object of their terrible leader, however, was to take Constantinople, which he immediately besieged. Europe might well tremble for its own safety.

But here another terrific vision bursts upon the world. The mighty Tamerlane, with his hordes of Moguls, after marching triumphantly through India and Persia, and destroying the cities of Bagdad and Damascus, was filling Asia Minor with destruction and terror. At this point, in 1402, Bajazet relinquished the siege of Constantinople to stay the progress of this great destroyer. A terrible battle was fought near Angora, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, in which the Mogul triumphed, the Turks being totally defeated, and their leader taken prisoner. He died in captivity. This event possibly saved Europe, and certainly delayed the fall of Constantinople for half a century.

The Turks, however, although routed, were not destroyed. Amurath II, the grandson of Bajazet, restored the Ottoman dominion nearly to its former strength and compass. In 1444, the Christian princes were again defeated by the Turks in the bloody battle of Warna.

Amurath II was succeeded by Mohamed II, in 1451. He resolved upon making Constantinople the seat of his government. Having completed every smaller conquest, and deprived the expiring empire of every hope of succor or delay, he at length planted his cannon against the city, besieging it both by sea and land. Constantine, the last emperor, was then on the throne. The siege was pressed, and the city harassed by repeated assaults for fifty days, until, in 1453, a general assault was ordered, and then,

says Mr. Hallam,[1] "the long deferred, but inevitable moment arrived, and the last of the Cæsars, folded round him the imperial mantle, and remembered the name which he represented in the dignity of heroic death. It is thus, he continues, that the intellectual principle, when enfeebled by disease or age, is said to rally its energies in the presence of death, and to pour the radiance of unclouded reason around the last struggles of dissolution."

This ancient seat of Byzantine magnificence now became the residence of the sultan. The church of St. Sophia was converted into a mosque. The Turk had acquired a firm footing on European soil. Greece and the Morea submitted. The countries on the Danube were subjected, and although Hungary under the government of the valiant Huniades and his son Matthias, presented to the Turk a bulwark behind which Europe could recline in safety, yet after these had passed away, and in the forepart of the sixteenth century, the armies of the Ottoman are found under the walls of Vienna.

The commencement of the sixteenth century opens a new era in European history. The dark ages have passed, and the modern epoch commenced. A number of important discoveries and inventions, and of events consequent upon them, which occurred mostly during the last half of the preceding century, exercised a great agency in bringing about a new order of things. Some of these will be briefly mentioned.

I. The polarity of the magnet is said to have been discovered as early as the year 1302, by an Italian, Flavio Gioga. It was not, however, practically applied to the mariner's compass until a century later, thus laying a foun-

[1] *History of the Middle Ages*, 259.

dation for the great progress and discoveries made in navigation in the fifteenth century.

2. The invention of gunpowder dates back to Schwartz, a German, in 1330. Its use in connection with guns, large and small, came gradually into employment at subsequent times. This put an end to the age of chivalry.

3. About the middle of the fifteenth century, 1445, Charles VII, king of France, instituted companies of ordnance, a permanent militia, out of which grew the system of standing armies from this period adopted by the leading states of Europe.

4. At just about the same point of time that the sovereigns of Europe commenced raising and keeping on foot their standing armies, as agents of invasion, defense, and enslaving their own subjects, an invention was made at Mayence in Germany, by which, in the course of ages, the human mind was to be liberated from the shackles of error, the slavery of opinion and prejudice, and to revel in the enjoyment of light and knowledge. I allude to the discovery of the art of printing with movable types, first of wood, and then of metal.

5. At just about the same period, 1453, fell Constantinople beneath the scimeter of the Turk. The learned men of that great metropolis, with their Greek, Roman, and Arabian manuscripts, were compelled to seek their homes in the western parts of Europe. The desire of knowledge already existed there. Here were new sources of supply opened, while the movable types gave wings to the manuscripts, carrying them into numberless human dwellings. Thus are events linked together, and become developed as the race unfolds itself in the order of providence.

6. Paper was manufactured out of rags, in the forepart of the fourteenth century, but it was not until near two

centuries later, that paper mills were erected in England, and white coarse paper began to be manufactured.

7. Another event which had an important bearing upon the civilization of Europe, was the establishment of horse-posts for the conveyance of letters. Prior to the sixteenth century, communications between distant countries were few and difficult. Post-houses were established in France, by Louis XI, in 1470. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Maximilian I, an Italian established the first posts in the Low Countries, their object being merely for the conveyance of letters. Relays of horses were soon introduced. From the Low Countries, this system passed into Germany, from which it spread over every civilized country in the world.

8. The succession of splendid discoveries which marked the last half of the fifteenth century, expanded the minds of men, furnished new outlets to industry, and new channels to commerce. The use of the compass first gave to man the ocean. Prior to that he only possessed the coast and inland seas.

The Portuguese were the first to explore the unknown deep. They discovered the Madeira islands, in 1420; the Canaries, in 1424; the Azores, in 1431; and Cape Verde, in 1460. These newly discovered islands were confined to the kings of Portugal, by the popes, who claimed and exercised the power of disposing of all newly discovered territory.

In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern extremity of Africa, originally called the Cape of Storms, and which was subsequently changed to the Cape of Good Hope. About twenty years later, and among the first years of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Emmanuel the Great, the enterprising Portuguese navigator, Vasco de

Gama, doubled the cape, and discovered a continuous passage to the Indies.

In the meantime Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, had conceived the idea of reaching the East Indies by a western passage. He found a patroness in Isabella, queen of Castile, who, after the conquest of Grenada, fitted out three vessels, and on the 3d August, 1492, started Columbus on his perilous voyage. It resulted in adding a new world to the dominions of the old. In the year next after the discovery, Pope Alexander VI, by a bull, made a gift to Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, of all the countries discovered, or to be discovered, towards the west and south, drawing an imaginary line from one pole to the other, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of Cape Verde and the Azores. This was afterwards somewhat modified to escape giving offense to the king of Portugal.

These discoveries, especially the latter, afforded an outlet for the restless spirits of the old world. The love of adventure and the thirst for gold led numbers to seek their fortunes in the new world, and the islands, called the West Indies, in contradistinction to the east, as also the empires of Mexico and Peru, were successively conquered by hardy bands of adventurers, who inflicted the most horrid cruelties upon the innocent and unoffending inhabitants.

These discoveries led to the adoption of a vast system of colonization commenced in the beginning of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and Spaniards, and afterwards successfully followed up by the Dutch, French and English. This system had reference to four distinct purposes, all, however, industrial in their nature and character. These were:

a. Agricultural, in which the colonists were proprietors, and often ultimately grew into independent nations.

b. For plantations, with the object of raising certain natural products for Europe.

c. For mining purposes, in which the object merely is to get possession of the precious metals.

d. For commercial purposes, the object being to carry on a commerce with the native nations in the natural productions of the land or sea, and their manufactures.

9. A change also, during the last half of the fifteenth century was going on in some of the governments of the leading nations of Europe, especially the French, Spanish, and English. The reign of feudality was coming to a close, and centralization commencing. All political power began to centre in the throne, and the declaration, "I am the state," made subsequently by Louis XIV, came nearer to a realization. The reigning sovereign became the ruling power in the state.

10. Men had began to awaken to a sense of their spiritual wants. As early as the middle of the fourteenth century John Wyckliff openly assailed the doctrines of the Romish church, and launched a new thought into the minds of men. He was followed in the latter part of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Bohemians, whose strong advocacy of doctrines, similar to those of Wyckliff, led them both to the stake. But truth, unlike its advocates, never dies. The Romish church had appeared to triumph, and still continued in the practice of its abuses. Its exercise of unlimited power; the depravity and profligacy of its clergy; its open and scandalous sale of indulgences, made everywhere a deep impression upon the minds of thinking men.

At length, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, arose the great man of the age, in the person of Martin

Luther, whose strong appeal, from popes, and councils, and traditions, to the doctrines proclaimed from an open Bible, awoke everywhere its kindred echoes in the minds, and hearts, and consciences of men.

All these point to the commencement of the sixteenth century as forming a new epoch in history. It is the opening of the modern period. Hereafter Europe presents itself more as an organic whole. The idea of the balance of power came to possess a prevalence and a strength which it never before enjoyed. Whatever occurred in, or to, one part of Europe seemed henceforth to awaken an echo in every other. Its central and southern portions were more especially bound together, and held in subjection to great principles of general policy. Its northern kingdoms, embracing the region of Scandinavia, had more their own system of politics, and were less intimately connected with central and southern Europe.

We have seen, that generally in the politics of Europe, there was a leading power, which had gained the ascendancy over others, and for the time, exercised a kind of supremacy. We have seen this to alternate between France and Germany.

We are now to witness the rise and ascendancy of a new power, that of the Spanish, or rather, that in conjunction with the house of Austria. A new impulse had been given to Spain from two causes, the one the conquest of the Moors, and the union of all Spain under one dominion; the other, the discovery of America, and the excitements growing out of that great event.

A very rare combination of circumstances and marriage connections led to the uprearing of a vast political and military power in Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

Maximilian I, of Austria, and son of the emperor Frederick III, in 1477, had married Mary of Burgundy, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, its last duke. By means of this alliance there was secured to Austria the whole of the Low Countries, including Franche-Comté, Flanders, and Artois. Maximilian and Mary had one son and heir, Philip the Fair. Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella, in whom was now united the whole of Spain, had one only daughter and heir, Jane, called the Spanish Infanta. Philip espoused Jane in 1496. They had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. The former, known in history as Charles V, inherited the Low Countries, in right of his father, Philip, who died in 1505. On the death of Ferdinand, his maternal grandfather, in 1516, he became heir to the whole Spanish succession, comprehending the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, together with Spanish America. To these vast possessions were added his patrimonial dominions in Austria, which were transmitted to him by his paternal grandfather, the emperor Maximilian I. To all these, in 1389, was added the imperial dignity, as emperor of Germany, so that there was really brought within his grasp a much larger amount of power than had ever been united in any monarch since the time of Charlemagne.

Contemporary with Charles V, were Francis I of France, whose dominions, although far less extensive, were much more compact, and his power more concentrated, and Henry VIII, of England, whose father, Henry VII, had transmitted to him the kingdom, more united, and in a much better condition than it had been under the previous reigns.

Soon after the accession of Charles to the imperial dignity, and in 1521, he concluded a treaty with his brother

Ferdinand, by which he ceded to him all his hereditary possessions in Germany. The two brothers thus became the founders of the two principal branches of the house of Austria, viz: that of Spain, beginning with Charles V of Germany, and I of Spain, and ending with Charles II of Spain, in 1700, while that of Germany commences with Ferdinand I, 1521, and became extinct in the male line, in the emperor Charles VI, 1740. These two branches, closely allied in their origin, acted in concert for the advancement of their reciprocal interests. They also each increased their fortunes, and extended their dominions, by their marriage connections.

Ferdinand, in 1521, married Anne, the sister of Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia. This monarch having been slain by the Turks at the battle of Mohacs, 1526, these two kingdoms devolved to Ferdinand of the house of Austria.

Charles V intermarried with Isabella, the daughter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, which resulted in the transmission of that kingdom to his son and successor, Philip II, in 1580. Thus was upreared in Europe a colossal power in the house of Austria that eclipsed and threatened the subversion of every other. All felt the necessity of uniting to oppose a barrier to this overwhelming power. For a long time the whole policy of Europe, its wars and alliances, had no other object than to humble the ambition of one nation, whose preponderance seemed to threaten the liberty and independence of the rest.

The old rivalries between France and England were entirely forgotten. All seemed intent on watching and warring against a power that so loudly threatened the subversion of Europe.

The power that took the foremost stand in the task of regulating the balance against the house of Austria was

France. She was then under the dominion of Francis I, whose rivalry with Charles V, commenced with a competition for the imperial crown. The difficulties under which Charles V labored were two-fold. His power was diminished:

1. By the difference of his relations in his different states. He was nowhere absolute, not even in Spain.

2. By the continual embarrassment of his finances, and irregularity in the payment of his troops.

3. By the great extent of his dominions, thus distracting his attention by multiplying points of attack and defense sometimes at great distances from each other.

On the other hand, the power of Francis I, was increased:

1. From the fact that he was absolute in his authority.

2. That he formed a national infantry instead of mercenary troops.

3. That his dominions all lay compact, and his power was in a high degree concentrated.

The first war between these monarchs was commenced by Francis I in 1521. The principal cause was the duchy of Milan, which was claimed by both sovereigns; Charles asserting his right to it as a fief of the German empire, and Francis claiming it as belonging to France since the battle of Marignano. In this war, the French army were compelled to retreat over the Alps, having lost Milan and Genoa.

Next we find Francis I himself marching into Italy, at the head of a well appointed army. But the fatal battle of Pavia ended in the discomfiture of his army, and in his being compelled to surrender and proceed as a prisoner to Madrid. Charles appeared now to be the master of Italy and the arbiter of Europe. And yet he became neither. The treaty of Madrid was made in 1526, in

which promises were extorted from Francis which he never intended to perform, and against which he had previously protested in secret.

A second war was waged from 1527 to 1529. Italy, chiefly Naples, was the theatre of this war. Its progress was unfortunate for Francis. It terminated in the peace of Cambray, by which Francis relinquished his pretensions to Milan; paid two million crowns for the ransom of his two sons; but retained possession of Burgundy, which, equally with Milan, had been a bone of contention between them.

In a third war, which followed soon after, Francis endeavored to strengthen himself by forming an alliance with Solyman II, sultan of the Turks. The principal cause of this, was the strong desire of the French king to possess Milan. Italy was mostly the theatre of this war. Piedmont and Savoy were captured by Francis. Charles, to create a diversion, sent an army into the south of France. Solyman invaded Hungary and gained a victory at Eszek, in 1537, while his fleets pillaged the coasts of Italy. A truce was finally concluded for ten years, each party retaining his own possessions. The truce continued four out of the ten years.

A fourth war, from 1542 to 1544, grew out of the refusal of the emperor to enfeoff France with Milan. Francis succeeded in renewing his alliances with the Turkish sultan, and with Venice. He also engaged on his side, the duke of Cleve, Denmark, and Sweden. On the other hand, the emperor formed an alliance with Henry VIII of England. An invasion of France, in which the emperor marched a vast army out of Germany into Champagne, approached within two days march of Paris, so terrified Francis that he hastened to conclude the peace of Cressy.

From this time the supremacy of the house of Hapsburg, in Italy, remained undisputed. Henry VIII died January 28, and Francis I, March 21, of the year 1547. The former was succeeded by Edward VI, and the latter, by Henry II.

While these wars had been in progress between Charles and Francis, the former had had other troubles to encounter which continued after the death of Francis. These were troubles growing out of the reformation. It was during his reign in which the question was to be settled, whether the then civilized portion of mankind could be compelled by negotiation, decrees, or force of arms, to conform to one religious faith.

The political troubles that grew out of the reformation, and the civil wars in which they resulted, proved of advantage to the house of Austria, by confirming their power in the empire. The first war to which these troubles gave rise is known as the war of Smalcalde. The emperor, as early as 1521, had issued an edict of proscription against Luther and his adherents. Subsequently, at the diet of Augsburg, a decree was issued condemning the confession of faith of the reformers, and limiting the time within which they were required to conform to the doctrines of the catholic church.

In view of these proceedings the protestant leaders of Germany, in 1530, met at Smalcalde, and there laid the foundation of a union, or defensive alliance, the chiefs of which were John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Everything threatened an immediate civil war, but the emperor, having the Turks under Solyman, and the French under Francis to contend with, managed to maintain a continuance of peaceful relations with the princes of the empire. After, however, conclud-

ing the peace at Cressy in 1544, and also an armistice of five years with the Turks, he resolved to declare war against the schismatics. He, accordingly, in 1546, issued an edict of proscription against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. These were both defeated at different times, and fell into the hands of the emperor, in 1547.

The union of Smalcalde was dissolved, and the emperor, now master of Germany, assembled a diet at Augsburg, deposed John Frederick, and bestowed the electorate of Saxony upon Duke Maurice, and proclaimed the interim, as it has been termed, which required a reunion of the protestants with the catholic church, allowing them only the use of the communion in both kinds, and the marriage of their priests, until the whole matter should be decided by a council.

The fear of the German princes that Charles would now become absolute in the empire, together with the anxiety of the other European powers to preserve the balance of power against Austria, were all that saved protestanism now from utter political annihilation. Charles had hitherto been almost uniformly successful in his wars and negotiations. His continual wars had greatly reduced his finances; but he had now arrived at what he might reasonably deem the summit of power. But his glory was soon changed to gloom. His fall was precipitate.

The new elector, Maurice, fearing for the liberties of Germany, and desiring to restore the protestant religion, having concluded with Henry II, a secret treaty at Chambord, marched with such rapidity against the emperor, that he nearly surprised him at Inspruck, in 1552, and obtained from him the treaty of Passau, in which the liberty of the protestant worship was sanctioned, and it was

agreed that a general council should be summoned to draw up the articles of a solid and permanent peace between the states of both religions. This general council, or diet, three years afterwards, assembled at Augsburg in 1555, at which a definitive peace was concluded on the subject of religion, in which it was stipulated that both Catholic and protestant states should enjoy a perfect liberty of worship; and that no reunion should ever be attempted by any other than amicable means.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, Charles V took the singular resolution of resigning his crowns and retiring to private life. Accordingly he resigned the Netherlands and Spanish monarchy to his son, Philip II, at Brussels, the former in October, 1555, and the latter in January, 1556. He resigned the imperial crown in August 1556, and died at St. Justus in Valladolid, in Sept., 1558.

We now come to the period of Philip II, of Elizabeth, of William of Orange, and of Henry IV. A stirring period during which the reformation may be said to have been the moving principle of European politics.

Philip II was a gloomy bigot who had three aims in life:

1. The increase of his power.
2. The extirpation of protestantism.
3. The annihilation of liberty and popular rights.

In the pursuit of these he sacrificed the happiness of his people, the prosperity of his kingdom, and the affection of his subjects and relations. His son died in the dungeons of the inquisition, a horrible tribunal, by means of which he was enabled to destroy every trace of heresy in Spain and Naples, to crush every rising aspiration for freedom among the people, and to annihilate the prosperity, wealth, and national greatness of those countries.

The throne of Portugal becoming vacant, Philip made pretensions to the kingdom, and sending there an army under the duke of Alva, he subdued it, and annexed it to his dominions. The domination of Spain over Portugal continued for sixty years, at the termination of which, the duke of Braganza succeeded in bringing the crown into his family. But in the meantime its flourishing navy had fallen into decay, and its foreign possessions passed into other hands.

But the most memorable event in the reign of Philip, was the loss of the Netherlands of the Low Countries. These had belonged to the dukedom of Burgundy, and were, with other estates, made over to the house of Austria, in 1477. These had, from time immemorial, possessed chartered rights and liberties, among which were consent to taxation by the estates of the country, an independent judicature, and the exclusion of foreign troops and officials. There were in all seventeen provinces, and they included Brabant, Luxemburg, Guilderland, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Zutphen, Antwerp, Friesland, Utrecht, Grouingen, and Overyssel.

The constitutional rights and privileges enjoyed by the Low Countries favored the progress of the reformation, and the new faith was rapidly gaining ground there. This was distasteful to Philip, in whose eyes religious uniformity was the foundation of civil quiet. He accordingly ordered the laws against heresy to be rendered more stringent, appointed fourteen new bishops, and the Cardinal Granvella assumed the title of grand inquisitor.

The nobles, to the number of four hundred, formed a confederacy at Breda, known as the compromise, and drew up a petition for the repeal of the laws against heresy, and the discontinuance of the inquisition. The petition

remained without result. Those who signed it were called beggars. Heretics were punished in their freedom, property and lives.

At length the wrath of the people burst forth in Antwerp, Brussels, and Brabant. Mobs mutilated the crucifixes and images of the saints, and broke down the altars in the catholic churches.

The storm, however, was soon calmed, and the catholic worship was restored. But Philip resolved on vengeance. In 1567, he sent the duke of Alva into the Low Countries, at the head of an army of twenty thousand men. Then commenced the reign of terror. A general act of outlawry was promulgated against the Netherlands, as transgressors of the royal majesty. A tribunal, or court, called the council of blood, was organized, whose only judges were the duke of Alva, and his confidant, John de Vargas. Proceedings were there instituted against the absent and the present, the dead and the living. Eighteen thousand persons, among whom were the counts Egmont and Horn, perished by the hands of the executioner, and more than thirty thousand others were entirely ruined. A tax of the tenth penny was exacted, without the consent of the states.

One of the most memorable struggles recorded in history now commenced. A general disaffection prevailed. The city of Brille was taken by the insurgents in 1572, which caused a revolution in Zealand. An assembly of the states met at Dort, where they laid the foundation of the new republic. William, prince of Orange, was there declared stadtholder, or governor, of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and they agreed never to treat with the Spaniards, except by common consent.

The prince of Orange was the man for the crisis. He excelled not so much as a general, but as a negotiator and the head of an insurrection. The cause of the insurgents came to be considered as the cause of the protestant religion, and therefore, as forming a part of general politics. The protestant princes of Germany, the Huguenots of France, and even Elizabeth of England, the rival of Philip, regarded the cause of the insurgents, as to a great extent their own.

Fresh troubles also broke out in the Spanish army. The troops being badly paid, mutinied; and, breaking out into the greatest disorders, they pillaged several cities, and laid waste the Low Countries. The states-general having assembled at Brussels, a negotiation was opened at Ghent in 1576 between the states of Brussels, and those of Holland and Zealand, where a general union, known by the name of the pacification of Ghent, was signed. The engagement was mutually to assist each other, with the view of expelling the Spanish troops, and never more permitting them to enter the Low Countries. The confederates were then also in alliance with Queen Elizabeth of England, and thus strengthened, they pursued the Spaniards everywhere, who soon saw themselves reduced to the single provinces of Luxemburg, Limburg and Namur.

The Duke of Alva had, in the meantime, been recalled, and two successors had successively been appointed, when a third successor, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, distinguished equally as a politician and a warrior, revived the Spanish interests. He reduced Flanders, Artois, and Hainault under the Spanish dominion, and took by assault the city of Maestricht.

The pacification of Ghent proving insufficient by reason of its generality, and the complication of interests embraced

under it, the prince of Orange conceived the plan of effecting a more intimate union among the provinces, and he fixed, for that purpose, upon those of a maritime character. He finally succeeded, in 1579, in forming the special confederacy of the seven provinces, the basis of which he laid by the famous treaty of union concluded at Utrecht. The union was declared perpetual and indissoluble; and it was agreed that the seven provinces, viz: those of Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen, should henceforth be considered as one and the same province, each being guarantied in the possession of its respective rights and privileges.

The insurrectionary provinces had no design originally of forming a republic, but only of maintaining their political privileges. In 1581, however, the prince of Orange induced the states-general to proclaim the independence of the United Provinces. In 1584, the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft. The consternation occasioned by this event enabled the Spaniards to reconquer most of the provinces of the Low Countries.

The close union between the seven provinces and England finally involved the latter in a war with Spain. The most important event that signalized this war was the fitting out of the invincible armada. This consisted of one hundred and thirty large ships of war which were sent by Philip into the English channel in 1588, and which being at the same time supported by the prince of Parma's land force, it was supposed would be sufficient to subject England, France, and the Netherlands. But it resulted in the humiliation of Spain. It was destroyed by storms, and by the skill and courage of the English. The blow was fatal. The supremacy of Spain at sea was destroyed, and the ultimate independence of the Netherlands secured. The

ocean was now free to the Dutch and the English, and both states now entered upon that vast career, which afterwards enabled each in its turn to control the wealth of the world.

The war, however, was still continued, until the Spaniards, finding their efforts to reduce the confederates by force of arms ineffectual, set forth a negotiation at Antwerp in 1609, by which a truce of twelve years was concluded. The war was renewed at the end of this truce, and carried on for twenty-five years longer under the princes of Orange, Maurice and Henry Frederick, who proved to be able leaders. In this the Dutch were essentially aided by the war that was carried on at the same time between France and Spain. At length, in 1648, a peace was concluded at Munster by which Spain acknowledged the United Provinces as free and independent states.

One of the stipulations contained in this treaty was the closing of the Scheldt, in favor of the United Provinces, which entirely ruined the city of Antwerp, and shut out the Spanish Netherlands from all maritime commerce.

Thus was formed, in the very midst of the monarchical system of Europe, a republic, which was destined to realize complete success in its commercial pursuits, and to possess a great naval force.

While the struggle was going on between Spain and the Netherlands, the other states of Europe were also undergoing changes which affected both their domestic and foreign relations, and which had their roots more or less directly in the reformation. This was everywhere productive of excitement, and of consequent changes of more or less importance.

France, during this period, was full of excitement, strife, and discord. The kings of France were very uniformly

the determined enemies of the new faith. Henry II, the successor of Francis I, died in consequence of a wound he received during a tournament. During his reign, he had entered into a league with Maurice, elector of Saxony, and the protestant princes of the empire, by which he was enabled to attack the house of Austria in Germany. This league was formed in 1552, and by means of it he procured possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and compelled the emperor, Charles V, to raise the siege of Metz. A truce of five years was agreed upon, but in a few months the war was again renewed, and Mary, queen of England, having married Philip II of Spain, was prevailed upon to join in it. The two most remarkable events of this war were, the victory of St. Quentin, gained by the Spaniards, in 1557, and the conquest of the city of Calais, in France, by Francis, duke of Guise, which was the last of the English possessions in France.

This was followed by the peace of Chateau-Cambresis between France, England, and Spain, in 1559, by which Calais was given up to France, and the Duke of Savoy obtained the restitution of his estates, of which Francis I had deprived him in 1536.

On the death of Henry he was succeeded by his son, Francis II, who was a feeble, delicate prince, and married Mary Stuart of Scotland. Her uncles, the Guises, possessed immense power at court, and being zealous catholics, they made use of it all in suppressing the reformed party, termed in France the Huguenots. On the other side were the prince of Conde, of the family of Bourbon, and a prince of the blood, and the admiral Coligni, who were leaders of the Huguenots. An attempt was made by them to seize the Guises and bring them to trial, but that failed,

and the prince of Conde was seized and thrown into prison, soon after which, the death of the king threw the power into the hands of the queen mother, Catharine de Medici, the regent during the minority of Charles IX, who, in order to restore the balance of power, set Conde at liberty, and even granted the Huguenots the free exercise of their religion in certain places. This was the edict of 1562, and occasioned the first civil war, the signal of which was the massacre of Vasa in Champagne.

A succession of civil wars followed, eight in number, four during the reign of Charles IX, and four under that of Henry III. These continued, with slight intermissions, for a series of years, dividing the kingdom into two hostile camps, and disturbing it to its inmost depths. Rome and Spain aided the catholic party, and England the protestant, Germany and Switzerland supplying soldiers.

The three first mentioned religious wars were properly but one war, interrupted each by a truce, which was called a peace. The fourth war was occasioned by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This was planned to take place on the occasion of the nuptials between Margaret the sister of Charles IX, and the Bourbon, Henry of Bearn. At midnight on the 24th August, 1572, the alarm bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois pealed forth its music as the signal of attack, when bands of armed ruffians everywhere fell upon the defenseless Huguenots.

Admiral Coligni was the first victim, the prince of Conde had previously been assassinated. The massacre continued for three days, destroying at least twenty-five thousand Huguenots. Many of the French abandoned their homes in horror, seeking security in Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Charles IX died two years afterwards, and was succeeded by his brother Henry III, a weak and luxurious prince who shut out the disturbances and miseries of his kingdom by confining himself to his favorites and pet dogs in the most secret recesses of his palace.

By the edict of pacification of Henry III, in May, 1576, some new privileges were granted to the Huguenots, but the Guises, including the duke of Guise and his brother, the cardinal, soon concocted a league, ostensibly to sustain the catholic faith, but really to overthrow the reigning dynasty, and elevate them to the throne. They were both assassinated in 1588, and the king, who had caused the assassination, threw himself under the protection of Henry, king of Navarre. He was himself assassinated at St. Cloud by James Clement in 1589.

With Henry III, ended the house of Valois, after having occupied the throne for two hundred and sixty-one years.

The next reigning house in France was that of the Bourbons, who were descended from Robert, count of Clermont, younger son of St. Louis. The first king of this dynasty was Henry IV, the king of Navarre, whose relation to Henry III, was only in the twenty-first degree. His religion was Calvinistic, but on his accession to the throne, he publicly abjured his religion, and went over to the catholic faith. This was after he had tried the power of the sword to get possession of his inheritance.

One of his first acts was to promulgate the edict of Nantes, as it is called, by which he guarantied to the protestants perfect liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their worship, with the privilege of filling all offices of trust, and granting them also fortified places, under the name of places of security.

The advent of the first Bourbon, was, to France, the herald of a new era. Hatred and fear of the excessive power of Spain, were everywhere felt, and as soon as Henry had succeeded in restoring order to France, he declared war against Philip II, and contracted alliances with England and Holland. The war was commenced in 1595, and terminated by a separate peace at Vervins, May 2, 1598, the principal terms of which were, a restitution of all conquests, but this put an end entirely to Philip's ambitious views on France.

The capacious mind of Henry now meditated a change in the whole system of Europe. His idea, so far as developed, seems to have been the establishment of a European republic, or a union of states, the members of which, should be equal in power, though dissimilar in form, and should submit their controversies to the decision of a senate. How far it was possible to give to Europe a federal head, and clothed with power sufficient to protect the members, is certainly a matter of very curious speculation. And whether his sole object was the humiliation of the house of Hapsburg, or such a recasting of the governments of Europe, as would control the course and current of its destinies, or both, it is not now, perhaps, possible to determine. It seems certain, however, that preparations had been made in England, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, when the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac, put an end to the life of Henry IV, on the 14th May, 1610.

Henry IV was succeeded by Louis XIII, whose reign, so long as the regency of Mary de Medicis continued, was disturbed by factions, and embittered by party and religious warfare. During this period France was of but little account in the politics of Europe. At length Cardinal Richelieu seized with a firm hand the helm of the state,

and exerted a vigorous influence over the political system of Europe.

Spain may be said to have acquired a fixed character under Philip II. She presents the true embodiment of catholicism. No other country has ever exhibited so fully the pure results of the catholic influence as Spain. With the inquisition preying upon her vitals, an army of priests feeding upon her substance, all freedom of opinion totally crushed, it is certainly not surprising that Spain should sink to a low depth in European politics. Although the treasures of America were pouring into her lap, and her sons were the immediate descendants of those who had wrested their country from the Moors, and under Charles V had been victorious in all the battle-fields of Europe, yet we find her becoming poor in the midst of wealth, and from being the dread and terror of the nations of Europe, sunk so low as scarcely to be an object of fear. The fetters imposed on the Spanish intellect produced their bitter fruits but too faithfully in the Spanish character.

In respect to foreign relations, the consequences were wars with half of Europe, France, the Netherlands, England, and all to no purpose. Philip II, at his death, left an enormous debt, and the whole glory of the Spanish nation seemed to perish with him.

The reigns of his feeble successors were remarkable only for their disasters. His immediate successor, Philip III, did an irreparable injury to the whole country in 1610, by the total explusion of the Moors or Morescoes. By that one act, Spain lost nearly a million of her most industrious subjects. Still greater disasters followed in the course of the thirty years war.

During this period, the country that contrasts the most strongly with Spain is England. This also was acquiring

its character as a state, and religion was the basis upon which it rested, but it was the protestant religion. As Philip II was the embodiment of the catholic religion in Spain, so was Elizabeth that of the protestant in England.

The two were naturally and necessarily opponents, and out of their contests grew the continental relations of England. Nor were those the only outgrowths. All the energies of the nation were called forth by this conflict. It matured the minds of her great statesmen. It put vigor and power into the arms of her people. It drove her upon the sea, and thus laid the foundation of her future greatness. The protestant religion was the basis of England's power. Elizabeth was a despotic ruler; but she was so much the embodiment of the English people that her will and theirs was ever identical. She possessed great talents for government, and surrounded herself by able advisers, among whom Lord Burleigh held the first rank.

During her reign the affairs of England became much complicated with those of Scotland. Henry VII had given his daughter Margaret in marriage to James V, king of Scotland. Their only issue was Mary, afterwards the queen of Scots. She was the cousin of Elizabeth, and after her the nearest heir to the English throne. As Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn, had been declared illegitimate, in consequence of her mother's divorce, and also in consequence of the refusal of the pope to divorce him from his first wife Catharine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Mary was induced to assume the arms and title of queen of England. She had been married to Francis, the dauphin, afterwards for a short time king of France under the name of Francis II, but he, dying, left her a widow at the early age of nineteen.

Mary was zealously attached to the catholic religion, but in Scotland under the preaching of John Knox and other reformers, the doctrines of Calvin had obtained a firm and permanent foothold. Mary encountered there a series of difficulties which finally resulted in her flight to England, where she fell into the power of Elizabeth. There in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity, she was condemned to suffer death, and was brought to the block.

This act of Elizabeth sent a thrill of horror through Europe. The pope launched against the heretical queen the thunders of the Vatican, and summoned the catholic powers to vengeance. Philip II armed the vast armada to subject, at one blow, England and the Netherlands. But the invincible fleet was destroyed, and the empire of England upon the sea, grew out of its ruins. The English, were, in their turn, prompted to make descents upon the Spanish coast, and their navy, under the command of those great admirals, Raleigh, Howard, Drake, Cavendish, and Hawkins, began to establish that superiority at sea, which Britain has ever since maintained.

In Ireland, Elizabeth was unsuccessful. That island had been conquered by Henry II, and raised into a kingdom by Henry VIII, who attempted to subject it to the religious laws of England. But only the British colonists, a very small portion, received the reformed religion, the native Irish remaining true to their clergy and ancient faith. The effort of Elizabeth to bring about a closer political and ecclesiastical union, was met by the Tyrone rebellion. This was attempted to be put down by the earl of Essex, who was entirely unsuccessful, and afterwards being equally unsuccessful in the attempt to possess

himself by force of the person of the queen, he was apprehended, tried and beheaded in the Tower.

Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603, after a reign of forty-five years, and prior to her death appointed James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary, her successor, he being the nearest heir to the crown. With Elizabeth ended the house of Tudor, after having occupied the throne of England about one hundred and eighteen years, and with James the VI of Scotland, and the first of England, commenced the reign of the House of Stuart.

James was a weak and pedantic prince, desirous of being considered a deeply learned man, timid in the extreme, and given up entirely to the guidance of unworthy favorites. His reign was a silent, but a continued struggle between the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people. During his reign were sown the seeds that proved so fatal to his successor.

Domestic events were the only ones of any importance that signalized the reign of James I. The principal of these were

1. The gunpowder plot, which was a conspiracy by the catholics for blowing up the king and all the members of the upper and lower house at the opening of parliament by means of a mine of gunpowder, to be formed in the cellar of the parliament house. The plot was discovered a short time before its execution, by a warning in writing received by a catholic peer. The chief conspirator, Guy Fawkes, was seized and executed.

2. The nuptial expedition which his son Charles I, and the favorite, the duke of Buckingham, made to the court of Spain, but which was frustrated by the loose and insolent behavior of Buckingham, so that Henrietta of France afterwards became the wife of Charles.

3. In his reign, commenced the contest between the king and parliament, which continued under that of his uccessor. Following out his ideas of kingly perfection, he, abridged more and more the privileges of the parliament, placing the boldest speakers under arrest, and declaring that their supposed rights were nothing but privileges for which they were indebted to the royal grace. He finally dissolved the parliament, imprisoning some of the deputies, but the spirit of resistance could not be crushed or overcome. Its power manifested itself with great force during the reign of his successor, Charles I.

When we turn to the northern nations of Europe, those composing the ancient Scandinavia, we fix at once upon the union of Calmar as furnishing a most important point in their history. Prior to that union these nations had not maintained with the southern countries of Europe any settled combinations of political interests. Situated in a corner of Europe, they were naturally prepared to form a minor combination of interest, which should, only occasionally, connect itself with the general system. Accordingly during this early period these nations can not be regarded as involved in any system of political connection, but appear rather as detached bodies, acting without regularity, and according as circumstances presented opportunities.

The union of Calmar, although subject to long and frequent interruptions, subsisted about one hundred and twenty-seven years. It is quite remarkable that its dissolution was not attended by destructive wars between the nations that had composed it. But the apprehension of common enemies, at the time of its dissolution, enforced a continued observance of mutual forbearance, and even of amicable intercourse between them.

The dissolution of the union grew out of the tyranny of Christian II of Denmark. With the view of destroying what remained of Swedish independence, he overthrew the Swedes in the battle of Bagesund, and caused the ceremony of his coronation to be performed at Stockholm in 1520. Soon afterwards he caused 94 of the principal nobles to be publicly executed. This was the signal for a revolution. Gustavus Vasa, a son of one of the murdered nobles, fled to the mountains of Dalecarlia, and proclaimed the freedom of Sweden in 1523. The tyranny of Christian II, having in the meantime, become insupportable to the Danes, he was deposed by them, and the crown conferred on his uncle Frederick. The Danish kings, for nearly half a century, continued to put forth their pretensions to the Swedish throne, but finally recognized the independence of that kingdom by the treaty of Stettin in A. D. 1570.

During the reign of Frederick I, the principles of the reformation were introduced into Denmark, and under that of his successor, Christian III, those principles were established. In 1536 in a general assembly of the states, he procured the abrogation of episcopacy, and the suppression of the Romish worship.

Christian II, upon his deposition, fled from Denmark; and Norway, in consequence of having supported him, was deprived of its independence, and reduced to a Danish province.

Christian IV, the grandson of Christian III, was distinguished by his great talents and enlarged views. The Danes, including the Norwegians, were naturally a maritime people. During his reign they extended their commerce to India. He built several towns, and various manufactories, and founded institutions of learning.

The Swedish sovereignty was restored by Gustavus Vasa. Being elevated to the throne by the free choice of the nation, he gave Sweden a power and influence which it never had before. Everything assumed a new aspect under his administration. In the place of the assemblies of the nobles he substituted diets composed of the different orders of the state, as the nobility, clergy, citizens and peasantry. Through his efforts the Lutheran religion was introduced universally into Sweden, which laid the foundation upon which Gustavus Adolphus was enabled subsequently to extend the Swedish name and immortalize his own. He secured the hereditary succession of the crown in favor of his male descendants, which, by a subsequent union act in 1604, during the reign of his son Charles IX, was also extended to females.

In Prussia, the power of the Teutonic knights was annihilated in consequence of the changes introduced by the reformation of religion. They had held possession of it for nearly three hundred years. By the treaty of Cracow, in 1525, Teutonic Prussia, with the title of duchy, was made over to the house of Brandenburg and Franconia, with a reversionary right in favor of Poland. The Poles thus substituted the house of Brandenburg in the place of the Teutonic knights, not dreaming that they were by those means raising up a power that would ultimately prove destructive to their own nationality.

In Russia, John Basilovitz IV endeavored to civilize his subjects, and sent for workmen and artists from England. He introduced the art of printing at Moscow. During his reign, Siberia was discovered. Jermac, chief of the Don Cossacks, being pursued by a detachment of Russian troops, retired to Siberia, and entering it with seven thousand Cossacks, in 1581, overcame their khan

Kutschem, and took possession of Sibir, their principal fortress. As a consideration for the obtaining his pardon, he surrendered up all he had conquered, to the czar, who took possession of Siberia, in 1583. Its total reduction, however, did not take place until the reign of the czar Theodore, or Fedor Iwanovitz, the son and successor of John, who built the city of Tobolsk, in 1587, which has ever since been the capital of Siberia.

Fedor died, leaving no children, in 1598, and, with him, became extinct the reigning family of the ancient sovereigns of Russia, the descendants of Ruric, after having occupied the throne for more than eight hundred years.

During the next fifteen years succeeding the death of this prince, Russia presented a shocking spectacle of confusion and carnage. Various pretenders started up, and the crown was worn, for brief periods, by persons of different houses. During this confusion, the Swedes seized Ingria and the city of Novogorod, and the Poles took possession of Smolensko and its dependencies.

Finally the Russians adopted the plan of electing a new czar of their own nation. They selected Michael Fedrovitz, who became the founder of a new dynasty, that of Romanow, in 1613. Under the house of Romanow, Russia attained the zenith of her greatness. He purchased peace of the Swedes and the Poles at considerable sacrifices.

In Poland, the male line of Jagello became extinct with Sigismund II, in 1572. The throne then became purely elective by the states, on the demise of the reigning monarch. Poland soon lost its influence, and became subject to severe calamities. Uladislaus IV of the house of Vasa in 1618, undertook an expedition into the interior of Russia, penetrating as far as Moscow. He made a second expedition in 1634, and compelled the Russians to raise

the siege of Smolensko, and shut them up so closely in their camp, that they were obliged to capitulate for want of provisions. He made a new attack on the capital of Russia, and at the peace of Wiasma, obtained conditions advantageous to Poland.

In Germany, the abdication of Charles V disjoined his German from his Spanish dominions. While the latter devolved upon his son, Philip II, the former devolved upon his brother, Ferdinand, who had been before advanced to the expectant dignity of king of the Romans. Here, then, were two branches of the Austrian family, between which a sympathy of interest was maintained; but the close and intimate union of Germany and Spain was at an end.

The reign of Ferdinand was signalized by the severance of the imperial dignity from the see of Rome. Prior to him a coronation by the Roman pontiff had been deemed necessary for conferring the imperial dignity, while the reversion of the crown was secured to another by nominating him king of the Romans.

Ferdinand respectfully applied to the pope for the customary honor of a coronation, but the latter, offended at the concessions which the former had granted to the protestants in the practice of religion, rejected the application. In the investigation subsequently gone into, the personal coronation by the pope was declared to be not requisite to the assumption of the imperial character. Maximilian, the eldest son of Ferdinand, withheld from the pope the last acknowledgment of superiority.

Ferdinand died in 1564, and, although not possessed of splendid qualities, yet by pursuing a prudent, just, and conciliatory course, he restored the exhausted energies of the country.

His son and successor, Maximilian II, was a prince of greater ability, and who pursued the conciliatory conduct of his father, and was even more inclined to show favor to the protestants. The Germans have bestowed upon him the appellation of the delight of mankind, the same that had been bestowed upon the Roman Titus.

The reign of these two princes, although of comparatively short duration, continuing only for eighteen years, was yet greatly instrumental in strengthening the protestant party, and thus of giving rise to that condition of things out of which grew the thirty years war.

Four reigns intervened between the abdication of Charles V and the commencement of the thirty years war. The two first, occupying about eighteen years, were distinguished by the ability and moderation of the sovereigns; while the two latter, filling the much larger space of forty-three years, were as equally noted for mismanagement.

Rodolph II, the successor of Maximilian, during a long reign of thirty-six years, abandoned himself to mistresses and favorites. Whatever of public efficiency he possessed was directed to the suppression of the protestant party. The protestant worship was suppressed in Austria, and attempts were made to deprive the protestants in Hungary and Bohemia of the immunities which they enjoyed.

He was supplanted by his brother Matthias, who, although he commenced by giving promise of a reign of vigor and activity, yet he was not long in relaxing into the weakness and inefficiency of his predecessor.

The Turks, after the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II, continued to acquire new accessions of territory, both in Europe and in Asia. Bajazet II conquered Bessarabia in 1484. His son and successor, Selim I, taking

advantage of a revolution which happened in Persia, and a victory which he gained near Tauris over Ismael Sophi I, in 1514, conquered the provinces of Diarbekir and Algezira, beyond the Euphrates. He also overthrew the powerful empire of the Mamelukes who reigned over Egypt, Syria, Palestine and part of Arabia. He defeated their last sultans in 1516, took by assault Cairo, the capital of Egypt, in 1517, and incorporated with the Ottoman empire the whole of the Mameluke states.

Selim was succeeded by his son, Solyman the Great or Magnificent, who raised the Turkish empire to its highest pitch of glory. He took from the knights of St. John, the island of Rhodes, conquered the greater part of Hungary, and reduced under his dominion the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. He also conquered Bagdad and Irak Arabia about the year 1534.

He sought to increase the maritime strength of the empire which his predecessors had neglected. He created Barbarossa, the Algerine king, his grand admiral, who, with a fleet of more than one hundred sail, chased the imperialists from the Archipelago, and infested the coasts of Spain, Italy and Sicily. He succeeded in spreading the terror of the Turkish arms through Europe.

But with the death of Solyman, in 1566, commenced the decline of the Ottoman empire. His successors very generally surrendering themselves up to luxury and effeminacy, confined themselves to their seraglios and harems, and left the conduct of affairs to their grand viziers. Selim II, the son and successor of Solyman, was the first who set this fatal example to his successors. The Turks, under him, took the isle of Cyprus from the Venetians in 1570, but received a terrible defeat at Lepanto in 1571, and which was followed by the ruin of their marine.

In Hungary, after the desolating wars waged by the Turks under Solyman the Great, and the death of their young king; Louis, leaving no descendants, a vacancy occurred in the throne. Ferdinand of Austria had married Anne, the sister of Louis, and claimed the succession in virtue of different treaties, between the Austrian princes, and the last kings of Hungary. But the Hungarians transferred their crown to John da Zapolya, count of Zips and Palatine of Transylvania. He threw himself under the protection of the Turks, and Solyman, marching to his assistance, in 1529, laid siege to the city of Vienna. But he failed in this enterprise after sacrificing the lives of nearly eighty thousand men.

In 1538, a treaty was entered into, by which, after the death of John Zepolya, the crown was to devolve on Ferdinand. But this treaty was never carried into execution. John, at his death, left an infant son, John Sigismund, who was proclaimed king, the protection of the Turks having been secured. The Turks, however, undertaking the conquest of Hungary for themselves in 1541, seized upon Buda, the capital, and several other places, banishing the young prince to Transylvania.

While these unfortunate events were in progress, the Austrian princes alienated the affections of the Hungarians by the efforts made by them to extirpate the protestant religion. Both Lutheranism and Calvinism had made great progress in Hungary, and also in Transylvania. The Austrians, also, evinced a desire to subvert the ancient constitution of the kingdom, and these altogether, continued to agitate the state. According to the pacification of Vienna, 1606, and that of Lintz in 1645, as well as by the decrees of the diet of Œdenburg 1622, and Presburg in 1647, these princes were compelled to tolerate the public exercise of

the reformed religion, and to redress the political complaints of the Hungarians.

Protestantism made its way into Bohemia, under the reign of the mild and tolerant Maximilian II. At the diet of Prague, in 1609, Rodolph II, the son and successor of Maximilian, granted the free exercise of their worship, and even extended this indulgence to the protestants of Silesia and Lusatia, by letters patent, known by the name of letters of majesty. These were confirmed by Matthias, on his accession to the throne of Bohemia, and also by Ferdinand III, the adopted son and successor of Matthias. It was the different interpretations that were put on these letters, that constituted one of the great causes of the thirty years war.

We have now entered upon the seventeenth century. We have seen the disturbing influences that were at work during quite a portion of the sixteenth century, in stirring up the nations of Europe against each other. These influences mostly grew out of differences of opinion in matters of religion. It is true, political considerations usually came, in process of time, to mingle in with religious, but they seldom lay at the foundation of the difficulties. The principal point of disagreement was the claim put forth by the protestants, to entertain undisturbed, their own religious beliefs, and to be permitted to make use of their own forms of worship. The catholic church, on the other hand, claimed that in all matters of faith and practice, it was infallible, and must enforce submission. Thus the issue was really the right to liberty of conscience, and the adoption of modes and forms of worship.

These religious difficulties on the continent seemed to deepen and enlarge as the opening years of the seven-

teenth century came and passed away. It became obvious that a great crisis in the affairs of nations was approaching, and this arrived in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. From the year 1618, to the year 1648, occurred what is termed the thirty years war, a war which desolated Europe, and humbled the power of Austria.

The history of this thirty years war, in which so many causes and circumstances had their development, is reducible into four periods, viz: the Bohemian, the Danish, the Swedish, and the French. Of these, the Bohemian period comprehended the internal struggle, with which it commenced, while the others exhibit the successive introduction of three foreign governments into the domestic combinations of the empire.

The emperor Matthias had no legitimate child; apprehending that at his death his hereditary dominions, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, might be transferred to another family, he procured Ferdinand, a grandson of the emperor of that name, to be crowned king of Bohemia in 1617, and of Hungary, in 1618. He was a bigoted catholic, having received from the Jesuits a monastic education. The right of the protestants to the free exercise of their worship rested upon the letters patent, or letters of majesty, granted by the emperor, Rodolph II, and confirmed by Matthias. An ambiguous clause in these letters, leading to a difference of opinion in reference to its construction, was the immediate cause of the thirty years war.

The clause was as follows:

"If any of the united states of the kingdom, who take the communion under both kinds, should want to erect more churches, places of worship, or schools, whether in towns, villages, or elsewhere, this may be done without

let or hindrance, by the nobles and knights, as also by the inhabitants of Prague and Kuttenburg, and all other towns." The ambiguity consisted in the application of this latter phrase, whether it should be limited to the towns of the protestant members of the states, or be extended to embrace those of the Roman catholic also. Two protestant churches were erected in Roman catholic territories, and a decision was given that no protestant church should be erected upon ecclesiastical property; in consequence of which, one church was shut up, and the other destroyed. The protestants remonstrated, but in vain. They proceeded to violence, throwing two of the catholic councillors, together with the secretary, out of the castle window, establishing a new government, expelling the Jesuits, and fitting out an army under the command of Thurn. The latter, supported by the brave general, Ernest Von Mansfeld, defeated the imperial troops, and appeared before the gates of Vienna.

At this point, Matthias died, and soon after, Ferdinand II was elected emperor of Germany in Frankfort. But even before his coronation, the estates of Bohemia and Moravia fell off from the house of Austria, and chose for king the elector, Frederick V, of the Palatinate, the head of the protestant union. He had married the daughter of James I of England, but was vain and weak, giving himself up to luxurious living, and offending the Lutherans of Bohemia by his zeal for Calvinism.

Ferdinand concluded an alliance with Maximilian of Bavaria, who had been educated by the Jesuits, and was at the head of the catholic league. He entered Bohemia with twenty-five thousand troops. The Bohemian troops amounted to thirty thousand, but in the battle of White hill, November 7, 1620, they were totally routed, and the

fate of Bohemia was decided. Frederick fled to the Netherlands. Sentence of outlawry was proclaimed against him, by placing him under the ban of the empire, and his territories were laid waste by the Spanish general, Spinola, with an army of twenty-five thousand men. The hereditary dominions of Frederick, the count Palatine of the Rhine, were bestowed upon Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. Thus, in a very brief period, both Bohemia and Moravia were subjected to Austria. The letters of majesty were cut in pieces by Ferdinand. Twenty-seven of the most illustrious nobles perished upon the scaffold. Tyranny and oppression gave to the catholic religion a complete triumph, and more than thirty thousand families left the country.

Thus the Bohemian period of the war was apparently terminated. But the fire it had kindled was by no means extinguished. The tyranny exercised, and the acts of proscription promulgated against Frederick, gave to the war a revolutionary character, which it ever after continued to retain. The question was asked, and required an answer, as to what was the relation between the emperor and the states. Spain was warring against the Netherlands, and it seemed perfectly clear that the great object was to overthrow German and Dutch liberty, and to suppress entirely and forever, the protestant religion; and the success of both Austria and Spain gave great encouragement, that all this would be accomplished. And it might have been so, but for the efforts of three bold men who present themselves at the very time when they were required.

The first of these was Christian of Brunswick, a rude soldier, who collected a troop of soldiers, and marched, plundering, through Westphalia to the Maine.

The second was Ernest Von Mansfeld, a knightly adventurer, who maintained his troops by plunder and levying contributions.

The third was the margrave, George Frederick, of Baden-Durlach. The two last mentioned, uniting together in April, 1622, succeeded in gaining a victory even over Tilly, the celebrated imperialist general, at Wiesloch. But in the following month, George Frederic lost the battle of Wimpfen, and a few months later, Christian of Brunswick was defeated near Höehst, by the veteran troops of Tilly. Both Christian and Mansfeld now marched into the Netherlands, while the leaders of the catholic league stormed Heidelberg, Manheim, and Frankenthal, filling every place with blood and plunder. In 1623, the electorship of the Palatinate was conferred on Maximilian of Bavaria, by the diet of Regensberg.

Ferdinand was now everywhere triumphant. But he was not contented with the defeat of his enemies. He desired to restore fully the catholic church, and to suppress protestantism. This aroused England, Holland and Denmark. The protestants saw that, by the transfer of the electoral dignity from a protestant to a Roman catholic prince, their interest in the electoral college was reduced to two of the seven votes; and this alarm was further increased by the persecutions of the protestants, then commenced in the Austrian territories, and by the violence employed in introducing into the Palatinate the religion of Rome.

The German protestants now looked around for foreign assistance. The war was extending to lower Saxony, the home of the protestant religion in Germany. Christian IV of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, was chosen as the head of the protestant alliance. This brings us to the second period of the war, viz: the Danish.

The king of Denmark was induced to assume arms, and provided both troops and money to Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, and the margrave of Baden, who again appeared in the field.

The emperor, Ferdinand, although successful, was exhausted in his finances, and compelled to lean too much upon the authority of Maximilian. He felt, therefore, in an unfit condition to meet the new storm that was about bursting forth upon him.

In the midst of this dilemma, a very remarkable man, Wallenstein, one of the heroes of history, an experienced officer, and the richest noble in Bohemia, presented himself before him, and offered, at his own expense, to raise, clothe and maintain for the emperor an army of fifty thousand men, provided he were allowed the unlimited command of them, and the privilege of indemnifying himself from the conquered lands. The genius of Schiller has described in glowing colors this extraordinary man. He represents his figure as proud, lofty and warlike. He was a man of large stature, thin, of a sallow complexion, with short, red hair, and small sparkling eyes. A gloomy and forbidding seriousness sat upon his brow, and his magnificent presents alone retained the trembling crowd of his dependents. His busy genius required silence. His own circle was as silent as the approaches to his palace. Dark, reserved and impenetrable, he was more sparing of his words than his gifts; while the little that he spoke was harsh and imperious. He never smiled, and the coldness of his temperament was proof against sensual seductions. Ever occupied with grand schemes, he despised all those idle amusements in which so many waste their lives.

Such, as described by Schiller, was the man who appeared before the emperor with this extraordinary

proposition. Ferdinand accepted it, granted to the bold adventurer the governorship of Friedland, which was on the northern frontier of Bohemia, raised him to the office of elector of the empire, and subsequently conferred upon him the dignity of duke.

His success was fully equal to all the assurances he had given. His army were entirely devoted to him. He led his soldiers into the richest provinces, and subsisted them on plunder. The heavier his extortions the greater the rewards he was capable of giving. In seven years he is said to have exacted sixty millions of dollars from one-half of Germany. The ruin of the German states only enabled his armies to flourish. With his wild and lawless bands he took possession of the shores of the Elbe, and effected a junction with Tilly. Mansfeld was defeated at the bridge of Dessau, and died at Bosnia. Christian of Brunswick died the same year, and Christian IV was defeated by Tilly at Lutter-am-Barenberge, on August 27th, 1626, and compelled to retreat into Denmark. In 1628 Wallenstein made himself master of the countries on the Baltic, as far as Stralsund. There he received a check, and although he swore he would take it if it were bound to heaven with chains, yet the strength of the place, and the heroism of the citizens baffled all his efforts; and after encamping before the city ten weeks, and sacrificing twelve thousand men, he gave up the attempt. But Christian IV was glad to conclude the peace of Lubeck and to recover his devastated lands by agreeing to sacrifice his allies, and to refrain from any further interference in the affairs of Germany.

The Danish period of the war continued until 1629. In the meantime the bold schemes of Wallenstein began to be developed. The dukes of Mecklenburg being put

under the ban in January, 1628, he was immediately invested with their territories. He was possessed of Pomerania, and was called general of the Baltic. But his great success, and greater insolence, raised up against him a host of enemies. The entire college of electors demanded his dismissal. Maximilian imperatively required the removal of his haughty rival. The emperor finally found himself compelled to pronounce his deposition. He was dismissed and retired to his Bohemian estates. The majority of his army was disbanded, and Tilly was nominated commander-in-chief of the forces of the emperor and the league.

Count Tilly, now assuming the command, marched against the city of Magdeburg, which had opposed the execution of the edict of restitution.

The Danish period of the war having been completed, and no foreign power now interesting itself in the affairs of protestantism and of Germany, it seemed as if everything must now fall prostrate before Ferdinand and catholicism.

But a new hero was now to appear upon the theatre of action and perform his part in the thirty years war. This hero was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and this brings us to the third, or Swedish period of the war.

Gustavus Adolphus was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa. His reign over Sweden at this time had continued for nineteen years, and in his war with the Poles, he had already acquired considerable military reputation. Cardinal Richelieu, who then ruled in France, negotiated a truce between Poland and Sweden, for the purpose of raising up in Gustavus Adolphus, a new adversary for the house of Austria. His own motives for entering upon the war, seem to have been a zeal for the protestant cause,

and a desire to increase the power of Sweden. In June, 1630, he landed in Pomerania with 15,000 troops. These with their strict discipline, and their assembling twice a day for worship around their field preachers, presented a most striking contrast with the disorderly plundering bands of Tilly and Wallenstein.

The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, from fear of the emperor, refused him permission to march through their territories, and while he was thus delayed by negotiations on this subject, the city of Magdeburg fell under the repeated assaults of Pappenheim and Tilly, the imperial generals. It was given up to pillage and three days plunder, and became a scene of the most revolting horrors, until a conflagration reduced it to a heap of ashes; thirty thousand of the inhabitants having been slain.

The destroyer now turned his course towards Saxony, and the elector was now glad to conclude an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, to prevent the entry of the imperialists under Tilly into his dominions.

On the 7th of September, 1631, the two armies met at Leipsic, where a terrible battle was fought between the imperialists under Tilly and Pappenheim, and the Swedes and their allies, under Gustavus Adolphus. The imperial army was entirely defeated, Tilly barely escaping by chance, was obliged to retreat rapidly into the south, while the Swedes directed their course towards the Rhine and the Maine. The catholic league now fell asunder; and in a short time Gustavus found himself master of the countries from the Baltic to Bavaria, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. In the forcing of his passage over the Lech, and in storming the enemy's intrenchments, the great imperialist general, Tilly, was so severely wounded by a cannon ball that he died in fourteen days afterwards.

After restoring the evangelical form of worship to Augsburg, he marched into Bavaria, and took possession of Munich.

It was now that Ferdinand began to tremble. His great general, Tilly, was dead, Wallenstein in disgrace, Munich and Prague in the possession of the enemy, and nothing to oppose the victorious march of the Swedes through any part of Germany.

In this dilemma he had recourse to Wallenstein, and finally prevailed upon him to leave his retirement, raise a fresh army, and take the supreme command. His forces, united with those of Maximilian, amounted to sixty thousand men. This rendered him stronger than Gustavus, but the latter, nevertheless, offered him battle at Nuremburg, and subsequently attacked his camp. The assailants were driven back by the tremendous discharge of artillery.

The army of Wallenstein then marched into Saxony. The Swedes followed them thither, and on the 16th November, 1632, occurred the memorable battle of Lutzen. This battle was great both in its commanders, and also in its results. Neither Gustavus nor Wallenstein had ever encountered defeat. Both seemed equally confident of success. Never before in the whole course of the war had so much been staked upon the chance of a battle. The day was foggy, and the field terribly contested.

The Swedes were victorious, but their victory was dearly purchased by the death of their king. Gustavus, after two years of triumph in Germany expired on the field of Lutzen. Pappenheim, the brave leader of the cavalry of the enemy, was also borne from the field of battle mortally wounded. Wallenstein found himself compelled to leave the field to the enemy, and to retreat into Bohemia with his defeated army.

But although the master spirit that had led the protestant forces to victory had fled, yet the school in which he had been so great a practical teacher could not fail to send forth men great both in the cabinet and the field. The Swedish chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, after the death of the king, undertook the conduct of the war in Germany. He first procured the alliance of Heilborn, by which he prevailed upon a number of the evangelical princes and cities, to continue steadfast in the treaty they had entered into with the king of Sweden. Bernhard of Weimar, and the Swedish general, Horn, were his principal military leaders.

Under these auspices, and backed up by supplies of money from France, the war still continued to rage, and the Swedish power to become diffused over almost all Germany.

But Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia. So inexplicable was his conduct, that his enemies took occasion from it to accuse him of entertaining the project of forming an alliance with the Swedes with the view of placing the crown of Bohemia upon his own head. Ferdinand determined upon the destruction of his too powerful general. He pronounced his deposition, after securing the most influential leaders under him. At the moment he deemed himself secure against the whole power of the emperor, he was removed by assassination. He was thus made fearfully to atone either for the guilt of treacherous schemes, or for the possession and exhibition of a most equivocal character. His vast possessions were confiscated, and presented to his betrayers and murderers. His death, in all probability, saved Germany from a great catastrophe.

The course of things became changed upon the death of Wallenstein. Ferdinand, a prince of the blood, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, obtained the command. The

imperial army marched into Bavaria, and in the battle of Nordlingen defeated Bernhard of Weimar. This gave the imperial arms a sudden preponderance, such as they had never before acquired during the Swedo-German war. Upon this, several German princes in May, 1635, concluded the peace of Prague with the emperor.

But the thirty years war was still destined to drag its slow length along through many a weary year. We have now arrived at the fourth, or French period. Richelieu then ruled in France, and thought this a favorable opportunity to diminish the power of the Hapsburgs. His motives were purely political, as France was Roman catholic in religion, and the aid he gave was to the protestants. He, nevertheless, promised efficient assistance both in money and troops, and supported Bernhard of Weimar on the upper Rhine. The Swedish general, Baner, conquered Saxony and Thuringia, converting the fertile country into a depopulated desert.

Amid these calamities that were everywhere pressing upon the German nation, Ferdinand II sank into the grave. His son, Ferdinand III, succeeded him in 1637.

Bernhard of Weimar, the pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, conquered Reinfelden, Freiburg, and Breisach; but in the midst of his successes, and in the flower of his age, he was suddenly cut down, and died in July 18, 1639. The French then taking his army into their pay, made themselves masters of Alsace. In the meantime, Baner again visited Bohemia, inflicting the most frightful calamities. He died soon after, and was succeeded by Torstenson, one of the most talented disciples of the school of Gustavus Adolphus.

In 1641, embassadors of the leading powers met at Hamburg, and the time and place of the congress of peace were fixed upon. But the war still continued, and affairs

even grew more complicated. A new war was kindled in the north between Sweden and Denmark and when the congress of peace finally opened at Munster and Osnaburg, the negotiations were continued for the space of three years. In the meantime, the war continued to rage with unabated fury. Torstenson, although obliged from the gout to be carried about in a litter, astonished the world by the rapidity of his movements. He overthrew the imperial army near Leipsic, and at the hill Tabor; penetrated repeatedly into the heart of the Austrian states, then appeared unexpectedly on the lower Elbe, took possession of Holstein and Schleswig, and compelled the Danish king to a disadvantageous peace. Finally, exhausted by illness, he was succeeded by Wrangel.

The latter, in conjunction with the great French general, Turenne, in 1647, carried the war into Bohemia, compelled Maximilian to fly, and to conclude a truce, the breaking of which was followed by a new invasion with formidable devastations in 1648. In the meantime the Swedes, in Bohemia, under Charles Gustavus, Palatine count, and Konigsmark, took the city of Prague, which ended the war just where it had taken its origin.

Negotiations had been going on for five years at Munster and Osnaburg. The congress then in session, was a phenomenon for Europe, and more devolved upon it probably than upon any body of men that had ever before assembled. The relations were extremely complicated. Austria was at war with Sweden and several of the protestant orders; Sweden with Austria, Bavaria and Saxony; France with Austria and its allies, and with Spain; and Spain with France, Portugal, and the Netherlands.

The war with the Spanish Netherlands and the German war, were the only ones terminated by this congress. That

between France and Spain did not reach its termination until eleven years later, nor that between Spain and Portugal.

The negotiations finally resulted in the peace of Westphalia in 1648, which constitutes a great era in the politics of Europe; the greatest, by far, that, up to that time, had ever transpired.

To understand the importance of these negotiations, and the peace in which they were to result, it is necessary to recur to the fact that with the exception of Russia, which was remote, and hardly yet a power, and Portugal, which during almost the whole period had formed a part of Spain, all the governments of Europe had become parties to this memorable war. Spain and Poland had supported Austria, while Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch republic, and England had assisted the protestant powers of Germany. And so France, although Roman catholic, had also lent its aid through policy, to the same powers. The Turks and insurgents in Hungary went the same way. So far as political motives had sway the great effort was to readjust the balance of power in Europe by humbling Austria.

In the negotiations all the powers of Christian Europe, except England, Poland and Russia, had their representatives.

The treaty of Westphalia had two great aims; the one to regulate the constitution of Germany; the other to regulate the indemnifications claimed by the other powers, and to readjust the balance of power in Europe. The powers claiming indemnification were France and Sweden, and some of the German principalities.

To France was granted the Austrian part of Alsace, together with Brisac. These were incorporated into France.

To Sweden was granted upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, a part of lower Pomerania, Wismar and Verden, and also five million rix dollars.

To the electorate of Brandenburg the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Camin and Minden.

To Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Ratzeburg.

To Hesse, Hirschfeld and four manors with six hundred thousand rix dollars.

To Brunswick Luneburg, the alternative in Osnaburg, with some cloisters.

To the electorate of Saxony what it had acquired in the peace of Prague.

In regard to religion, the arrangement was that the treaty of Passau, and the religious peace of Augsburg, should be confirmed to the protestants, that the spiritual proviso should be abolished, and that the peace should extend to and embrace the Calvinists, as well as the Lutherans. The free exercise of religion, and equal civil rights were assured to the three Christian confessions.

The results of this terrible war were not so clearly marked by the changes of territory as by those introduced into the German constitution, and the general political system of Europe.

In regard to the first, the German body politic obtained its determinate forms, which were subsequently more firmly established at the diet of Ratisbon. The spirit of the change was displayed more particularly in these respects, viz:

1. In the imperial power which was now restricted within the narrowest limits.

2. In the princes, and these were in the fullest sense regents of their respective realms. Germany became rather territorial than imperial. It was a confederation

under a limited sovereign. In this was manifested the power of the allies in humbling Austria, by weakening her authority over the German principalities.

In regard to the second we are to notice:

1. That the maintenance of the German constitution acquired a practical importance which could not soon be lost. To establish it had been the object of the bloody conflict of half of Europe, for thirty years.

2. The connection formed between France and Sweden brought into much closer relations, the north and west of Europe.

3. Sweden, from being quite insignificant, rose to the rank of one of the first land powers, and kept it for more than half a century.

4. The independence of the United Netherlands was universally acknowledged.

5. The maxim, now in practice, adopted, of supporting the German constitution, became indissolubly connected with the support of the balance of power, which was subsequently much more distinctly acknowledged and confirmed.

It was by settling the leading political maxims, that the peace of Westphalia became the foundation of the subsequent practical policy of Europe.

The war between France and Spain was not terminated by the peace of Westphalia. Each party hoped to gain by its further prosecution; Spain, from the circumstance that it had been freed from the war with the Netherlands, and France seemed much torn by internal dissensions. So, on the other hand, the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia seemed to furnish sufficient for Spain, in its weak state, to do, without carrying on any foreign wars.

The prince of Condi obtained a victory at Lens, August 20, 1648. Soon after this, occurred in France, the civil war of the Fronde, evolving as one of its most marked characters, the Cardinal De Retz. In 1653 and 1654, the French, under Turenne, acquired a superiority in the Netherlands. A union between Mazarin, the French prime minister, and Cromwell, the protector, in England, was effected on the 23d March, 1657. The war between Spain and England ceased on the death of Cromwell, and the peace of the Pyrenees between France and Spain was concluded on the 7th November, 1659, eleven years after the peace of Westphalia.

The terms of the peace of the Pyrenees were:
France obtained:

1. Roussillon.
2. Several fastnesses on the frontiers of the Netherlands.
3. She promised not to assist Portugal.
4. Partial restitution was made to the duke of Lorraine, the ally of Spain; entire restitution to Prince Condi.
5. The commercial relations were regulated.
6. What turned out eventually to be of vastly more importance than all the others, a marriage was agreed upon between Louis XIV, and the infanta, Maria Theresa.

This continuation of the war between France and Spain after the peace of Westphalia, tended to a still greater reduction of the power of the house of Austria, inasmuch as the continuing the war with Spain after the conclusion of peace with the empire, gave a fatal blow to that union, which had hitherto been carefully cherished by the two branches of the Austrian family, and was even strengthened by a political connection, the king of Spain being a mem-

ber of the Germanic body by the possession of the circle of Burgundy.

While the great European event, the thirty years war, was dragging its slow length along during the first larger half of the seventeenth century, it may be well to cast a rapid glance at the different nations of western, southern, and central Europe during that interesting period.

Spain underwent few internal changes. She was weakened by a long insurrection in Catalonia, weakened by France, and she lost Portugal. The house of Braganza, after a long and feebly conducted war, reestablished itself on the throne of Portugal. This latter, although a second rate power, nevertheless, by its geographical position, was important to Spain.

In France, the throne, rendered vacant by the assassination of Henry IV, was at first feebly filled by his infant son, Louis XIII. At length, the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu became prime minister in 1624, and actually ruled the destinies of France, for eighteen years, until 1642. His great objects, and which he succeeded remarkably well in accomplishing, were to centralize and aggrandize the royal power; to humble the house of Austria, and to extend the national influence among foreign nations.

The former, he, in a great measure, accomplished, by subduing and disarming the protestants, called Huguenots. Against Austria and Spain, he stood always in arms. He restored the French influence in Italy, in the Netherlands, in Germany, and created it in Sweden. He promoted the arts and sciences, and suited the character of the nation. He was framed to be the precursor of Louis XIV.

The latter, at the age of five years, soon after the death of Richelieu, succeeded his father, Louis XIII. During

his minority, the affairs of state were conducted by Cardinal Mazarin, who strove to accomplish what his predecessor had begun. But the long minority of the king gave great scope to the nobles, and led to the disturbances of the Fronde.

In England, the first half of the seventeenth century was the period of convulsions. The Stuarts as well as the Tudors whom they succeeded, entertained extravagant notions relating to the origin and extent of the royal power. Through these, the kings became involved in quarrels with the nation. At the same time their want of economy and little skill in finance, rendered them entirely dependent on the nation for the moneyed supplies of which they were in constant want.

The troubles, commencing under James I, came to a head under Charles I, his son and successor. The fruitless wars carried on by the latter against Spain and France, only increased his financial distress, and rendered still wider and more irreconcilable the difference between him and his parliament. His only resource was to dissolve his parliaments and attempt to reign without them. But he was afterwards forced to convoke a new one, and then it was that the lower house, the house of commons, declared their session permanent, and became what, in history, is known as the long parliament. These events occurred between the years 1625 and 1640. The long parliament continued from 1640 to 1653.

The position taken by the long parliament in declaring itself perpetual, and hence independent of the king, necessarily led to a civil war. The nation being on one side, and the king on the other, the result could not well be doubtful. The king was defeated, taken prisoner, tried, condemned and executed.

Here, about the middle of the seventeenth century, were exhibited, but on a different scale, owing in part to the difference in the people, nearly the same political phenomena that were witnessed in the French revolution towards the close of the eighteenth century. The independents in England, like the Jacobins in France, impelled onward by fanaticism, made liberty and equality their object, but the prevailing spirit of the times was religion. The workings of this fanaticism developed the strength of the English character, and reached its culminating point in Oliver Cromwell. He met and fully satisfied the wants of the time, and became in some sort to England what Napoleon Bonaparte subsequently became to France.

By acquiring the command of the army he made the king his captive, sent him to the scaffold in 1647, and abolished the monarchy. England was proclaimed a republic, and governed nominally by the long parliament, until Cromwell, on the 20th April, 1653, finding he could govern without it, dissolved it, and caused himself to be proclaimed by his council of war, protector of the republic. Thus the commencement of the last half of the seventeenth century finds Oliver Cromwell virtually the sovereign of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The middle of the seventeenth century broke upon a new order of things in Europe. The English people had just traveled through a revolution, in the course of which were discussed both with the sword and with the pen the rights and obligations of prince and people, of sovereign and subject. The strongest man of the age, Oliver Cromwell, having been called from the ranks of the common people, had become, in fact, the nation's ruler. With an iron will; great practical sagacity; a perfect knowledge of his resources, and the agents he employed; a strong com-

mon sense, which enabled him to take right views of things, he originated such measures of public policy as were mainly instrumental in giving Great Britain the ultimate ascendancy in much of the political, and more in the commercial and financial affairs of Europe.

Under his auspices, in 1657, was passed the act of navigation, which was renewed by Charles II in 1660, by which England secured all the trade of the colonies, and allowed strangers no importation, unless of their own products and in their own vessels. This act fell with a crushing weight upon Holland, and a war commenced between the two countries in 1652. Notwithstanding Holland then possessed two great maritime commanders in Tromp and Ruyter, yet the English Admiral Blake and General Monk proved themselves the superiors, and actually carried off the palm in naval engagements.

Cromwell died on his birthday, September 3, 1658. His son, Richard, succeeded him in the protectorate, but amid the contests that occurred between the parliament and the army, he abdicated, and sought safety in a foreign land. Amid the confusion that succeeded, General Monk was enabled to effect the restoration, and Charles II, by promising to grant a general amnesty and liberty of conscience, was received back upon the throne. But he failed to keep his promises. The loyalists were entirely successful. Sentence of death was passed upon all the regicides, or judges of Charles I, and executed upon all who did not escape. Charles still retained the ancient prejudices of the house of Stuart, and consequently the elements of dissension between king and people were again destined to break forth. Charles was strongly inclined to catholicism, and his brother James, the duke of York, openly embraced it. It was, however, in 1679, and

during this reign, that the celebrated habeas corpus act was passed, that great law, ever since deemed sacred, which secured the freedom of person.

Charles died, 1685, leaving no descendants, and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of York, under the name of James II. His attempt to restore the catholic religion to its former supremacy, and his support of the cruel and detestable Judge Jeffreys, finally exasperated the English people to such a height, that another revolution was rapidly brought about, and James was driven from his throne, in 1688, which was declared vacant.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of James, who was a protestant. The representatives of the English people now brought in the bill of rights, and enacted the act of settlement, by which the catholic line of the house of Stuart, was forever excluded from the government, which was settled upon the royal pair, William and Mary, jointly.

In 1701, William, dying childless, was succeeded by Anne, another and younger daughter of James II, during whose reign, in 1707, was effected the union between England and Scotland, which has ever since remained unimpaired.

She died in 1714, and in her ended the house of the Stuarts. A new dynasty was now to succeed to the English throne, the same which continues to the present day. This was the house of Hanover. George I, who now succeeded, was the son of Ernest Augustus, first elector of Hanover, by Sophia, the granddaughter of James I.

On the continent of Europe, the last half of the seventeenth century presented stirring scenes. It was the age of Louis XIV. an age in many respects remarkable.

which the political systems of Europe underwent a great change.

We have just seen the most stirring events in Europe, the thirty years war, together with many that preceded it, to arise out of the mingling of religion with politics. With the peace of Westphalia disappeared the religious wars of Europe. Another power had now stepped forward into the arena of European politics, and that was the moneyed power, that which is developed by successful schemes of finance. But the first ideas in relation to this were crude and undigested. The real wealth of a nation, instead of being made to consist of all its valuable products, was held to consist mainly in its ready money, while the sources of it, instead of being sought and found in the unfailing activity of productive labor, were placed in mines, and the acquisition of money from foreign countries.

In connection with this power, commerce became important; colonial possessions were eagerly sought after, and maritime adventure encouraged. It was also the era in which standing armies were more especially brought upon the stage of action to perform their part in history. They had, it is true, a much earlier origin, but a new spring was given to them, and they were greatly extended during this period.

It was also the era of diplomacy. When Richelieu was the ruler of France, he kept continual embassies at both the greater and lesser courts of Europe. Thus diplomacy was reduced to a system, the etiquette of it was fixed, and all the arts connected with it were studied, and put into practice. The origin and maintenance of permanent embassies date back to Ferdinand the Catholic, a century and a half earlier, but he maintained them only at single

courts. When the French policy, under Louis XIII and XIV, came to comprehend almost all Europe, the system of diplomacy became correspondingly enlarged.

For more than a century and a half, Austria had been the predominating power on the continent of Europe. Standing at the head of the German confederation, and in close bonds of amity with Spain, one of its branches, together with the direct control in its own hereditary dominions, had enabled her to assume a position alarming to the peace and security of Europe. The balance of power had been endangered. Several of the European powers had come to the rescue, but France had always been the foremost. For nearly two centuries, it had required all her political resources to make head against Austria. But the middle of the seventeenth century witnessed a change. Austria emerged from the thirty years war with her population more than decimated; her resources crippled; all her powers weakened; and the peace of Westphalia completed her humiliation. The consolidation of the Germanic body, and subsequently the federal system of the provinces in the Netherlands, secured to France the preponderance in the political scale of Europe. The smaller powers of Germany now looked to France for a support against the emperors; and the influence which thus accrued to France has been greatly instrumental in causing the discord which has since existed between her and Austria. The treaty, in fact, rendered France the arbiter of Germany.

While Austria was being exhausted and drained of her resources of men and money, by continuous and desolating wars, the two great statesmen, Richelieu and Mazarin, who had successively been at the head of affairs in France, had succeeded, to a large extent, in drying up the fountains

of civil dissensions; in concentrating the reins of authority in the hands of the government; in placing the finances in such a condition as to give the king the command of extensive means; and thus of raising that monarchy to the rank which its position, its population, and its internal resources had assigned it among the powers of the continent.

Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661, and Louis XIV, then twenty-three years of age, announcing the important doctrine, "I am the state," from thenceforth resolved to be his own prime minister, and to rule alone. He had shortly previous to this married the infanta, Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip.IV, king of Spain. This marriage had been provided for by the treaty of the Pyrenees, which prescribed as its conditions, that her dowry should be five hundred thousand gold crowns, and a formal renunciation, both on the part of Louis and herself, to any claim on the Spanish crown.

Some six years after the death of Mazarin, Louis XIV, began to display his projects of ambition. He claimed that in right of his wife, Maria Theresa, several provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, after the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV of Spain, belonged to him in virtue of the right of devolution. By this right, the property of goods passed to the children of the first marriage, when their parents contracted another, Charles II, the successor of Philip IV, in the Spanish monarchy, being the descendant of a second marriage. He accordingly marched his army into the Netherlands, in 1667. On the banks of the Rhine appeared an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men commanded by able generals, such as Luxemburg, Condi and Turenne.

The triple alliance of England, Holland and Sweden compelled him to desist after a short campaign. But in

1672 he commenced a second war against the Dutch, which was of seven years continuance, and which ultimately involved in it almost all the European powers. The French were at first very uniformly victorious, and Holland and Zealand alone remained unconquered.

In this extremity, Holland, and perhaps the liberties of Europe, were saved through the prudence, caution, and energy of one man. This was William III, prince of Orange. Under his direction, the dykes were cut through, the whole country overflowed with water, and the march of the French army interrupted. At the same time the walls of Groningen held out against the enemy, and defied all their efforts, while the attempt of Marshal Luxemburg to march over the frozen waters against Amsterdam was frustrated by a sudden thaw.

The critical situation of Holland and the ascendancy of France aroused other powers into activity. Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, came to the assistance of the Dutch, and the emperor, Leopold I, who had succeeded Ferdinand III, having also been drawn into the war, the French were obliged to divide their power, and send a force to the Rhine. Spain also and the German empire, soon entered into the war against France.

But France had great resources, and great generals. Turenne crossed the Rhine, ravaged the lands of the Palatinate, and made his way into Franconia. The German princes were divided, and Louis directed his principal strength against Spain and Germany. He subdued Franche-Compte in the spring of 1674, and during the same year the prince of Condi gained the battle of Seneffe.

In the following winter Turenne beat the imperialists in Alsace, and drove them from that province. Louis, in

order to create such a diversion as would call Frederick William, the elector of Brandenburg, from the army of the Rhine, induced his allies, the Swedes, to attack the march of Brandenburg. But the great elector suddenly appeared in his own territories, and on the 28th of June, 1675, surprised the Swedes and gave them a complete overthrow in the battle of Fehrbellin, a battle which laid the foundation of Prussia's greatness. About the same time Marshal Turenne, the greatest general of his age, was killed by a cannon ball, near Sasbach.

But the school of Turenne, the great master of higher tactics, did not perish with him. Luxemburg still remained, and in 1676 and 1677, he and Orange were in the Netherlands. A battle was fought at Mont Cassel on the 11th of April; in which the superiority of Luxemburg opened to Louis in 1678, the way to the frontiers of Holland.

This war was finally put an end to by the treaty of Nimeguen, in 1678, which secured to Louis XIV, Franche-Compte, together with several important cities and fortresses in Flanders. Thus France had not only sustained with success, for some years, a war with half of Europe, but at the close of it had dictated her own terms of peace. She had severed the combination formed against her, and the disorder, which prevailed in the public relations, seemed to render, for a long time to come, a new combination impossible. No individual state would dare any longer to defy the preponderance of France, and Louis had now reached the summit of his greatness.

A peace of nine years enabled Louis to indulge in pleasures and palace building. The celebrated Colbert conducted his affairs of finance. Under his able administration, were founded the Gobelin tapestries, and the Royal Library; the colonnade of the Louvre, the Royal Observa-

tory, the Hotel of the Invalids, and the palaces of the Tuileries, Vincennes, Mendon and Versailles, were erected.

During these nine years of peace, Louis acted like a universal monarch. The rights of property were everywhere invaded, chambers of reunions, as they were called, were erected at Metz, Brisac, and Besancon in 1680. These chambers decided on the reunion of various towns and cities to France. Under these decisions possession was taken of Strasburg and Casale, September 30, 1681. These were the keys of upper Germany and Lombardy. The Spanish Netherlands were invaded in 1683. Luxemburg was conquered and Treves subdued June, 1684. It seemed clear that France was striking for the upper Rhine as its boundary. So also Lorraine continued still to be occupied by the French; and Genoa, being friendly to Spain, was destined to find by experience what ideas Louis entertained of the laws of nations.

Europe loudly remonstrated, but its kingdoms were in a bad position to resist his encroachments. Spain and the empire were too weak to resist. Charles II of England, was the firm friend of Louis. The states of Holland loved peace. Austria was under the pressure of a Turkish war.

The prince of Orange at length sounded the alarm through Europe. He succeeded on the 6th of February, 1683, in forming a defensive alliance at the Hague between Holland, the emperor, Spain and Sweden, the object being to maintain the peace of Munster and Nimeguen.

Louis, however, was still advancing from conquest to conquest, always offering peace, and on the 15th of August, 1684, a truce for twenty years was finally agreed upon. Louis retaining, during that time the greater part of his booty.

But with the aggressive tendencies so fully developed in France, and with the complete success which had ever attended them, it was not possible for the peace long to continue. Besides the materials of a new war were everywhere ripening. France was everywhere presenting herself as an overwhelming power. Louis had contests with the pope, an altercation respecting the succession to the Palatinate, quarrels respecting the election of bishop at Cologne, and carried on at home an uninterrupted persecution against the Huguenots, which finally resulted in 1685 in the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which had the effect to banish six hundred thousand industrious protestants from their French homes into foreign parts. This latter involved him in difficulties with the protestant powers.

Thus the seeds of war were widely sown, and on the 29th July, 1686, was concluded the league of Augsburg, between the emperor, Spain, Sweden, the elector of Bavaria, the Suabian, Bavarian, and Franconian circles, and some German princes. The choice of elector of Cologne, brought the matter to a crisis, and war was declared against the emperor and empire, on the 24th September, 1688.

An event of great importance, both for England and the continent, now occurred, and this was the revolution that terminated the reign of the Stuarts in England, and elevated the prince of Orange as William III, and Mary, his wife, to the throne of England. The banished James fled to France, and his reception by Louis was a virtual declaration of hostilities. Thus was kindled a new war in Europe, so general, that in three months there was not a neutral state in its western part.

We have now entered upon the nine years war, and it seemed to threaten annihilation to France, or to give

her a most decisive triumph. The superiority of the French armies and generals, was conspicuous. Four armies, comprising four hundred thousand men, were sent into the field. Two of these armies were sent into Flanders, one into Catalonia, and one into Germany.

The forces of the allies were also on a scale of corresponding magnificence. The Spaniards, Dutch, and English, sent an army of fifty thousand men into Flanders; the Germans sent three armies into the field, and the duke of Savoy, one, commanded by Victor Amadeus.

The principal theatre of the war was in the Netherlands, where the great French general, Luxemburg, gained a victory at Fleurus, July 1, 1690; another at Steenwerck, August 3, 1692; and still another at Neerwinden, on the 29th of July, 1693, the two latter over William III.

The war also raged in Italy, where a battle was fought at Stafarda on the 18th of August, 1690, between the French general Catinat and Victor Amadeus II of Savoy, in which the latter was defeated, and in 1691 Savoy and a part of Piedmont were subdued.

The war was also carried into Spain, and Barcelona conquered in 1697. There was also a naval victory obtained by the English at la Hague on the 29th of May, 1692, which is one of the first of those series of naval triumphs which ultimately gave to England the supremacy of the sea.

The war even extended to the East and West Indies, and Carthagena in South America was conquered on the 5th of May, 1697.

Although the French, through the superiority of their soldiers and generals, were generally successful, yet the prodigious efforts necessary to be made could not but exhaust the resources of France and render her anxious for

the return of peace. Besides, the approaching demise of the Spanish king, Charles II, admonished Louis to be preparing for that event. He accordingly directed all his efforts to effect a separation of the grand confederacy, and deeming Savoy the most vulnerable, he opened secret negotiations with the duke in 1694, which finally led to the treaty of Turin, by which the duke recovered all his territories, his daughter was espoused to the eldest grandson of Louis, the Duc de Bourgogne, and he undertook to effect with Spain and Austria the neutrality of Italy.

Thus the confederacy was dissolved, and a congress convened at a castle near Ryswick in Holland, where negotiations were prosecuted under Swedish mediation. These negotiations resulted in what is known as the peace of Ryswick, by which the German empire was the only loser, as Strasburg, and all the annexed provinces, were left to France.

But while these events were transpiring in the west of Europe, the east was also the theatre of devastating wars. These have an intimate connection with the wars of the west, in that they explain how Louis was enabled so long to carry on long wars successfully against half of Europe, Austria having enough to do in her eastern wars.

At the very period when the Turks were arousing the spirit of the Janissaries, and preparing to invade Austria, the emperor Leopold, by oppressing the protestants in Hungary, and committing some acts of violence there, had produced a formidable rebellion. This the Austrian government endeavored to suppress by severity. The leaders perished upon the scaffold, and the chartered rights of the nation were outraged.

Emerick Tokeli, a Hungarian noble, unfurled the banner of rebellion, and with a considerable army drove the

Austrian forces out of Hungary. This was in 1674. He was aided by Louis XIV, and the Turks. The latter marched an army even to the very walls of Vienna. The court fled and abandoned the capital of Austria. The citizens, however, defended for sixty days, when an imperial army commanded by Charles of Lorraine and a Polish force and John Sobieski came to their aid, and in a bloody engagement under the walls of Vienna, compelled the Turks to make a hasty retreat. Austria was now in the ascendant. Buda was wrested from the Turks, Tokeli compelled to fly, and Hungary conquered.

The emperor Leopold seized upon this occasion, at the diet of Presburg, to abolish the elective monarchy of Hungary, and to banish certain privileges from the constitution that interfered with the royal power. Thus Hungary became the inheritance of the house of Hapsburg.

The war with Turkey raged with great violence. The Turks made prodigious efforts to regain what they had lost, and torrents of blood were poured out around the walls of Belgrade. But the Austrians possessed great generals in Charles of Lorraine, prince Eugene, and Louis of Baden. By the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, Transylvania, and the entire region of country between the Danube and the Theiss, were ceded to the Austrians. The dominion of Austria being established in Hungary, Germany was in future secured from the Turks.

The seventeenth century closed upon a peace established both in the west and east of Europe. During its last half, three great wars had been carried on against Louis XIV, for the maintenance of the balance of power.

In the very opening year of the eighteenth century, died Charles II, the last of the house of Hapsburg, in

Spain. He died childless, and just before the close of his life, was persuaded to make a secret will, by which the second grandson of Louis XIV, duke Philip of Anjou, was named heir to the whole Spanish monarchy, to the exclusion of the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg, which, according to an earlier family compact, had the nearest claim upon the vacant throne.

Louis, after some hesitation, determined to adopt the will, and his grandson, Philip V, was proclaimed king of Spain. Then follows the Spanish war of succession, which continued for twelve years, from 1702 to 1714, and was one of the most bloody and disastrous upon record.

A new and powerful league was formed against Louis. The emperor, England then under the dominion of William and Mary, the United Provinces, the empire, the kings of Portugal and Prussia, and the duke of Savoy, all joined it in succession. The engagement of the allies was, to restore to Austria the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of the two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, and never to permit the union of France with Spain.

For some time after the commencement of this war, Louis continued to maintain the glory and supremacy of his arms. But the odds against him were fearful, and in the campaign of 1704, his good fortune deserted him. One reverse seemed only to succeed another.

The armies of Austria and England were then conducted by two of the greatest generals of the age. Of these Prince Eugene of Savoy, having already acquired a high reputation in the war against the Turks, now conducted a masterly campaign in Italy, where he drove back the gallant general Catinet, and brought over the duke of Savoy and Piedmont to the side of Austria.

The other was the duke of Marlborough, who, with Oliver Cromwell and Wellington, make the three greatest of English captains. He was born in 1650, and learned the art of war by serving under Marshal Turenne.

On the 13th of August, 1704, Eugene and Marlborough fought the great battle of Blenheim, in which the French and Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard was totally defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men. The loss of this great battle was followed by that of Bavaria, and all the French possessions beyond the Rhine.

This was followed on the 23d of May, 1706, by the splendid victory of Ramillies, in Brabant, gained by Marlborough over the French marshal, Villeroi, which was not less disastrous, and secured to the allies the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands.

On the 7th of September, of the same year, Eugene defeated the superior force of the French at Turin, upon which Milan and Lombardy, together with lower Italy and Sicily, fell into the hands of the victors.

The war also raged in Spain. Philip maintained himself against the English and Austrian armies. The provinces of Arragon had sided with the Austrian claimant, but the Castilians remaining true to Philip, he was enabled to chastise the revolted provinces, and to ravage, in a fearful manner, the beautiful plains of Valencia. At length, this province, as also that of Catalonia and Arragon, were compelled to submit; but the British, by their fleet, made themselves masters of the fortress of Gibraltar, so important from its position, as it commands the entrance into the Mediterranean.

In the year 1708, on the 11th of July, occurred the battle of Oudenarde, on the Scheldt, in which the two great generals, Eugene and Marlborough, gained another

victory over the French, although not of so decisive a character as the previous ones. At this point, Louis XIV, beginning to despair of a successful termination of the war, was extremely desirous of peace, and in the conferences, both of the Hague and of Gertruydenberg, offered to the allies terms the most advantageous, and better than those which were afterwards obtained; but they would not accept them, unless Louis would himself assist in driving his own grandson out of Spain, and that he absolutely refused to do.

Then occurred on the 11th of September, 1709, the murderous battle of Malplaquet, in which ninety thousand men were engaged on both sides, at which France sustained a dreadful defeat, losing more troops than in any previous engagement. Louis was now reduced almost to despair, and again sued for peace, offering not only to restore everything he had formerly taken, but even consenting to furnish subsidies against his grandson. But the allies were still higher in their requirements, demanding that he himself alone, should depose him.

But in this extremely critical state of things, when the exhausted state of the French nation seemed to render it impossible that Louis could hold out much longer, two entirely unexpected events happened, which changed the whole face of affairs.

The first of these was the death of the emperor, Joseph I, on the 11th of April, 1711, leaving no male offspring. His brother, the archduke Charles, who was the Austrian competitor for the Spanish crown, now obtained the imperial dignity, and became heir of all the states belonging to the German branch of the house of Austria. To allow the whole Spanish monarchy to become united to this colossal power, would be destroying the system of equili-

brium, and disturbing the balance of power in Europe to a larger extent than if it were united to France.

The second event was the fall of the whig ministry in England, under the reign of queen Anne who had succeeded William and Mary, and the elevation of the tories. The latter had, for a long time, insisted that the war was prosecuted at a vast expense without any corresponding benefit to England, and the immediate result of their elevation to power was the disgrace of the duke of Marlborough. A secret negotiation was immediately set on foot between England and France, and a preliminary treaty was signed at London on the 8th of October, 1711. The bond that had hitherto bound the allies together was thus sundered, and a congress was opened at Utrecht, early in the year 1712, with a view to a general pacification. The complication of the matters to be settled, together with long interruptions, rendered the progress of the negotiations very slow, and in the meantime the battle of Denain in July 24, 1712, gained by the French marshal, Villars, over the earl of Albermarle, had its influence in rendering the allies more tractable. At length, in the month of April, 1713, a treaty of peace was signed at Utrecht between France and the chief belligerent powers. The emperor alone refused to take a part in it, as he could not resolve to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy.

One of the express provisions of this treaty was the introduction of a clause ordaining that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united. Deeds of renunciation by each of the other were drawn up and executed, and if the descendants of Philip V failed, the Spanish succession was secured to the duke of Savoy, his male descendants, and the other princes of his family, to the exclusion of the French princes.

Another clause of the treaty was that no province, city, fortress or place, in the Spanish Netherlands, should ever belong to France, or any prince or princess of French extraction. These were adjudged to the emperor, and the house of Austria, as also Naples, Tuscany and Milan.

To the house of Hanover, was guarantied the succession to the throne of Great Britain, and to her was ceded Hudson's bay and straits, St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, while Spain gave up to her, Gibraltar and Minorca.

The kingdom of Sicily was adjudged to the duke of Savoy, and Sardinia to the elector of Bavaria.

The war still continuing between France and Austria, Marshal Villars took Landau and Freiburg in Breslau; but finally a congress was opened at Baden, in Switzerland, where a definitive peace was signed on the 7th September, 1714.

The principal provisions were:

1. Austria should possess the Spanish Netherlands.
2. Also Naples, Sardinia, and Milan in Italy.
3. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne should be restored.
4. The treaties of Munster, Nimeguen, and Ryswick were confirmed.

In 1715, two years after the peace of Utrecht, died Louis XIV. He became weary of a life which had been one of great vicissitude. In his declining years, the strokes of fate fell heavily upon him. Within the brief period of two years he had lost his son, his grandson, his gifted wife, the Madame de Maintenon, and his eldest great-grandchild, leaving, as a lineal descendant, only his youngest great-grandchild, then only five years of age. He was not only alone in the world, but la belle France,

over whose destinies he had presided for more than half a century, who had come to him rejoicing in health, strength, wealth, power and resources, he was about to leave, worn, wasted, weak, impoverished, with no power to exert, and no energies to rally. Whoever is looking for the causes of things, will find in the utter exhaustion of all physical resources during the reign of Louis XIV, the seeds which in three-quarters of a century after, produced their terrible harvest in the French revolution, and the production of Napoleon.

The peace of Utrecht, and of Baden, and the death of Louis XIV, all occurring at nearly the same period, present to the student of history a favorable position from which to view the relative relations and changes in some of the leading powers of Europe. It will be readily perceived that changes of great importance have occurred in the relations of the three powers, France, Spain, and Austria. The Spanish monarchy, from having been a branch of the house of Austria, had become one of the house of Bourbon. Consequently, the ancient rivalship had disappeared between France and Spain. The alarm which Europe had felt from the connection existing between the two houses of Spain and Austria, was now transferred to that existing between Spain and France. But the exhausted state of the latter afforded very little ground for any present apprehensions. There was really not so much to be apprehended from these relations, as from the disjunction of the Spanish Netherlands from Spain, and their becoming the property of Austria.

The power and influence of Great Britain began to be strongly felt on the European continent. The foundation of the great commercial preponderance of England was

laid by the peace of Utrecht. The financial system of this kingdom began to be developed. That system consisted in the gradual creation of a stupendous national debt, guarantied by parliament, the interest only being annually payable. The constantly increasing wealth of the nation rendered it possible to give these loans almost an unlimited extension. Thus, Great Britain found it in her power to subsidize any, or all the powers of Europe.

The mercantile system began to manifest itself in all its strength. Grants of commercial privileges, of great importance, were made the conditions of peace for the maritime powers, and even cessions of country were made, partly on account of commerce.

A new dynasty was called to preside over Spain; and Portugal, having been bound to England during the war by the ties of policy, became, after its termination, bound still more closely by the ties of commerce. These ties have ever since continued.

About the same period of the year 1714, which witnessed the demise of Louis XIV, was also signalized by the death of queen Anne. In her ended the house of Stuart, and protestantism now gave and continued the throne in the house of Hanover.

The republic of Holland, or the United Provinces, had, under the mediation of England, concluded a barrier treaty with Austria on the 15th November, 1715. By this treaty the republic relinquished the Low Countries to the emperor, and acquired in return, the exclusive right of holding garrisons in Namur, Dornic, Menin, Warneton, Ypres, and Fort Knocke. She deemed herself safe under the protection of this barrier treaty. She had little to gain from participation in the contests of the greater powers. Her policy was decidedly peaceful, and her pur-

suits commercial. From this time forth, it was the fundamental axiom of her policy to keep as free as possible from the contests of surrounding nations.

The house of Austria, although severed from the Spanish branch, was, nevertheless, aggrandized by the possession of Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Low Countries.

In following the course of events in central, southern, and western Europe, we have for some time lost sight of those of northern and north-eastern Europe. It is time again to recur to them. Those northern and north-eastern nations appear to have had a system of policy of their own, little connected with central and western Europe.

The successful participation of Gustavus Adolphus in the thirty years war, and the part taken by the Swedes, under the leaders which had been formed by him, in its continuation after his death, together with the stipulations embraced in the peace of Westphalia, at its close, gave to Sweden a decided preponderance among the northern powers. This superiority had become so great, that the personal character of its kings exerted much influence upon the course of events among the northern nations. She was very much to the north, what France was to the south.

Upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the crown of Sweden devolved upon his daughter Christina, who held the reins of government in Sweden, about the middle of the sixteenth century. Little danger was to be apprehended under her reign. But in 1654, in order to enable her to travel south, into the more genial clime of Italy, and gratify her propensity for the fine arts, she resolved to abdicate the crown in favor of her cousin, Charles Gustavus, who succeeded her under the title of Charles X.

The state of affairs was now changed. Charles was a warrior, and John Cassimir, the king of Poland, having protested against his accession to the crown of Sweden, he made that the occasion of breaking the treaty of Stumsdorf, and of invading that kingdom. Assisted by Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, he overthrew the Poles near Warsaw, in July, 1658. Russia was at this same time at war with Poland, which, at this time, seemed on the brink of annihilation. But the northern powers became alarmed at the growing greatness of Sweden. The powers of diplomacy were exerted. A formidable league was entered into, in which the czar of Russia, Alexis Michaelovitz, the emperor Leopold II, and Frederick III, king of Denmark, were parties. The elector, Frederick William, having obtained the sovereignty of the duchy of Prussia, by the treaty which he concluded with Poland, at Welau, aceeded also to the league, the object of which was to secure the preservation of Poland, and maintain the equilibrium of the north.

Charles now directed his principal force against Denmark. He conquered Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, and in 1658, passing the belts on the ice, with his army and artillery, he advanced rapidly upon Copenhagen. The peace of Roschild was concluded, February, 1658, but this was soon broken by the Swedish king, who laid siege to Copenhagen, intending to destroy it, annihilate the kingdom of Denmark, and establish his own dominion over the north and the Baltic.

The besieged Danes made a vigorous defense, and the Dutch, alarmed for their commerce in the Baltic, sent a fleet to their assistance, which, repulsing the Swedish fleet in the sound, succeeded in relieving Copenhagen by throwing in supplies of provisions and ammunition.

Charles, however, continued to press the siege, but his ambitious projects were put an end to by death on the 23d February, 1660, at the early age of thirty-eight.

This was followed by the peace of Copenhagen, May 27th, 1660, which was a renewal of that of Roschild, between Denmark and Sweden; by the peace of Oliva between Sweden and Poland, April 23d, 1660. By this treaty the king of Poland, gave up his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and with some exceptions resigned also Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Oesel. The duke of Courland was reestablished, and the sovereignty of ducal Prussia was confirmed to the house of Brandenburg. The peace with Russia was concluded at Cardis on the 21st June 1661, and by it conquests were mutually resigned, and matters restored to their former footing.

These events led to a civil revolution in Denmark, by which on the 16th October, 1660, Frederick III became hereditary king and absolute sovereign.

Twenty years later, in 1680, a revolution also occurred in Sweden. This was caused by the nobles abusing their privileges; by the senates claiming an extravagant authority, and by the grandees' gradually usurping the domains of the crown. The diet which assembled at Stockholm, in 1680, declared the senate to be merely a council to advise with the king. The diet of 1693, decreed that the king was absolute master and sole depositary of the sovereign power, without being responsible for his actions to any power on earth, and that he was entitled to govern the kingdom according to his will and pleasure. Thus Charles XI became an absolute monarch.

He died April 1, 1697, and transmitted his absolute power to his son, the celebrated Charles XII, then of the age of only fifteen years. His youth seemed to present a

favorable opportunity to the neighboring powers to regain what they had lost under the victorious kings of Sweden. In 1699, an offensive alliance was concluded between the king of Poland and the courts of Russia and Denmark against Sweden. The war broke out in the year 1700. The king of Poland invaded Livonia; the Danes fell upon Schleswig, and the Russian czar, Peter the Great, with an army of eighty thousand men, laid siege to Narva.

Charles XII, immediately displayed the energies of his character. His first efforts were directed towards Denmark. England and Holland had guarantied the last peace, and, with the assistance of their fleets, he made a descent on the isle of Zealand, and advanced rapidly upon Copenhagen.

Frederick IV, who had succeeded Frederick III on the Danish throne, was obliged to conclude peace at Travendahl, Aug. 18, 1700, by which, as between those two powers, everything was restored to the position in which it was before the war broke out.

Charles next turned his attention to the czar, and on the 30th November, 1700, having forced the Russians from their intrenchments before Narva, he made prisoners of all the general and principal officers of the Russian army.

He next attacked Augustus II, king of Poland, vanquished him in the three great battles of Riga, 1701, Clissow, 1702, and Pultusk, 1703, and compelled the Poles to depose him, and elect in his place Stanislaus Lecksinski, a protegé of his own.

While these events were in progress, Peter had found time to establish his new dominion on the Baltic. So far as he was concerned the war had originated in his steadfast purpose of extending Russia to the Baltic, an object

which was only attainable at the expense of Sweden. He had now recovered Ingria and Karelia, and was already about founding the city of St. Petersburg.

But Charles now resolved to attack the czar in the midst of his own empire. He left Saxony in September, 1707, marched through desolated Poland, crossed the Dnieper in Aug., 1708, and pressed forward to Ukraine. He invested Pultowa in May, 1709. Peter hastened to relieve the besieged city, and there, on the 8th July, 1709, was fought the battle of Pultowa, which decided the fate of the north. Nine thousand Swedes were left dead upon the field, and fourteen thousand more, three days after the action, were made prisoners of war. Charles took refuge at Bender in Turkey. Other and greater battles have been fought, but few that have drawn after them greater consequences. The relations between the northern powers experienced an immediate change. Sweden ceased to be the dominant power in the north, and the sceptre passed to Russia. The new creation of Peter on the Baltic was confirmed. All those relations forcibly established by Charles XII were dissolved. King Stanislaus was abandoned, and all Poland again acknowledged Augustus II. The Danes made a descent on Schonen, and the czar was busy establishing his dominion on the Baltic.

Charles, in the meantime, was seeking to enlist the Turks in the war and did not return from Turkey until 1713, when his affairs were totally ruined. He had, however, succeeded in embroiling Turkey with Russia, but that did not afford him any substantial relief.

On his return, he found a formidable league formed against him. Besides the czar, the kings of Poland, Denmark, Prussia and England, joined it. Stralsund and Wismar, the only remaining Swedish German provinces,

fell into the hands of the allies, while the czar conquered Finland and Savolax.

While affairs were in this desperate condition, in 1718, secret negotiations were opened with the czar in the isle of Aland. It was proposed on the part of Russia to reinstate Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; to restore to Sweden her possessions in the empire, and even to assist her in conquering Norway; while, as a compensation, the king of Sweden was to cede Ingria, Karelia, Livonia, and Esthonia to the czar.

When this treaty was on the very point of completion, Charles XII, at the age of 37, fell in the trenches before Fredericksbald, and by his death at that critical period produced changes as great, or even greater, than he had caused during his life. A radical change immediately occurred in the Swedish policy. The negotiations with Russia were broken off. The Swedes sought to ally themselves with England, and under her mediation, in 1720, treaties of peace were concluded with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark, and Poland. By these treaties Sweden was nearly deprived of every province that did not originally constitute Sweden proper.[1]

The war with Russia still continued, during the two campaigns of 1720 and 1721. As the czar now commanded the Baltic, he desolated the Swedish coast, ravaging with fire and sword. At length, on the 10th of September, 1721, was concluded the peace of Nystadt, by which Sweden released to Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Karelia, a part of Viborg, besides the islands Oesel, Dagoe and Moen, and all others from the boundaries of Courland to Viborg; Finland was restored to Sweden and two millions of dollars paid to her.

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, 304, § 20.

Thus was Sweden left like a tree stripped of its branches, and a revolution also occurred in its government, the sovereignty was renounced, a new constitution framed, and Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of Charles XII, being elected February 21, 1719, the crown was transferred from her to her husband, Frederick of Hesse, May 3d, 1720, with still greater restriction.

Poland, during all this period, was distracted both by foreign wars and intestine factions. She grew gradually weaker and weaker, fast degenerating into absolute anarchy. In 1647, a murderous war arose between the Poles and Cossacks. These latter were of Russian origin, inhabiting both banks of the Borysthenes, beyond Kiow. They finally, in 1654, concluded a treaty with the czar, Alexis Michaelovitz, by which Kiow and the other towns of the Ukraine, were planted with Russian garrisons. By these means all the country of the Cossacks, beyond the Borysthenes, or Dnieper, came permanently under the dominion of Russia. Subsequently the Cossack war was again renewed, and in 1672, their allies, the Turks and Tartars, seized the city of Kaminiec, the only bulwark of Poland against the Ottomans.

A bright spot appears in the history of Poland, in 1673, when John Sobieski gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Choczim, which procured him the crown of Poland. He succeeded in relieving Poland from tribute, and recovered some parts of the Ukraine. Under him Poland allied itself with the house of Austria, against Turkey. He signalized himself in the campaigns of 1683 and 1684, and became the deliverer of Vienna. But in order to procure the aid of Russia against the Turks, he was obliged to surrender up to the former, Smolensko, Belaia, Dorogoboozh, Tchernigov, Starodoob, Novgorod-

Severskoie and Little Russia. The peace of Carlowitz, concluded with Turkey in 1699, procured for Poland the restitution of Kaminiec, as also a part of the Ukraine.

But while Poland was developing its weakness, and Sweden was fast declining into its original insignificance, two powers in the north were, during this period, just stepping upon the theatre of European politics, and springing into existence as independent nations. These were Prussia and Russia.

The elector, John Sigismund, on succeeding to the duchy of Prussia, acknowledged himself a vassal and tributary of the crown of Poland. His grandson, Frederick William, called the great elector, took advantage of the turbulent condition of Poland during the invasion of Charles X, of Sweden, and by the treaty of Welau, in 1657, obtained a grant of the sovereignty of Prussia. Poland, however, in renouncing these rights, stipulated for their reversion on the extinction of the male line of the electoral house of Brandenburg.

The great elector had succeeded in breaking the feudal relations of Prussia to Poland, by appearing inclined to embrace the Swedish interest. But when, on the side of Sweden, Charles Gustavus desired to render him his vassal, he became one of his most violent enemies. The treaty of Oliva confirmed the entire independence of Prussia, on the side both of Sweden and Poland.

The successor of Frederick William was his son, Frederick I, who, having become sovereign of ducal Prussia, desired to assume the royal dignity. He entered into a negotiation on that subject, with the court of Vienna. The war of the Spanish succession was then commencing, and the emperor, Leopold, promised to acknowledge him as king of Prussia, on his agreeing

to furnish him in that war of succession, with ten thousand men. The elector the nrepaired to Koningsberg, where, on the 18th of January, 1701, he was proclaimed king of Prussia, placing, himself, the crown on his own head. By these means, the house of Brandenburg was liberated from that yoke of servitude, under which Austria had, till then, held all the princes of Germany.

That policy was certainly something more than questionable, which induced Austria to become a party to the elevation of the house of Brandenburg. It undoubtedly injured her own greatness. In the very bosom of the empire was thus raised up a new power, which subsequently became her rival, seizing every opportunity of aggrandizement at her expense. It seems to have been, from its commencement, the fundamental maxim of this state, to endeavor to place itself on an equal rank with the other leading powers of Europe.

The other power, whose rise it becomes important to examine, is Russia. She became every day more prosperous under the princes of the house of Romanow. Formerly inferior to Poland, she began to gain a decided superiority. The czar, Alexis Michaelovitz, recovered from them all that Russia had once possessed, and the city of Kiow in addition, together with all that part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, which lies on the left bank of the Borysthenes.

His son and successor, Theodore Alexivitz, in a grand assembly which he convoked at Moscow, in 1682, abolished the hereditary orders of the nobility, burning the deeds and registers by which they were evidenced. On his death, leaving no children, his two brothers, John and Peter, were proclaimed, the government being intrusted to their eldest sister, the Princess Sophia. Peter was then

only ten years old. This was Peter the Great, the real founder of Russian greatness. Having attained the age of seventeen, he seized the reins of government, and, deposing his sister Sophia, sent her to a convent.

Peter became a reformer; he changed the military system, modeling it after that of the civilized nations of Europe. Before his time Russia had no marine. She had no well established system of finance, little commerce, and but few manufactures.

Peter's first object was to lay open the Black sea to Russia. This he accomplished by his conquest of the city and port of Azoff. He was then enabled to equip his first fleet at Woronitz. He had acquired a practical knowledge of ship-building, and had made several other important acquisitions, in his travels in Holland and England.

He abolished the patriarchal dignity in the Russian church, transferring his authority to a college of fifteen persons who were of his own appointment.

The reform which he introduced into the military system occasioned a revolt among the Strelitzes, the only permanent troops before known in Russia. They were defeated, two thousand executed, and the rest incorporated by Peter among his troops.

It was in the course of the war with Charles XII, king of Sweden, that Peter learned the art of war, and succeeded in organizing his army according to the European system. In the first year of the eighteenth century, he succeeded in levying, equiping, and training his troops after the German manner. While Charles was following upon the steps of Augustus II, king of Poland, the czar was conquering Ingria from the Swedes, and thus laying open the navigation of the Baltic. He laid the foundation of St. Petersburg in one of the islands of the Neva, in May, 1703.

The selection of this spot for the erection of his capital, fully justified the wisdom of the czar. The former capital had been Moscow, and so long as that had remained such, the czars and Russian court had been more Asiatic than European. After the erection of St. Petersburg, and the removal of the court thither, the Russians became more assimilated to Europe, having come more nearly in contact with western civilization.

The Turks were induced, through the intrigues of Charles XII, to declare war against him in 1710, and in 1711 he was surrounded by the army of the grand vizier, near Falczi on the Pruth, and being reduced to the last extremity, he agreed to a treaty of peace on the 21st July, 1711, by which he consented to restore to the Turks the fortress of Azoff, with its territory and dependencies.

But this loss was amply compensated by the peace of Nystadt, concluded with Sweden, Sept. 10th, 1721, on the occasion of which the senate conferred upon him the epithet of great, the father of his country, and emperor of all the Russias. His inauguration as emperor took place on the 22d of October, 1721, on which occasion, he placed upon his own head the imperial crown.

Peter was unfortunate in his family. His son and presumptive heir, Alexis Czarowitz, in consequence of secretly cabaling with his enemies, was condemned and executed in 1718. Soon after, Peter published an ukase, which vested in the reigning prince, the privilege of nominating his successor, and of changing the appointment whenever he might deem it necessary.

This was attended with two difficulties:

1. There was a want of a fixed and permanent order of succession, and this occasioned troubles and revolutions which frequently distracted the whole empire.

2. This law made no provision in cases where the reigning prince might neglect to settle the succession during his own life.

This latter difficulty occurred in the case of Peter himself. He died on the 25th of February, 1725, without making or appointing any successor. His successor was his widow, Catharine I, who, after a reign of two years, left the throne to Peter, son of Alexis, and grandson of Peter the Great.

Thus the most striking fact that marks the beginning of the eighteenth century, is the indisputable ascendancy gained by Russia over all the other northern powers. Peter the Great had given a European character to his court, his residence, and in part to his people. When he planted his court in St Petersburg, Europe felt that he had drawn nearer, and when he laid his rough hand upon the Baltic, and his fleets navigated that sea, it was quite apparent that the Swedish dominion must be at an end.

In Hungary, some important changes occurred in the latter part of the seventeenth century. During nearly the whole of this century three powers were striving for the mastery in Hungary. These were the Hungarian constitution, the Austrian emperor, and the Turkish sultan. The court of Vienna seized upon all occasions to extend its power in Hungary, and always at the expense of the laws and constitutions of the country. But a large portion of Hungary was under the dominion of the Turks, and it was by enlisting these against the Austrians that the Hungarians were enabled, to some extent, to limit the power of the latter.

The oppressions practiced by the Austrians finally resulted in a civil war in 1677, under the leadership at first of Count Francis Wesselini, and afterwards of Count

Emeric Tekeli. The Turks became interested in the quarrel, and the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, at the head of an Ottoman army, laid siege to Vienna itself in July, 1683. He was, however, compelled to raise the siege in September of the same year by the Polish king, John Sobieski, and the imperial general, Charles, duke of Lorraine.

The imperial generals, Charles and Prince Louis of Baden and Prince Eugene gained a succession of splendid victories, and procured for the emperor Leopold the conquest of all that part of Hungary which had previously been in the power of the Ottomans.

In 1686 occurred the battle of Strigova, in which a victory over the Turks was gained by the duke of Lorraine, and the fortress of Neuhausel was taken. The same general took by assault the Hungarian capital, Buda, which the Turks had possessed since 1541. Again the imperialists gained the memorable victory of Mohacs in 1687, which was followed by the reduction of Transylvania and Slavonia under the dominion of Austria.

After these victories were obtained, the emperor Leopold assembled the states of Hungary at Presburg where they were prevailed upon or compelled to surrender their right of electing their sovereign, and to make the succession hereditary in favor of the males of the two Austrian branches, on the extinction of which they were to be restored to their ancient rights. The privileges of the states which rested originally on the decree of king Andrew II, were renewed at this diet, except the clause in the thirty-first article which authorized the states to oppose, by open force, any prince that should attempt to infringe the rights and liberties of the country. The archduke Joseph, son of Leopold I, was crowned at this diet December 19th, 1687, as the first hereditary king of Hungary.

The war between Austria and Turkey continued with varying success. The arms of Austria at first triumphed. Albe-Royale, Belgrade, Semendria and Gradisca, fell into the hands of the emperor. Louis, prince of Baden, in 1689, gained two splendid victories at Nissa and Widdin, which secured to the Austrians the conquest of Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria.

But the tide at length turned in favor of the Turks. The new grand vizier, Mustapha Kiuperli took from the imperialists, Nissa, Widdin, Semendria, and Belgrade, and reconquered Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria. But in the great battle of Salankement, fought on the 16th August, 1691, the brave Kiuperli was slain, and the prince of Baden gained a great victory over the Turks.

The war between Austria and Turkey was prosecuted with little spirit, while the war between France and Austria continued; but upon the conclusion of that war, Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperial army, gained a decisive victory over the sultan, Mustapha II, near Zenta, on the river Theiss. On the 11th September, 1697, the Turks fell back in disorder on Belgrade.

Negotiations for a peace were now set on foot, first at Constantinople, and thence transferred to Carlowitz, which resulted in the conclusion of a peace on the 26th January, 1699.

By this treaty, the emperor of Austria retained Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia, except the Banat of Temesvar, which was given to Turkey. The limits between the two empires, were the rivers Marosch, Theiss, Save, and the Unna.

This peace secured to the emperor nearly the whole of Hungary, but that country was far from enjoying internal tranquillity. Various causes of discontent were still in

active operation, and about the commencement of the eighteenth century, when the greater part of Europe was involved in the war of the Spanish succession, the flames of civil war were kindled in Hungary by Prince Ragoczi, who was of illustrious birth, held great possessions, and a distinguished rank in the states of Hungary. Having been condemned by the emperor, as guilty of high treason, he placed himself at the head of the rebels in Hungary, and claimed to vindicate their ancient liberties which had been oppressed by the house of Austria. France encouraged the enterprise, and he soon made himself master of a great part of the kingdom. The states of Hungary declared him their chief. Louis XIV sent an envoy to congratulate him on his elevation, and Peter the Great, in 1707, offered him the throne of Poland.

The Austrians being deeply engaged in the war of the Spanish succession, found little time or means to combat the Hungarians. The war was continued until 1711 when Ragoczi was compelled to evacuate Hungary and retire to the frontiers of Poland. A treaty of pacification was then agreed upon. The emperor promised:

1. To grant a general amnesty and restitution of goods.

2. To preserve inviolable the rights, liberties and immunities of Hungary, and the principality of Transylvania.

3. To reserve all civil and military offices to the Hungarians.

4. To maintain the laws of the kingdom respecting religion.

5. As to other grievances to have them discussed at the approaching diet.

The Turkish empire was fallen from its former glory. Its sultans had become effeminate, and incapacitated to rule; its janissaries a lawless and undisciplined militia,

standing in nearly the same relations to the throne as the ancient prætorian guards once stood to that of the Cæsars. The arts cultivated by the Europeans were held in contempt, and the fierce, wild energies of a nomadic race were fast dying out.

The last conquest of importance which they made was that of Candia, which they took from Venice after a war of twenty years. The siege of that city was one of the most memorable in history. It lasted two years and four months, and the Turks lost above one hundred thousand men. It surrendered September 5, 1669, when a peace was concluded between the Turks and Venetians.

We have already seen the disastrous wars carried on between the Turks and Austrians, so that with the beginning of the eighteenth century the Turks had ceased being a very formidable power in Europe.

The peace of Utrecht and of Baden, had been the work of almost all the powers of Europe. The great object of the western powers of Europe was the preservation of that peace. Several of these powers gained great advantages by it. It was concluded under the auspices of England, and the growing commerce of that country with all parts of the world, rested mainly upon the conditions of this peace. Another desirable thing confirmed by it to England, was the protestant succession.

France also had an interest in its preservation. On it rested the renunciation of the French throne by the house of Anjou, and to this renunciation, Philip of Orleans was indebted for the regency.

Austria found in the peace of Utrecht the secure possession of the conceded provinces, and the republic of Holland could enjoy her new privileges only in time of peace.

Such interests occasioned closer relations between those powers, and the triple alliance was signed at the Hague, January 4, 1717, only four years after the peace of Utrecht, in order to enforce its execution.

The principal disturbing influences proceeded from Spain. The loss of her provinces, especially of those in Italy, was not forgotten. The Abbe Alberoni became cardinal and prime minister; and entered at once upon the boldest and broadest projects. They contemplated no less than the reconquest of the Italian provinces; the securing the regency in France to the king of Spain; and the reinstating the house of Stuart upon the throne of England.

He availed himself of the war between Austria and Turkey, and in August, 1717, by a sudden invasion, conquered Sardinia, and in July, 1718, effected the conquest of Sicily.

To meet this sudden outbreak on the part of Spain, a treaty was negotiated, termed the quadruple alliance, which was negotiated between England, France, and Austria, on the 2d of August, 1718. The main object of this alliance was to oblige the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, to agree to the conditions of peace proposed by France and England, and acceded to by Austria; and these were:

1. Mutual renunciation of Spain and India by the emperor, and of Italy and the Netherlands by the Spanish king.

2. To Don Carlos, son of Elizabeth, the queen of Spain, was given the reversion of Tuscany, Parma and Placenza, as fiefs of the empire, to be occupied by neutral troops.

3. Austria to exchange Sicily for Sardinia.

The duke of Savoy accepted and received the crown of Sardinia instead of that of Sicily.

The king of Spain refused, and a British fleet on the 11th of August, 1718, defeated the Spanish fleet on the coast of Sicily. The Spanish peninsula was invaded in 1719, and the Spanish king finally dismissed Alberoni, and signed the quadruple alliance on the 26th of January, 1720.

Leopold, the emperor of Germany, died in 1705, and was succeeded by his son Joseph I. His reign was a brief one, as he died in 1711, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. Besides his hereditary dominions, he possessed all Hungary, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and the nine provinces of the Low Countries. On receiving the imperial crown, he signed an obligation to conserve and augment the rights of the Germanic body.

As Charles VI had only daughters, he framed an order of succession under the name of the pragmatic sanction, which, if possible, was to be accepted and guarantied by all the powers. The object was to settle the Austrian succession, and so to preserve the unity of the Austrian empire, and give stability to the affairs of Europe. It was made the ground of negotiations and concessions, of which foreign cabinets knew very well how to make excellent use. This was planned as early as 1713, and had been accepted in the hereditary states since 1720. It was a domestic law, by virtue of which the Austrian hereditary possessions remained undivided, and, in the event of the male line becoming extinct, descended upon the female branch.

It is not a little curious that the principal cause of the wars which for the first sixty years of the eighteenth century desolated Europe, were disputes for successions. There was first the Spanish succession, which was contested principally between the houses of Austria and Bourbon. Next the succession to the crown of Poland. Then followed

the pragmatic sanction, or Austrian succession. Simultaneously with the contests growing out of this were the claims on Silesia, founded on hereditary right, and set up by the king of Prussia; and, lastly, almost immediately followed a dispute for the succession of Bavaria. Thus in the very centre and heart of civilization, for more than half a century, the whole world was kept in a continued ferment, for the personal interests of princes, without the least reference to the great interests of mankind.

Amongst other difficulties that threatened to destroy the peace of Utrecht, was the chartering, by Charles VI, of the Ostend Company for trade to the East and West Indies, which was done on the 19th December, 1722. This was regarded by the maritime powers as an encroachment on their rights, contrary to the peace of Westphalia.

These differences led to the congress of Cambray, in which Austria, Spain, Sardinia, and Parma, all gave in their claims. During the pendency of negotiations before this congress, the change of a project of marriage caused an unexpected revolution in political relations.

Maria, the infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip V, had been educated at the court of France, as the intended spouse of Louis XV. The duke of Bourbon, succeeding the duke of Orleans in the ministry, sent back the infanta to Spain, April 5th, 1724, and Louis XV, espoused Maria, the daughter of the Polish ex-king Stanislaus Lescinsky on the 10th August, 1725.

This event broke up the congress of Cambray. It became the source of animosity between Spain and France, and led to a reconciliation between Spain and Austria. A special treaty was concluded at Vienna between the two last named powers on the 30th April, 1825. The principal conditions of this treaty were:

1. Ratification of the peace of Utrecht, and a mutual guaranty of all possessions as they then were.

2. Acknowledgment of the mutual order of succession.

3. Mutual succor in case of an attack. And in a commercial treaty signed May 1st, Spain recognized the Ostend Company.

This created a commotion in the cabinets, and led to a counter alliance between England, France, and Prussia, which was concluded at Herrenhausen, September 3d, 1725, and is known as the alliance of Hanover.

These two alliances soon divided between them all Europe. Holland, Sweden, and Denmark acceded to that of Hanover; Russia, and the principal catholic states of the empire, that of Vienna. Prussia went over to that of Vienna in 1726.

Thus all Europe, without knowing any reason why, seemed on the eve of a general war. Embassadors were recalled; the English dispatched powerful fleets to America, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; and the Spaniards commenced hostilities by laying siege to Gibraltar.

The war, however, had a brief continuance. The prime ministers both of England and France, Walpole and Cardinal Fleury were averse to war, and the empress of Russia, Catherine I, who was the widow and successor of Peter the Great, dying on the 17th of May, 1727, caused a change in the disposition of the northern powers.

The pope interposed his mediation, and an armistice for seven years was signed at Paris, providing that a new general Congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle. This being transferred to Cambray, and thence to Soissons, was opened in 1728.

In the outset of these negotiations the emperor Charles VI demanded that the pragmatic sanction should be adopted

as the basis of the arrangements. This was strongly opposed by Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister of France. These obstacles, mutually interposed, led to the making of overtures to Spain by the French court, which finally resulted in a treaty signed at Seville between France, Spain, and England, November 9th, 1729. By this treaty the powers agreed to guaranty the succession of Parma and Tuscany in favor of the infant, Don Carlos. The Dutch finally acceded to the treaty, the contracting powers undertaking to give them satisfaction with respect to the company of Ostend.

The emperor immediately broke off all relationship with Spain, and in 1731 took possession of the duchy of Parma.

England and Holland opened a negotiation with the emperor, and a treaty of alliance was signed at Vienna between those two powers and Austria on the 16th of March, 1731. By this treaty the two first mentioned powers engaged to guaranty the Austrian pragmatic sanction, and the latter to suppress the company of Ostend. Don Carlos immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, and was recognized as his successor by the grand duke of Tuscany. This terminated the long disputes about the Spanish succession, which had agitated the greater part of Europe for more than thirty years. France and Spain by this were reconciled; Austria saw its pragmatic sanction acknowledged and even guarantied; while England was in amity with all.

But a new source of disturbances was opened in the north, occasioned by the death of Augustus II, king of Poland. Stanislaus, the former protege of Charles XII, was the father-in-law of Louis XV, king of France. Upon the death of Augustus, and on the 12th September,

1733, Louis had sufficient interest to procure his election to the Polish throne.

In Russia, Peter II, having succeeded Catharine I, was cut off in the flower of his age, June 20, 1730. He was succeeded by Anne Iwanowna, the niece of Peter the Great, who, fearing the influence of France in Poland, espoused the interests of Augustus III, elector of Saxony, and son of the late king, who was proclaimed king, by a portion of the Polish nobility in opposition to Stanislaus.

The flames of war now spread universally. The Russians seized Warsaw, and besieged Stanislaus in Dantzic, obliging him to seek safety in flight. France declared war against Charles VI. Spain and Sardinia espoused the cause of Stanislaus, while England and Holland preserved a neutrality. The French, under the count de Belleisle, seized Lorraine in October, 1733. Marshal Berwick, with a French army, crossed the Rhine, and reduced the fortress of Kehl. This was a fortress of the empire, and the Germanic body was induced to declare war against France and her allies.

The scene of war was transferred to Italy, where the campaigns of 1734 and 1735, resulted gloriously for the allies. They gained two victories over the imperialists, blockaded Mantua, and reduced all Austrian Lombardy. The infant, Don Carlos, overthrew the imperialists, at Bitonto, took Naples, passed over into Sicily, and having reduced that island, was crowned king of the two Sicilies, at Palermo, July 3, 1735.

The emperor, overwhelmed by reverses, earnestly solicited aid from Russia. The empress Anne dispatched a body of ten thousand auxiliaries into Germany, in the spring of 1735, who were the first Russian troops that appeared in Germany.

The maritime powers finally interposed their good offices for the restoration of peace. This was at length signed at Vienna between France, the emperor and the empire, on the 8th November, 1738. The former treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, and the quadruple alliance, were admitted as the basis of this treaty. What was satisfactory to the emperor, France guarantied the pragmatic sanction. Spain and Sardinia finally gave their consent to this treaty in 1739.

While these disputes relative to the Polish succession were pending, a war broke out between the Russians and Turks, in which Austria was also implicated. War was declared in 1735, and during the campaign of 1736, Count Lacy made himself master of Azoff, and Marshal Munich, having forced the lines at Perekop, penetrated into the interior of the Crimea, but found it impossible to sustain himself there.

The emperor, Charles VI, feeling that he ought to take some part in the quarrels of his neighbors, first offered himself as a mediator between the belligerent powers, but that proving fruitless, he next made war upon the Turks, thinking that he might share with Russia in the conquest of Turkey. But the Turks gained considerable advantages over the Austrians. In the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, they dislodged them from Wallachia and Servia, retook Orsova, and laid siege so the city of Belgrade itself, in 1739.

The Austrian emperor and the Russian empress, both desired peace, which was finally concluded in the year 1739, on terms disadvantageous both to Austria and Russia.

By it the emperor gave up to Turkey, Belgrade, Sabaltz, and Orsova, together with Austrian Servia, and Wallachia. The Danube, Save, and Unna, again became the

boundary between the two empires. Russia gave up all her conquests, including Choczim and Moldavia. The fortress of Azoff was demolished, and Russia interdicted from having fleets, or other naval stores, either on the sea of Azoff, or the Black sea.

The year 1740 was signalized by the occurrence of two events, which influenced for all time to come, the history of Europe. The one was the death of Frederick William, king of Prussia, and the succession of his son, Frederick II, known as Frederick the Great; the other, the death of the emperor, Charles VI. The first was born in 1712, ten years after Prussia had become a kingdom; and in 1740, mounted an absolute throne, having, at his command, a full treasury, and a well disciplined army. He was ambitious, and resolved to place Prussia in the rank of the first European powers.

The death of Charles VI tested the strength of the pragmatic sanction, and the sufficiency of its guaranties. To have a proper understanding of the nature of this sanction, and the changes effected by it, we must go back to the diet of the states of Hungary, which assembled in 1687, and which vested the hereditary right of that kingdom in the emperor, Leopold I, and restricted that right solely to the male descendants of the house of Austria. Charles VI, on his accession, had acknowledged the elective right of the states, in case he should happen to die without leaving any male offspring. But afterwards, finding that he was likely to leave no other children than daughters, and being desirous of securing to them the succession of Hungary, as well as his other estates, he assembled a diet at Presburg, in 1722, and there engaged the states of the kingdom to extend the right of succession

to females, according to the order which he had established in the Austrian pragmatic sanction. This would enable his daughters to succeed, in preference to those of his elder brother, Joseph I, and the succession of these should follow the order of primogeniture, and should inherit undivided, the whole Austrian monarchy. He had taken great pains to get this order of succession approved by the different hereditary states of Austria, as well as by the daughters of his brother, Joseph I, and by the husbands of those princesses, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria. He had also obtained by degrees, the sanction and guaranty of all the principal powers of Europe. His eldest daughter was Maria Theresa, who was entitled to succeed under this order.

No sooner, however, was Charles VI in his grave than numerous claimants started up for his hereditary dominions. These were:

1. The elector of Bavaria, who was descended from Anne of Austria, the daughter of Ferdinand I.

2. The elector of Saxony, then king of Poland, who, although he had approved of the pragmatic sanction, yet claimed the succession as being the husband of the daughter of Joseph I, and also in virtue of a compact between the two brothers, Joseph I, and Charles VI, which provided, that the daughters of Joseph should, under all circumstances, be preferred to those of Charles.

3. Philip V, king of Spain, claimed the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, under an agreement made in 1617, between Philip III of Spain, and Ferdinand II of Austria, by which these kingdoms were to pass to the descendants of Philip III, failing the male line of Ferdinand.

4. Frederick II of Prussia revived certain claims of his family to several duchies and principalities in Silesia,

of which his ancestors, he maintained, had been unjustly deprived by Austria.

5. The king of Sardinia claimed the whole duchy of Milan, and this he grounded on the contract of marriage between his ancestor, Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and the daughter of Philip II of Spain.

While these several claims were being put forward, an alliance was concluded between France, Spain, and the elector of Bavaria, which was joined also by the kings of Prussia, Poland, Sardinia, and the two Sicilies. In the north it was sought to keep Russia occupied, by prevailing upon Sweden to declare war against her.

Frederick II, the king of Prussia, in the month of December, 1740, burst into Silesia and conquered that Austrian province. The elector of Bavaria took possession of Upper Austria. The electoral diet assembled at Frankfort on the 24th of January, 1742, conferred on him the imperial dignity, he taking the name of Charles VII. It was the purpose of the allied powers to dismember the Austrian monarchy, to bestow upon the elector of Bavaria the newly elected emperor, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the provinces of upper Austria; upon the elector of Saxony, Moravia, and upper Silesia; upon the king of Prussia, the remainder of Silesia; and upon Don Philip, the infant of Spain, Austrian Lombardy. To the queen would only be left Hungary, with lower Austria, the duchies of Carinthia, Stiria and Carniola, and the Belgic provinces.

Maria Theresa, in her distress, repaired to Presburg and there convened the states of Hungary. Appearing in that assemblage with her infant son, those sturdy nobles, drawing their swords, with one accord, exclaimed, "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa."

England and Holland furnished her with supplies of money, and the Hungarian nation with soldiers.

The king of Prussia gained two victories, one at Molwitz, April 10th, 1741, and one at Czaslau, May 17th, 1742, by means of which he succeeded in conquering Silesia, Moravia, and part of Bohemia. As he appeared to be the most formidable enemy, the queen concluded with him a treaty at Berlin, July 28th, 1742, by which she gave up to him Silesia and something more. By this large addition to Prussia the king of Poland became alarmed, and formed an alliance with the queen against the Prussian king.

The king of Sardinia, fearful of the Bourbon supremacy in Italy, also concluded a peace with the queen at Turin. England having guarantied the pragmatic sanction, George II sent to the queen an army of English, Hanoverians and Hessians, called the pragmatic army which defeated the French at Dettingen, June 27th, 1743.

A treaty was concluded at Worms between the queen and king of Sardinia by which the former ceded to the latter Pavia, part of Placentia, and Anghiera, the latter abandoning all the claims to the Milanese, and agreeing to support an army of forty thousand men for the service of the queen.

The entire aspect of affairs now became changed. The queen reconquered Austria and Bohemia, expelling the French from Bavaria, and driving them beyond the Rhine. The emperor Charles VII was compelled to fly.

France had hitherto acted simply as the ally of the elector of Bavaria. She now declared war directly both against Austria and England. This was on the 15th of March, 1744. The war was now prosecuted with fresh vigor. Louis XV attacked the Austrian Netherlands, and negotiated a treaty of union at Frankfort, between the emperor, and several principal states of the empire, stipu-

lating that the allied princes should unite their forces, and compel the queen to acknowledge the emperor, Charles VII, and reinstate him in his hereditary dominions.

The king of Prussia again commenced hostilities, and attacked Bohemia. The French penetrated into Germany, and while Louis XV laid siege to Freiburg in Breslau. General Seckendorf, who commanded the imperial army, reconquered Bavaria. Charles VII was now restored to his estates, and returned to Munich.

An event now occurred on the 20th of January, 1745, which changed the state of affairs. The emperor, Charles VII, died at the early age of forty-seven. His son, Maximilian Joseph, concluded a treaty with Maria Theresa on the 22d of April, 1745, by which he renounced all claim to the Austrian heritage, and signed the pragmatic sanction. This was followed on the 13th of September of the same year, by the election of Francis Stephen, the husband of Maria Theresa, as emperor of Germany under the name of Francis I, thus preserving the imperial crown in the house of Austria.

France and Prussia still continued the war. A Saxon and Austrian army advanced into Silesia, where it sustained a total defeat by the king of Prussia, near Hohenfriedberg, on the 4th of June, 1745. Frederick also defeated the allies a second time in Bohemia near Sou in the circle of Koniggratz, September 30th, 1745. He then attacked Saxony, and on the 15th of December defeated the Saxons at Kesselsdorf, and laid the whole electorate under contribution. A treaty of peace was now signed at Dresden by which the queen again consented to the cession of Silesia, and Frederick in return, as the elector of Brandenburg, acquiesced in the election of her husband, Francis I, to the imperial throne.

The war, although terminated in Germany, still continued in the Netherlands, Italy and the East and West Indies. In the Netherlands a succession of victories was gained in the battles of Fontenoy, Raucoux, and Laffeld, by the French under Marshal Saxe, which resulted in reducing the Austrian Netherlands almost entirely under their power.

Italy had also become the theatre of war. The Spanish troops had made a descent on Italy as early as 1741, with the view of conquering Milan. But Sardinia entered into a compact with Austria in February, 1742, having its own claims on Milan, and on the 13th of September, 1743, a union was effected between Sardinia, England, and Austria. The Bourbon troops were repelled. But Genoa united with the Bourbons June 29th, 1748, and Milan and Parma were conquered.

After the conclusion of the peace of Dresden, however, in 1745, between the queen and king of Prussia, the Austrians in Italy were strengthened by new forces, and in 1746, the French were repulsed, the Spaniards forced to retreat from Lombardy, and Genoa was taken.

Philip V of Spain died on the 9th of July, 1746, by which France was deprived of an ally. She, however, declared war against the republic of Holland, made an attack on Dutch Brabant, and took Bergen-op-Zoom on the 16th of September, 1747.

But a new alliance was formed on the 12th of June, 1747, between Austria and Russia, and a Russian auxiliary army, thirty thousand strong, poured down upon the Rhine. Marshal Saxe, at the same time, had laid siege to Maestricht, in the presence of the enemy, now eighty thousand strong.

But all parties seemed now tired of the war, and a congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, in April, 1748. Ne-

gotiations were protracted through the summer, and finally resulted in a definitive peace between France and the maritime powers, to which Spain, Austria, Genoa, and Sardinia, immediately acceded. The principal conditions were:

1. Mutual restitution of the respective conquests made by France and England.

2. Resignation of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, in favor of Don Philip, and his male posterity, with the condition of a reversion.

3. Sardinia obtained the portions of Milan, resigned 1743.

4. Guaranty of Silesia and Glatz in favor of Frederick, from all claimants.

5. Guaranty of the pragmatic sanction in favor of Austria.

6. Guaranty of the British succession, and of the German states, in favor of the house of Hanover.

The principal powers of Europe now enjoyed a peace for the period of eight years. The previous wars and agitations, and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, produced but little change on the political state of Europe. The most important was that which varied the relations between Austria and Prussia. The important province of Silesia had been taken from one and bestowed upon the other, and this had been done by virtue of conquest. It had been seized upon by Frederick, and extorted from Austria. Two results followed:

1. Prussia was raised to the rank of a first power, and thus became a rival to Austria in the very centre of the empire. The unity of the Germanic body was thus broken, and that body divided between the two leading powers, Austria and Prussia.

2. The seizing upon a province, and retaining it under the terms of a treaty, tended to loosen in the public mind, those ideas of right, which had previously existed, and to create the impression that any method of aggrandizement should meet with the public favor. This was soon to be further developed in the dismemberment of Poland.

We here also see, to a small extent, the interference of Prussia in the affairs of western Europe. This came to be more fully witnessed in the next great war in Europe.

It was apparent that England had waged the war on land more by subsidies than by real strength. The old ties of continental relations were renewed, and states, not only of the second, but also of the first rank, were subsidized, and among these, not only the oppressed Austria, but even Russia. In this manner England purchased the direction of the war, and thence also that of the peace. She was also, at this time, acquiring the dominion of the sea.

Maria Theresa could not forget the loss of Silesia. It had been extorted from her necessities. An example had been set to Europe of a successful wrong openly perpetrated, perseveringly persisted in. The eight years of peace that followed the Austrian war of succession, was busily employed in the formation of alliances. Under four successive reigns, a very extraordinary man, Prince Kaunitz, was the soul of the Austrian cabinet, if not the cabinet itself. The relations that had formerly existed between Russia, Saxony and Austria, rendered it no difficult matter to enlist the Russian empress Elizabeth, and Augustus III of Saxony in the confederation with Maria Theresa. A much more difficult task presented itself in the attempt to secure the French court in the same interest. France and Austria had, for a succession of years, been

rivals and hostile to each other. But Louis XV was the slave of his mistresses, and the marchioness of Pompadour was the real ruler of France. To her Maria Theresa wrote a flattering letter, and Kaunitz, who repaired in person to France, held out the alluring prospect that by uniting and overthrowing Frederick II, France and Austria could rule Europe in common. By these means France was induced to renounce its ancient policy, and the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, so long the enemies of each other, united themselves against Prussia. A league of amity was entered into between France and Austria on the 1st of May, 1756, and also a compact of neutrality on the part of Austria, in the war then just breaking out between England and France, by which compact Austria renounced her connection with England.

While the storm was gathering to discharge itself upon Prussia, numerous colonial difficulties and misunderstandings were fast precipitating England and France into a war. These finally resulted in a declaration of war by England against France on the 15th of May, 1756. The union of France and Austria against Prussia, and the withdrawal of Austria from the alliance with England, led to a formation of an alliance between Prussia and England. Thus the two wars became essentially resolved into one.

We have now arrived at the opening of the seven years war, a war in which the great powers of Europe united to crush Prussia. It was commenced in August, 1756, by Frederick's falling suddenly upon Saxony, and taking possession of Leipsic, Wittenberg and Dresden. Saxon troops, to the number of fourteen thousand, upon the Elbe, were made prisoners of war; Frederick exacted heavy contributions from the conquered country, and this led to the declaration of war against him by the German empire

for breach of the land peace. Sweden also, at the suggestion of the French court, united with the enemies of Prussia. Thus more than half of Europe rose in opposition to Frederick.

The war that was carrying on between England and France was more of a maritime character. The French at first conquered Minorca, and seized the electorate of Hesse and also the states of Brunswick and Hanover. But the efforts they were making on the European continent relaxed their maritime operations, and between the years 1757 and 1761 they lost most of their colonial possessions in the East Indies, on the coast of Africa, and the continent of North America. It was in the prosecution of this war that the naval supremacy of England came to be so completely established.

It is probable that the whole history of the world presents no spectacle more instructive to the tactician, or more sublime to the observer of human nature, than the conduct of the seven years war, by Frederick. It is one of the wonders of history, that a single power could for seven years defy the united efforts of Austria, Germany, with the exception of Hanover, and a few petty states, France, Russia, and Sweden.

In the campaign of 1757, he fought and won a victory near Prague, but was afterwards defeated in a bloody battle by General Daun. This compelled him to raise the siege of Prague, and abandon Bohemia. A French, Swedish, and Russian army were now assailing his dominions. The Croatians possessed his capital, and he was pressed by a superior Austrian force.

In these depths of distress, the genius of Frederick the more strongly shone forth. He marched against and encountered a French army of double his own number, at

Rossbach. These he defeated, capturing all their military stores, and also seven thousand soldiers.

He next turned into Silesia. His army consisted of thirty thousand men. There was an Austrian army under Prince Charles of Lorraine, numbering eighty thousand. These he attacked at Leuthen, and gained a great victory, killing and taking prisoners, twenty thousand Austrians.

Early in the spring of 1758, with a force of thirty-two thousand men, he encountered a Russian army of fifty-two thousand, and at Zorndorf, achieved a complete victory, leaving twenty-two thousand Russians dead on the field. He had now, in less than a year, defeated three great armies, triumphing successively over the French, the Austrians, and Russians. In the same campaign of 1758, the Austrians were driven from Silesia, and the city of Dresden taken.

The campaign of 1759, the fourth year of the war, proved disastrous to Frederick. The Austrians invaded Saxony, and the Russians gained a victory at Kunersdorf. The Prussians were also defeated in three other disastrous battles.

In the succeeding campaign of 1760, Frederick had ninety-two thousand men, and his enemies two hundred thousand. He was compelled to act on the defensive. In Silesia, his general, Fouque, was defeated by General Loudon. He, however, defeated the Austrians, and thus prevented their junction with the Russians. Near the close of the campaign, he again defeated at Torgau, an army of sixty-four thousand, with a force of forty-four thousand.

The campaign of 1761 was disastrous to Prussia. While the Russians were successful in Pomerania, half of Silesia

was taken by the Austrians. The change in the British ministry and policy which followed the resignation of Pitt, deprived Frederick of the subsidies he had been constantly receiving from England.

The affairs of the king of Prussia seemed now completely desperate. His army was almost annihilated, his people impoverished, his resources exhausted, and his utter ruin seemed inevitable. But just now one of those remarkable events happened that changed the whole face of affairs. On the 5th of January, 1762, his implacable enemy, Elizabeth, empress of Russia, died. Her successor, Peter III, was an admirer and personal friend of Frederick, and immediately withdrew his troops from the Prussian territories. He even sent troops to the aid of Frederick. By a treaty of peace concluded at St. Petersburg, May 5th, 1762, Russia surrendered all her conquests which she had made during the war in Prussia and Pomerania, and each sovereign renounced all the alliances that were hostile to each other.

But Peter III was dethroned after a reign of six months. His widow and successor, Catherine II, however, preserved the treaty of peace with the king of Prussia.

While these destructive campaigns were wasting the powers of central Europe, and sending their desolating influences over Prussia, Germany, and Austria, the war that was waging between France and England was extending literally to all parts of the world. It was searching out the colonies of these two powers, and exhausting them in the extremities of their widely extended empire.

In North America, Cape Breton was taken in July, 1758, and on the 13th September, 1759, France was deprived of all Canada by a decisive battle fought on the plains of

Abraham. In the West Indies and in Africa, the most important French settlements became the spoils of the English. In the East Indies, Pondicherry surrendered on the 16th January, 1762. By means of the loss of these colonies, the French commerce was nearly destroyed, while the great supremacy of the English navy was being established upon every sea.

The death of the empress, Elizabeth, saved the king of Prussia from destruction. The peace of St. Petersburg between Russia and Prussia, was soon followed by that of Hamburg concluded between Sweden and Prussia, May 22d, 1762. This left as the principal contending powers, Austria and France on the one side, and Prussia and England on the other.

But changes were taking place in western Europe which were destined to exert an influence upon the state of affairs. Spain had continued neutral during the reign of Ferdinand IV. Upon his death in 1759, his son, Charles III, left the throne of Naples to ascend that of Spain, and immediately French influence began to control the Spanish court. France sought a compensation for the losses of her navy, her colonies, and her commerce, by a general union of the branches of the house of Bourbon. We have now arrived at what is called the family compact, which had the immediate effect of involving Spain in the war. This Bourbon compact was secretly concluded between France and Spain, August 15th, 1761. The terms were, that all the possessions of both parties were mutually guarantied, and an alliance offensive and defensive was established forever. This led to a declaration of war by England against Spain, January 4th, 1762. This was followed by the taking of Havana by the English on the 11th of August succeeding, and of Manilla on the 6th of October.

But the war spirit of Europe was on the decline. England had accomplished all she desired in destroying the navy, the commerce, and the colonies of France. Between the three powers of England, France, and Spain, was concluded the peace of Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. Principal conditions were:

1. France renounced to England all claims to Nova Scotia, Canada and Cape Breton, the Mississippi to constitute the boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana.

2. In the West Indies, France yielded to England Grenada, and the neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominique, and Tobago; and in Africa, the coast of Senegal.

3. In Europe, England regained Minorca, Hanover was vacated, and all French troops withdrawn from the empire.

4. Spain resigned to England the Floridas, England restoring to her the conquests made in Cuba and Havana.

The conclusion of this peace left Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, the only remaining belligerents; and, between these, on the 15th of February, 1763, only five days after, was concluded the peace of Hubertsburg. Principal conditions were that as between Prussia and Austria:

1. Both parties renounced all claims to the possessions of the other.

2. Ratification of the peace of Breslau, and that of Dresden.

As between Prussia and Saxony, matters were restored to their ancient footing.

Thus ended the seven-years war, which established several important points:

1. It established that the two leading continental powers were Prussia and Austria. Russia was too remote, and

France too weak, to claim the distinction. The relations of the two former formed the centre of those of the continent.

2. The conclusion by England of a peace separate from Prussia, dissolved the connection between those two powers, and almost extinguished the continental policy of Britain. Relations with the republic of Holland and Portugal still remained. The political influence of England on the continent, had, therefore, nearly ceased.

3. England, as a maritime power, was rising superior to all the rest of Europe. She now, in 1756, promulgated her maritime law, that is, she deprived neutrals of the right to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power under their own flag, and on their own account.

4. A spirit of activity was aroused, which the peace could not destroy, and which, therefore, must develop itself in the various branches of industry.

5. The expenses of the war, and the necessity that seemed to exist, of keeping on foot large standing armies, rendered the finances, matters of the first importance, and gave to the public revenues a high standing in political economy. In this manner, the material resources of states came to have a higher value in practical politics.

6. The operation of political forces in the state began to be regarded as more mechanical, and the phrase "political machines," began to be applied to governments.

Having brought down the affairs of central and western Europe to the close of the seven years' war, it seems to present a sufficient resting place to enable us to recur to the north of Europe, and notice some of the principal events which have been there transpiring. Russia, we have seen raised by the genius of Peter the Great to be

not merely the leading, but the controlling power of the north.

On the demise of Peter, his widow, Catharine I, reigned from February 9, 1725, to May 17, 1727. She was wholly under the guidence of Menschikow. She participated very little in the general politics of Europe, except that she was drawn into the league of Vienna, which, however, was, at first unattended by any consequences.

It is not a little curious that from the death of Peter I in 1725 to that of Catharine II in 1796, a period of seventy-one years, the throne of this great empire, with the exception of only about four years, was occupied by female sovereigns.

Catharine I was succeeded by the short reign of Peter II, and he, in 1730, by the empress Anne, a niece of Peter the Great, who reigned during the period of ten years. Then the short reign of Iwan, or John VI, who, in 1741, was succeeded by Elizabeth Petrowna, the daughter of Peter the Great, who held the Russian sceptre for the space of twenty years.

At her demise, in 1762, she left the throne to her nephew, Peter, duke of Holstein Gottorp, who reigned for a short period, under the name of Peter III. He was succeeded in 1762, by his wife Catharine Alexiowna, known as Catharine II, whose long reign of thirty-four years was, next to that of Peter the Great, the most illustrious in the annals of Russia. Although Elizabeth had united her arms with those of Maria Theresa, and thus became a party to the seven years war, yet Russia derived, in fact, no benefit from it, except that her armies had become accustomed to the European methods of warfare. It was during the reign of Catharine II, that this great northern power, which for half a century had held an undisputed sway

in the northern system of Europe, came to play an equally important part in the politics of central and western Europe, and thus to introduce a new element into the general affairs of that continent. The idea of the balance of power seems never to have entered very largely into the northern system of European politics, and hence when the leading power of that system became a party to the southern system, it brought along with it, its own political ideas and principles.

The European nations in whose domestic concerns Russia interfered the most were those of Sweden and Poland. By placing whom she pleased upon those thrones, and by holding back in all wars until all parties had become extremely weary of them, she came by degrees to exercise more and more influence in the general affairs of Europe, which she uniformly employed in territorial extension.

The treaties of Paris and of Hubertsburg, both occurring in the commencement of the year 1763, seemed to be the inauguration of a more peaceful policy through Europe. The reigning monarchs of the leading powers were George III of England, Louis XV of France, Maria Theresa of Austria, Frederick II of Prussia, and Catherine II of Russia. The accession, and long reign of the latter constitutes a new epoch for Russia and the north, and introduces a new element into the general politics of Europe.

The separate peace which had been negotiated between Russia and Prussia, altered the relations of the north, by severing the alliance with Austria, and thus leaving Catharine a greater degree of freedom. Her diplomacy encircled all Europe, but acted more directly upon the contiguous nations, the porte and the north. Poland, at this time, presented a fitting theatre for her operations.

The Polish throne became vacant by the death of Augustus III, October 5, 1763.

The great object of Catharine was now to give a king to Poland, and on the 7th September, 1764, Stanislaus Poniatowsky was chosen king on the plain of Wola, amidst the clash of Russian sabres. On the previous eleventh of April, a treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Prussia, the conditions of which were, a mutual defense and guaranty of all European possessions, and a secret article relating to the preservation of the constitution of Poland. The object of this, was to perpetuate there the disorders, factions, civil dissensions, and feebleness, which had become identified with that constitution.

About this period was formed in Poland the party of the dissidents, which included Protestants, Socinians, and adherents of the Greek church, whose claim for the restoration of their privileges, civil and ecclesiastical, was supported by Russia, Prussia, and most of the protestant governments, but was rejected at the Polish diet through the influence of the catholic nobility. The dissidents now formed the general confederation of Radom, and called upon Russia for assistance. This was in July, 1767.

In February, 1768, was formed the ante-confederation of Bar, which was opposed to Russian influence, and was supported by France.

A war arose between the two confederations. The Russians were victorious, Bar and Cracow were stormed, and the enemy driven into the Turkish dominions, whither they were followed by the Russians.

But a new enemy now awoke from its slumbers. On the 30th October, 1768, commenced the first Turkish war against Russia, which raged for six years, convulsing the east of Europe, and spreading terrible devastations

both by sea and land. Romanzoff, the Russian general, obtained a victory on the Pruth, July 18, 1770, and afterwards subdued Moldavia; and soon after, another on the Kagul, followed by the reduction of Wallachia. Bender was stormed and taken, and its defenders massacred.

The Greeks in the Morea, relying upon Russian aid, had risen against the Turks. The Turks, in return, ravaged the country with fire and sword. On the 5th July, 1770, was fought a great naval battle between the Russian and Turkish fleets, between Scio and Anatolia. The latter having retired to the narrow bay of Chisme, was pursued by the Russians, and their whole fleet burnt during the night. Constantinople was in terrible consternation, and had the Russians known how to take advantage of it, it is not improbable that the queen city of the Bosphorus would have been compelled to surrender to Russian arms.

During this time a desolating pestilence occurred at Moscow, cutting off in a single year, nearly one hundred thousand men, and the civil war was raging with increasing fury in Poland.

In the campaign of 1771, a Russian army, under Prince Dolgomki, forced the lines at Perekop, and made himself master of the Crimea, and in the succeeding year, the Tartars renounced the Ottoman dominion, and placed themselves under the protection of Russia.

The courts of Vienna and Berlin undertook to mediate between Russia and Turkey. These courts, especially that of Vienna, strongly opposed the extension of Russian territory, and even threatened to make common cause with Turkey, and to replace matters between the Russians and Turks, on the footing of the treaty of Belgrade. An

agreement to this effect was even negotiated with the porte, and signed at Constantinople, July 6, 1771.

But a new idea now acquired the ascendancy, the dismemberment of Poland. During a visit of Prince Henry of Prussia, to Petersburg, the project was matured, of attempting the reestablishment of peace at the expense of Poland. Frederick entered warmly into the project, and negotiations relative to the first partition, were entered upon, first between Prussia and Russia, and then between Prussia and Austria. A personal interview was had between Frederick II and Joseph II. Maria Theresa was long opposed to the scheme, as unjust, and hence, impolitic.

Although the Polish diet entered its solemn protest against so outrageous an act, yet it was powerless in the presence of the Russian armies; and the three powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in August, 1772, presented the most extraordinary spectacle of proceeding deliberately to partition among themselves a large portion of what then constituted Poland. Prussia appropriated Polish Prussia, the district of the Netz, and the fertile lands of the Vistula; Austria, Galicia, with the rich mines of Wielicza; and Russia, the land on the Dwina and Dnieper. Thus, the blow was struck which from that time forth rendered every state in Europe unsafe. If it was competent by the might of force to seize upon any portion of Poland, why not as well upon that of any other country? Although by the equal division among the three, the balance of power might be maintained in the north equally as well after as before the partition, yet the difficulty lay in the moral element; the potentates of Europe had themselves begun the subversion of the political system of Europe. Where this would end none could say.

In the same August, 1772, a revolution occurred in Sweden. Gustavus III effected a bloodless revolution by which the royal power was restored; a new constitution given depriving the council of the kingdom of its share in the government, leaving the states their rights, and requiring their consent necessary to an aggressive war.

The negotiations between Russia and Turkey in the year 1772, resulted in nothing, and hostilities commenced anew in 1773. This campaign proved not very favorable to the Russians. But that of 1774, was more decisive. The Russian general, Romanzoff, crossed the Danube, and surrounded the grand vizier in the mountains of Bulgaria. A peace was concluded by which the independence of the Tartars in the Crimea was restored, Moldavia and Wallachia restored to the princes appointed by the porte; Kinburn and Azoff to belong to Russia, and commercial navigation to be free in the Black sea, and all the Turkish seas.

Such substantially was the peace of Kainargai, which proved glorious to Russia, but calamitous to Turkey. The latter lost its bulwark against Russia by consenting to the independence of the Tartars, and also its sense of security, while Russian navies could ride in safety upon Turkish waters.

The political relations of the north were, during this period, to a large extent, determined by the personal conferences of the princes. Prince Henry of Prussia's first visit to Petersburg was in 1771, and the first partition of Poland shortly afterwards took place. His second visit thither was in 1776, and that was followed by an alliance with Prussia by the second marriage of the heir to the Russian throne. The visit of Gustavus III in 1777, was followed by mutual distrust, afterwards leading to war.

The meeting of Catharine and Joseph II, first in Mohilow, and then in Petersburg in 1780, was followed by an alliance against the porte, and a scheme for the exchange of Bavaria. After the conferences between Catharine and Joseph II, the alliance between Russia and Prussia was weakened, and that with Austria strengthened.

Another European war of succession was now threatened, that of Bavaria. The electoral line expired with the elector, Maximilian Joseph, December 30, A. D. 1777. The succession reverted of right to the elector Palatine, Charles Theodore, as head of the elder branch of Wittelsbach. He had to support him the feudal law of Germany, the golden bull, the peace of Westphalia, and numerous family compacts, frequently renewed.

But scarcely had the elector closed his eyes, when several competitors made their appearance. The emperor, Joseph II, claimed all the fiefs of the empire, which his predecessors had conferred on the house of Bavaria. The empress, Maria Theresa, demanded all the countries and districts of lower and upper Bavaria, as well as of the upper Palatinate. The electress-dowager of Saxony, sister of the late Bavarian elector, claimed the allodial succession, while the dukes of Mecklenburg laid claim, under an ancient deed of reversion.

Almost immediately upon the death of the elector, an Austrian army entered Bavaria, and took possession of all the countries and districts claimed by the emperor and empress queen. Although the compact of Vienna, acknowledging the validity of the claims of Austria, was signed by the elector Palatine, January 3, 1778, yet the duke of Deux-Ponts, his successor and presumptive heir, being supported by the king of Prussia, refused to ratify it. After several unsuccessful attempts at negotiation

between Prussia and Austria on this subject, both parties prepared for war.

Three Prussian armies now appeared in the field; one commanded by the king, entered Bohemia, through the country of Glatz; another, commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia, penetrated into Bohemia, through Lusatia; while a third marched into Austria and Silesia, and occupied the greater part of that province. These were met by corresponding armies on the part of Austria. But although Europe had never seen armies more numerous, better appointed, or commanded by more skillful generals, yet the war proved, nevertheless, to be a bloodless one.

France and Russia offered their mediation, the latter threatening, in case the war was continued, to make common cause with the king of Prussia. The result was the conclusion of the peace of Zeschen, on the 13th of May, 1779, by which Austria obtained the part of lower Bavaria, between the Inn, the Salza, and the Danube.

Subsequently, and in 1785, the emperor, Joseph II, sought by peaceable means, to get possession of Bavaria. He persuaded the elector to make with him an exchange, and to take, with some limitations, the greater proportion of the Austrian Netherlands, resigning to Austria all Bavaria, with the upper Palatinate. Even Russia promoted the project, which seemed on the verge of accomplishment, when Frederick II came to the rescue, and by forming the German league of princes, to rest on a German federate system, of which Prussia was the centre, preserved for Europe the German constitution.

In the meantime, events of importance had been transpiring in the west of Europe. The North American colonies, by the cessions made by France at the peace of Paris, were made to extend from the Mississippi to the

St. Lawrence, and to the Alleghany mountains, embracing Canada and Florida. British power seemed here consolidated. But it was far from being really so.

Difficulties sprang up between the colonies and the mother country. The inhabitants of the former had been accustomed to self-government and self-reliance. The several provinces had constitutions of their own, and were the nurseries of democratic principles and institutions. Having fully imbibed the spirit of freedom, they were prepared to resist any and everything bearing the semblance of oppression. An opportunity soon presented itself. The colonies were not represented in the British parliament, and still that parliament claimed the right of taxing the inhabitants of the colonies. It was a question of right, whether representation was necessary to give the right of taxation.

To test it, the Grenville stamp act was passed 22d March, 1765, but repealed within the year. In June, 1767, duties were laid on tea, paper, glass and colors. The colonists entered into a voluntary agreement to make use of no British commodities. It became finally narrowed down to the duty on tea, an article which the colonists refused to purchase.

The difficulties continued to increase until they resulted in open war and bloodshed. On the 4th July, 1776, the colonies declared themselves free and independent. This was followed on the 16th October, 1777, by the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. The French cabinet, contrary to the wishes of the king Louis XVI, acknowledged the independence of the provinces, and thus a war between England and France was shortly decided upon. To this war Spain shortly acceded as the ally of France, and soon after, Holland. It became a maritime war, and one in which Eng-

land was compelled a second time to contend for the dominion of the ocean.

The treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between France and America, February 6th, 1778, and the war with England broke out the March following. The naval war began in America and the West Indies under d'Estaing in September of the same year. The French were at first successful. They took Senegal, St. Vincent, Dominique, and Grenada, but lost St. Lucia and Pondicherry in the East Indies.

A junction was effected between the French and Spanish fleets in June, 1779. Minorca was taken February 5th, 1782, and a protracted siege of Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, and defended by Elliot, lasted from 1779 to October, 1782. The war between Great Britain and Holland commenced December 20th, 1780. A naval battle, indecisive in its consequences, was fought at Doggerbank, Aug. 5th, 1781. The British naval power was found to be almost in equilibrium with that of all the rest of western Europe.

But a new principle now came to be asserted, which threatened to involve Great Britain in still greater embarrassment. It respected the trade of neutral vessels. The empress of Russia demanded freedom of trade for neutral vessels not laden with munitions of war, to all ports not actually under blockade. This was on the 28th of February, 1780. A confederacy, termed the armed neutrality, was formed by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. Holland acceded; the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples, adopted its principles; Venice, and even Portugal joined the association. Thus a wall of protection was thrown around neutral commerce, which seemed amply sufficient for its defense.

Sir George Rodney ably maintained the maritime glory of England by his triumphs upon the ocean. He captured four Spanish ships of the line off Cape St. Vincent, drove two more on shore, and burned another. Proceeding to America, he thrice encountered the French fleet, under Count de Guichen, and subsequently gained a decisive victory over the French fleet under Count de Grasse, between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe.

But while Great Britain was battling with the other maritime powers of western Europe for the sovereignty of the ocean, the fate of America was being decided upon the continent. One British army under Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga. The British government had fitted out another expedition against the southern states, and placed it under the command of Lord Cornwallis. He had taken Charleston in South Carolina, but afterwards, and on the 19th of October, 1781, he was surrounded at Yorktown and forced to capitulate.

The loss of this second British army could not be easily replaced. The war ministers in England, under Lord North, lost their majority in parliament, and were therefore forced to resign. Negotiations for a peace were commenced, which finally resulted in the peace of Versailles, the preliminaries of which with America were signed, November 30th, 1782, with France and Spain, January 30th, 1783, and with Holland, May 20, 1784.

By that between England and America the independence of the thirteen united states was acknowledged, the boundaries fixed, the great western territory relinquished to the Americans, and the navigation of the Mississippi made common to both parties.

By that between England and France all conquests in the West Indies were restored. Tobago and Senegal re-

signed to France; Gambia and Fort St. James guaranteed to England; all conquests in the East Indies restored, and a treaty of commerce was to be concluded within two years.

By that between England and Spain the latter was to remain in possession of Minorca, and also of Florida in America. All other conquests were restored.

By that between England and Holland Negapatam was resigned to England, but might be regained for an equivalent. All other conquests restored, the navigation of the Indian seas to be free to the English.

If, about this period, we turn to the north we shall find the great northern power, now embodied in the empress Catharine, busy in the extension of its territory. The Crimea became the scene of dreadful devastations. It was conquered by Potemkin, in 1783, and, with other lands on the Black sea, formed into a territory called Tauris. The porte could not feel satisfied with the near neighborhood of Russia; and, in 1787, a second furious war broke out, by land and sea, between Russia and Turkey, which continued for four years. In this war Austria united with Russia.

Catharine now sent two large armies into the field; the principal one under Potemkin, the second under Romanzoff. The year 1788 was signalized by two naval battles fought at the mouths of the Dnieper, one on the 28th of June, and the other on the 12th of July. Both resulted unfavorably for the Turks. The latter generally avoided decisive engagements on land, contenting themselves with defending their fortresses.

The city of Otchakov was besieged by Potemkin and taken by assault, amid the most terrible carnage, on the 17th December, 1788. In the campaign of 1789, the Aus-

trians under Loudon conquered Belgrade and invested Orsowa. The Austrian army under Coburg joined the Russians in Moldavia, and won a battle at Tockschani, July 31, and at Martinesti, on the Rimnik, 22d September. Gillicia was conquered 1st May, Ackerman, 13th October, Bender, 15th November. The campaign of 1790 was alike disastrous, and the close of it was signalized by the terribly destructive assault in the storming of Ismail by Suwarrow on the 22d day of December. The road to Constantinople now stood open to the Russians, and Turkey seemed upon the verge of annihilation.

But other powers now interested themselves. England and Prussia sought to effect diversions in Poland and Sweden. Gustavus III broke with Russia, and on the 23d of June, 1788, invaded Russian Finland. Denmark sided with Russia. Norway was invaded, and Gottenburg menaced. The contest between the northern powers was bloody upon the sea. The Russian squadron obtained a victory, 24th August, 1789; and so also in the following year, 1790. The king gained a victory on the 15th of May, and was again victorious in Svensca sound, on the 9th of July. On the 17th of August, was concluded the peace of Werela, which restored the parties to the same situation they were in before the war, Russia acknowledging the existing Swedish constitution.

The Turkish war became more complicated. On the 30th of January, 1790, Prussia concluded an alliance with Turkey, and a Prussian army was assembled in Silesia. The great Frederick was no more. He had died on the 17th of August, 1786, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. His long reign of almost half a century, was memorable for Prussia and for Europe. With the exception of the partition of a part of

Poland, the European political system remained firm at the time of his death. He was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II.

Six years prior to his death, and in 1780, died Maria Theresa, whose reign, taken altogether, was one of the most distinguished in the Austrian annals. Her husband, Francis Stephen, grand duke of Tuscany, was elected emperor of Germany, under the title of Francis I, in 1745. On his death, which occurred soon after the peace of Hubertsburg, his son, Joseph II, succeeded him in the empire, but the empress queen, Maria Theresa, continued the real sovereign of Austria, until the time of her death.

Joseph II, dying without issue in 1790, was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II. Joseph II had participated actively in the war against Turkey, but Leopold, on his accession, found Belgium in open rebellion, Hungary discontented and turbulent, and the whole state exhausted, and destitute of internal support.

His disposition was pacific, and on the 4th of August, 1791, was concluded between Austria and Turkey the peace of Szistove by which the old condition of things was restored, old Orsova remaining with Austria, and the fortress of Choczim was to be temporarily occupied by Austria.

The four years war between Russia and Turkey was brought to a close by the peace of Jassy, January 9, 1792, by which Russia obtained Otchakov, with the strip of land between the Dnieper and the Dniester, the last mentioned constituting the boundary. The result of this war, and the previous seizure of the Crimea, was to enable Russia to lay her heavy hand upon the Black sea.

The peace with Turkey enabled Catharine to turn her eye upon Poland. On the 3d of May, 1791, and with the approbation of Prussia, a new constitution had been there

proclaimed, by which that kingdom had become changed from an elective into a hereditary one, the throne to be hereditary in the house of the elector of Saxony. The king, with the council of state, was invested with the executive power, the diet to continue in two chambers; the liberum veto abrogated, and all the privileges of the nobility confirmed.

But this constitution, which was at first hailed with great enthusiasm, was ultimately destroyed by party spirit and selfishness, aided by Russian influence. The confederation of Targowitz was formed for the restoration of the old constitution. The aid of the empress was invoked, and a Russian army soon stood in the heart of Poland. A bold but useless resistance was made under Poniatowski, Kosciusco and others. The new constitution was overthrown.

The next scene in the drama was the second partition of Poland. This was made between Russia and Prussia in 1793. By this partition, Poland lost all but a third of its former territory. The consent of the nation to it was extorted in the diet at Grodno. The cession was made in consideration of a renunciation of all further claims, and of a guaranty of what was left behind.

In 1794 a revolution broke out in Cracow, and soon after in Warsaw. The nation seemed roused. The peasants were armed. The Russians suffered a bloody defeat. A new government was erected. For a time everything promised a successful issue. But Russian armies crowded towards Poland. Kosciusco fell, and was made prisoner. Suwarrow, the Russian general, pressed forward and took Praga by assault, twelve thousand defenseless people being either slain or drowned in the Vistula. The capital soon after surrendered, and Suwarrow made his triumphal entry into Warsaw.

The three powers, Russia, Austria and Prussia, now proceeded to make the third and last partition of Poland. This was in January, 1795. The southern part with Cracow became a part of Austria; the land on the left of the Vistula, together with Warsaw, went to Prussia, while Russia took possession of all the rest.

In the year following, in 1796, on the 17th of November, died Catharine II of Russia, who was succeeded by her son, Paul I. Her long reign of thirty years was one of the most glorious in Russian annals, the most so, unless we except that of Peter the Great. She had lived to complete the entire destruction of Poland, a work she had commenced thirty years before. By these means she had extended her dominions into the very heart of Europe, while at the south she had brought her empire to repose on the shores of the Black sea. Her character is one of the most extraordinary that history has to record. To a sensualism the most debasing, she united a mind capable of the loftiest conceptions, and gifted with the clearest insight into political relations. She seems to have a just had appreciation of the extent of her power, and of what she was able to accomplish, and an iron will to carry out what was once resolved upon. Down to her time there had ever been a northern system of politics, embracing the old Scandinavian nations and Russia; but at her death this system came to an end, or rather it became merged in the southern European system. So that from the close of the eighteenth century the affairs of the European nations became so blended together, that from thenceforth they were destined to form but one political system.

We have now arrived at the era of revolutions. The old national freedom had been overthrown in all states of the

continent; the efforts of rulers to obtain unlimited power having been everywhere successful. The constitutions of the leading continental powers had not only not improved, but had rather outlived themselves. In Spain, the cortes had ceased, and the government rested on the inquisition and the catholic religion. In France, the states-general had disappeared, and an autocracy had come to exist in its place; and this was at war in itself, and had, for a long time, been involved in a silent internal contest, by the disputes with the parliament. Republican Holland was torn in pieces by factions. The German empire had become so incumbered by its own tardy forms, that it was hardly capable of making any movement, and might be said to be brought to a dead stand-still. In Prussia, Austria, and Russia, the autocracy was prevailing to its full extent.

Standing armies had become the sole criterion of the strength of the state. Their numbers and perfection had made an equal progress with the growing power of the princes. The interests of the two were identical. The people were defenseless. On the one side was authority and power; on the other submission and labor.

Nor was authority and power extremely scrupulous in subjecting its exercise to stern moral principles. Frederick II of Prussia had seized upon Silesia, and by mere might appropriated it to himself. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had fallen upon Poland, and utterly destroyed its nationality.

Into the midst of this state of things was launched the stirring fact of the American revolution. Here was exhibited to the nations of Europe the strange anomaly, of a few provinces, hardly yet known in history, rising in rebellion against a powerful nation, because they were attempted to be taxed without being allowed representation in parlia-

ment, and after a successful struggle had achieved their independence, and then framed for themselves their own systems of government.

And in turning their attention from the revolted colonies to the mother country, they there beheld a people in the enjoyment of free institutions, working out with their labor innumerable commodities for the world's great market, rendering every nation their tributaries in commerce, and sweeping with their navy every ocean. It was not strange, therefore, that, in the circumstances of the times, the people of Europe should find a warrant for revolutions.

In France was presented a field the ripest for revolution. The aid rendered by the French in the American revolution, had brought many Frenchmen into direct contact with the revolted colonists, and had thus infused into them revolutionary feelings and sentiments. The contrast which presented between the new and the old world, and the numerous oppressions which had become hoary, and, in a manner, legalized in the latter, rendered the contrast between the two marked and peculiar.

Louis XV died in 1774. He was possessed of very moderate abilities, and his government was carried on principally through his mistresses and favorites, who, through him, governed France.

At his demise, he was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI, a prince of a benevolent heart, of the best intentions, but weak and vacillating in his intellectual and moral character. The fruit of the union effected between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, at the commencement of the seven years war, was the marriage that took place between Louis XVI, and Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Marie Theresa. He ascended the throne in his twentieth year, having married four years previously.

The causes of the French revolution lay further back than Louis XVI. These have been generalized under five heads. These were:

First. The infidel philosophers, and their pernicious influence upon France in her social, political, and moral relations. These were Helvetius, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot.

Second. The diffusion of the ideas of popular rights.

Third. The severe burdens of the people.

Fourth. The infatuation of the court and nobles.

Fifth. The utter and apparently hopeless derangement of the finances, which clogged the wheels of government, and ultimately created the necessity for the assembling of the states-general.

It is not proposed in this connection, to give the internal history of the French revolution. That history passes in rapid succession from the assembly of the notables to the convocation of the states-general, the national assembly, the struggles between the factions, particularly the Girondists and the Jacobins; the triumph of the latter; the reign of terror, the directory, the consulate and the empire. It is only the external history of France that is now the subject of our inquiry.

When the third estate of the states-general, convoked in 1789, declared itself a national assembly, and, as such undertook to speak for the nation, there was, in fact, an abolition of the monarchy, or if it existed at all it was only in name. The sudden uprising of a republic in the heart of Europe, and amid the hoary monarchical institutions that so universally prevailed, and held sway all around it, presented a phenomena never before witnessed in the world's history.

The shadows continued to deepen, and the march of events to become more solemn and impressive, until on

the 21st of January, 1793, the head of Louis XVI fell beneath the axe of the executioner. A thrill of horror ran through every kingly heart in Europe, and every European court deeply sympathized with the afflictions of the royal family of France. To create a still wider diversity between the French people and the rest of Europe, there were thousands of French emigrants driven from their homes by the deepening horrors of the reign of terror, and these, by the sympathy they everywhere created, and the alarm and apprehension they inspired, led to the awakening in the heart of Europe, of dread and abhorrence of the French people. Besides, the French republic represented a new principle, popular sovereignty, and with this, the old governments of Europe, reposing upon the rights of kings must necessarily come into conflict. If that was to prevail not a crowned head in Europe could repose in safety.

We cannot, therefore, be mistaken in expecting to behold France battling single handed against combined Europe. In Austria, Leopold II, who had steadily refused joining the coalition against France, died in 1792, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis II. In Russia, Catharine II still ruled as empress of the north, and thus continued until 1796. In Sweden, Gustavus III, who had overturned the constitution of the kingdom and erected thereon a despotism, was assassinated in 1792, and succeeded by his son, Gustavus Adolphus IV. In Denmark, Christian VII was the reigning monarch, although his incapacity to reign, through mental alienation, in devolving the royal functions upon his son the prince royal. In England, the long reign of George III, which commenced in 1760, was still winding its slow length along, through sunshine and deep shadows, through occasional displays of reason and returns of mental alienation. Probably no

monarch, either in ancient or modern times, lived and reigned through so many and such an extraordinary series of events as did George III.

In Spain, Charles III had succeeded Ferdinand IV in 1759, and he was succeeded by Charles IV in 1788. In Naples, the reigning king, Ferdinand IV, was the brother of the king of Spain, having succeeded the latter on his accession to the Spanish throne.

In Prussia, Frederick William II, nephew of the great Frederick, continued to reign till 1797 when he was succeeded by Frederick William IV. In Turkey Achmet IV became the reigning sultan in 1789.

These were the occupants of the principal thrones in Europe, when the first coalition was formed against France. This coalition embraced the powers of England, Holland, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Portugal, the two Sicilies, the Roman states, Sardinia and Piedmont. The armies of these nations were marching upon the frontiers of France.

The Dutch, Austrians, and English were in the Netherlands; Dutch, Prussian and Austrian troops crossed the Rhine; Sardinia threatened the south-east. Spanish and Portuguese armies occupied the Pyrenees; while the immense power of England, naval and financial, then wielded by Pitt, was actively employed, the first to destroy the French navy, and conquer all the French colonies, and the latter to keep alive the war by subsidizing the continental powers.

France, nevertheless, proved herself fully adequate to the new exigencies of her situation. The reign of terror was progressing within, but in the very midst of it, she proclaimed a maxim, which was pregnant with a thousand victories, and that was — "that every citizen is a soldier."

Thus the system of standing armies was annihilated in France, and the avenues of promotion opened to the meanest soldier. Carnot took his seat in the committee of safety, and gave to the military operations, unity and system.

The difference between the enthusiasm of the French, who were fighting for their rights and liberties, as they then understood them, and the old worn out system of tactics, in which regularly enlisted soldiers fought for pay, was very soon quite apparent. Besides, in the French army, the avenues to distinction were open to the competition of all. Soldiers of low degree soon became famous as generals. With these radical differences existing between the two principles upon which the armies of France, and those of the coalition proceeded, we ought not to be surprised at the results.

The campaign of 1794 was commenced and was conducted with great energy and success by the French. Gen. Pichegru achieved a victory at Tournay, May 22, and Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26, so that, by the beginning of autumn, the Austrian Netherlands, and the frontier fortresses of Holland, were in the hands of the French. Pichegru crossed the ice in December, and conquered all Holland in January, 1795. The stadtholder fled to England, and Holland, changed into the Batavian republic, was united to France. Thus was effected several important purposes:

1. The possession of Belgium, Holland, and what have generally been termed the Low Countries, the richest in Europe, with all their wealth, was secured to the French.

2. The army of England was excluded from the continent.

3. The situation of Prussia and the north of Germany was changed.

4. A change in the relations of England. She had now nothing more to lose on the continent.

The French were also successful on the Rhine. The contest on the upper Rhine was bloody. Battles were fought at Lautern the 15th of July, and the 20th of September, and the Austrian and Prussian troops were compelled to retreat across the German river in October, and to abandon the further side to the French.

The national convention of France had adopted the resolution to conclude only a separate peace, and not to terminate the war until the Rhine was made the boundary. In acting under this resolution, the first power detached from the coalition was Prussia. This was accomplished by the peace of Basle, of the 5th of April, 1795, by which was fixed the line of demarkation for the neutrality of the north of Germany.

Thus Prussia, together with the north of Germany, withdrew from the coalition. She made a secret compact with France, August 5th, 1796, by which, for certain indemnifications, she consented to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine.

Very soon after, Spain, another ally, seceded from the coalition. This was accomplished at the peace of Basle, July 22d, 1795. Principal conditions were, restitution to Spain of all the conquests made, while Spain relinquished to France its portion of the island of St. Domingo.

But the war was still prosecuted on the continent chiefly at the expense of England. For this purpose vast loans were made, so that in a few years the national debt had doubled. Still the public credit did not waver. The resources of England, under the administration of Pitt, were greatly multiplied. He changed the sources of wealth from the agricultural to manufacturing and com-

mercial. He gave to England her foreign commerce, and to accomplish that the more effectually, he sought to annihilate hostile trade, and to suppress that which was neutral.

These commercial oppressions resulted:

1. From the attempt to reduce France by famine, forbidding the importation of all means of sustenance.

2. From the extension of the blockade system extending beyond the actual, to a mere declaration of blockade.

3. From the enlargement of the visiting of vessels, even when under neutral convoy.

4. From the rules respecting the trade of neutrals with the colonies of the enemy.

To accomplish these results required the sole dominion of the sea. And having such dominion, another consequence would be likely to follow, viz: the conquest of the enemy's colonies. In the course of the prosecution of the war the French and Dutch navies were almost destroyed, and the most important colonies were in British hands.

After Prussia and Spain had seceded from the coalition, England made use of every effort to hold together the remaining powers, and more especially to attach Russia to it. With this view, on the 18th February, 1795, an alliance was made between England and Russia, with a mutual guaranty of all possessions, and on the 20th of May, between England and Austria. Both were made the basis of a triple alliance, concluded on the 28th of September.

On the continent, the burden of the war was borne principally by Austria and the south of Germany, and with considerable success. The Austrian general, Clairfait, obtained a victory over Pichegru, who retreated across the Rhine. The imperialists took Heidelberg,

and Manheim. The archduke, Charles, defeated Jourdain at Wurzburg, while the inhabitants of Spessart and Odenwald rose upon the retreating French, and destroyed wherever they could find them. Moreau was driven back from Bavaria and Suabia, and reached the Rhine through the valleys of the Black forest.

In the meantime, an internal revolution occurred in France. Robespierre and the Jacobins were overthrown, the reign of terror brought to a close, and France, in October, 1798, came under the government of the directory.

The effort had been made to reach the heart of Austria, by French armies pressing forward from the upper Rhine, and also from the lower Rhine. But these had been driven back as before stated. There was also another avenue through which the French sought to reach, and affect Austria, and that was Italy, the old theatre upon which had been fought so many battles between France and Germany.

The army of Italy was in a depressed and melancholy condition, when early in 1796, Napoleon Bonaparte, then twenty-six years of age, was appointed its commander. Immediately the scene changes. In April, 1796, he defeated the Austrian general, Beaulieu, at Milesimo and Montenotte, thus separating the Austrians from the Sardinians, by which he was enabled to make a peace with Victor Amadeus, the Sardinian king, and acquire Savoy and Nice, and the privilege of marching a French army through his dominions at any time.

In upper Italy, his success was equally great. On the 10th of May, 1796, he forced a passage over the bridge of Lodi, and conquered all Lombardy, except Mantua. The dukes of Parma and Modena, the pope, and king of

Naples, had to purchase an armistice and peace. In order to perpetuate the French influence in Italy, he formed out of the Austrian and papal provinces, a new republic, on the model of the French, calling it the Cisalpine republic.

The whole interest of the war now centered at Mantua, a strong Austrian fortress, which was besieged by Bonaparte from July, 1796, to February, 1797. This siege was the great event of the century. Austria attempted four times to send relief, and at each time her armies were routed. Wurmser was defeated at Castiglione, and Alvinzi at Arcola, Rivoli, and La Favorita. The fortress at length fell, and the way to Austria stood open.

Bonaparte left Italy, crossed the Alps, and, after several battles, penetrated into the interior of Austria as far as the Muhr. Moreau and Hoche were also to advance across the Rhine. Francis II, the Austrian emperor, trembled for his capital. Negotiations were set on foot at Leoben, 18th April, 1797. Preliminaries were here signed, the principal of which were that Austria should acknowledge the Cisalpine republic; resign to France its rights to the Belgic provinces; renounce its possessions beyond the Oglio, receiving some equivalent; and, after a definitive peace, should receive the fortresses Palma Nova, Peschiera, and Mantua.

About the time these preliminaries were entered into, the republic of Venice, having incurred the wrath of Bonaparte, he marched into it a French army, carried away ships, stores, libraries, and treasures of art, and put an end to the republic.

In the west of Europe, Spain returned to its ancient connection with France. A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two, the 19th of August, 1797. Conditions:

1. Alliance, offensive and defensive, in all wars, but so far as the present was concerned, only in that against England.

2. Arrangements as to the aid to be afforded on sea and land. Spain declared war against England, October 5.

The peace of Campo Formio between France and Austria was finally concluded 17th Oct., 1797. Principal conditions:

1. Austria renounces all claim to the Netherlands in favor of France.

2. She receives the city of Venice, and a part of its territory.

3. Acknowledges the Cisalpine republic.

4. France to receive the Grecian Venetian islands, and the possessions in Albania.

5. A congress should convene at Rastadt, for making peace with the empire.

There were also several secret conditions.

This peace gave to France the possession of Belgium, and the dominion of Italy, the republic of Venice disappearing from the list of nations. The power of swaying the continent, was now lodged with the French. Russia lay at the east, with an imperfect civilization, but having the elements of immense power. Prussia lay between these two powers, and uncertain to which to attach itself. About this time, Nov. 16, 1797, died Frederick William II, and was succeeded by his son Frederick William III.

The congress convened at Rastadt on the 9th of December, 1797, to make peace with the empire. France demanded:

1. The cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, and this would secure its military influence.

2. The adoption of the maxim of indemnifying the injured princes by secularizations, and this would secure its political influence.

This congress continued its deliberations until April, 1799.

In the meantime, events were occurring in other parts of Europe. In the winter of 1797, republican commotions took place in Rome and other parts of the states of the church, occasioned by French influence. General Berthier marched an army into Rome. In the midst of the Roman forum a tree of liberty was erected, the pope was deprived of his temporal power, and a republican government created.

Lucca and Genoa also received democratic constitutions. The Neapolitan court fled to Sicily and General Championnet established the Parthenopeian republic.

The year 1798 was signalized by a change in Switzerland. It is a long period since we have seen Switzerland an actor in the contests of Europe. For almost three hundred years this republic had avoided participating in those great disputes in which the European world had been entangled. But a few weeks were sufficient to overthrow the structure of centuries, and to transform the league of the confederates into the single and indivisible Helvetian republic, with a form of policy borrowed from the directoral government of France.

The war with France was now continued by England alone. Under Pitt's long administration, her power, and debts, and resources, seemed all to be doubled. While this war was progressing, and as one of its episodes, occurred the expedition of Bonaparte to Egypt. The motive was to conquer and colonize that country. The fleet and army under Bonaparte sailed May 18th, 1798. Malta sur-

rendered, June 12th, without resistance. Alexandria in Egypt was taken 2d July.

The battle of the pyramids was fought and gained by Bonaparte, July 21st; Cairo invested on the 22d. Dessaix gained the battle of Sediman, 7th October, and subdued upper Egypt. But Bonaparte's expedition into Syria was unsuccessful, the siege of Acre being abandoned in May, 1799. But by the naval victory at Aboukir on the 1st of August, 1798, Lord Nelson almost annihilated the French fleet, and acquired the dominion of the Mediterranean.

The invasion of Egypt led to two results, viz:

1. The declaration of war against France by Turkey.
2. The war of the second coalition against France.

The powers at first entering into this coalition were Russia, Naples, Turkey, England, and Portugal, by virtue of various treaties, the condition of which was, a mutual guaranty of all possessions; a common prosecution of the war; and no other than a common conclusion of peace. All harbors to be closed to French navigation and commerce, and British subsidies to Russia and others.

This seemed only to require the accession of the two leading German powers, Austria and Prussia, to render the coalition complete. Of these, Prussia was determined to preserve a strict neutrality, while Austria united with the confederate powers. Russia had been governed since the year 1796 by Paul I, the eldest son of Catharine II, a prince with a mind somewhat deranged, and who bore an intense hatred against the revolution.

War was now waged, at the same time, in Germany, in Italy, in Switzerland, and in the Netherlands. The congress of Rastadt rose 8th April, 1799, and on the 28th April, the French embassadors were cruelly murdered on their return. The allies were almost everywhere success-

ful. The Archduke Charles defeated the French on the 25th March, 1799, at Stockach, and forced them over the Rhine. Manheim was taken September 18.

In Italy, the Russians under Suwarrow, conquered the Cisalpine republic in a few weeks. Moreau was defeated at Cassano, and Macdonald at Frebia. In June, the French met with a bloody defeat at Novi. The loss of Italy was now complete, and a death-blow given to the Parthenopeian republic.

Upon the reduction of Italy, Suwarrow scaled the icebergs of the Alps to drive the French out of Switzerland. The fights at the Devils' bridge, and on the mount St. Gothard, were of a daring character. The Russians were defeated at the battle of Zurich, and Suwarrow conducted the remains of his army across the frozen heights of the Grisons to their home. The attempt of the English, under the duke of York, to drive the French out of the Netherlands, and restore the stadtholder, had a disastrous termination. This last so exasperated Paul I, that he retired from the coalition.

During this campaign Bonaparte was in Egypt and Syria. He returned on the 9th Oct., 1799. On his return he overthrew the government of the directory, and took the conduct of affairs into his own hands. Next occurs the consulate in which the government consisted of three consuls, who were elected for ten years. Of these Bonaparte was first consul.

The campaign of 1800 was memorable for France.

A double plan was marked out for this campaign. Operations were to be carried on in Italy under the first consul, and in upper Germany, under Moreau.

In carrying out this plan, the first consul secretly assembled a large army, and in May, 1800, crossed the

great St. Bernard, and suddenly, and all unexpectedly, fell down upon upper Italy. At that moment, Austria, having just reduced Genoa, was in possession of the whole country. But a change was now experienced. Genoa fell on the 9th of June. On the 14th, the Austrians were defeated at Montebello; and shortly after, the Austrians, under Melas, were totally defeated at the great battle of Marengo. Milan and Lombardy were the prize of that bloody day. Thus about ten days served for the recovery of Italy.

In the meantime, Moreau had crossed the Rhine into Alsace, on the 25th of April, and had forced his way into Bavaria and Suabia, driving back the Austrians in several encounters. On the 3d of December, Moreau triumphed on the bloody field of Hohenlinden, where the Austrians met with a terrible defeat. Austria was now entered as far as Linz, and on the 26th of December, another victory was gained in Italy on the Minchio, under Brune, and the Adige was passed on the 1st of June, 1801.

Thus the old century was departing in blood, but the commencement of the new was signalized by the peace of Luneville, by which the Austrians were compelled to accept the conditions that had been entered into at Campo Formio, and to acknowledge the valleys of the Rhine and the Adige, as the boundaries of France.

War still continued on the ocean, between England and France. The Mediterranean was the principal theatre of this naval war. There were Russian, Turkish, and English fleets. Malta was closely besieged, and finally surrendered on the 5th of September, 1800. Corfu had been taken by the Russian Turkish, March 1st, 1799. Minorca was conquered by the British fleet, 15th of October, 1798.

In the north, Paul I renewed the alliance with Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, for an armed neutrality, which occasioned a new maritime war in the north. A British squadron was dispatched to the Baltic, and the battle of Copenhagen was fought on the 2d of April, 1802.

In the meantime, the eccentric Paul I had disappeared, having been, as is generally supposed, strangled in March, 1801. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander I.

England had become tired of the long protracted war, and on the 25th of March 1802, was concluded the peace of Amiens, between England and France, Spain and the Batavian republic. By this peace the English promised to surrender the greater part of their foreign conquests, and to relinquish the isle of Malta to the knights of St. John.

The objects of the war were far from being attained by this peace. It gave to the first consul a higher elevation than he had ever previously attained. It was followed on the 4th of August of the same year, by creating him first consul of France for life.

Prior to this, and on the 15th of July, 1801, was concluded the concordat with the pope, which gave the forms to the catholic, and also to the protestant worship, and by which the French clergy lost their early independence, and became subjected to the head of the church as well as to the ruler of the state.

It soon became apparent that the peace of Amiens could not be of long continuance. The English refused to restore Malta, and Great Britain declared war against France on the 18th of May, 1803.

A war, however, between these two powers at that period, was quite an inoffensive one. England was triumphant on the ocean, France had no navies there, and

hence that afforded no point of contact. France was equally triumphant on the land. England had no armies to meet her there. Hence these powers, although in the extremest degree inimical to each other, yet had little power of inflicting mutual injuries.

And yet it resulted, or rather was succeeded by an event of vast importance, viz: the reestablishment of an hereditary throne in France. By a decree of the senate framed on the 18th of May, 1804, at the proposal of the tribunate, the first consul was proclaimed emperor, and the dignity declared to be hereditary in his family. This was declared to be accepted by the nation on the 6th of November following, and on the 2d of December, 1804, Napoleon I was crowned and anointed by Pius VII, as emperor of the French. Thus the Capetian dynasty appeared to be ended, and a successful soldier had elevated himself upon its ruins. This appeared to be the conclusion of the revolution, since the whole ancient system, for the extinction of which thousands of human lives had been sacrificed, gradually returned.

The creation of the French empire, and the inauguration of its emperor, presents a spectacle both interesting and imposing in the world's history. The French people had passed through the spasm of revolution; a republic had sprung into existence amidst the ruins of the old established absolutism; its internal convulsions had been terrific, and its external or outward developments had been marked by a strength, a vigor, and success never before witnessed. Two mighty coalitions of European powers had been overcome, defeated, totally vanquished. France now extended to the Rhine and beyond the Alps, embracing Italy. Spain, Batavia, Helvetia, and the German states on the Rhine, were kept in dependence by alliances or by

fear. By means of the occupation of Hanover by a French army, French power and influence penetrated into the very heart of the Prussian monarchy, and was felt on the frontiers of Denmark. Austria lay directly within her reach. Russia and Sweden seemed exempt by their distance and inaccessibility, and the ocean was entirely unsubdued.

We must superadd to all this, the fact that she had now at her head, a soldier; a man she had voluntarily chosen; a man who understood her perfectly, and who had himself almost alone achieved the triumphs in which she gloried. Once more, the sway of this man was absolute. All the forces, powers, and energies of the empire were at his sole disposal. His will alone constituted the law in obedience to which they moved and acted. Whoever, therefore, should conclude that Europe, in its future history had work to perform, could not very well miscalculate.

One of the first things done by the new emperor, was the creation of eighteen marshals, all having names memorable in history. These were, Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Angerau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessieres, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

The helm of state in England was a second time committed to William Pitt, and a third coalition against France was formed, of which England was its life and mainspring. The principal object of it was to reduce France within its ancient bounds, and to secure the independence of the subject states.

The powers composing this coalition, were England, Austria, and Russia, and it was formed early in the year 1805. Prussia still persisted in preserving her neutrality,

although the effect of it was fully to protect the northern half of the French empire.

The allies made enormous preparations, fitting out an army of five hundred thousand men, supported to a large extent by British subsidies.

Bonaparte, in 1803, had occupied the electorate of Hanover, and, by his position there, was enabled to assume a threatening attitude towards the whole north. The attention of Europe was at first directed to the western coast of France, where Bonaparte had collected an army of one hundred and fourteen thousand men, for the ostensible purpose of invading England. But while doing this, he was silently making preparations for the memorable campaign of 1805; a campaign which displayed preeminently the military talents of Napoleon.

Suddenly his immense armies were marching towards the banks of the Danube. Before a junction could be formed between the Russian and Austrian armies, which might have proved fatal to Napoleon, the Austrians were defeated, and Mack, their general, being shut up in Ulm, finally capitulated. The way to the Austrian capital now lay open, and Napoleon advanced rapidly upon Vienna. He passed through the city and established his headquarters at Schonbrunn.

While this was occurring in the heart of Austria, the great naval battle, the greatest which the annals of war afford, was fought near Trafalgar, on the coast of Spain, which resulted in a great victory by the English, which effectually crippled and almost destroyed the naval power of France and Spain, leaving England the undisputed mistress of the ocean. It was purchased, however, by a vast equivalent, the death of Lord Nelson. This occurred on the 23d October, 1805.

The Russian army, late in the autumn of 1805, had come near the French, and united with such remnants of the defeated and dispersed Austrian armies as could be found. These combined armies were pursued into Moravia, and there on the second day of December, just a year from the day of his receiving the imperial crown, was fought the great battle of Austerlitz, at which three emperors were present, Napoleon, Alexander and Francis II, which was the most glorious of all Napoleon's battles, and was decisive of the campaign.

All Austria was now prostrate before Napoleon, and could do nothing but receive the conditions of peace that were offered. Next follows the peace of Presburg, concluded on the 26th of December, 1805. By this peace Austria was compelled to relinquish Italy, and recognize Napoleon as its king; to consent that Bavaria and Wurtemburg should receive the royal dignity, with full sovereignty in all their possessions, at the same time ceding to Bavaria the whole of Tyrol, and several principalities, and also several others to Wurtemburg and Baden. Napoleon guarantied the integrity of the remainder of the Austrian monarchy.

Thus the power of Austria was broken, its bulwarks destroyed, its limbs lopped off, and the integrity of its dominions annihilated. Now commenced that series of family advancement, by which the Napoleonic dynasty was attempted to be established on the different thrones of Europe. The first instance of a royal family being dethroned by a bare proclamation, occurred at Naples; the day after the conclusion of the peace of Presburg, Napoleon issued his proclamation declaring that "the dynasty of the Bourbons has ceased to reign in Naples." He then named Joseph, his elder brother, king of Naples, and

installed him in his new dignity by a French army. So also Holland exchanged her republican constitution for a monarchy, and Louis, the brother of Napoleon, became king of Holland. The archduchy of Cleve-Berg was given to the emperor's brother-in-law, Murat.

These victories of Napoleon, and defeats of the allies, broke the heart of William Pitt. He died on the 23d of January, 1806, leaving no heir of his greatness, but a school which had imbibed his maxims, and was yet one day to be victorious.

Next followed the humiliation of Prussia. She now stood directly in the way of the emperor. He no longer desired her neutrality. Disputes between the two had their origin in Bernadotte's arbitrary march from Hanover to the Danube by way of Anspach in October, 1805. Prussia had also other causes of complaint.

Before the people of Berlin were fully aware, the French troops, under Napoleon and his marshals, were in the heart of Thuringia and Saxony. The old duke of Brunswick concentrated the Prussian forces in Thuringia, and in October, of the year 1806, occurred the great double battle of Jena and Auerstadt, which was terribly fatal, and decided the fate of the countries between the Rhine and the Elbe. No kingdom in modern times has ever been so utterly overthrown by one battle as Prussia by that of Jena and Auerstadt. In a few weeks all its provinces, as far as the Vistula, with their fastnesses, were in the hands of the enemy. Within thirteen days after, Napoleon marched into Berlin. It was here that he issued the famous Berlin decree, for the destruction of British commerce.

He granted the elector of Saxony a favorable peace, upon which, being dignified with the title of king, he joined the confederation of the Rhine. But the elector of

Hesse, desiring to remain neutral, was expelled from his dominions, and all his territories, both of Hanover and Brunswick, with the Hanseatic cities, were occupied, and a proclamation announces, "The houses of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick have ceased to reign."

With Prussia fell the bulwark of Russia. Napoleon now conceived the project of restoring Poland, by which he could secure a spy on Russia. The Poles were now summoned to insurrection in the name of Kosciusco. The summons was obeyed and insurrection spread in Prussian Poland, where an auxiliary army was formed. Napoleon marched into Warsaw amidst the rejoicings of the people.

The war was now transferred from the banks of the Saal to those of the Vistula. Old Prussia was made the theatre of a devastating war. Murderous battles were fought on the banks of the Vistula, and torrents of blood shed at Pultusk, and Mohrungen. But the great battle, between the French and Russian armies, was fought at Eylau on the 8th February, 1807, in which fifty thousand fell. Although indecisive, yet it checked the progress of the French armies. But it led to the fall of Dantzic on the 24th May following.

New conscriptions were ordered by Napoleon, so that he soon had two hundred and eighty thousand men between the Vistula and Memel. After several skirmishes, another great battle was fought between the French and Russians at Friedland on the 14th June, in which victory declared on the side of the French. Konigsberg was taken, and the Russian Prussian army retreated across the Niemen. Memel, the last city in the kingdom, was now the only refuge that remained to the royal house of Prussia.

The three emperors, Bonaparte, Alexander, and Francis, had a personal interview on the Niemen, which was followed by the peace of Tilsit, concluded July 7, 1807. By the terms of this treaty, Russia acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, and recognized Joseph Bonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Bonaparte as king of Holland, and Jerome Bonaparte as king of the newly erected kingdom of Westphalia. Mutual guaranties were given by each.

Two days subsequently, a peace was concluded with Prussia, by which Frederick William was compelled to surrender all his lands between the Rhine and the Elbe; to consent to the establishment of the dukedom of Warsaw, under the supremacy of the king of Saxony; to the elevation of Dantzic into a free state; and to the payment of one hundred and fifty millions to defray the expenses of the war.

Napoleon formed the states ceded by Prussia, along with electoral Hesse, Brunswick, and South Hanover, into the new kingdom of Westphalia, placing over it his youngest brother, Jerome, as king.

Europe presents itself in a new attitude, upon the conclusion of this peace. The power of Austria and Prussia had been so weakened upon the fields of Austerlitz and Jena, that the first had become essentially humbled, and the second so weakened, and reduced in territory, that it could be ranked only as a second rate power. Russia almost ceased to belong to the European continent, and Germany was bound to France by the enlargement of the confederation of the Rhine, and the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia. Spain was in alliance with France, and thus from the Pyrenees to the Vistula, French dominion, French law, and French armies were everywhere to be found. The whole political system of Europe

was entirely changed. England, it is true, still maintained her relative position, and her sovereignty of the sea.

After the peace of Tilsit, Gustavus IV of Sweden still continued the war against Napoleon, supported by England. His conduct towards Russia was such as to lead to a state of war. The French conquered Stralsund, and the island of Rugen, whilst a Russian army penetrated into Finland.

The English, fearing that Napoleon would, by means of the Swedish war, reach and grasp the Baltic, and then, by shutting up the sound, exclude their ships from its shores, proposed to Denmark an alliance, and the keeping of the Danish fleet. This was rejected by the Danes, whereupon, on the 2–5 September, 1807, the English fleet appeared in the sound, bombarded Copenhagen, laid a part of the town in ashes, carrying away the whole Danish fleet. Denmark immediately allied itself to France, and declared war against England and Sweden.

A terrible storm was gathering against Britain. It had its inception in the peace at Tilsit. It was still further increased by the meeting in Erfurt, in September, 1808. Here were four kings, and thirty-four princes assembled together. The two emperors, Napoleon and Alexander, here promised not to interrupt each other in their plans of conquest; so that Napoleon was left unfettered in the west and south, and Alexander in Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia.

Thus fortified, Napoleon undertook the enforcement of what is termed the continental system; the object of which was the total exclusion of England from all trade and commerce with the continent. Its corner-stone was laid by the Berlin decree of the 21st November, 1806. This declared the British islands in a state of blockade,

made every British subject on the continent a prisoner of war, prohibited all trade in English merchandise, and admitted no vessel from a British harbor.

Then followed the British orders in council of the 7th January, 1807, prohibiting every ship from entering every French port.

Next the decree of Warsaw, of January 25th, 1807, declaring all British commodities confiscated in the Hanseatic cities.

Then the British order in council of November 11th, 1807, declaring all ports from which the British flag was excluded, in a state of blockade.

Next follows the decree of Milan of the 17th of December, 1807, which denationalized, and made a lawful prize, of every ship which should submit to these conditions.

Finally was issued the mad decree of Fontainebleau, the 19th of October, 1810, which ordered that all British manufactures should be burned from Naples to Holland, and from Spain to Germany.

Thus was annihilated the commerce of neutrals, and a terrible blow was aimed at British manufacturing and commercial prosperity. Napoleon well knew that in that prosperity lay the means of combating his supremacy, and if he could destroy that, his success was certain. But that was too great a task. The necessities of civilized life were stronger than the decrees of Napoleon. The contraband trade was carried on to an incredible extent, which no lines of custom houses, and no oaths could prevent. Besides it was impossible to destroy the commerce of England. If single sources of gain failed, a people who ruled every sea, could easily open others.

The distracted state of Sweden led to a conspiracy by which Gustavus IV was seized and compelled to abdicate.

On the 13th of March, 1809, the diet declared the crown forfeited, and invited to the vacant throne his uncle, Charles XIII, restricting the monarchical power. This was followed by the conclusion of peace. The childless old age of Charles XII, rendered it necessary to elect a successor, and the choice fell upon Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, who was ultimately his successor.

In the meantime, events of importance had occurred in the south of Europe. Portugal was devoted to England, Spain was in alliance with France. Napoleon threw his ambitious eyes upon both Spain and Portugal, seeking first to seize on the latter through the aid of the former. The partition of Portugal was concerted in a secret treaty, and a French Spanish army of thirty-nine thousand men, marched against Lisbon. The court of Lisbon, with all its treasures, fled in English ships to the Brazils in South America, upon which the French army, under Junot, took possession of the capital and country, proclaiming in the name of Napoleon, "that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign." The house of Braganza, however, long continued to reign in Brazil.

The next attempt was to be made upon Spain. Spain was a friend and ally, and Napoleon had long ruled there. He invited the royal family, consisting of Charles IV, and his eldest son Ferdinand, in whose favor he had abdicated the throne, to a personal conference with him at Bayonne. There Charles was prevailed on to revoke his abdication, and to transfer the crown to Napoleon and his family. Ferdinand was induced to acknowledge this act, and thus the last of the Bourbon race descended from his throne.

Napoleon immediately named his brother, Joseph, king of Spain, June 6th, 1808, and restored the cortes constitu-

tion. But the Spanish nation would not submit. A frightful insurrection occurred in Madrid by which one thousand two hundred French soldiers were killed. An insurrection, almost universal, ensued. An abyss was opened, which devoured French armies and French finances and gave England a theatre for war. The lesson here taught to Europe was that a people are more powerful than mercenary armies.

Joseph had scarce entered Madrid when juntas, as provisional governments, were formed in many of the towns, refusing obedience to the king, and armed bands were everywhere carrying on a guerrilla war against the French soldiers. Europe saw, with surprise, a people facing danger and death for their nationality and independence, their ancient manners and religious usages, their superstitions and customary arrangements.

It was, in fact, the revolt of the Spanish nation against the Napoleonic dynasty, that made the first successful stand against the power of Napoleon. He had hitherto been everywhere successful, but had hitherto warred with governments and not with a people.

Spain now became the battle-field on the continent upon which England could fairly make a trial of her strength. The duke of Wellington, then the marquis of Wellesley, there acquired great distinction. The peninsular war dragged its slow length along through several years. In 1808 Napoleon himself was in Spain with a mighty army, and at a subsequent period, in 1809, at the conclusion of the Austrian war, there was an army there of nearly three hundred thousand men under Napoleon's most experienced marshals. This army was diminished at the Russian campaign of 1812. The English and Spanish forces under Wellington finally drove the French from the peninsula,

following them over the Pyrenees. The Spanish people were never subdued.

In 1809, a trouble occurred with the pope. Pius VII had sided with Austria, whereupon Napoleon, in a decree published at Schonbrunn, declared that the temporal power of the pope had ceased. The holy father excommunicated the emperor, when Napoleon ordered him carried from Rome, banished the cardinals, and united the states of the church with the French territory.

Early in the year 1809, Austria again began to assume a belligerent attitude. Napoleon was engaged in the peninsular or Spanish war. The restrictions upon commerce were exciting very general discontent, and altogether the Austrian monarch judged that a favorable opportunity had presented itself to regain his lost power and dominions. In April, 1809, the archduke Charles was ordered to march into Bavaria and Italy. But Napoleon, with a large force, marched down the Danube, drove the enemy over the Inn; was victorious in the encounters of Abensberg and Eckmuhl, and on the 10th May, stood before the walls of Vienna, which in three days he entered as a conqueror. On the 21st and 22d of May, occurred the combats of Aspern and Eslingen, which were indecisive, but attended by the death of twelve thousand French soldiers. Afterwards, and on receiving reinforcements under Eugene Beauharnais, on the 5th and 6th July, occurred the great battle of Wagram, in which the archduke Charles was defeated.

Austria hastily concluded the truce of Zuaym, which was followed by negotiations for a peace. This finally resulted in the peace of Vienna or Schonbrunn, by which Austria again lost two thousand square miles and three millions of subjects.

Austria now exhibits itself as wholly cut off from the sea, as deprived of its formidable bulwarks, the Alps, as politically surrounded by armed states, on the south, west, and north, and presenting to them open boundaries, and withal having its finances in a very distracted state. The house of Hapsburg was effectually humbled.

The peace of Vienna saw Napoleon at the summit of his greatness. Up to this point, his success had been almost uninterrupted, but he had no heir to his immense dominions. On the 15th of December, 1809, he procured a divorce from his first wife Josephine, and on the 2d of April, 1810, was married to Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. On the 20th of March, 1811, was born a son, to whom was immediately given the title of king of Rome. Thus the future of France seemed to be secure.

Napoleon now employed himself in remodeling his dominions. He adopted the maxim of uniting the dependent countries to the leading state. The estates of the church were incorporated with France, February 17, 1810. Holland, with east Friesland, which had been previously joined with it, was incorporated with France, as the alluvions of French rivers, by a decree of the senate 13th of December, 1810. The same decree united half the kingdom of Westphalia, a part of the grand duchy of Berg, Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic cities to France, which extended the French dominions to the Baltic.

Thus, on the continent, Napoleon seemed fast realizing his dream of universal empire. But on the sea, England still reigned supreme. Not a French ship of war could leave its harbor with impunity. All the remaining island colonies of the French fell into the hands of the British. So the war still continued to be carried on in the Spanish

peninsula, and more strenuously after the peace of Vienna, when all the French forces stood at the disposal of the emperor.

Every power on the continent of Europe had been subverted, or effectually humbled by Napoleon, with the exception of Russia. That vast colossal power of the north stood forth as the rival of Napoleon. Although, since the conference of Erfurt, Napoleon and Alexander had been at peace and apparently in friendship, yet it seemed obvious to all that there must be a struggle between these two great powers. Several things occurred to create a coldness. The seizure upon Oldenburg, the extension of the grand duchy of Warsaw; the continued occupation of Dantzic, were each and all so many affronts upon Russia. On the other side, Russia withdrew from the continental system, on the 31st December, 1810, which offended Napoleon.

Each party seemed silently preparing for this great contest. Russia had been involved in a war with Turkey, but had concluded an advantageous peace, on the 28th of May, 1812, by which the Pruth, to its confluence with the Danube, was to constitute the boundary of the two empires.

In the early part of 1812, alliances were formed between France and Austria, and France and Prussia. Austria was to furnish thirty thousand men, and Prussia, twenty thousand. Both formed alliances, offensive and defensive, against Russia. Thus the road to the Russian frontiers lay open, a chain of alliances and of garrisoned fortresses reaching to them. Besides, the Poles proved to be very useful allies of the French, on the very boundaries of Russia itself.

Thus a terrible array of nations was about precipitating itself upon Russia. Five hundred thousand soldiers,

gathered out of about twenty different nations, rallied under the standard of Napoleon. The campaign was opened by the passage of the Niemen, on the 24th of June, 1812.

On the 16th July, was fought the first great battle of the campaign at Smolensko. The town was stormed and taken, and the Russians retreated towards Moscow. On the Moskwa was fought the murderous battle of Borodino, on the 7th September, which covered the field with over 70,000 bodies. The prize of the battle was the ancient and renowned city of Moscow. The Russians retreated, and on the 14th September, the French army entered the city of Moscow, the conqueror taking up his headquarters in the Kremlin. Scarcely had the French army entered when the capital was discovered to be on fire in several places.

The Russians had fired their own capital, and the buildings being of wood, a vast ocean of flame rolled over the devoted city, and it soon became a desert.

What was now to be done? The winter quarters of the grand army were destroyed. A retreat of over six hundred miles through smoking ruins, and over deserts of its own creation was all that remained. The severity of a Russian winter was fast approaching. The army was weakened, dispirited, ill fed, and ill qualified to endure the severity of winter. History has nothing more terrible to record, than the retreat of the grand army from Moscow. According to the official account 243,600 bodies were left upon the soil of Russia. At the close of the year, Bonaparte returned to Paris alone. France had still an emperor, but not an army.

He demanded, and was decreed fresh conscriptions. But although by these means, the chasms in the French

army might be easily filled, yet there were difficulties not so easily overcome:

1. The charm of invincibility had totally departed from Napoleon.

2. The armies thus raised were fresh, and made up of young, inexperienced men.

3. The armies to be opposed were veteran armies, flushed with recent successes, and inspired with patriotic feeling.

4. The sense of deep wrong done by Napoleon, to the political system of Europe, operated upon every one out of France, constituting an extremely active principle.

It was now that the nations of Europe began to rise and to shake off the yoke of Napoleon. The commencement of the year 1813, was characterized by the most earnest preparations. Prussia united with Russia, and the two combined their armies. Sweden also united with them, influenced by British subsidies and the promise of Norway. Germany was the battle-field. The Elbe, from its mouth to the boundaries of Bohemia, constituted the line of division between the forces of the two belligerents.

In the first battle, that of Lutzen, fought May 2d, 1813, the French retained possession of the field, and drove back their opponents as far as the Oder. The battle of Bautzen soon followed, on the 21st May, and was attended by a similar result, the allies retreating into Silesia. An armistice was now agreed upon, which was prolonged to the 10th of August. The time was occupied by negotiations and preparations. Negociations were broken off on the 11th August, and on the day following Austria acceded to the alliance, and declared war against France.

The armies of the three powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, now united together. Thus all Europe, except

Turkey, was embroiled in the war. Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Great Britain, on the one side; France, Italy, the confederation of the Rhine, and Denmark, on the other; the contest being still carried on in Spain. The allied armies numbered from seven to eight hundred thousand men. The forces of Napoleon, to about half of that number. But these latter were more concentrated, and more immediately available.

The battle of Dresden occurred on the 26th and 27th of August. It resulted in favor of Napoleon; Moreau, the leader of the allies, was slain. But about the same time, the Prussian general, Blucher, defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach in Silesia; and the French general, Vandamme, with his whole army, was defeated in the battle of Culm; and the Prusso-Swedish army defeated the French at Gros-Beeren and Dennewitz.

In October, the broad plain of Leipsic became the scene of a most tremendous battle. The Austrians were under prince Schwarzenberg, the Russians, under Barclay, Benningsen, and others; the Prussians under Blucher; and the Swedes under Bernadotte. The aggregate of their forces numbered some three hundred thousand. The French army numbering some two hundred thousand, was under Napoleon. On the 18th October, half a million of men were joining battle with each other. Nine hours of fighting followed. It was in itself, and in its consequences, a terrible battle. It was the grave of the French empire. The French retreated, and on the 19th, Leipsic was taken by assault, the French emperor flying, with his routed army by way of Erfurt, and Fulda to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher.

This victory proved to result in the liberation of Germany. The kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved, the

elector of Hesse, and the dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg, returned to their dominions, and again began to reign, after having for some time ceased under the proclamation of Napoleon. The confederation of the Rhine fell to pieces. Holland also became inoculated with the revolutionary spirit. Its ancient dynasty of princes was recalled. A constitutional monarchy established, and William of Orange was recognized as monarch.

In the north, the ancient Scandinavia, Norway, was the prize in the contests between Sweden and Denmark. In the peace of Kiel, 14th of January, 1814, Denmark gave up Norway, Sweden assuring to the latter country, all its immunities and rights.

In Italy, the viceroy, Eugene, left the region of the Po to the Austrians, after making a gallant defense; the states of the church received back the pope, and Murat, king of Naples, joined himself to Austria.

In the peninsula south of the Pyrenees, the French power was annihilated. The battle of Vittoria destroyed it, and before the year closed, the French army had been chased over the Pyrenees, and followed into France.

But France still remained intact. The allied armies, accompanied by the monarchs, stopped at the Rhine, and spread along the course of this river. Here, on the 1st of December, 1813, they made Napoleon the offer of peace, proposing as a basis, that the boundaries of France should be the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. But the vast preparations making by Napoleon in the severe conscription he was ordering, convinced the allies that peace was not to be expected. They accordingly prepared to decide the issue in France itself.

On the night of January 1st, 1814, Blucher, with the Silesian army, crossed the Rhine; Schwarzenberg, with the

main army crossed the upper Rhine, to penetrate through Switzerland to the south-east of France. A Prussian army, under Bulow, liberated Holland. Thus the allied armies, about four hundred thousand strong, were pressing forward at the same time from Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, while Wellington, the liberator of the peninsula, stood on the Garonne.

On the 25th of January, the allied armies formed a junction in Champagne, and on the 1st of February was won over Napoleon, the battle of Brienne. But the allied armies now separated, Blucher with the Silesian following the course of the Maine, and Schwarzenberg marching along the Seine.

While thus separated, Napoleon defeated the Silesian army, and compelled it to retreat. He also suddenly threw himself upon the main army, and drove it back upon Troyes.

Negotiations were again opened at Chatillon, and it was yet in Napoleon's power to preserve the throne and empire, had he been satisfied with ancient France. But he was not, and a quadruple alliance was now entered into for twenty years between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The dethronement of Bonaparte was now resolved upon, and the war was prosecuted with new vigor. Blucher gained fresh advantages over the French army at Craonne and Laon. So, also, the battle of Arcis on the Aube turned to the disadvantage of Napoleon, who now became irresolute and wavering. The road to the capital was left open. The allied armies marched upon Paris. Its inhabitants, almost for the first time, heard the roar of hostile cannon. Montmartre was stormed, the city taken and entered by the allied armies on the 31st March, 1814.

Bonaparte, after trying in vain to abdicate in favor of his son, finally signed an unconditional abdication on the 7th April. He received, as his property, the island of Elba, an income of 2,000,000 francs, and the right to retain four hundred of his faithful guard. To his wife, Maria Louisa, was assigned the duchy of Parma.

On the 4th May, he landed at Elba, and on the 30th May, was concluded the first peace of Paris, by which the Bourbon dynasty became again restored in the person of Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, with the boundaries of 1792. The same month that restored to France her ancient line of monarchs, beheld also three other princes, who had been driven from their thrones, again reascend them. Pius VII returned to Rome. Ferdinand VII to Madrid, and Victor Emanuel to Turin. The political system of Europe remained to be settled by the congress of Vienna.

The congress at Vienna was the most important political event in Europe, since that which established the peace of Westphalia. It was superior in importance, even to that congress, so utterly overthrown were all the ancient landmarks, and so many and complicated the great interests to be adjusted. This congress met on the 1st Nov., 1814, and sat till the 25th May, 1815. There were represented Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Sardinia, Bavaria, and other minor powers. A more splendid assemblage never before met together. The majesty of European civilization was here displayed in all its lustre. Balls, feasts, festivals occurred in rapid succession.

But in the midst of these routs and rejoicings, and the graver deliberations of the congress, the man of destiny

again appears upon the stage. On the 1st March, 1815, Napoleon landed on the south coast of France; issued his proclamations, hoisted the tricolored cockade, entered Grenoble in triumph, and caused the shout of Vive l'Empereur! to resound through France. The Bourbons were driven from the French throne, Louis XVIII fled to Ghent, and Napoleon once more entered the Tuilleries, commencing the reign of the hundred days.

Had Napoleon put himself at the head of a great popular movement, instead of reviving the empire, it is impossible to say what would have been the result. But such was not his course.

The congress still in session at Vienna, declared him an enemy of the nations. Austria, Prussia, England, Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, declared against him on the 13th of March. On the 21st, the four leading powers concluded with each other an alliance to maintain the tranquillity and independence of Europe against Napoleon, the contingent to be furnished by each power to amount to one hundred and eighty thousand men. Other powers acceded to the alliance, and all the contingents to be furnished to over a million of men. Something over half a million were immediately set in motion. A British, German, and a Prussian army were assembled with the utmost speed under Wellington and Blucher.

But Napoleon, on his part, was equally active. Soldiers from all quarters flocked to his standard, and, with an army of one hundred and seventy thousand men, on the 15th of June, 1815, he marched into the Netherlands, to make head against Wellington and Blucher. On the 16th of June was fought the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, under Blucher, were forced back, after a most desperate resistance. On the same day, Marshal Ney

fought the battle of Quatre Bras, at which fell duke William of Brunswick.

On the 18th of June, at noon, commenced the battle of Waterloo. On the side of the allies, were the English, Dutch, Hanoverians, etc., under the duke of Wellington. Previous to the battle, Napoleon had dispatched Marshal Grouchy to engage the Russian army under Blucher. Either from accident or design, Grouchy wandered about without finding the Prussian army. In the meantime, the battle of Waterloo was progressing with terrible effect. Towards evening, the victory was fluctuating. Wellington was hard pressed, when Blucher appeared with his army at precisely the right crisis. This was decisive. The French army was routed. The flight became general. All the artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. A fourth part only of the army was able to escape. Napoleon fled to Paris. His star had set forever.

At the suggestion of the Chambers of Paris, he abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Napoleon II, on the 22d of June, which was accepted on the 23d. On the 28th, he set out for Rochefort, with the purpose of escaping to America, but finding that impossible by reason of the blockade of the harbor by the English fleet, he surrendered himself to the English ship of war, Bellerophon.

A resolution of the allied powers of the 31st of July, consigned him a state prisoner for life to the island of St. Helena, a solitary rock in the midst of the ocean.

Thus vanishes forever from political life the most extraordinary man of modern times. His chief merits consisted:

1. In a practical sagacity in the choice of agents, beyond that ever exercised by any other man.

2. In a tact or sagacity in understanding the character of the French people, and army.

3. In the possession of an intellect rapid in its combinations, comprehensive in its action, fertile in its expedients, and instantaneous in its conclusions.

4. In the possession of great decision of character, united with a sagacity that enabled him generally to seize the right thing at exactly the right time.

5. In the possession of an iron will, which no dictate of conscience, no sense of right, and rarely any call of humanity or affection, could in any way or manner, swerve from its fixed purposes.

His mistakes consisted:

1. In failing to understand the true sources of his power, attributing to himself personally what was only due to his being the embodiment of hostility to divine kingly right in Europe.

2. To his becoming so blinded by success as to lead him to miscalculate the extent of his own powers, and to act upon the supposition that good fortune belonged to him as a matter of right.

3. In his sacrifice of everything standing in the way of his complete supremacy.

4. In his repudiation of Josephine, and allying himself to a daughter of the Cæsars.

5. In his assuming the pomp of royalty by imitating, and attempting to outshine in splendor the courts of Europe, thus rendering homage to the worn out dynasties of European sovereigns.

6. By his establishing, or seeking so to do, on the thrones of Europe, the members of his own family, and rendering them subservient to himself, thus insulting

every conservative feeling, and shocking the sense of everything stable on the continent.

The Bourbon dynasty was again restored. The second peace of Paris was concluded, by which France was confined to the boundaries of 1790; was compelled to restore all the plundered treasures of art and science to their former owners; to support an allied army of one hundred and fifty thousand men in the frontier fortresses; and to pay seven hundred millions of francs for the expenses of the war.

With Napoleon fell also the thrones which he had erected. Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, was elevated to the throne of Naples. After the first Bourbon restoration, the Bourbon courts declared against him. Upon the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, he called upon the nations of Italy to assert their independence. Austria declared war against him. Battles took place on the Po, at Tolentino, and on the Garigliano. Naples was conquered, and Ferdinand restored. Murat was finally taken, condemned and shot.

In the Scandinavian kingdoms, the peace of Kiel had given Norway to Sweden. But Norway refused to acquiesce. A settlement of their difficulties finally took place, and on the 20th of October, 1814, Norway became united, as an independent kingdom, with the crown of Sweden, and on the 4th of November following, Charles XIII, Bernadotte, was proclaimed king of Norway.

The second fall of Napoleon gave occasion for the formation of the holy alliance. This was first entered into on the 25th of September, 1815, by Alexander of Russia, Francis of Austria, and Frederick William III of Prussia. Accessions were subsequently made to it of all the sovereigns of Europe, with the exception of the pope and

king of England. The three potentates originally forming it swore: "That in accordance with the words of Holy Scripture, which commanded all men to love each other as brethren, they would remain united in the bonds of true and indissoluble brotherly love; that they would mutually help and assist each other, that they would govern their people like fathers of families, and that they would maintain religion, peace, and justice."

This, in its outward aspect, was all fair in appearance, but in its practical effect was really a conspiracy entered into by the crowned heads to put down every effort for the acquisition of popular rights. It soon became but too apparent that this alliance would seek only to establish the absolutism of princes and the omnipotence of governments. That it would repress every attempt to secure popular sovereignty, or even the formation of any government upon constitutional principles.

On the other hand the ardent wish of the people had been for free, or at least, constitutional governments. It is to the antagonism of these two principles of action that much of recent modern history is indebted for its developments. Of the five great European powers, England and France alone possessed what might be termed constitutional governments, while Russia, Austria, and Prussia, ranged themselves under monarchical absolutism. Germany, Italy, the Pyrenean peninsula, and Hungary, have principally furnished the battle-fields where the contests have been carried on. The struggle, however, has not, by any means, been confined to these last mentioned countries.

In France, Louis XVIII died on the 16th September, 1824. Leaving no children that could succeed him, his brother, the count of Artois, became king of France under

the name of Charles X. He adopted for his watchword the throne and altar, attempting to link absolutism to religion. He founded prelacies, restored the clergy to their influential position, favored the system of orders, and encouraged the return of the Jesuits. But while the French court and cabinet were endeavoring to bring about authority in religion, and absolutism in government, the youth of France were listening to the lectures of Guizot, Villemain, Roger-Collard and others in the university of Paris, and imbibing the liberal ideas they were promulgating. These, in the course of no very distant period, were to make themselves felt in France.

In Spain and Italy the people were ruled by priests, and the new political ideas were only found among the educated, and as their public promulgation was dangerous, they were disseminated in secret societies, termed freemasons in Spain and Portugal, and the carbonarii in Italy.

In Spain, Ferdinand on his return overthrew the cortes constitution, bringing back the unlimited monarchy of the sixteenth century. The Jesuits and inquisition reappeared, and the fires of persecution were lit up. Spanish America renounced allegiance to Spain, and the result was a war of independence, and the establishment of several republics in South America.

On the 1st of January, 1820, the standard of revolt was raised in Cadiz, and the constitution of the cortes proclaimed. The insurrection extended throughout Spain, and finally on the 7th March, 1820, Ferdinand was compelled to summon the cortes, and to swear to the constitution.

Popular tumults also occurred in Lisbon and Oporto, and John VI, still in Brazil, returned, and swore to the new constitution for Portugal and Brazil.

The carbonarii also revolutionized Naples, Ferdinand finding himself compelled to consent to the introduction of the Spanish constitution.

So also a revolution broke out in Piedmont, in consequence of which Victor Emanuel abdicated, and the Spanish constitution was introduced into the kingdom of Sardinia.

But the chiefs of the holy alliance became alarmed. At the suggestion of Metternich, the prime minister of Austria, a congress was held at Laybach in January, 1821, at which it was determined to overthrow by force the constitutional government established in Naples and restore Ferdinand to his former authority. An Austrian army marched to Naples, the constitutional government was abolished, and the king restored.

So also Sardinia, Turin, and Alessandria were occupied by the Austrians, and unlimited monarchy was restored.

Now came on the contest in Spain. The liberals had abused their victory, done violence to the priesthood and privileged classes, and a civil war was threatened. At this juncture, October, 1822, the congress of Verona was in session, and a French army under the duke of Angouleme, was in February, 1823, marched over the Pyrenees. The cortes offered little resistance. A people led by priests and monks could understand little of constitutional freedom. The cortes fled to Cadiz, and there surrendered to the French army. Ferdinand VII was replaced in the fullness of his power. Portugal also became for about ten years, the theatre of revolutions.

England, although weighed down by an immense national debt, emerged from the continental war powerful and victorious. She was the undisputed mistress of the

ocean. Her colonies everywhere, on the American continent, in the East and West Indies, were prosperous. She possessed Gibraltar and Malta, and had a free passage through the Dardanelles, thus giving her the Mediterranean and the Levant. But her national debt was immense, the burden of taxation heavy, her privileged classes wealthy, her poor rates excessive, and many of her population sunk to the lowest poverty.

George IV, a dissolute monarch, succeeded George III. He passed the last years of his life in gloomy retirement, and dying in 1830, was succeeded by his brother, William IV, a plain, homely man, who threw the management of affairs into the hands of the whigs. His reign continued from 1830 to 1837, and was signalized by extending the principle of slave emancipation to the English colonies. Chiefly through the influence of Wilberforce, the slaves were set at liberty, the planters indemnified, and the slave traffic itself, as far as possible, suppressed.

William IV was succeeded in 1837, by his niece, Victoria, the present reigning sovereign, under whom the great statesman, Sir Robert Peel, led the way in effecting a change in the policy of England, abandoning the restrictive system, and adopting that of free trade.

While the powers of Europe were being held firmly within the grasp of the holy alliance, a light all at once broke out in the east, and the rebellion of the Greeks against the Turkish power, excited the wonder of Europe. The call to arms was published by Alexander Ypsilanti. This was in 1821, shortly after the Morea, Livadia, ancient Hellas, Thessaly, and the Greek islands were in arms. But the expected aid of Russia did not arrive. The emperor Alexander was a member of the holy alliance, and under the influence of Metternich, the Austrian prime

minister, and great supporter of despotism. In the battle of Dragaschan, the Greeks were totally routed, and Ypsilanti fled to Austria, to pine for years in a Hungarian fortress.

But Greece was not subdued. Demetrius Ypsilanti, the brother of Alexander, adopted a more systematic plan of warfare. The Mainotes, and other inhabitants of Peloponnesus rose to arms, and the Greeks of Livadia, and the islands, fought with success. Among all people was felt a sympathy for suffering Greece.

The Greeks were successful until June, 1825, when Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, sent his son Ibrahim, with an army, who, for two years, frightfully ravaged the coasts of Livadia, and the Peloponnesus. At length on the 22d April, 1826, occurred the fall of Missolonghi, a strong Greek fortress, which together with the murderous scenes enacted on the isle of Scio, sent a thrill of horror through Europe, and aroused the nations of Europe from their lethargy. At the proposal of Canning, the English premier, the three European powers, Russia, England, and France, concluded an alliance, by which the porte was to be induced to allow the Greeks their liberty. A combined fleet appeared on the coast of the Morea, demanding from Ibrahim the evacuation of the peninsula, and upon his rejection of this demand, on the 20th October, 1827, occurred the battle of Navarino, in which the Turko-Egyptian fleet was annihilated by the European.

This was soon after followed by a declaration of war on the part of Russia against Turkey, which strongly revived the hopes of the Greeks. On the 14th of September, 1829, the Russian army under Diebitsch, having surmounted the Balkan, compelled Turkey, by the peace of Adrianople, to grant the Russians favorable conditions, and to acknow-

ledge the independence of Greece. The result was, that out of the Morea, Livadia, a part of Thessaly, Eubœa, and the Cyclades, the three powers formed a constitutional kingdom, over which they placed as king, Otho I, of the royal house of Bavaria. This occurred in May, 1832, since which, Greece, under the guaranty of the three great European powers, has continued to support itself as a kingdom.

In turning from the east to the west of Europe, we find France impregnated with the revolutionary spirit. Under Charles X, the liberal ministry of Martignac, in January, 1828, was compelled to yield to an ultra royalist, one under the lead of Polignac. In July of that year, was published the three celebrated ordinances, by which:

1. The freedom of the press was suspended.
2. The new chambers dissolved.
3. The order of election of the next arbitrarily changed.

Then occurred the July revolution. It was a contest of three days. It was successful. It destroyed for the present, the rule of the priests, and probably forever, that of the royal house of Bourbon. The constitutional party came out of the contest triumphant, and Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, was named regent of the empire.

Charles X offered to retract, but it was too late. He with his family went a third time into exile, and died in 1836, at Goritz. Louis Philippe, of the Orleans dynasty, whose father was one of the instigators and victims of the revolution, and who had himself thus far been an exile and a wanderer, after swearing to observe the hastily revised charter, ascended the throne as king of the French. He restored the national colors, and reestablished the national guard, claiming to be a citizen king.

The French revolution of the three days of July, ended the reign of the holy alliance. The death of Alexander,

who was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I, had given it a terrible shock. The expulsion of Charles X, and the introduction of a citizen king, under constitutional guaranties, had entirely destroyed it. It never again fully reappeared.

The revolution in France was followed by that in Belgium. The Flemish and Brabant provinces had been united to the states-general of Holland, by the congress of Vienna, without any regard to religion, language, or national interest. Holland attempted to rule and force its own language and laws, its taxes and national debt, upon the Belgians. This naturally produced dissatisfaction, and the events of July in France, set the whole land in a flame. In a short time the standard of Brabant, where the revolution broke out, was waving over the whole of Belgium.

It was finally arranged to separate Belgium from Holland, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, related to the royal family of England, and who married a daughter of Louis Philippe, was elevated to the Belgian throne. Holland attempted to subvert and subdue, but the Belgians being sustained by the French and English, ultimately triumphed. The new kingdom has greatly flourished under the influence of free institutions, and a well directed industry.

Next the standard of insurrection was raised in Poland. On the 20th November, 1830, a military conspiracy burst out, the inhabitants of the capital were called to arms, the Russian viceroy, Constantine, fled, and a provisional government was established. The regency which was established belonged to the old Polish aristocracy, and innumerable jealousies existed between that and the republican and democratic clubs.

In the commencement of the year 1831, the emperor of Russia sent an army of two hundred thousand men, under

the command of Field-marshal Diebitsch into Poland. The diet, while declaring the nation independent of Russia, refused to liberate the peasants, and thus invoke the results of a popular war.

On the 26th May, 1831, was fought the battle of Ostrolenka, which was disastrous to the Poles. Paskewitsch, the successor of Diebitsch, who had died of the cholera, crossed the Prussian Vistula and approached the walls of Warsaw. After a storm of two days it was surrendered by capitulation. Poland then lost her constitution, her diet, her state council, and was attached to the Russian empire, with a separate government and administration of justice.

The revolutionary movement was also felt in Germany. Insurrections occurred in the kingdoms of Hanover and Saxony, but they were appeased by granting liberal constitutions, and abolishing abuses and restrictions. Nearly the same also in Brunswick, and in Hesse-Cassel. The liberals also obtained the majority in the chambers of southern Germany. But a reaction followed, in which the government succeeded very generally in effecting their reestablishment.

Some serious commotions were also experienced in Italy. But the insurrections in Bologna, Modena, and Parma were soon suppressed by Austrian troops.

In Spain there was a quarrel for the crown. Maria Christina, the fourth wife of Ferdinand, had persuaded him to abolish the Salic law, which prevails in all the Bourbon states, the effect of which is to exclude females from succeeding to the throne. By this the king hoped to secure the crown to his daughter Isabella, who was born the same year. The king died in September, 1833.

Immediately Don Carlos, a younger brother of the late king, was called to the throne under the name of Charles

V. The other claimant was Isabella, the daughter. The absolutists supported Don Carlos, and they found support in the rude mountaineers of the Basque provinces, among whom he sought a refuge. The party of the young queen, Maria Christina, the mother, having been appointed regent, introduced the cortes constitution, and thus took the side of the liberals. The civil war became the struggle of opinions. Between the Christinos, as they were termed, and the Carlists, occurred many bloody battles. The former, under their leader, General Espartero, were successful, and Don Carlos was compelled to take refuge in France.

As the middle of the nineteenth century was drawing near, almost all the states of Europe became excited. In Italy, the pope, Pius IX, to the surprise of all, took the lead in the introduction of salutary reforms. He gave greater freedom to the press, improved the administration of justice, gave to Rome a liberal municipal government, and took some measures for a confederation of the Italian states. The excitable Italians were seized with a new enthusiasm. Sicily revolted from its Neapolitan oppressor, and the latter, in January, 1848, to appease the threatened insurrection of his subjects, gave them a constitution. His example was followed by Archduke Leopold, of Tuscany, and Charles Albert, king of Sardinia. Changes also occurred in Modena and Parma. The Italians were filled with hope, but two formidable powers stood directly in the way of their making any considerable progress towards liberal principles. These were the Jesuits and Austria.

Germany also became the theatre of excitement. A large portion of the German race became discontented with the condition both of the state and the church.

Frederick William IV, who had succeeded to the crown of Prussia in 1840, and was a prince of high accomplishments and active mind, in 1847 threw open the courts of justice, permitting oral pleadings, diminished the ecclesiastical restraints, and summoned the united estates to a diet in Berlin. This was in A.D., 1847.

In Switzerland, a struggle in 1848 was going on between the catholics and protestants, and the conservatives and radicals. The contest finally resolved itself into a desperate struggle between Jesuitism and radicalism. The seven catholic cantons formed a special confederation, for mutual defense. The radicals controlled the diet, and procured a resolution to dissolve the special confederation, and to banish the Jesuits. The members of the special confederation refused submission. A confederate army under Dufour, subdued Freiburg and Lucerne, upon which the remaining cantons submitted; They were compelled to renounce the Sonderbund, to banish the Jesuits, to alter the cantonal government, and to pay the expenses of the war.

But the time had arrived when we might reasonably expect another revolution in France. Against the citizen king were ranged the adherents of the Bourbons, the legitimatists and the republicans. Louis Philippe leaned for support mainly on the middle class, who desired protection and stability. It was obvious, however, that he had many enemies. There were no less than eight different attempts made to effect his assassination. But he escaped uninjured.

The feeling against the government, and against the ministry, of which Guizot was the life and soul, became stronger every day. Reform banquets were held in all parts of the land, at which toasts were drank, and speeches

made against the government. The holding of these banquets was prohibited, nevertheless they made preparations to have them still go on.

In the latter part of February, 1848, on the occasion of attempting one of these reform banquets in Paris, the populace became excited; the streets barricaded; and finally victory declaring for the people, Louis Philippe abdicated and with his family fled to England. A provisional government was formed under the presidentship of Dupont de l'Eure, and in which Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Arago, Garnier Pages, and Louis Blanc had a share. A constituent national assembly, elected by the whole people, met together in May. As they did not afford to the laboring people the relief they anticipated, a new revolution was attempted. This led to the dreadful scenes of June, when the attempt was made to inaugurate the red republic. But the national assembly created General Cavaignac dictator, and defeated the rebels, and placed Paris under martial law. The assembly then created a republic with a president for four years, the first elected being Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of Lucien Bonaparte and Hortense the daughter of Josephine, thus being the nephew of the great Napoleon, and the grandson of Josephine.

The occurrence of this revolution produced a violent shock all over Europe. Popular commotions took place in Germany, Italy and Hungary.

The first effects were manifested in Baden. The estates of the country were just assembled, and urgent demands were made upon them for freedom of the press, juries, a militia under elected leaders, and a German parliament to sit with the diet. These demands were, in general, granted.

Other German states followed the example, as Wirtemberg, Saxony, etc.

In March, of the same year, 1848, convulsions occurred in the Austrian empire. An insurrection broke out in Vienna, so successful, that Prince Metternich, the prime minister, and prime mover in the holy alliance, laid down the premiership, and fled a fugitive to England. Lawlessness reigned in the capital. The press enjoyed its freedom, and clubs and mobs were everywhere formed. The emperor fled to Innspruck, and a diet chosen by universal suffrage, assembled at Vienna.

So also in Berlin, the Prussian government consented to freedom of the press, and other reforms. But a street battle of fourteen hours was fought between the soldiers and citizens, when most of the barricades were destroyed, and the king dismissed his ministry, granted an unconditional amnesty, and promised, in a proclamation, that he would place himself as a constitutional king at the head of a free and united Germany. A few weeks later, a constituent national assembly, elected by universal suffrage, undertook the great work of framing a representative constitution for the Prussian monarchy.

A revolution, of a somewhat similar character, passed over all the German states. Louis, king of Bavaria, gave way before public opinion, and resigned the government to Maximilian. In Hanover, and other states, the leaders of the liberals were called to the ministry. In some of the states, reforms were insufficient, and revolutions occurred.

Italy was also the theatre of revolutions. Sicily, for for more than a year, maintained a war of independence against Naples, but was finally subdued, the king of Naples destroying also the constitutional government he had himself granted in Naples.

In Rome, the republican movement became too strong for the pope. His minister, Rossi, was slain, and he fled in

disguise to Gaeta, while in Rome a republic was proclaimed under the lead of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

But the pope, invoking the powers of the church for protection, a French army, under General Oudinot, took Rome, suppressed the republic, and reinstated the pope.

In Tuscany, the grand duke was at first put to flight, but subsequently returned and was reinstated.

So in Milan and Venice, in upper Italy, popular insurrections occurred, the Austrian garrisons driven out, and the standard of independence raised through Lombardy. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, declared war against Austria, and drove back the enemy to the northern frontier of Italy. But the old field marshal, Radetzky, eighty-six years of age, gained a victory at Custozza, and reconquered Milan, and all Lombardy. Charles Albert again appeared the spring following, 1849, but a campaign of four days on the Tessino, rendered Radetzky triumphant, and Charles Albert, abdicating in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel, fled to Portugal and there died. The new king concluded a peace with Austria.

Venice withstood, for some months, the besieging Austrian army, but was finally compelled to receive again its old master, the Austrian.

The centre of disturbance became now transferred to Hungary. What the Magyar race in that country claimed was, to have the Hungarian kingdom retain only a personal union with the Austrian empire, having no share either in its military system, or trade legislation. In all this they were only asserting rights which they had previously enjoyed, and to which, therefore, they ought still to be entitled.

This claim, however, was resisted not alone by Austria, but also by the Slavic races, the Croats, Slavonians, Ser-

vians, etc., the ban of Croatia, Jellachich, being the first to take the field against the Magyars. The democracy of Vienna sympathized with the Magyars, and in October, of 1848, another revolution occurred in the Austrian capital. Latour, the minister of war, was slain, and the emperor again fled from the capital, and retired to Olmutz in Moravia.

Next occurs the siege and storm of Vienna, which lasted some weeks. It was at length taken, and put under martial law. Ferdinand had succeeded Francis II, as emperor, but the disturbances had been such as to induce him to resign the government, upon which his youthful nephew, Francis Joseph, the present monarch, obtained the imperial throne.

But the reduction of Hungary proved no easy undertaking. Under Gorgey, an able general and commander-in-chief, and the Polish leaders Dembinsky and Bem, the Magyars compelled the hostile forces to retreat, captured Buda, and got possession of all the fortresses. In April, 1849, the diet of Debreczin declared Hungary independent of Austria, and established a provisional government under the direction of Kossuth.

But Austria dispatched field-marshal Haynau to take command of her armies, and at the same time called on Russia for assistance. Hostile armies now marched from three directions into Hungary, viz:

On the north Paskewitsch with his Russians.

On the west Haynau with his Austrians.

On the south Jellachich with his Croats.

Still the Magyars held out, and accomplished many victories. But internal dissensions paralyzed the strength of the insurgents, and Gorgey, who had been named dictator, finally laid down his arms to the Russians at Vilagos, on

the 11th of August, 1849, and thus brought about the subjection of the country. Some of the insurgents, as Kossuth, found a refuge in Turkey. Others perished on scaffolds or pined away in dungeons. This closed for the present the revolutionary movement which had spread over Europe.

The next European event of importance, after the creation of Louis Napoleon first as president for ten years, and next, emperor of France, is to be found in the recent war in the east. The Russian emperors, since the days of Peter I, and more especially of Catharine II, had cast a longing look towards Constantinople, strongly desiring to touch both the Baltic and the Bosphorus. The emperor, Nicholas I, who had succeeded his brother, Alexander I, in the spring of 1853, demanded of the porte that the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey be conceded to the emperor of Russia. This would be in effect giving to the emperor of Russia a power over all the subjects of the Ottoman empire who were attached to the Greek church, amounting to about twelve millions of persons. This grant of power was refused on the part of Turkey, and in this refusal, the porte was sustained by France and Great Britain. This led to the late European war, which was rendered necessary for the preservation of Turkey. The balance of power in Europe would be destroyed by allowing the already overgrown power of Russia to drive the Turk out of Europe, and lay its hand upon the Bosphorus, and the Mediterranean. Hence France and Great Britain, although at first vacillating in their policy, from a strong desire to avoid, if possible, a European war, finally came fully up to the aid of Turkey, while Austria and Prussia both chose to occupy a neutral position.

The fortune of the war has generally inclined to favor the Turks and allies, and has been prosecuted mainly on the Danube, and in the Crimea. The Turkish navy was destroyed in the battle near Sinope, and the allies, after a long siege, have succeeded in taking the northern part of Sebastopol. The emperor Nicholas, in the meantime, deceased, and his son, Constantine I, became his successor. All parties apparently became tired of the war, and negotiations for a peace were opened in Paris, in the spring of 1856. These were attended with a successful result, and peace was finally established.

CHAPTER III.

EUROPE—ITS INDUSTRY.

The development of the industrial element in Europe is a subject of vast importance. It is one hitherto but little noticed, because comparatively insignificant. In the ancient world it was carried on principally by slaves. The men of history were not laborers. They were men of distinguished mind, or unyielding muscle. They ascended high into the regions of thought, or were greatly celebrated for their military achievements. The demands of patient, persevering industry, were never heeded by them.

As a very natural consequence of this, we find that industry had achieved no scientific results in the old world. Political economy, the science that embodies its principles, had no existence among the ancients. They studied little, and knew less of the laws that regulate production, distribution, and consumption. It was reserved to more modern times to create and develop the science of values.

Before entering upon the consideration of the European development of this element, it may be well to understand its most important relations. The understanding of these will essentially aid us in comprehending its history, and the successive stages of its development.

The industrial element sustains relations:

1. To the soil upon, or in relation to which, it is exercised. This again results from the geological formation of the country. It is from the elements contained in the soil that the vegetation derives its inception and growth.

Every element contained in the vegetable preexisted in the soil, or the atmosphere, or the descending rain or the sun light. Various vegetables serve as food to different animals, and thus the elements that compose the vegetable come to form component parts in animal structures. Man being both herbivorous and carnivorous, deriving his subsistence both from animal and vegetable structures, is at a further remove from the inorganic world, but must still look to that as his ultimate source of supply. Thus the component elements in the soil are important to be understood, as from them, either directly or indirectly, are derived the subsistence of man.

But the soil is not only the source from which man derives his subsistence; it also furnishes the raw material out of which the various manufactured articles are constructed. Its relations to industry are, therefore, two-fold. First, as furnishing the means of subsistence, and second, the raw material which is necessary to manufacturing industry.

In both these relations it presents an almost infinite variety. The severity or lightness of the labor depends much on the quality of the soil. A hard soil, derived from the primitive rocks, makes far heavier demand upon industry in its cultivation, than does one derived from limestone or calcareous deposits. The soil of a primitive origin is best adapted to grasses, as these contain a good quantity of silex in their composition. That of a limestone region is best adapted to the growth of wheat, and is much easier cultivated.

The geological character of a country will also determine its physical aspects. In the primitive regions nature puts on her wildest attire. She there shoots up into mountains, sharp, angular, and well defined; caused, not

unfrequently, by upheavals of the primitive strata. There is the sharp, narrow valley, the abrupt precipice, the deep gorge, the shooting waterfall, the huge rock, the whole assemblage of magnificent mountain scenery.

Quite the reverse of this, characterizes the main features of a region formed by deposits in water. Here nature often puts on her prairie robe, mounting here into swells, and there subsiding into gentle valleys, presenting an undulation of surface, having less of sublimity, but more of the waving line of beauty, in its outline.

The nature and character of the industry required in these two regions is different. In the first all the physical powers of men are tasked to the utmost in order to acquire the necessaries, and a few of the luxuries of life. In the last, far less of effort and severe labor are required for the same purpose.

2. The second set of relations sustained by industry are those growing out of the rivers and coasts of a country where the industrial element is being developed.

This, in one point, has a direct connection with the preceding. The primitive region has the bold shore, the sharp indentation, the projecting promontory, and the rapid river, whose rocky bed, angular course, and swift current often defeat all attempts at its navigation. On the other hand, the prairie region presents a gentle line of coasts, an open country, and rivers, whose slow and sluggish currents interpose fewer obstacles to a successful navigation.

The bearings which these have upon the industrial element are to be found in the aids to commerce, the greater facilities for exchange and intercommunication which are presented by a country having a long line of coast indented with good harbors, and interlaced in the interior by broad

navigable rivers. Productive industry is always stimulated just in proportion to the demand for its products, and this demand, other things being equal, will be proportionate to the means which exist of cheaply transporting such products to a market. Hence it will be found that industry, although possibly less severe, is nevertheless the most productive in those countries where a rapid exchange is facilitated by those means of ready transportation which nature presents in her sea, lake and navigable river.

3. The third set of relations refer us to the constitution, government, and laws under which the people live, in reference particularly to the nature and the amount of freedom enjoyed by them. One great truth is everywhere proclaimed, and that is that individual rights must be protected, property secured, the fruits of industry insured to their possessor, and a reasonable degree of personal freedom enjoyed, before any miracle of industry can ever take place. No labor is ever effective except that which is voluntary, and none is ever voluntarily given where its results may belong to another. Personal liberty is therefore essential to the proper development of the industrial element. And not only personal liberty but personal protection also, and the enjoyment of all those rights which are consistent with the duties owing to others. Even the change from the slavery of the ancient world in those especially who cultivated the soil, to the serfdom of the middle ages, was a vast improvement, and one of those great links in the chain of progress, which we shall see has been productive of great results.

4. The fourth set of relations arises out of the prevailing tastes, manners, customs, dress, habits, elegant arts, in all that constitutes the advanced civilization of a people. The wants of uncultivated man are few and simple.

Food of the commonest kind; materials for procuring it of the most ordinary character; clothing of the homeliest fabrics; and habitations answering the mere purposes of shelter; are all that he requires. In this primitive state it is quite obvious that industry has little to do. Men are idle, and the vices of idleness naturally follow.

But a progress soon begins to be perceptible. Men are ever reaching after something beyond their present power of attainment. The yearnings of the immortal are never wholly obscured. From the lowest depths of barbarism issues the wish for better things.

New wants are felt; new desires originate; and with them arises the determination to accomplish their gratification. The power of contrivance is invoked; human ingenuity is tasked to the utmost, and the different processes of industry are patiently and perseveringly entered upon. Man discovers that he has a capacity for physical labor, and when the products of that labor are in demand he cheerfully undergoes it. Thus one want succeeds another, and every new one furnishes a new stimulus to increased effort. Thus in the long line of generations and of centuries a thousand new wants and desires are evolved from the bosom of society, and industry with all her processes becomes an untiring agent through her thousand forms of production, transportation and distribution. It is not improbable, that in an advanced state of civilization, the supply of a single want may set in operation a greater amount of industrial force than is sufficient to satisfy all those of the savage. Thus the wants of the palate, the demands of fashion in dress, the great variety of accomplishments required, architectural embellishments, and all the arts of elegance and refinement, stimulate productive industry to its widest variety and greatest intensity of ef-

fort. In this manner a growing civilization and industry must necessarily keep pace with each other.

5. The fifth set of relations is to be found in the organizing efforts made by industry itself with the view to its own protection. I allude to the establishment of societies, fraternities, or companies termed guilds, which came into existence about the close of the eleventh century. These were the origin of corporations, and by the facilities and protection they afforded to manufacturing and commercial industry, they furnished very considerable aids to the industrial element during the middle ages.

6. The sixth set of relations has reference to the legislation of a nation in its bearing upon the protection it affords to the industry of its people. We do not here refer to the protection of individual rights, or the redress of wrongs, but to a species of legislation, bearing directly upon industry. This legislation may have reference to several points. These are:

1st. To the protection of new inventions and discoveries. This is accomplished by patent and copyright laws by which authors and original inventors are secured, for a limited time, the exclusive right to the results of their intellectual labor.

2d. To the passage of navigation laws; which, by requiring that foreign commerce shall be carried on in the vessels owned by the people of the nation, furnishes an abundant protection to all that industry which is embarked in navigation.

3d. To the passage of acts which levy a tariff of duties upon imports. This may be done for the purposes of revenue alone, or along with that the object may be to afford incidental protection to home manufactures. If it be the latter, then the duties must be discriminating, that is, levied

upon those products only of foreign manufacture, which may, by a little encouragement, be produced at home. This enables the home producer to manufacture them, although at a cost of production higher than they can be afforded by the foreign producer. The home manufacturer, has the advantage of the duty in competing with the foreign, and if his cost of production and his profit can be brought within the duty, he will be able to supply the home market. In this manner, the embarking of capital in home manufactures may be encouraged, and the domestic markets supplied by them to the exclusion of the foreign.

4th. To the passage of laws for the payment of bounties or premiums on exports. The object of this is to enable the home producer to carry his products into foreign markets, and to compete successfully there with the home manufacturer. Suppose, for instance, that both in England and in this country were iron manufactories, the cost of the manufactured product being in each nearly the same. The English parliament grants a bounty on all exports of iron. This enables the English to compete successfully with the American producer in his own market; and by underselling him (which the bounty enables him to do) he may in a short time break down all the American factories, and then, charging his own price, he is no longer in need of the bounty, but can supply our markets perfectly well without it. Thus bounties are generally regarded as temporary, their object being to enable the home producer to introduce his products into foreign markets, and to establish them permanently there by breaking down the foreign manufacturer.

These constitute the most important relations of which the industrial element is the centre. Its history and development will be found to be intimately connected with

these different relations, to most or all of which we shall again have occasion to recur.

It is a fact well worthy of notice, that this important element, so essential to man's physical, intellectual, and moral well being, has never had a history, or any real development until we reach the period of modern European history, about the commencement of the fourteenth century. Prior to that period, the social elements, so far as the evolution of industry is concerned, appear to have been mostly in a transition state. It is important, however, to note some facts that lie at the origin of the industrial history of Europe's different populations.

There are five great nations whose destinies seem peculiarly bound together in the development of the industrial element. These are Italy, France, England, Germany, and Spain. Although inhabited by different races, and governed by different principles, so far as relates to their political, social, moral, and religious elements, yet each have furnished important contributions to the industrial element. In the development of this element they should really be regarded as one people.

A great fact, to which the attention of the student should early be directed, is to be found in the reciprocal influence, and the mutual dependence of the town and the surrounding country upon each other. In the mutual wants and demands of each upon the other we find the rudimentary stages of commerce, and the origin of the strong stimulus of motive that led to early and long continued exertions in industrial pursuits.

The country poured into the town its surplus of agricultural wealth, and in exchange received back the varied products of the forge, the lathe, and the loom. Thus the corn, the wheat, and all the produce of the soil, beyond

what was required for home consumption, found a ready market among those whose industry was devoted to other purposes; while, in their turn, the artisan, mechanic, and manufacturer were enabled to turn their industry to account, and to exchange its creations for those products that more immediately support life. Thus the one became necessary to the other, and each mutually dependent. We observe here the beginnings of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry.

The question here naturally occurs, what was the early condition of the agricultural population of Europe before the downfall of the Roman empire? We answer that in those parts of it which were subjected to the Roman dominion, the soil was mostly cultivated by a class of people termed coloni, who were bond-laborers, but who were nevertheless very different from slaves. They were legally competent to marry, but slaves were not.[1] They could also serve in the Roman armies, but into these, slaves were never received. They were also capable of holding property, while slaves could hold none exclusive of the claim of the master.

They were attached to the estate, and could never quit the domain to which they belonged. They were, in certain cases, subject, like slaves, to corporeal punishment. They had no right of complaint, or action against the owner of the estate, except in two cases:

1. Where such owner exacted a heavier rent than ancient custom had fixed.

2. Where crimes had been committed against them by such owner.

They were fixed, as if by destiny, to the soil or glebe. The two were inseparable. They could neither be sold

[1] *Guizot*, IV, 37–9.

away from it, nor it from them. Their birth and burial were upon the same spot. This was a privilege, as it prevented the separation of families, and the sundering of domestic ties.

They also possessed another privilege. The rent they paid to the owner of the estate, generally in kind, could, in no event, be raised. It was fixed by ancient custom, and was wholly independent of the will of the proprietor. Thus the law furnished them with every motive to improve their condition. They were, however, subjected to a personal, or capitation tax to the government, which was less fixed and more onerous. This, together with the land contribution, assessed upon the proprietors, formed the two great sources of income to the empire.

This great class of the coloni received its contributions from three sources:

1. Birth. The condition of the mother generally determined that of the children.

2. Prescription. Whosoever had belonged to this class thirty years, without protest, could not free himself from it.

3. Contract. Receiving a certain portion of the estate subject to the duties and condition of the coloni.

This peculiar state of social organization, existing at the downfall of the Roman empire,[1] is supposed to have originated neither in conquest nor oppression, but to have been an ancient condition of things, which had maintained and perpetuated itself through the various changes which had occurred in the empire. Rome, in her European conquests north of the Alps, found this state of things, and she also left it on her retreat.

[1] *Guizot*, IV, 43.

The Germans, her successors, had also their coloni, living on their domains, hereditarily cultivating them, on payment of a ground rent.[1]

The question here occurs as to the effect which the subversion of the empire had upon this state of things. How was it from the fifth to the tenth century, the barbarous epoch; and from the tenth to the fourteenth, the feudal?

The answer to this can, of course, be only general, and must apply mostly to the German races.[2] Everything seems to indicate the permanence of this social condition. The Germans had few slaves, but many coloni, or bond laborers.

There were, however, from the subversion of the empire, causes in operation which led gradually to a change. Under the empire there was a separation of political and proprietary rights. The first belonged to the emperor; the second to the owner of the estate. To the emperor and his delegates belonged all criminal and civil jurisdiction over the coloni; to the proprietor, the rent for the use of his land.

The overthrow of the empire destroyed the great central power which held its dominion at Rome. The political power which had centered in the emperor now reverted to the head of the conquering tribe. In him was now combined the sovereignty and the proprietorship. Hence the coloni became not only cultivators and lessees of the proprietor, but also his subjects. They became dependent upon him in every relation of life.

As under the empire, the coloni were subjected to a rent which was fixed, and payable to the proprietor, and also to a capitation tax which was variable and payable to the

[1] *Guizot*, IV, 45. [2] *Idem*, 50.

emperor, so, after its overthrow, the same elements still continued; the rent was a fixed rent and payable to the proprietor, while the capitation tax became the feudal taille, was variable, and payable also to the proprietor as seigneur, or feudal lord. Thus both were united in the same person, the one fixed, the other changeable at his will.

The union of the political and proprietary, of sovereignty and property, in the same individual, led, almost necessarily, to a heavy oppression. The feudal system, as we shall have occasion to see, laid a heavy weight upon all the struggling energies of humanity. Under its severe pressure, serfdom and slavedom approached more nearly to a union with each other, and yet that perfect union was never effected.

The master had, and always must have, full power over the slave. The seigneur never had over his serf or villain. However numerous or oppressive the duties and obligations of the latter, yet they could all be discharged, so that he would owe nothing. This furnished the principle of self-emancipation.

This condition of serfdom continued, rather increasing in severity, from the fifth to the tenth century.[1] This was the period of the dark ages. With the eleventh century, or in the course of it, commenced, as we shall see hereafter, a series of causes which resulted in elevating and ameliorating the condition of the laboring classes.

During all this period, and in fact until somewhat later, the elements embraced in European civilization were in a formative state.[2] They were disengaging themselves from their previously chaotic state; assuming an existence for

[1] *Guizot*, IV, 55. [2] *Idem*, 197.

themselves, and appearing in their native forms, disclosing the principles by which they were animated. This state constitutes one entire period in the history of European civilization. It is that in which its elements were formed, and reaches down far into the eleventh century. So far as regards the progress of the different peoples of Europe, this may be denominated a period of quiet. True, there often occurs the shock of armies, and wars of ambition were frequent and destructive. But the clash of opinions, or of interests, or of elements, was rarely, if ever, witnessed. All these availed themselves of this period to form, to grow, to acquire such strength and power as would enable them in their maturity to contend with every prospect of success.

During this period the element of industry had done little more than to administer to the necessities of man in the supply of physical want. Luxuries were unknown things. They never intruded even into the dreams of men. The earth yielded her common products at the bidding of labor, with no aid from science, and very little from art. The mechanic arts and manufactures were limited to articles of necessity, which subserved the commonest purposes of life, and those of the very simplest form and structure. Commercial exchanges had a home character, and nothing foreign entered into them. The different peoples of Europe lived within themselves, having the simplest wants, and possessing the means of their gratification. They knew nothing of the higher world of art, and knowledge, and luxury, and extended enjoyment, both intellectual and physical, to which subsequent time and a more refined civilization introduced them.

In the latter part of the eleventh century commences what may be termed the second period in the history of

European civilization, which continued until the sixteenth century. This was characterized by attempting, experimenting, testing, groping about, reaching forward, the elements thus seeking, in a variety of ways, to realize, in the actual, what their establishment during the previous era, would entitle them to expect. This action of the elements, however, had this peculiarity, viz: that it was rather in reference to each other, than to a full, perfect interior development. The different elements approach each other, and seek to enter into combination. They feel each other, and form a mutual acquaintance. Their existence seems to be conditioned that they act in concert. But their combinations are mere experiments, some failing and some succeeding. Very little of a general, regular, or durable character seems to have been the result.

In these efforts, however, at action and combination, the elements became more separated from each other in their character and attributes. They were gradually working themselves into a higher degree of distinctness and individuality, so that each could more and more stand out in its own proportions, claiming what was peculiar to itself, and demanding that attention and consideration to which it was justly entitled.

The third period dates from the sixteenth century and has continued hitherto, and its chief characteristic is summed up in development in accordance with the principles lying at the foundation of each element. It is the era of more definite forms, in which a more determined direction has been taken, and a more general movement effected towards a clear and precise object.

The history and progress of the industrial element has been in accordance with the principles above indicated. In its formative or first period which reaches down to the

twelfth century, there is little that presents itself worthy of particular consideration.

The occurrence of the Crusades was the great event, which, in its results, bore strongly upon the industry of Europe. These commenced in the last part of the eleventh century, and continued through the twelfth and thirteenth. There were, however, facts bearing upon the industrial history of the south of Europe which preexisted, and were even necessary to render the Crusades possible. These were the rise and commercial prosperity of the southern cities of Italy. The Italian cities were, in one respect, peculiarly fortunate in their political relations. By these relations they were attached to the German empire, and from the weakness or neccessities of the emperor they were enabled to extort or purchase, and some at a very early period, every political right or privilege, with the exception of a mere nominal dependence. The German emperor had too much to do with the general affairs of Europe to allow the cities of Italy to occupy much of his attention.

As a consequence of this, we behold the rise of free cities first to occur in Italy. The energy requisite to assert and maintain their independence, and to establish, and successfully carry out, those municipal and political regulations necessary to secure their freedom, would naturally exert itself also in the department of industry. Hence we find commerce spreading its sails, and manufacturers elaborating their products first in the Italian cities.

These cities were Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence. The first of these was the Tyre of the middle ages. The hordes of Attila, in A. D. 452, drove the inhabitants of ancient Venetia into the marshes and lagoons of the Adriatic, where they founded Venice. About the end of

the tenth century, A. D. 992, their doge, Peter Urseolo II, formed with the Greek emperor a commercial treaty by virtue of which the Venetians obtained an entire liberty and immunity of commerce in all the ports of the empire. They also soon afterwards extended their territory by acquiring the maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia. They joined the league of Lombardy in the eleventh century, and in 1177, Pope Alexander III granted them the sovereignty of the Adriatic. This circumstance gave rise to the singular ceremony of annually marrying this sea to the doge of Venice.

The city of Genoa also owed her prosperity to her commerce. Both this and the republic of Pisa arose from the anarchy that took place in Italy on the death of Charles the Fat in 888. In the tenth century Pisa, like Genoa, sought its prosperity in maritime commerce. The Saracens were their first enemies. Against this common enemy they formed a union in 1017. But out of their successes grew sources of mutual discord. About the middle of the eleventh century they had expelled the Saracens from Corsica and Sardinia, and then disputed the ownership between themselves. Pisa was originally the superior of Genoa in maritime strength, and disputed with her the empire of the Mediterranean. Their rivalry was a fruitful source of mutual hostilities, which were incessantly renewed for the space of two hundred years, and only terminated in 1290, when, by the conquest of Elba, and the destruction of the ports of Pisa and Leghorn, the Genoese effected the ruin of the shipping and commerce of the Pisan republic.

But the great event, which contributed more than all others, to advance to the height of wealth and prosperity these maritime republics, was the Crusades. The first armies of the cross pursued a land route through Germany

and Hungary to Constantinople. But their sufferings and immense losses deterred others from taking the same course. All the subsequent crusading armies chose to go by sea. The Italian republics, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, fortunately possessed ships and a marine. These were all brought into requisition as transports. The sums received by these cities merely for freight, for the transportation of armies and stores were immense.

But this was far from being all. They supplied, as well as transported, the military stores and provisions, and thus engrossed all the profits of a branch of commerce, which, in every age, has been extremely lucrative.

They also linked their interests with the successes of the Crusaders.[1] They obtained grants of the most extensive immunities in the several settlements which the Christians made in Asia. By means of these they were enabled to protect their great and growing commerce. They had ceded to them entire suburbs in some of the large towns, and large streets in others. When the crusading armies took Constantinople, and placed one of their leaders on the imperial throne, these Italian cities were the principal gainers by the event. The Venetians mastered a part of the ancient Peloponnesus, and some of the most fertile islands in the Archipelago. Having a single eye to their advancement in wealth, they transferred to Venice, Genoa, or Pisa, many valuable branches of the commerce which had previously had its centre in Constantinople.

All these facilities were immensely aided by some great general results of the crusading movement:

1. A general awakening took place in the European mind. It seemed to arouse from the slumber of centuries.

[1] *Robertson's Charles V*, 1, 23.

It felt the pulse of a new life. It broke away from those local barriers that had hitherto bound it to its own skies and fields and native products. It looked, with intense interest, to the far-off east, expecting revelations as from a new world.

2. There were eight different Crusades occupying most of the twelfth and thirteen centuries. During this long period, and in the prosecution of these many Crusades, large numbers returned from the east, and, scattering themselves over Europe, poured into its listening ear the story of their adventures, all they had seen and heard, the wonders of this new world. Besides, they brought home with them and exhibited specimens of the industry, arts, and manufactures of the east. These were novelties, which not only excited the curiosity, but awoke also the cupidity of the European mind, and originated everywhere the strong desire to possess them. Thus were the different peoples of Europe prepared to make a strong and unceasing demand upon these maritime cities of Italy for the supply of the products and manufactures of the east.

The products and manufactures thus demanded and supplied were such as contributed more to luxury and splendor than to real enjoyment.[1] They consisted of the various spices, precious stones, jewelry, mirrors and silk. Some of these manufactures the Italian cities early succeeded in transplanting to new homes in the west.

The most important of these was silk. Its manufacture had long been peculiar to the eastern provinces of Asia. Silk fabrics were consequently of immense value. As late as A. D. 270, under Aurelian, a pound of silk was equal in value to a pound of gold. In the sixth century

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 41.

Justinian introduced the art of rearing silk worms into Greece.[1] In 1130, Roger I, king of Sicily, settled some artificers of silk in Palermo, and thus introduced its culture into his kingdom. This very much injured the commerce of the Venetians in that article, as their merchants had long been the carriers of silk fabrics to the west. In 1209, however, the Venetians succeeded in enticing all the silk weavers of Greece and Sicily to settle in their city,[2] and this enabled them, during several centuries, to supply the rest of Europe with silk, notwithstanding some manufactories that were erected in Italy, Spain, and France.

Another product imported from the east was sugar. Some plants of the sugar-cane, about the middle of the twelfth century,[3] were brought from Asia, and attempted to be cultivated in Sicily. From thence they were transplanted into the southern provinces of Spain, and from Spain to the Canary and Madeira isles, and then to the new world.

Another manufacture which was tolerably early domiciled in Venice, was that of glass.[4] In the 13th century they were the only people in Europe, who made glass mirrors. In order to coat the glass, they spread out a leaf of tin on which mercury was poured, and then immediately wiped off. The plate of glass was then applied to this amalgam, and the air being excluded, and the superabundant mercury pressed out, the adhesion of the tin leaf to the glass became complete. For some four or five centuries, glass mirrors were more manufactured in Venice than in any other part of Europe.

[1] *Robertson's Charles V*, I, 274. [2] *Chenevix*, II, 42. [3] *Robertson*, I, 274. [4] *Chenevix*, II, 44.

Florence was made the home of woolen manufactures. In 1490, England bound herself by treaty to export as much wool as Florence,[1] and the other towns of Italy, except Venice, could work, upon condition of their taking it in English ships. These manufactures continued for some centuries to be a staple commodity in Florence.

The woolen manufacture employed no less than two hundred factories.[2] The raw material was at first imported from Spain. Eighty thousand pieces of cloth were manufactured every year in Florence. This produced its legitimate result upon the general prosperity of the city. Its annual income was $5,000,000, being more than the cotemporary kingdoms of Naples and Arragon, and even than that of Great Britain and Ireland at the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

By these means, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Italy presented all the elements of national prosperity.[3] Commercial, manufacturing, in fact every species of industry, were there greatly in advance of all other countries. She furnished models for imitation among all other nations. Her roads and canals were the most perfect then existing in Europe. Her merchant marine and her navy were by far the most considerable in the southern seas. The trade of the world was in her hands; for, except a movement of business, still unimportant, in the northern seas, that trade did not extend beyond the Mediterranean and Black seas. Italy supplied all other countries with manufactured articles, as well as with tropical productions, receiving back in return raw materials. She had in truth the elements of the highest prosperity,

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 45. [2] *List*, 84. [3] *Idem*, 85.

and seemed to lack only one thing to be what England has more recently become, and that was national unity. The lack of that ultimately lost her everything else.

The consequence of becoming the manufacturers and merchants of the world gave the Italians a standing in other countries. They were generally known over Europe under the name of Lombards. They were established in France in the thirteenth century with most extensive immunities.[1] In addition to obtaining every indulgence favorable to their commerce, there was also a grant made to them of personal rights and privileges which the natives of the kingdom did not enjoy.

The consequence of their engrossing the trade of every kingdom was that they became masters of its cash. They became also the moneyed men of Europe. They dealt largely as bankers. It was usual for them to demand twenty per cent for the use of money in the thirteenth century. This high rate of interest proves that the profits of commerce were exorbitant, and that it was only prosecuted to a limited extent.

The Lombards, as they were termed, were also established in England in the thirteenth century, and a considerable street in the city of London still bears their name. They there enjoyed great privileges, and carried on an extensive commerce, particularly as bankers.

But the chief mart for Italian commodities was the city of Bruges. It now almost surpasses belief that navigation was then so imperfect that to sail from any port in the Baltic,[2] and to return again, was a voyage too great to be performed in one summer. For that reason, a magazine or store house half way between the commercial cities in

[1] *Robertson*, I, 275. [2] *Idem*, 277.

the north, and those in Italy became necessary, and Bruges was pitched upon as the most convenient station.

This mention of the commercial cities in the north, and their depot at Bruges, naturally directs the attention to the most extraordinary commercial confederacy known in history, the Hanseatic league. This, in its results, was a most powerful agent in developing the industry of Europe.

This league was of gradual growth, some refer its origin to the year 1169, others to the year 1200, and others still to 1241. It probably was some time in perfecting.

Its origin may be traced to three sources:

1. To the awakening desire among the people of central and northern Europe to possess themselves more of manufactured fabrics, and of the products of tropical climates.

2. To the awakening of the spirit of freedom in cities, and the consequent facilities afforded for enabling the citizens to organize, and act in concert.

3. To the fact that the social elements were then much disorganized. The land was filled with robbers, and the waters were covered with pirates. Governments, as then constituted, were ineffectual to protect. The Baltic sea, and its coasts, were more especially exposed to these dangers.

Hamburg, founded by Charlemagne in the ninth, and Lubeck, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, were the first to form the league.[1] They were near together, and equally interested in repressing those disorders to which the coasts of the Baltic were a prey during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The league they formed was a political union, and it sought to accomplish two objects, viz: a safe intercourse by land with each other, and the protection of navigation

[1] *McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce*, 620.

from the attacks of pirates. The cities that were established along the coast of the Baltic, and in the interior of the countries bordering upon it, eagerly joined the Hanseatic confederation. They accomplished two objects: The one was in the more readily obtaining of supplies; the other in securing their safety.

The progress of the league was now very rapid. Even before the end of the thirteenth century it embraced every considerable city in all those vast countries extending from Livonia to Holland. About the year 1300, it numbered already sixty cities from the lower Rhine, as far as Prussia and Livonia. Previous to that, in 1260, the members had become so numerous that a diet was held at Lubeck, the chief city of the league. From this time regular meetings of the confederacy took place every three years. The number of towns forming the league varied at different times, but the largest number was eighty-five.

As these enterprising merchants contributed so largely towards developing the industrial resources of Europe, and of advancing the civilization of its different peoples, it is well to inquire as to their organization; their internal policy; the objects they had in view; the success which attended their accomplishment; together with the decline of their power and its causes.

The final act of the union was drawn up at Cologne in 1364, and signed by all the members. The main object as therein expressed was to protect the confederated cities and their property from foreign aggression; to guard, extend, and monopolize commerce;[1] to manage the administration of justice within the limits of the union; to prevent quarrels and acts of injustice by confederate diets and

[1] *Koeppen's Middle Ages*, 178.

courts of arbitration; and to maintain the rights and immunities received from the emperor and the princes.

Among the internal regulations were, the obligations incurred on being received into the confederacy, to furnish soldiers and vessels; or, in certain cases, money as a substitute, and to pay the duties and amercements. The league also exercised a judicial power, and inflicted the greater and lesser ban. Any place which incurred these punishments was said to be *verhansed.*

The supreme authority of the league was vested in the deputies of the different towns when they assembled together as a congress. They discussed in this congress all their measures, decided upon the sum which each city should contribute to the common fund; and upon the questions that frequently arose between the different members of the confederacy, and also those arising between the confederacy and other powers. These meetings were generally held every three years at the city of Lubeck, where were kept the archives of the confederation. Any one, whether a merchant or otherwise, might be chosen as deputy. On the conclusion of the deliberations of the congress, the decrees were communicated to the magistrates of the cities at the head of each circle, by whom they were subsequently communicated to those below them, and the most vigorous measures were adopted for carrying them into effect.

In order to facilitate their operations, the union was divided into four sections or quarters:[1]

I. The Wendish quarter, comprising Lubeck, Hamburg, and the maritime cities of Pomerania and Mecklenburg.

[1] *Koeppen*, § 408, p. 134.

II. The Colognian quarter, with the cities in Friesland, Westphalia, and the Low Countries.

III. The Brunswick quarter, comprising all the cities between the Weser and the Elbe.

IV. The Prussian quarter, with Dantzic for its capital, and comprehending all the commercial cities east of the Vistula.

For the purpose of further facilitating their operations they established four great factories or depots in foreign countries, which were localities of great interest and activity.

One of these was the city of Novogorod situated at the confluence of the Volkhov with the Ilmen lake in Russia. This remarkable city, now containing from seven to eight thousand inhabitants, has a memorable industrial history. In the high northern latitude of fifty-eight degrees, and amid a Slavonian population which was little less than savage, it kindled up during the twelfth, and shone forth during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as one of the brightest spots on the map of Europe. It was then one of the great commercial centres of the world. "Thousands of boats were plying on the lake Ilmen, and shipping the rich products of the east on the Volkhov river to the Ladoga lake, where the vessels from the Baltic embarked their cargoes.[1] The produce of the north, on the contrary, was conducted by armed citizens, over the low hills to the river beds of the Don, Dniester or Volga, and thence through the whole continent, to the Caspian sea, the Euxine, and Constantinople. During winter thousands of adorned sleighs and sledges

[1] *Koeppen*, § 304, p. 92.

were seen sliding rapidly over the hard and level surface of boundless snows and frozen lakes."

The great city was the rendezvous as well of the fashionable traveler, as the money making merchant. It concentrated the enjoyments both of the east and west, and in it were to be found the devotees of art and of science, of literature and poetry, of liberty and commerce. Around it were its strong walls, and within it its two hundred and fifty churches and convents, and its three hundred thousand inhabitants. In view of all this, we cease to wonder at the old proverb: "Who can resist God, and the great Novogorod." The foundation of St. Petersburg removed thither the centre of Russian commerce, and completed the downfall of Novogorod.

Another factory, or rather depot of the Hanse towns was established at Bergen, in Norway, in 1278, six years after the one established at Novogorod. Through this depot, the league enjoyed the monopoly of the commerce of Norway. One of the most important departments attended to here were the fisheries. The right to these was acquired in 1370. During the summer season, the sea-shore presented a scene of the highest animation and bustle. It was a continual fair, where all the nations of the north met and mingled in quest of profit or pleasure.[1] The different fishing colonies were fenced in with palisades, and every trade had its proper place assigned for its stores and barracks. Churches were built, and the crowded markets were filled with the choicest products of the north and south. The salted herring, through this agency, found its way into almost every market in Europe.

[1] *Koeppen*, § 545, p. 178.

The Hanse towns had also a depot in London. Prior to the reign of Edward IV they had obtained several privileges in the British metropolis. But their factory in Thames street being attacked in his reign, the league declared war against England; conducted it with energy and success, excluded English vessels from the Baltic, and finally compelled Edward to negotiate a peace, that of 1474, by which all their former privileges were restored, and in addition the king assigned them a large space of ground, with the buildings upon it in Thames street, which was denominated the Steel-Yard, which gave occasion to call the Hanse merchants the association of the Steel-Yard. In return for these concessions, the English acquired the right of trading in the Baltic, in the port of Dantzic and in Prussia.

But the depot which of all others was the most important, was that established at the city of Bruges in the Netherlands. This city was, at an early period, one of the first commercial cities of Europe, and the centre of a great trade carried on to the north of Italy. Its already extensive trade, favorable locality, and the freedom of its inhabitants, all conduced to the selection of this as their principal depot.

The consequence was, that it speedily rose to the highest rank among commercial cities.[1] It became a staple for English wool, for the woolen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the timber, hemp and flax, pitch and tar, tallow, corn, fish, ashes, etc., of the north, and for the spices and Indian commodities, as well as their domestic manufactures imported by the Italian merchants. The fairs of Bruges were the best frequented of any in Europe.

[1] *McCulloch*, 624.

The Hanseatic merchants were the principal purchasers of Indian commodities, which they disposed of in the ports of the Baltic, or carried up the great rivers into the heart of Germany.

The vivifying effects of this commerce were everywhere felt. The regular intercourse thus opened between the nations in the north and south of Europe made them sensible of their mutual wants, and gave a wonderful stimulus to the spirit of industry. This was particularly the case with regard to the Netherlands. Manufactures of wool and flax had been established in that country as early as the age of Charlemagne; and the resort of foreigners to their markets, and the great additional vent that was thus opened for their manufactures, made them be carried on with a vigor and success that had been hitherto unknown. These circumstances, combined with the free spirit of their institutions, and the moderation of the government, so greatly promoted every elegant and useful art, that the Netherlands early became the most civilized, best cultivated, richest, and most populous country of Europe.

An organization thus effective for commercial and industrial purposes, was also competent to assert its rights by the sword. Those enterprising merchants understood the arts of war as well as of peace. With the broad sword beneath their head, they reposed on their ships, or in their depots, always ready for combat.

The league conquered Eric and Hakon, kings of Norway, and deposed a king of Sweden, giving his crown to Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. In 1428, it equiped a fleet of two hundred and forty-eight ships, with twelve thousand soldiers, against Copenhagen.

In their naval wars they mounted their galleys with culverins and bombards, which launched forth immense

stones. They were already acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and it is not a little curious that the first cannon-shot fired in the north was destined to cause a great change in the political relations of the Scandinavian nations. Prince Christopher of Denmark, the only son of king Waldemar III, commanding the Danish fleet in the naval battle with the Hanseatic leaguers, perished by a stone-ball shot from a bombard.[1] Being the last prince of the dynasty of Swend Estridson, the succession passed to the daughter of king Waldemar, the great Margaret.

The effect of this league upon all the interests of central and northern Europe was most salutary. These enterprising merchants,[2] by means of this organization, repressed piracy by sea and robbery by land, which must have broken out again had their power been overthrown before civilization was fully established. They accustomed the inhabitants to the principles, and set before them the example, of good government and subordination. They introduced amongst them conveniences and enjoyments unknown to their ancestors, or despised by them, and inspired them with a taste for literature and science.

In order to render the Baltic a large field for the prosecution of commercial and industrial pursuits, it was necessary to instruct men in the rudiments of industry, and to familiarize them in the principles of civilization. These great principles were laid by the confederation, and at the close of the fifteenth century the Baltic, and the neighboring seas, had, by its means become frequented routes of communication between the north and the south. The people of the former were enabled to follow the progress of the latter in knowledge and industry. The forests of

[1] *Koeppen*, 178. [2] *McCulloch*, 621.

Sweden and Poland gave place to corn, hemp and flax. The mines were wrought, and, in return, the produce and manufactures of the south were imported. Towns and villages sprung up in Scandinavia where before only huts were seen. The skins of the bear and the wolf were exchanged for woolens, linens and silks. Learning was introduced, and printing had hardly been invented before it was practiced in Denmark and Sweden.

With an organization so perfect, and so powerful; a stimulus so strong; agencies and instrumentalities so great and efficient, it becomes a matter of curious inquiry how this league, which had been cemented by centuries, and was everywhere successful, could have ultimately become dissolved and cease to be. In order to understand this we must recur to the fact that the circumstances which gave rise to it were the anarchy, confusion and barbarism, then prevailing over the north of Europe. Germany was cut up into political parties, and the long wars between England and France threw the northern commerce into their hands. The prosperity of the Hanse towns was dependent upon the continuance of these circumstances.

But these were destined to change. The routes by land and sea ceased to be insecure. The feudal system had completed its work of anarchy, and governments were becoming stronger, and exerting a vastly greater power over towns and cities. The very knowledge and civilization of which the league had been productive were instrumental in dissolving it. It perished in the very light which itself had created. Princes learned the advantages of trade to their own states, and turned their attention to the formation of a naval force of their own, and to the encouragement of navigation. The inland members of the confederation perceived that the great seaport towns had

a separate interest of their own, and were using them principally to promote their own ends. The constitution of the Germanic empire was reformed by Maximilian I, who increased the powers exercised by the sovereign princes in their several states, and these soon worked in opposition to the democratic institution of the confederate Hanse towns.

The maritime towns ceased to be the masters of the Baltic; while the German princes brought those of the interior under their immediate control, in order to secure their own part in the profit from their commerce. Charles V separated the rich cities of his Netherlands from the league; and finally, the discovery of America and of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope to India produced such a total revolution in the commercial affairs of Europe as almost entirely to change all its previous industrial aspects. Thus, assisted by the occurrence of various events, the fall of this great confederacy was owing to the improved state of society, and of the development of the commercial spirit in the different nations of Europe. The last diet was held at Lubeck in 1630, and the confederation was dissolved.

A feature in the industrial history of Europe which began to appear near the close of the eleventh century was the formation of guilds, fraternities, or associations, chiefly for manufacturing and commercial purposes. In these we find the parentage of the modern corporation. They had their origin in the first organizing efforts of industry, and were formed probably upon two principles:

1. That of security. The member of a guild had thrown over him all the protection which it was capable of affording. In those early periods, when violence was so fre-

quently resorted to, it was a great point gained if industry could achieve its own protection. This was one of the purposes it sought to accomplish in the formation of the guild.

2. It offered the only facilities then existing for combined effort; for uniting the labors and means of many different individuals in the accomplishment of a single object. In this respect, and upon this principle, it found its ultimate termination in the corporation.

The term guild is derived from the Saxon verb *guildan*, to pay, because each member was to pay something towards the charge and support of the company. It consisted of a voluntary association of individuals for the prosecution of some branch of industry, or for some commercial purpose. They derived the license for their existence from the king or prince, but the laws or regulations under which they acted, and which really constituted them the guild, were of their own creation.

These societies of mechanics and tradesmen, exclusively authorized to practice their art, and governed by the laws of their constitutions, played a very important part in the middle ages. They seem not to have been much known among the Saxons, and were probably brought into England by the Normans, although little was known of them in France in those days.[1] They were probably borrowed from the free cities of Italy, where trade and manufactures had already made considerable progress.

The division of the people by occupations is one of the oldest and rudest political institutions known in history. It was that which gave origin to the castes in ancient India and Egypt. The guild, in its origin, affirms this

[1] *Anderson*, 132.

division, as it was essentially based on similarity of occupation. The occupation of agriculture seems, however, never to have been taken under the protection of the guilds. It was the mechanic arts, manufactures and commerce. Mechanical industry has always been essentially of a democratic character. It could never have flourished under the feudal system. It was born in cities, and in them only could it properly flourish.

As the cities of Italy first made a rally for freedom, we may naturally expect to find in them the origin of the guild. It is not possible to give the exact date of their origin. Traces of them are found as early as the tenth century. In Milan, we find the mechanics united under the name credentia. It is quite certain that small societies of mechanics existed as early as the twelfth century, which appear in the next succeeding one to have been possessed of important political privileges. We meet even with abuses in these bodies as early as this period, and some centuries later they became the subject of just complaint.

With the increasing importance of cities, which became the seats of industry, and with the establishment of their constitutions, begins also the extension of guilds. The principal reason why mechanical industry was so fully developed in the middle ages, was the independence which the mechanics acquired with the growth of municipal and civil liberty.

When the advantages of these institutions became known and felt, they rapidly increased, and in the struggles which grew up between the citizens and the nobility, the former found in the guild their great means of protection and defense. In this contest, the citizens were almost sure to succeed, and then the guild became the model

upon which they built their municipal institutions. The city became little more than an extended guild. This, however, soon perverted the guild from its original purpose, viz: that of embracing mechanics only, and affording them new and increased facilities in the prosecution of their industry. The consequence of modeling the municipal institution upon the guild, was that every one who desired to participate in the former, was obliged to become a member of the latter. Hence, we often find distinguished people belonging to a class of mechanics of whose occupation they could really know nothing. Here then occurs a mixture of the social and political character. It is in perfect keeping with the mixing and mingling up of things in the middle ages.

We see mirrored forth from this fact one great idea, the prevailing one of the middle ages, and that is that all political rights were considered as arising from special privileges. Everything enjoyed by men was regarded as a gift from the lord paramount. Such was the teaching of the feudal system, and such the great idea that had become embedded in the hearts of men. We shall see when we arrive at the element of government that the different peoples of Europe, with very few exceptions, have never regarded rights in any other light than as concessions granted or extorted from kings and princes.

The establishment of guilds in Germany was intimately connected with that of the constitutions of the cities. The latter differed according as the Roman or German organization prevailed. So far as the latter organization is concerned, many arts, like that of agriculture, were at first chiefly practiced by the villains or serfs; and even in the time of Charlemagne they appear to have been pursued on the estates of the feudal lords, by that degraded

class. They are still, in much the same way, pursued by the serf class, on the great possessions of Russian noblemen. Although there early existed free mechanics, yet in the German cities, before the privileges of the cities were acknowledged, they were under the protection and jurisdiction of the feudal lord. When these privileges came to be granted, they secured to these mechanics, as a distinct class of vassals, a sort of organization under the direction of the masters of each trade.

The full development of the guilds in Germany, falls in the last half of the twelfth century, and the oldest examples are those of the cloth shearers, and retailers in Hamburg, A. D. 1152, the drapers, 1153, and shoemakers in Magdeburg in 1157.

But they possessed no political importance in Germany before the thirteenth century, when a struggle arose between them and the civic aristocracy. The guilds were victorious, and became so powerful that they were joined by persons of free occupations, much on the same principle as the allodial possessors of land sometimes placed themselves under feudal lords.

Their power and popularity soon led to abuse. They became more and more confirmed in their privileges and monopolies, while the country people often became their slaves. Particular branches of industry were subject to restrictions in their favor. They, in fact, became insupportable aristocracies. Sometimes allowing only a certain number of master mechanics in the place, and seldom admitting any one into their associations, except special favorites of the masters. Sometimes admissions were made a means of extorting money or a submission to absurd humiliations. In some parts of Germany there were four or five different guilds of smiths, which did not

allow each other the use of certain tools. The guilds are now abolished in a considerable portion of Germany.

In France, also, the guilds originated with the increasing importance of cities, and became general in the reign of Louis IX. But there, also, they became subject to abuses as in Germany, and were abolished at the time of the revolution.

In England, the societies of mechanics are important in a political respect, as being directly connected with the democratic element of the constitution. Their origin here, as on the continent, occurred at the time of the development of the importance of the cities. They still exist, and exercise a great influence in the election of representatives, and in the municipal administration. Even the rights of freeman, and the privilege of voting, are often confined to members of these societies, such membership having been obtained by serving an apprenticeship, or by purchase. They have not, however, the right or power to prevent any man from exercising whatever trade he pleases.

Having witnessed the rise and great prosperity of the Italian cities, the still more extensive arrangements of the Hanse towns, and the existence and agency of guilds in the development of the industrial element, it becomes important to direct our attention to some of the special developments of industry among the nations of Europe. We have seen the manufacturing industry of the Italian cities directed rather to the luxuries of life than to its necessities. Silks, glass, fine woolens and jewelry were the products of the Italian looms and workshops.

In turning our attention from Italy to the Low Countries, the Netherlands, including Flanders, Holland, and

Brabant, we shall find a different principle prevailing in their articles of manufacture. Their staple commodities were the coarser woolens and linens.

It is here worthy of remark, that of all the materials for clothing, wool is the most extensively diffused, and the best adapted to its purposes. It is the growth of almost every climate, and can be fabricated into threads and stuffs of every consistency. In addition to this, it is capable of receiving the most brilliant and lasting dyes.

The arts of spinning and weaving wool were not entirely lost during the darkest ages. But they greatly revived about the middle of the tenth century, and rose to great eminence in Flanders. The inhabitants of the cold and marshy Netherlands were led early to give to their industry that direction.[1] Their lands were but lately reclaimed from seas and forests, and the wool first employed by the Flemings was the produce of their own flocks, which were fed upon these pastures. During four centuries, the woolen manufactories were multiplied throughout Flanders, and continued to be an immense source of wealth, supplying the markets of France, Germany and England.

Taking Flanders, Holland and Brabant together, they seemed peculiarly well adapted for an early development of the industrial element. Flanders and Brabant were particularly favored by nature for agricultural and manufacturing industry,[2] while Holland was equally so for pasturage and commerce. In few, if any, provinces of Europe, of the same dimensions, could a vast maritime and river navigation promote internal communication so successfully as in those countries. The salutary influence of

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 53–4. [2] *List*, 103.

water transportation was sensibly felt in the advancement of agriculture and in the growth of cities.

A lively intercourse was established and kept up between the country and the cities, which had the effect to develop agriculture in the department of live stock, and particularly of sheep, the wool of which was in constant requisition.

The great commerce of the Hanse towns and of Holland caused an ever increasing demand for the woolen manufactures of the Flemings. From the coarser woolen fabrics they advanced to the finer,[1] so that in the latter part of the tenth century, their fine cloths were more esteemed than those of any other country, Italy alone excepted. So far were these manufactures pushed that their wools of native growth proved insufficient, and they were compelled to resort to foreign importations.

But a period finally arrived, not, however, until after the lapse of about four centuries, when this monopoly of the Flemings ceased. They foolishly imposed restrictive laws under the pretense of affording protection to the consumer. They carried on wars with France. Other nations, who had hitherto been purchasers, in consequence of increasing activity and knowledge, became themselves manufacturers.

Through the operation of all these causes, the woolen manufactures were driven into Brabant. Louvaine became the chief manufacturing city of northern Europe, and Antwerp the chief commercial. Agricultural improvement followed the course of the manufactures, and became flourishing in Brabant.

But Brabant adopted similar restrictions, and about the middle of the fourteenth century, these manufactures went to Holland.

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 54.

The Flemings excelled in linen as well as woolen manufactures. The necessities of the former were not so imperative, yet several considerations united in its recommendation. The raw material was strong and solid. Its thread easily woven. The fabric produced was pliable, white, readily receptive of artificial colors, and in use eminently promotive of cleanliness. It was found that flax was of ready growth in Flanders. Linen stuffs of every description were woven, some cheap, and others upon which was expended an immense amount of labor. There were also other manufactures in the Netherlands which partook of the useful character, such as common pottery, leather, paper, etc.

These extensive manufactures in the Netherlands necessarily created a demand for laborers, and these again could not be maintained without great quantities of agricultural produce. At one time the superabundance of sheep sensibly diminished the quantity of ground allotted to corn and other agricultural products. The flocks were diminished to make room for corn. They preferred importing wool to food. Agriculture has ever since been the principal occupation, and has so continued to the present time.

We next turn to Holland:

Where the broad ocean leans against the land.

The Dutch were always a peculiar people. A large portion of their soil they had rescued from the waves. All the art and ingenuity they possessed were required to protect and defend it. That which they had thus rescued, and preserved by their perpetual vigilance, became for them a precious possession. Again, by these means, they became intimately acquainted, both with the land and the sea, and acquired those habits of industry which were

equally valuable into whatever field of labor they were carried.

The peculiar situation of their country limited them to navigation, fishing, and the pasturage of cattle. The ocean, and its inhabitants, lay all around them, and with both, they could not but be familiar. Their marshy lands, rescued from its dominion, were excellent pasture grounds for the rearing of cattle, and hence in the production of butter and cheese, no nation excelled the Dutch.

One important source of industry that opened to the Dutch was the herring fishery. This fish was unknown to the ancients, being rarely found in the Mediterranean. The Dutch engaged in this fishery in 1164. The mode and processes of salting and curing were discovered by Peter Boeckel, who died in 1397. These were practiced, and long kept secret by the Dutch. Thus they were enabled to give to a production of their fishery, qualities not found in the herrings of other nations, and which everywhere insured them a certain market and better prices. Ever since this early period, the Dutch have uniformly maintained their ascendancy in the herring fishery, although from various causes the demand for them now on the European continent, is not near as great as it was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Dutch had two advantages in the prosecution of their commerce:

1. That which was to be found in their wants and necessities. Their bread, building material, fuel, and clothing, were all necessaries, and they were all to be purchased. Here is one principal point by which the Dutch were enabled to supplant the Hanseatic cities. These latter found, as a general thing, the supply of these necessaries in their own respective vicinities. The Dutch, on the

other hand, not having them, were compelled to purchase them from abroad. The people, therefore, of whom they purchased, had something to sell of their own producing. They were thus enabled to purchase of the Dutch, their butter, cheese, and herrings, and to pay for them by their corn, lumber, coal and cloths. No people can purchase, unless they can also sell; and thus the Dutch, in their very necessities, found one of the great means of increasing their commerce.

2. Before the advent of rail roads, the commercial activity and prosperity of maritime cities were greatly dependent upon the river navigation with which they were connected. To Holland was opened the valley of the Rhine, and its tributaries, and here was an inland commerce of great extent, and immense productiveness. The situation of Holland, in reference to this beautiful and productive valley, was much the same as that of Venice to that of the river Po, in Italy. It was that circumstance that gave to that queenly city so many commercial advantages over the other cities of Italy.

Before adverting to the immensely prosperous commerce of Holland, it may be well to notice the decline of industry in the cities of Italy. We have seen that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, prosperity smiled upon Italy. But it could not continue. Italy was not a homogeneous country. Its cities were not members of one and the same body. They had separate, and generally hostile interests to each other. Besides having external contests, they were also torn to pieces by internal dissensions. The elements of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, were in conflict, and striving for ascendancy in each community.

Had the Italian cities imitated the example set by the Hansards on the coast of the Baltic, and formed with each

other a league for manufacturing and commercial purposes, very different might have been the destiny of Italy. It would have been easy for them to have maintained Italian preponderance in Greece, in the Archipelago, in Asia Minor, and in Egypt; to have arrested the progress of the Turks and their piracies,[1] and to have disputed, probably successfully, with the Portuguese, the new route to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. All this will be apparent when we look at the very great degree of prosperity attained by Venice alone, laying out of the question that of Genoa, Pisa and Florence, and when we consider that it was not only without the aid, but in the face of the direct hostility, of all other Italian cities.

From the first revival of a commercial spirit in Europe, the Venetians possessed a large share of the trade with the east. This continued to increase, and during much of the fifteenth century, they had nearly the entire monopoly of it. This rendered their gains exorbitant. One result of this great commercial prosperity was the high rate of interest paid for the use of money.[2] From the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the sixteenth century, the rate of interest was extremely high; usually as high as twenty per cent, and sometimes even above that. The profits of trade must have been enormous in order to have created such a demand for money, and enabled the borrower to pay such a high premium for its use. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Venetians were the richest people of Europe. The revenues of the republic, as well as the wealth amassed by individuals, were excessive. In consequence, the nobles of Venice in the magnificence of their houses, the richness of their fur-

[1] *List*, 86. [2] *Robertson's India*, 150.

niture, the profusion of their plate, and in all the elegancies of living, very much surpassed the state of the greatest monarch beyond the Alps. Venice had subjugated many islands and vast provinces, and she governed them as conquered countries.

She probably never deemed her power so fully established, or her career of wealth and prosperity more certain than towards the close of the fifteenth century. And yet, the close of that century was signalized by two events, which effected an entire change in the commercial affairs of Europe, and totally destroyed the sources from which Venice derived her prosperity.

The one of these was the discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, and the other, the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, to India, by Vasco de Gama, the Portuguese, in the year 1498. The latter had a more immediate effect, by the new direction thereby given to commerce.

The rich products of India were in high request all over Europe. These products, until the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, were obliged to be carried a portion of the way over an overland route. Their general mode of conveyance was by shipping up the Red sea, and then by land transportation across the Isthmus of Suez, to the city of Alexandria, in Egypt. There the Venetians took them in their vessels, and scattered them over Europe. These transshipments, and land carriage were expensive, but they were the best then known. The new route around the Cape of Good Hope, saved all transshipment, and all land carriage. According to the ideas entertained at that period, priority of discovery, confirmed by a papal grant, vested in the discoverer and grantee the exclusive commerce with the countries

first visited. Upon the strength of this idea, Portugal claimed the monopoly of Indian commerce, and sought to make Lisbon, its capital, another Venice. This brings us to the Spanish peninsula, and prompts the inquiry as to the industry of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Spain was early celebrated for her valuable breeds of sheep. Her wool was justly esteemed for its fineness and valuable qualities. From the tenth and eleventh centuries the woolen manufacturers of Italy drew from Spain the chief part of their raw material. They not only grew wool, they also manufactured it. Valencia, Segovia, Toledo, and many other cities of Castile, were distinguished by their manufactures of wool. In Seville alone, were sixteen thousand looms; and in Segovia, in 1552, the woolen manufacturers employed thirteen thousand workmen.

There were also other manufactures. Arms and paper were manufactured. So, also, were fine cloths. Of these latter the French long received from Spain their principal supply. In the tenth century, from 912 to 950, there were vast plantations of sugar, cotton, and rice, on the fertile plains of Valencia. These were the work of the Moors. So, also, Seville, Cordova and Granada had, in the time of the Moors, considerable manufactures of cotton and silk.

Nor was Spain, by any means, destitute of commerce. Her seaports were animated by an active commerce, and a maritime fishery. Down to the reign of Philip II, her marine exceeded that of any other nation. It was the peculiar genius of her government that crushed Spain and annihilated her industry. She possessed all the elements of industrial prosperity until the genius of the nation was extinguished by religious fanaticism and despotism. First the Jews were expelled, and then the Moors with all their

capital and industry. The inquisition planted its iron heel upon everything foreign, from a terrible apprehension that the catholic religion might suffer.

But before her manufactures and commerce had much declined, the direct passage to India was opened, and the hopes of the peninsula, especially the Portuguese part of it, awoke into new life. Immediate steps were taken to secure the prize, and to establish in the east a commercial empire. This was attempted by commencing a line of policy which has been ever since faithfully pursued by all nations seeking to extend their commerce, viz: by the establishment of depots, factories and trading colonies in the countries whose commerce they wished to monopolize.

The Portuguese first rendered themselves masters of the city of Malacca, in which was established the great staple of the East Indian trade. They also made settlements at Goa and Diu, which enabled them to engross the trade of the Malabar coast. They established a line of forts, or factories, along the coast stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to the river of Canton, a distance of four thousand leagues. They were received in every part of the east with respect, and carried on trade there without rival or control.

They even formed a scheme for the forcible exclusion of other nations, by obtaining the proper stations in the Arabian and Persian gulfs. They seized on Ormuz, which commanded the mouth of the Persian gulf, which soon became a great mart for Persian and Indian commodities. In the Arabian gulf no settlement of any importance was effected.

Thus, with the opening of the sixteenth century, the immense commerce of the east travels from Venice to Portugal. This alone would have checked, if not destroyed,

the prosperity of Venice. But she had not yet reached the summit of her calamities. In 1508, was formed the league of Cambray, the special object of which was to humble the proud Venetians. The parties to it were the emperor of Germany, the king of France, the king of Arragon, the pope, and almost all the princes of Italy.

The combination was too powerful. The French defeated the army of the republic in the battle of Ghiaja d'Adda. The pope, Julius, seized on their possessions in the ecclesiastical territories; Ferdinand of Arragon, on the coast of Calabria. Maximilian, the emperor, advanced towards Venice on the one side, while the French were pushing their conquest on the other. The Venetians were about giving up in despair, but as the confederates began to quarrel over their new acquisitions, they succeeded by some well-timed concessions to the separate members of the league, and ultimately to conclude a peace with each, and thus to save the republic from utter ruin. But the power and wealth of Venice had gone forever, and such has been her weakness and dependence, that her former greatness and power are now among the marvels of history.

With the discovery of the new world, and the passage to the east around the Cape of Good Hope, was inaugurated a new feature in the industrial history of Europe, and that was the establishment of the colonial policy. The Phœnicians had adopted it in the old world, and it is not a little curious that the colonies which they had planted on the Spanish peninsula, were the first to adopt it in the new. The planting of colonies other than the factories or depots of the Hanse towns, never became a necessity to Europe until the new world and the direct passage to the east had been discovered. It was then

perceived that the only way of reaching and monopolizing foreign commerce was, by the establishment of colonies in the countries with which their trade was to be carried on.

The object of colonizing was four fold:

1. For general agricultural purposes, the colonists becoming proprietors, and cultivating the land, and ultimately growing into independent nations, as the American colonies.

2. Colonies for plantation purposes: their object being to raise certain natural products for the European market. The number of colonists here is small, seldom sufficient to constitute a nation.

3. Mining colonies, their object being simply the obtaining of the precious metals.[1]

4. Commercial colonies, the objects here being the establishment of a commerce in the natural products of the country, and also in the manufactures of the native nations. They were at first mere establishments for commercial staples, but have ultimately become greatly enlarged. The extensive colonizations in the east have been of this kind.

The first great demands that were made upon modern Europe for colonization were made by India and the new world. The first was responded to by Portugal, the second by Spain.

The first were for commercial purposes. We have already glanced at the points colonized by Portugal in the east.

The object first had in view in the last was the obtaining of the precious metals either directly by mining, or indirectly from the natives by barter, fraud or violence. The Spaniards were slow in laying the foundation for their

[1] *Heeren's Politics*, 31.

colonial system. That of the Portuguese, on the other hand, had a very rapid growth.

The method adopted by the Portuguese for carrying on the commerce of the Indies was not by means of a great company, but indirectly by a monopolization by the crown. The merchants embarking in it had to obtain the permission of the government, by whom it was managed and protected, and who reserved to itself some of the principal branches.

The Indian commerce, as carried on by the Portuguese, was of two kinds:

1. The coasting trade, which was that carried on between the principal marts, and these were Malacca for the further side of India, Muscate for Arabia and Egypt, and Ormuz for the continent of Asia.

2d. The trade between India and Europe. This was conducted only in fleets sent by the government. The principal articles of trade were pepper and other spices,[1] cotton and silk stuffs, pearls and other light manufactured wares. These articles were not circulated through Europe in private ships. The Portuguese wholly neglected the carrying trade of Europe. Their great object was to make Lisbon the grand depot of Europe. Thither foreign nations were obliged to come. We shall find the Dutch and English subsequently carrying on this trade in a very different manner.

The East Indies, although the most important, were not the only colonies of the Portuguese. They also planted colonies on the west coast of Africa, which at a later period gained their importance by the slave trade. In addition to these, about the year 1500, she commenced colonizing the coast of Brazil in South America.

The only two European powers that commenced the colonial system at the beginning of the sixteenth century were Portugal and Spain, the former in the east, the latter in the west. In accordance with the ideas of the times, the latter laid claim to the discoveries of Columbus, and obtained the pope's grant of the same. The first lands that were sought to be appropriated in the new world were the islands of the gulf of Mexico, the most important of these being Hispaniola, or St. Domingo.

On the American continent the first Spanish possession was that of Mexico, the conquest of which was effected by Cortez in from 1519 to 1521. Next followed Peru, Quito, and Chili, conquered by Pizarro from 1529 to 1535; Terra-Firma in 1532, and New Granada in 1536. The places first settled were harbors and cities on the coasts of the gulf of Mexico; and soon after on those of the Pacific ocean. Settlements in the interior were made more slowly and gradually.

The mother land and the colonies were bound together by religious ties.[1] The hierarchy, the cloisters, the inquisition, the ecclesiastical state, bound both together with bonds and ligaments much stronger than mere political ties. The national spirit of the native nations utterly died out beneath such an iron despotism.

The new world was found to be rich in many rare products. The cochineal and the indigo as dye-stuffs, and the cocoa, tobacco, and Peruvian bark were found there, but these were then little known in Europe, and hence in no great demand. The great objects of search were the precious metals. The products of the mines were more regarded than any others, and the riches of the silver mines

[1] *Heeren*, i, 75.

exceeded all expectation. The search for precious metals was granted to private persons, in consideration of a tax to be paid to the crown.

The mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico, were discovered in 1532, and those of Potosi, in Peru, in 1545. The Indians were inadequate to labor in these mines, and, in order to supply laborers, the blacks were introduced from Africa, thus giving existence to the slave trade.

The Spanish partook more of the nature of mining colonies than of any other; the principal object being to transmit the gold and silver thus obtained, to Spain, and to no other country. Spain supplied the European wants of the colonies, and in return, became the recipient of all their treasures.

This commerce was confined to a single port in Spain, that of Seville. The Spanish colonial commerce was not committed to a company, but the monopoly of a few rich houses almost necessarily sprung from these restrictions.

During the last half of the sixteenth century, very important changes occur in the commerce of Europe. Various causes were hastening the overthrow of the Portuguese in India. Their whole system of management was a bad one. They fettered everything with restrictions. Instead of raising up manufactures themselves, and exchanging them for the products of India, as did Holland and England at a subsequent period,[1] they purchased manufactured goods in foreign countries, with gold and silver obtained from the colonies. By these means, they stimulated the industry, commerce and navigation of Holland and England, thus awakening rivals, who soon

[1] *List*, 181.

became sufficiently powerful to supplant them in the east.

They also carried with them a most bigoted religion, planting the inquisition at Goa. The clergy, by means of their wealth, obtained an overwhelming influence.

Superadded to all this, there was a great decline of morality among the Portuguese,[1] while avarice and sensuality were correspondingly increasing in strength and power. The sole desire of each was to enrich himself, reckless of the means, and with little subordination. Finally, in 1581, the nationality of Portugal itself, for a time, ceased. It became united to Spain under Philip II.

This union operated as an evil to the Indian colonies. They subsequently experienced neglect, and were also exposed to the attacks of the enemies of Spain. Spain now grasped the east and the west, laying one hand upon the Indies, and the other upon the new world, with its immense wealth of gold and silver mines. She also seized upon the Philippine islands, in the East Indies, and had open to her all the then existing avenues of trade to China. With a monopoly of all the precious metals of the new world, and the rich commerce of the east, what did not Spain then have it in her power to become? We ought also to observe here, that she had, at the same time, the Netherlands, which, as we have already seen, was then the richest and the most industrial country in Europe. But Spain, with her bigotry, her church establishment, her inquisition, her absolutism, could not have enjoyed industrial prosperity, although the whole world had conspired together to enable her to do it.

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, I, 118.

It was to no purpose that her monarchs prohibited the exportation of money, and the importation of manufactures.[1] As if by mere force of a decree manufactures would spring up all over the land, and money find an impassible barrier when it arrived at the Spanish boundaries. It was soon found that there were other and more imperative laws than those made by a Spanish despot: and that the spirit of industry and enterprise, the love of labor and commerce, take deep root only in the soil of political and religious liberty. It is a truth to which all history attests, that gold and silver stay only where industry attracts and employs them. Hence the apparent anomaly, that Spain, while receiving all the golden and silver treasures of the new world was actually the poorest country in Europe. They no more nourished her industry, or developed her physical resources, than would a constant stream of food contribute to the growth of a body through which it merely passed without stopping to be digested.

The European power which next succeeded to the monopoly of the East Indian commerce was that of Holland; but before adverting to that it may be well to glance at the industrial condition of Germany.

Much of the soil of ancient Germany was devoted to agriculture and to hunting grounds.[2] Their early agriculture was insignificant and rude, and only the lower part of the population was employed in it. The higher portion were the freemen, whose occupation was war and hunting, and from whom originated the German nobility. Under this state of things but little encouragement was given to agriculture and manufactures during the dark ages.

[1] *List*, 181. [2] *Idem*, 147.

But many of the German cities awoke to the importance of commercial pursuits. Those upon the Baltic and the North sea formed the germ of the Hanseatic league. Others, near the foot of the Alps, were more directly under the influence of Italy and Greece, and carried on a foreign commerce by land. Others again, on the banks of the Rhine, Elbe and Danube, by means of the wonderful fertility of the soil, the rich culture of the vine, the trade in wine, and the river navigation, rose to some degree of commercial prosperity.

But whatever we may say of the productive industry of the Germans, it is certain that the German mind has originated many discoveries, and those, too, that have wrought great changes in human affairs, and advanced the cause of science, and of progress.

Thus the first clear traces of the invention of gunpowder are to be found in Germany. It is attributed to Berthold Schwartz, a monk of Mayence, in the forepart of the fourteenth century. It seems not to have been applied to military purposes prior to 1350. In 1365, the Margrave of Misnia had pieces of artillery, and in the course of a few years afterwards it was known over all Europe.

About a century later, the middle of the fifteenth, the art of printing is discovered. This also, so far as relates to its having given to it a practical value, must be considered as of German invention. The invention consisted at first of movable letters invented by Guttenburg, who made them first of wood, then of lead, and last of tin. This was in Mentz in 1445. But printing could hardly be said to have advanced to the dignity of an art until the metallic letters cast by John Faust, or Peter Schöffer, and other improvements were invented at Mentz, which occurred only a few years later.

It has been claimed for the German mind, that it generalized the principles of manufacturing industry,[1] and entered at once into its widest interests. That beyond private gratifications, it recognized the demand of society, and the necessities of civilization; that that industry is purely selfish, which does not direct its efforts to the collective ends of society. For instance, in the manufacture of wool into clothing, there was a greater gain to individuals than to society, because it simply afforded individual relief; but the art of printing afforded no particular individual relief, but its primary object was to diffuse knowledge, and thus advance the general interests of society.

There are other instances of this, also of German invention. The invention of clock and watch-making, although perhaps not originally German, yet seems to have been brought out and introduced into society by the German mind. So, also, it may probably be said of optical instruments. Thus the measure of time, space and motion, in its practical applications, seems to be due to the German mind.

The Germans have also a principal and undoubted share, either in the original thought, or in some important improvement of the following additions to civilization, viz: bellows, coaches, smalt, diving bells, cutting and etching on glass, fire engines, guns, lace, and mills of various kinds and for various purposes.[2]

This has led to the remark, that German civilization has followed a different path from that in other countries.[3] That whilst everywhere else high culture of the mind has been the result of the development of industrial energies,

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 60, 61. [2] *Idem*, 62. [3] *List*, 152.

the development of industrial power or energy in Germany has been the consequence of the moral and intellectual culture which had preceded it.

The commercial prosperity of the Dutch had its commencement during the wars waged with Philip II of Spain. As has before been remarked, their position, and the circumstances under which they were placed, all conduced to give them maritime skill, and to incline towards commercial pursuits.

The foolish provision that the products of the Indies must all come to Lisbon, and that the nations of Europe must come there after them, had already resulted in giving to the Dutch, the principal carrying trade of Europe. And then, with the view of inflicting upon them a deep injury, Philip II, in 1594, issues a decree closing the port of Lisbon against the Netherlands. This destroyed their carrying trade of Indian goods, and induced them to look directly to India for the continuance of their trade. The first voyage, which was successfully accomplished in 1595, by Cornelius Hautman, roused an universal emulation to participate in the trade.[1]

The Dutch, in reference to the east, inaugurated a new policy. It was that of organizing an East Indian company. This was organized on the 29th of March, 1602, and was a political as well as a mercantile body. It possessed a grant of great privileges, by which it acquired the monopoly of Dutch trade beyond the cape, and the straits of Magellan, together with the right of managing all political transactions, and of making settlements in India. Its funds consisted in stock to the amount of about six and a half millions of guilders. It was governed by a

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, I, 116, 117.

board of seventeen directors or managers, who had the chief direction of its affairs.

Its prevalent maxims were:

1. The strict maintenance of its monopoly.
2. A strict supervision of its officers.
3. An entire prohibition of any trade on their part.
4. Their promotion according to merit, but never except regularly.
5. The utmost punctuality of payment.

By fully carrying out its maxims, it soon rose so high that Holland derived a great portion of its riches through this channel.

Its first settlements were made upon islands, the Molucca and Sunda, where Batavia on Java was already fixed as the centre of its Indian sovereignty. By these means it succeeded in escaping the revolutions of the continent of India.

The colonial trade stood at the head of Dutch commerce, and the East Indian soon came to be the first branch of it. The company became great both as a commercial and political body.[1] Batavia was the centre of Dutch India, and the seat of its government. It was the point from which both conquest and traffic diverged, the former to Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon, and other islands; the latter, by their relations with China and Japan.

In order to facilitate their commercial communication with India, the Dutch planted a colony at the Cape of Good Hope. This was an agricultural colony, was a stopping place on their way to India, and regarded as little other than auxiliary to their Indian commerce.

The greatness of the foreign trade naturally stimulated the Dutch to internal activity, and to a fuller development

[1] *Heeren's Political System.* I. 154.

of the manufacturing spirit. The immense accumulation of national capital demanded a productive investment, while the increasing wants of Europe and the colonies required a variety of manufactured products. The manufacture of wool, hemp, and linen, the making of paper and ship building, were all carried on very extensively.

Another branch of industry very extensively prosecuted at this period by the Dutch, was the fisheries, both the herring and whale. The taking of herring on the Scottish coast involved them in contests with England, which continued, with some interruptions, from 1608 to 1652.

The commerce of the Rhine was of immense importance, while that to the Baltic possessed a weighty character in a political point of view, as it involved the republic in the disputes of the north. The Dutch at this time were really doing the carrying trade of Europe, other nations yet wanting ships to carry on their own commerce.

The great prosperity of Holland, the success which had attended her various industrial pursuits, the wealth she had accumulated, all tended to excite the envy and activity of other nations. They could not perceive why a territory so small as that of Holland, should occupy the chief place in manufactures, in trade, in fisheries, and in shipping. Could she, reunited with Belgium, have formed the valley of the Rhine and northern Germany into a single nation, she might have much longer perpetuated her industrial supremacy. A nation, thus constituted, would have been in a position to oppose its own commercial policy to that of other states. Like Venice she possessed a narrow territory and comparatively limited resources. She had no great nationality to fall back upon; and, with a narrow territory of sea-coast, inhabited by a small population of

fishermen, seamen, manufacturers, merchants and cattle breeders, she could not sustain herself against the stronger nations that were rising around her. Like the Hanse towns, she had awakened a kindred spirit in other nations, and, like them, she fell a prey to it.

The industrial prosperity of Holland continued for nearly a century, from the last quarter of the sixteenth to the last quarter of the seventeenth. She had arrived at her acme about the middle of the seventeenth century.

On the 9th of October, 1651, the long parliament of England, under the auspices of Cromwell, passed the famous act of navigation, which, with other cooperating causes, transferred the world's commerce from Holland to England. This act declared that no goods or commodities whatever,[1] of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported either into England or Ireland, or any of the plantations, except in ships belonging to English subjects, and of which the master, and the greater number of the crew were also English.

It also further enacted, that no goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country in Europe, should be imported into Great Britain, except in British ships, or in such ships as were the real property of the people of the country or place in which the goods were produced, or from which they could only be, or most usually were, exported.

This act was a heavy blow aimed at Dutch commerce, more especially the last provision, as the Dutch had but little native produce to export, their ships being principally employed in carrying the produce of other countries

[1] *McCulloch*, 817.

to foreign markets. This species of legislation in England, was continued long after the restoration, and has, undoubtedly, largely contributed to increase the English marine, and ultimately, to give her the supremacy of the seas.

There were, however, other causes that, along with this, contributed to overthrow the industrial prosperity of the Dutch. During the last half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were involved in many exhausting wars. These were carried on with England, both under the protectorate, and Charles II; and also with France, under Louis XIV. The latter were long and distressing.

The conducting of these long and tedious wars led to heavy expenditures, and resulted necessarily in excessive taxation. This caused the fall of profits, and the decline of manufactures, commerce, and navigation.

Besides, there is a spirit of decay in all human institutions. This was peculiarly illustrated in the Dutch East India Company. In India, the Dutch were, without contradiction, the first European commercial nation. No one attempted to disturb them on the islands they had settled, and yet towards the close of the seventeenth century the company gradually went into decadence. No causes for it were apparent. It sank under age, as every human institution must do at last, and above all, a strictly monopolizing commercial association, in which the germ of dissolution must be finally, although slowly, developed.

Its books show a surplus over expenditures of forty millions of guilders from 1613 to 1696;[1] and from 1697, a gradually increasing deficit commenced, which did not again cease.

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, I, 287.

The decline of industrial prosperity in Holland was signalized by its rise or increase in England. There is much in the physical arrangements of a country which proclaim what will be its industrial history. The two countries which offer strong contrasts on this subject are Germany and England.

The former is inland. There is a want, an entire lack even, of easy communication with other nations. The little coast there is on every sea bears too small a proportion to the inland frontiers, and to the whole surface, not to make the want of maritime advantages severely felt. Of near sixty rivers which have their sources in German mountains, and are navigable through German plains and valleys, hardly one in ten terminates its course within the limits of the state where it rises out of the earth, but carries its tributary waters to fill the ports and havens of other nations. Add to this, that every petty principality, into which the country is divided, assumes a right to interdict internal navigation to all others. It is perfectly obvious that such a country can never excel in commerce. It must develop its industry through the medium of agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts.

In England, the physical arrangements are all different. Its position is insular. Its rivers flow into its own seas and oceans. Its line of coast is long, compared with its inland regions. By means of its rivers, its interior and its sea-coast are ever in communication with each other. Its long coast is indented with numerous bays and harbors, which serve as protection to numerous vessels. Under all these circumstances it was hardly possible for England to be otherwise than a great commercial country.

And yet the early industrial history of England furnishes nothing remarkable. In early times she possessed

neither manufactures nor commerce. Even her agriculture was at first in a very low condition. Her earlier population did not even rear sheep and cattle. They preferred living upon swine, which required the least possible attention, finding their own provender in the native forests, and in uncultivated fields.

It was foreign commerce that first turned the attention of the people from swine to sheep, from pork to mutton and wool,[1] and to such improvements in agriculture as were adapted to the raising of sheep.

The result was that wool growing first received the attention of the landed aristocracy and English farmer. From wool growing to cloth manufacture, was a step easy and natural to take. In the thirteenth century, some commercial treaties were made with Norway and Flanders.

The next century opened under the favorable auspices of the charta mercatoria, given by Edward I, granting safety to all foreign merchants who traffic with England. English shipping was, at this period, in a low condition. The exports consisted of the raw material, as produce, wool, lead, tin, etc.; including also, some leather and coarse cloths. The peculiar exclusive system of England dates from the latter part of this century. In 1381, we have a navigation act, prohibiting all British subjects from carrying merchandise, except in British ships, manned by Britons; and in 1399, an act forbidding the importation of woolen cloths.

The fifteenth century saw the exclusive system more extended. In 1463, an act was passed, prohibiting a long list of foreign wares, consisting principally in woolens of all descriptions, and also in a variety of articles, of which

[1] *List*, 110.

leather and iron are the immediate ingredients. Thus, we see, was early inaugurated a principle, which, for a long time, was to maintain its sway, in the commercial policy of Great Britain.

But the last half of the sixteenth century, the reign of Queen Elizabeth, saw a great movement in the industrial history of England. There were some peculiar reasons why the English people had not, for a century previously, developed to any great extent, the industrial element.

The commencement of the fifteenth century saw the inauguration of a new English dynasty, viz: the house of Lancaster, in the person of Henry IV. The accession of Henry V, in 1413, brings us into the English age of chivalry, and that has no sympathy with the plodding drudgery that forms the principal characteristic of industry.

Next followed the desolating wars between England and France, which occupied the first half of the fifteenth century. Then the civil wars of the roses, between the houses of York and Lancaster, which, for half a century or more, blasted, impoverished, and depopulated, without bestowing in return, the slightest possible benefit.

The manufacture of wool was the most important of the earlier English manufactures. The act forbidding the importation of woolen cloths in 1399, had been of immense benefit to the woolen manufactures. Previous to the more recent very extensive manufactures of flax, cotton, silk and iron, that of woolen cloth constituted the largest item of exchange, and this not only with the European countries, but also with the East and West Indies. Even down to the times of James I, woolen articles constituted nine-tenths of the entire value of English exports.[1]

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[1] *List*, 112.

It was, in fact, this species of industry that opened the ports of foreign countries to the commerce of England. It furnished them with the means of supplanting the Hanse towns in the markets of Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark,[1] and of attracting to England the best part of the trade of the Levant and the two Indies. This also served to develop mining industry and the use of coal. Along with this also existed a very considerable coasting trade and an active fishery. This served as a kind of nucleus around which gathered other branches of manufacturing industry, and thus it became the centre of the industrial, commercial and maritime power of England.

Previous to the period of Elizabeth, the ships used by England had been constructed in the ports of the Baltic, and were purchased of the Hanse towns. By means of restrictions and encouragements she introduced the art of shipbuilding into England. The timber for their construction was imported from northern countries, and this again furnished a market for many of the English exports.

The English had also learned from the Dutch the mode of management in the herring fishery, and from the Basques, that of the whale fishery, and encouragement had been given to both these by premiums.[2]

But the era of Elizabeth was also that of monopolies. Foreign commerce was almost exclusively carried on by privileged companies. Soon after the middle of the sixseenth century we find organized and in operation the Russian, African, and Turkish companies. They all, however, had only mercantile, no political aims.

This led the way to the creation of the old East India Company, which came into existence on the 31st of Decem-

[1] *List*, 112. [2] *Idem*, 118.

ber, A. D. 1600. It received the exclusive right of trading to all the countries and places situated beyond the cape and straits of Magellan, and not yet occupied by any European power. As it possessed only factories, and no forts, it made but slow progress against the Dutch, and its business remained for some time very limited.

The age of Elizabeth is also marked by a colonization in another direction, viz: on the North American continent. Here, during the last half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, were laid the foundation of states and empires whose development should, in the course of time, change the face of the world.

In 1583 and 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh made attempts at colonizing some of the coasts of North America. The London and Plymouth companies were also chartered for this purpose in 1606. These colonizations, however, were not for commercial or mining purposes, and were not, therefore, directly instrumental in developing the industrial element in England.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, occurs the revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of the commonwealth. This inaugurated another great industrial movement. It is interesting to notice the vast difference between the civil wars of this period, and those of the roses between the houses of York and Lancaster, just two centuries previous. The latter were mere feuds, contests between rival houses, carried on by lords and their vassals, in which no principle was involved, and the people took no interest. Their only effect was to desolate and destroy. Those of the former were wars of principle. They involved ideas. They were contests between the past and the present, filled with the future. The people were interested because they were

the actors. New feelings, new impulses, new emotions, and new ideas pervaded the hearts and minds of men. In their effects they were renovating, not destructive. From them England rose refreshed, invigorated, fired with new energies, and having infused into her industrial history, new and fresh powers and impulses, that were long to live, and exert themselves on the world's broad theatre.

The commonwealth, under the brief, but powerful sway of Cromwell did much, very much, to make England known, felt and respected abroad, and to lay broad and deep the great foundations of England's naval and commercial prosperity. So mighty was the impulse which the English nation then acquired, that the restoration of the house of Stuart could hardly weaken, much less destroy it. It was during that time that the famous act of navigation, formerly mentioned, was passed, which struck a death-blow at the carrying trade of the Dutch. It was also during that period that the naval war with Holland occurred, and that the great English admirals, Blake and Penn, gave to England the supremacy of the seas.

Among the direct results of the navigation act, were:

1. The immense increase of English shipping. So great and immediate was this, that in twenty years after the publication of the act,[1] the commercial marine of England had doubled.

2. The extension of the commerce of England with all the northern states, with Germany and Belgium, consisting in the exportation of manufactured articles, and in the importation of raw materials.

[1] *List*, 115.

3. A very considerable increase on the part of the English in the herring and whale fisheries, of which the Dutch had previously nearly a monopoly.

This act with some modifications has continued in force for about two centuries, from October, 1651, to June, 1849.

In 1660, the first year of the restoration of the house of Stuart, was passed an act strictly forbidding the export of wool, which was continued in force down to the year 1825.

Another great subject which has been a fruitful source of debate in the English parliament, in reference to the development of the industrial element, has been the corn laws. The legislation upon this subject has been frequent, complex, and sometimes seemingly contradictory. The great principle had in view seems to have been to insure the raising of sufficient corn in England to support all the inhabitants, so that they need not depend upon foreign supply. From the conquest to the year 1436, the principle of absolute prohibition of exportation was adhered to. For five hundred years immediately posterior to the conquest, importation was substantially free.[1] The conquest was in 1066.

In 1571, a new principle was introduced, viz: that of imposing duties on exportation; providing that wheat might be exported, paying a duty of two shillings a quarter, whenever the home price did not exceed twenty shillings a quarter. In 1670, an act was passed which extended the exportation price to fifty-three shillings and four-pence a quarter, and imposing prohibitory duties on its importation, till the price rose to fifty-three shillings and four-pence, and a duty of eight shillings, between that price and eighty shillings.

[1] *McCulloch*, 403.

The accession of William III, 1689, was signalized by the adoption of a new system. By way of affording still greater encouragement to agriculture, an act was passed, granting a bounty of five shillings on every quarter of wheat exported, while the price continued at or below forty-eight shillings.

There were many subsequent modifications of the corn laws, but the principle of levying duties on importations until the price of corn reached a certain sum per quarter, and thus, of virtually excluding the introduction into the kingdom for consumption, of all corn of foreign growth, until the absolute necessities of the people required it, continued to be acted upon, until the act of June 26, 1846, which was a virtual repeal of the corn laws.

Thus, English legislation, under the pretense or actual belief, that it was encouraging the home production, and thus rendering the English people independent of foreign countries in things necessary to their existence, has really benefited the landed aristocracy, sustaining them at the expense of other classes, through a great number of centuries. The price of their lands and produce has been kept up and sustained, by means of parliamentary legislation. The house of lords, in which that course of policy has always been upheld, has ever presented an embodiment of that aristocracy. Every other order has been fighting against it; anti-corn law leagues formed, riots occasionally got up, but, notwithstanding all that, what was styled the protection of agriculture, continued to be the settled policy of England for a series of centuries.

It is true it was not this branch of industry alone that received protection at the hands of parliament. England early adopted the principle, that her own legislation must be a protection for her people, and although the protection

of some classes, or industrial pursuits, must be at the expense of others, yet in the end, the interests of all would be advanced. Although she may have erred in regard to some, yet hardly any one will deny but that her general course of policy has been signalized by prosperous results.

The great outlines of English policy were very early marked out. It had in view several objects:

1st. The protection of agriculture, and the rendering the British Isles, independent of foreign supplies of necessaries.

2d. The protection of manufactures, which was sought to be accomplished in two ways; in part by prohibiting the exportation of the raw material out of which the manufacture was made, thus compelling it to be worked up in England, but principally by excluding the introduction of foreign manufactured articles.

3d. The protection of ship building, navigation and commerce by excluding goods of foreign growth unless they were imported in British vessels or the vessels of the country that produced them.

The great objects had in view were to encourage the importation of raw material for manufacture when it could not be cheaply produced in England, in sufficient quantity, and the exportation of the manufactured article. By following out this course of policy, she found employment for her people in her agriculture and her numerous manufactories. In carrying these last to every part of the world, she was compelled to build up a marine, which was greater than all the rest of the world put together. To protect her commerce and her colonies, she was compelled to furnish a navy, which would carry her flag in triumph over every sea. This again sent through the heart of her kingdom a requisition for mariners, which gave to such numbers of her population their homes upon

the deep. In the pursuit of these great objects, especially the creation and extension of her manufactures, and the enlargement of her commerce, she has employed her legislation, the physical force of her armies, and the subtleties of her diplomacy. All these were pressed into her service with the energy of a national character, which had infused into it all the elements of the ancient British, the Saxon and Norman power.

The English mind had the sagacity early to perceive that in the line of direction in which lay the greatness of England, it was essential to her to possess numerous colonies. These were beneficial:

1. In compelling her to create and sustain a marine adequate to their protection.

2. In furnishing so many markets for her own manufactures. The principle she sought to adopt was to engross entirely to herself, all the trade of her colonies.

3. In receiving from them in exchange for her manufactures, the raw material, which they were the best fitted to produce, and, in many cases, the rich products to which the climate, or peculiar circumstances would give birth.

All these considerations, especially the latter, furnished powerful incentives to the founding, or acquisition of colonies. The colonial fever raged high through Europe, especially in England, through the seventeenth century. The eastern world, and the new world, in the west, were constantly opening up and presenting fresh fields for colonization.

The introduction of the sugar-cane from Brazil into some of the West India islands, offered to Great Britain an opportunity by no means to be neglected. She first obtained a foothold on Barbadoes in 1625; on Barbuda and Nevis, in 1628, on Monserrat and Antigua in 1632.

She effected a settlement in Surinam, in 1640. On the unoccupied Bahamas in 1629, and conquered Jamaica in 1650. This latter was the most important of her West India possessions, as it gave her superior facilities for prosecuting the sugar trade.

It was also during the first half of the seventeenth century, ranging between 1606 and 1636, that the principal North American colonies were planted; some of them, as the Plymouth and New England colonies, by those who were self-exiled from their European homes. Those of Virginia and New England separated from each other in 1624, and, under the influence of democratic institutions, commenced a course of growth and development which has been unparalleled in the history of the race.

The expulsion of the Dutch from New Holland (New York), in 1664, gave to England an increase of territory, and she soon acquired the sole possession of the whole seaboard from Canada to Georgia; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Carolina forming distinct provinces, and commenced their career of development. At the north of these provinces were the fisheries of Newfoundland, which England appropriated to herself, as also the regions on Hudson's bay, and with them the peltry trade, which was subsequently committed to the Hudson's Bay Company incorporated with a common fund in 1669.

In the east, England was also progressing, but less rapidly, on account of the competition of other nations, especially the Dutch. The patent of the East India Company was renewed by Charles II, in 1661, with some political, superadded to commercial privileges. The same year were acquired the islands of St. Helena and Bombay. The latter soon began to increase in importance. Factories were established, and also forts, to defend them.

It becomes important here to notice that the recent success of the Dutch and English, in the manufacturing, commercial, and colonial development of the industrial element, had an effect in awaking other nations to a sense of the vast importance of these pursuits. Among these was the French nation.

The French people, composing the France of modern Europe, were, in early times, devoted to little else than agriculture.[1] In this they were greatly aided, during the middle ages, by the monasteries. Hence, the old proverb, "It is good to live under the crosier."

The vicinity of Italy and Flanders could not fail to excite among the French people, a desire to embark in manufacturing and commercial pursuits. Fabrics of wool and flax were made for domestic consumption, and, to some extent, for export. Francis I introduced the manufacture of silk into the south of France. Henry IV also favored it, as also that of glass, linen, and woolen. Richelieu and Mazarin, besides the silk manufacture, encouraged the making of velvets, as also the fisheries, and navigation.

The situation of France, with the Netherlands on the north, England on the west, and Spain and Portugal on the south, precluded the possibility of her remaining idle. Her silks, velvets, and other articles of luxury, found a ready market in the Netherlands, in England, Spain, and Portugal. In return, Spanish gold and silver entered abundantly at an early day, into the circulation of the kingdom.

But the greatest governmental effort was made during the reign of Louis XIV, in the last half of the seventeenth

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[1] *List*, 140.

century, by Colbert, his minister of finance. During his administration, from 1661 to 1683, much was accomplished in France for the cause of industry. He contrived a well conceived general system of customs, by which he secured the home market to the industry of the country.[1] He constructed roads and canals, by which he promoted internal trade. He invited manufacturers from abroad, purchased manufacturers' secrets, and procured better machinery and implements. He relieved the land from a portion of its burdens, by diminishing direct taxes; by relaxing the processes of their collection, and by a more equal apportionment of the burdens. At his death, France reckoned fifty thousand looms for wool; produced silks to the value of fifty million francs, increased her income twenty-eight million francs, and possessed flourishing fisheries, a vast navigation, and a powerful navy.

Nor was this, by any means, all. He did not neglect foreign commerce, or the establishment of colonies. These latter, were, in general, attempted for three different purposes, viz: commercial, agricultural, and planting. Of these three, the last mentioned only have prospered in the hands of the French. He acquired for the French government, several of the smaller West Indian islands, and also a part of St. Domingo. The trade was committed to a privileged West Indian Company, in 1664, which was abolished ten years after. This trade was of no great importance for some years.

An agricultural colony was also planted in Canada, and the fisheries of Newfoundland and the traffic in peltry were at first appropriated by the French, although they never proved of great value to French commerce.

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[1] *List*, 141.

An attempt was also made to participate in the East Indian trade. Colbert chartered the French East India Company in 1664, granting to it the exclusive right of trading for fifteen years, of being proprietors of their conquests, with a capital stock of fifteen millions. They made settlements at Madagascar, at Surat on Malabar, and founded Pondicherry on Coromandel in 1679, which subsequently became the principal place.

The rage for colonization extended north, and Denmark by her possession of Tranquebar, sought to gain a share in the East Indian trade. A Danish East India company had been founded in 1618 under Christian IV. This company was dissolved in 1634. A second was created in 1670, which survived, although in a state of great weakness, until 1729.

The effect of governmental interference in the matters of industry was shown in France in two different ways, during the reign of Louis XIV. We have already seen the prosperous result of the wise measures adopted by Colbert. And yet he had not been in his grave two years before the same sovereign who had sanctioned all those measures revoked the edict of Nantes. This was an edict which had been granted by Henry IV, in 1598. It secured to the protestant population of France, called Huguenots, their civil rights, confirmed to them the free exercise of their religion, and gave them equal claims with the catholics to all offices and dignities.

This edict, under the protection of which very much of the manufacturing industry of France had grown up, was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685. By this mad act, and others of a kindred character that preceded and succeeded it, France lost within the space of three years, half a mil-

lion of her most industrious, richest, and most skillful inhabitants, who were driven from their homes to seek a refuge in foreign countries. They carried with them not only their industry, but also the capital which that industry had accumulated. England, Holland, Prussia, Switzerland, and protestant Germany were happy to receive them, and to encourage the arts and industry which they brought with them. Thus France, by the same act, not only impoverished herself, but enriched other nations at her own expense.

While France is thus exhibiting a vacillating policy in reference to her industrial pursuits, now affording them all proper encouragment, then banishing as exiles those who pursue them, England is exhibiting the same steadfast policy, unwaveringly pursued through all her eventful history, her various wars, her changing ministries, her downfalling and uprising dynasties, ever keeping in view the protection and increase of her capital, the development of her physical resources, the presenting to all her people the highest motives to industry, and the securing to them the reward which that industry always furnishes. England's industrial history is a study for the nations.

One instance of the cunning of her diplomacy is exhibited in the Methuen treaty with Portugal in 1703. The simple provisions of this treaty were that England should admit the wines of Portugal, paying one-third less duties than the wines of other coutries, upon the single condition that Portugal should receive English cloths at the rate of duty established previous to 1684, or twenty-three per cent. This treaty offers on the face of it mutual and reciprocal benefits, and yet its results were most extraordinary. Portugal was immediately overflowed with English cloths, and the first effect experienced was the utter ruin of the

Portuguese manufacturers. They fell beneath the ruinous competition.

Another effect was to draw off from Portugal in payment a great proportion of the precious metals which the Portuguese received from their colonies.[1] The yearly exports of England to Portugal exceeded the imports by about one million of pounds. This sum was the excess which the exported cloths and other commodities amounted to over the imported wines, and other Portuguese products, and was required to be paid in money.

But what did England do with this money? She carried it to the east. India, in exchange for its products and commodities, required the precious metals.[2] But the next inquiry is what did she do with the cottons and silks which she received in exchange for these metals. Did she sell them to her own population? Had she done so, the lower price of the raw material, and the cheaper labor in India, resulting in low priced cotton and silk, would have come into fearful competition with her own manufactures, and probably ruined them. It would have gone against her whole course of policy to import only raw material, and export only manufactured articles. She therefore preferred to sell the cheap articles of Indian manufacture to the continental nations, in exchange for the raw materials of her own manufactures, rather than give her own people the benefit of those cheap and beautiful fabrics, and thereby break down her own manufactures of the same article. Hence she absolutely prohibited their importation into England.

The result has been that England now produces cotton and silk goods to the value of seventy millions of pounds.[3]

[1] *List*, 133. [2] *Idem*, 116. [3] *Idem*, 118.

She supplies largely the markets of Europe, and all the world. Even India now receives the products of English labor. Her own production is now from fifty to a hundred times greater than her former commerce in the manufactured articles of India.

A treaty on the same general principles as that of Methuen was concluded with France shortly before the French revolution. It was the treaty of Eden, by which French wines and brandies were admitted into England, and the manufactured products of England were received into France,[1] paying a duty of only twelve per cent. The result was that the French soon discovered that they could only export to England articles of fashion and luxury, while, in return, they were deluged with English manufactures, which had the advantage of theirs in their greater cheapness, their superior qualities, and the longer credits they were able to give. This foreign competition, in a short period of time, reduced the French manufactures to the verge of destruction, while the French vineyard and wine growing failed to be correspondingly benefited, as the English tastes were, from habit, more inclined to favor the stronger wine of Portugal.

The treaty was abandoned, but the French taste for English manufactures could not be so readily, and hence a contraband trade was long kept up, which it was found difficult, if not impossible to suppress.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the fruits of planting colonies began to be fully realized. Colonial productions, especially those of the West Indies, met with a sale in Europe, that exceeded all expectation. This stimulated their more extensive cultivation. Treaties,

[1] *List*, 143-4.

like those of Methuen and Eden, began to be made in reference to the agency which colonial productions could have on general commerce.

Originally in the planting of colonies, the mother country laid claim to their exclusive trade, that being one of the motives inducing the outlay generally necessary in their establishment. As, however, the wants and necessities of the colonies increased, and they began themselves to claim to be the centres of trade, it was found difficult, or impossible, to limit them entirely to the trade with the mother country, and, at first, a contraband trade with others was carried on, and even connived at, until its extent compelled it to become more open, and at length, although reluctantly, acknowledged.

The concessions of the peace of Utrecht gave to England the preponderance in colonial matters. This was in 1712–1713. The Assiento treaty with Spain, which was a part of it, transferred from France to England the right, for thirty years, to supply Spanish America with slaves, and to attend the great fair of Porto Bello. The exercise of this right opened the way to such a smuggling trade, that it brought almost the whole commerce of Spanish America into the hands of the English.

The South Sea Company was incorporated August 1, 1711, with the monopoly of the trade, south of the Oronoco, along the eastern and the whole of the western seaboard of America, and this prospered exceedingly after the peace of Utrecht.

The peace of Utrecht gave to England Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; thus securing the extensive cod-fishery on its banks, which soon became of great importance both to commerce and navigation. All the North American colonies continued steadily to increase notwithstanding the

exclusive trade which the mother country attempted to reserve to herself. The southern portion of these colonies increased more rapidly than the northern, eastern and western,[1] in consequence of the culture of rice, which was first introduced into the Carolinas from Madagascar, in 1702. Georgia was separated from South Carolina, and became a separate province in 1732.

In the east the original East India Company had purchased a renewal of its patent in 1693. The troubles that grew out of their eastern commerce led to the creation of a second company, called the English East India Company, which obtained its privileges by the advance of two million pounds sterling to the government. Controversies between these two companies, one of which was sustained by the whigs and the other by the tories, continued until July 22, 1702, when they were united together under the title of The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies. The fund of the two, amounting to two million pounds sterling, was made a common fund, with a division of the gains. The gradual decay of the Dutch led to a continual increase in the English trade.

In the middle of the eighteenth century colonies acquired their greatest importance. Their fruits began to be fully manifested. In the extent and importance of her colonies Great Britain had very greatly the advantage over all the other nations of Europe.[2] The peace of Paris had given her Canada and Florida, so that in the west, besides her West India islands, she possessed almost all the then inhabited part of the North American continent.

In the East Indies her merchants became conquerors, and, in a short time, founded an empire far superior to the

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, I, 287. [2] *Idem*, II, 80.

mother country in extent and population. The fall of the Mogul empire in India opened the way for the establishment of European dominion. This enabled the governors of the different provinces to shake off their fetters and assume their independence. Both the French and English sought to avail themselves of this circumstance, and to establish their dominion in India. The English were, in the end successful, and ultimately acquired complete supremacy in India, entirely superseding the French, Dutch and Danes, expelling every other foreign dominion but their own.

When, however, a great political, as well as commercial power, began to be upreared in India, a new organization became necessary, and accordingly the act of regulation, passed in 1773 was introduced in 1774, by which a supreme council was added to the governor-general, and to this body was confided the right of making war and peace, and of negotiating with the native princes.[1] In addition to this, a high court of judicature was erected by the crown with appeal to the privy council, and all regulations, civil and military, were directed to be laid before the secretary of state in England, the king possessing a right to annul them. Thus the political relations of British India became directly linked with the government at home. In 1784 was passed Mr. Pitt's East India bill, which introduced still further regulations, connecting more intimately the political relations of British India with the British government. Thus the vast and still increasing dominions of British India became subject, with respect to the dominion over it, to the government of the mother country. Its commerce was still committed to the company.

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, II, 100, 101.

The cry continued against the company, as an odious monopoly until 1814, when an act was passed granting to it the exclusive trade to China, but in regard to the East Indies proper, abolishing all monopolies, and opening the trade to all British subjects. Thus after a monopoly of over two hundred years the trade of the Indies was thrown open to the public.

But while province after province in the east was falling beneath the British sway, until the British empire in India was fast becoming the most extensive on the globe, her power in the western world was waning, her colonists there commenced setting up for themselves. The North American colonies on the 4th of July, 1775, declared themselves independent of the British government, and were ultimately successful in making good their declaration. As if to demonstrate the great superiority of freedom in developing the industrial element, it is worthy of remark that the free commerce of the United States with England, after the establishment of their independence, became far greater than it had ever been when in its restricted state, it had been carried on with the colonies. This fact is the more significant when we consider that when the war of the revolution commenced the people of the colonies, in accordance with the British policy and British system of legislation, were importing from England not only the foreign products they had occasion for, but even the manufactures they required for daily use; while at the close of it, a system of domestic manufactures having in the meantime sprung up in this country that extensive branch of commerce was in a great measure annihilated.

While the war which resulted in the emancipation of the North American colonies was still in progress, and a fierce naval war was raging in Europe to determine who

should rule upon the ocean, a new idea was broached in the north of Europe which might, in its results, deeply affect the industrial prosperity of England. That was what has been termed the armed neutrality. This originated with Catharine II, empress of Russia in 1780. It demanded:

1. That neutral vessels should sail free from port to port, and along the coasts of the belligerent powers.[1]

2. That hostile property should be free in neutral vessels, with the exception of the contraband, which was restricted to arms and the actual necessaries of war.

3. That it should be exactly defined, what a blockaded harbor is.

4. That this definition should serve as a rule in judging of the lawfulness of prizes.

To this declaration of Russia, Denmark acceded July 9th, 1780; Sweden, July 21st; Prussia, May 8th, 1781; Austria, October 9th; and Portugal, July 13th, 1782. Also by Spain, April 18th; and France, April 25th, 1782.

Thus all the great powers of Europe fully united in asserting a principle which would protect the rights of neutrals in commerce in the very midst of the fiercest of naval wars. It was the armed assertion of the rights of peace, and pursuits of industry in the midst of war.

The rights thus asserted were not very fully defined, and hence there was no little difficulty in their practical application. It continued long a matter of controversy as to what kind of property a neutral flag could protect; what kind of goods were contraband; how far the right extended to declare places in a state of blockade, and how far neutrals have a right to carry on a trade in time of

[1] *Heeren's Political System*, II, 91.

war, from which they were prohibited in time of peace, with one belligerent without disturbance from the other. These, and similar questions, continued more or less to agitate the European nations, from the period of their assertion in the armed neutrality, down to the adoption of the continental system. This was made up of a series of decrees by Napoleon, and of orders in council, on the part of the British government, commencing with the decree of Berlin, on the 21st November, 1806, and closing with the decree of Fontainebleau, on the 19th October, 1810. The substance of these have been elsewhere stated.

There was no mistaking the effect sought to be accomplished by this system. On the part of Great Britain, it was to destroy French commerce, and also that of all neutral nations; on the part of Napoleon, to annihilate the power of England, by destroying her manufactures and commerce. The close of the year 1810 beheld this system extending from the foot of the Pyrenees to the banks of the Volga, rendering Europe one immense prison, in which her great family were confined. Around the boundaries of each member of this family, was drawn a cordon of custom houses, surrounded by an army of spies, creating the necessity of passports, and police regulations.

And yet neither one of these purposes could be accomplished. The laws of commerce were too strong to be abrogated, and British power was too great to be annihilated. It was a power, in the expressive language of Webster, "whose morning drum beat, following the course of the sun, and keeping company with the hours, encircled the globe daily with the martial airs of England." Great Britain had other resources, besides the European continent. Her vessels rode in triumph on

every sea. She had colonies located in almost every part of the world. Her commerce with the United States was very extensive. Her manufacturing, and industrial interests, generally, no doubt, suffered severely. It was England's darkest hour. Had it continued for a series of years, it is impossible to tell what would have been the result. But the race of Napoleon itself, was to have a limit, and the continental system, which disturbed so severely the previous industrial pursuits of nations, could not long be preserved in its original features. They became modified, and, in the end, almost done away with.

On the continent of Europe, the continental system was not without its beneficial results. Each nation had to depend upon itself, and the consequence was, that manufactures, the growth of necessity, everywhere started up, and commenced a successful progress. These were increasing in number, extent, strength, and perfection, as time rolled on, and were fast acquiring a power that would be difficult to overcome.

On the restoration of the old system, on the downfall of Napoleon, it was found difficult to restore the industrial affairs of the European nations to their former situation. New interests had grown up, chiefly of the manufacturing character, which, as they had been the birth of necessity, now claimed their title to protection. France was morally compelled to adopt the prohibitive system, under the shield of which, her manufacturing industry doubled between 1815 and 1827.[1]

In Germany, the position of which seems to have destined it for agricultural and manufacturing industry, the

[1] *List*, 147.

first real progress made in her manufactures was in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685,[1] and of the numerous refugees driven by that measure into almost every part of Germany. These everywhere established numerous manufactures of woolens, silks, jewelry, hats, glass, china, gloves, and many other articles.

This was irrespective of any action of government. Austria and Prussia took the first public steps for the encouragement of German manufactures. These were taken in Austria, under Charles VI, and Maria Theresa, but more especially under Joseph II. Under Maria Theresa, improvements were made in the rearing of sheep,[2] in the construction of roads, and in several other particulars. It was principally to the energetic measures of Joseph II that Austria owes so much for the success of her industry.

In Prussia, Frederick William, the great elector, also availed himself of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, giving to the fugitives a welcome home, and encouraging the practice of the industrial arts they brought along with them.

Frederick II, the Great, also saw the great importance of encouraging all the industrial pursuits. He drew to his kingdom a great number of foreign cultivators, by which he improved waste lands, encouraged the formation of meadows, the culture of grasses, of animal food, vegetables, potatoes, and tobacco, by which he improved the breed of sheep, cattle and horses, furnished mineral manures, and aided agriculturists with capital and credit. He also promoted home manufactures under a protective system.[3] He facilitated the means of transportation, and

[1] *List*, 153. [2] *Idem*, 153. [3] *Idem*, 154.

by these various measures, communicated a more powerful impulse to the progress of industry in Prussia than was felt in any other part of Germany.

The rest of Germany remained for centuries under the influence of free trade, and consequently there was little, if any, manufacturing. They could not compete with the English. At length came the continental system and erected its wall of custom houses against the introduction of foreign goods. With that commenced the upward impulse of German manufactures. The progress in the breeding of sheep previously begun, became then distinctly visible.[1] So also improvements in the means of communication received due consideration.

The decline of the continental system brought ruin upon most of the manufactures of Germany. The English, finding them unprotected, could well afford to sell their own goods at cost, or even below, in order to accomplish their ruin, and thus secure to themselves the German market.

At length in 1818, the Prussian tariff met the wants of Prussian industry. It did not absolutely exclude foreign products, but protected against their free competition.

In 1819, was established a voluntary association of five or six thousand German manufacturers and merchants for the purpose of abolishing internal customs, and establishing in Germany a common system of commerce and customs. This finally resulted in the union of all Germany, with the exception of Austria, the two Mechlenburgs, Hanover, and the Hanseatic cities, in a joint tariff association, called the Zollverein, which has suppressed internal custom houses,[2] and established against foreign countries

[1] *List*, 156. [2] *Idem*, 159.

a common rate of duties, the product of which is apportioned among the particular states, according to their population. The tariff adopted is substantially the Prussian of 1800.

The practical working of the Zollverein is beneficial for manufacturing industry, and in the German states which it embraces, not only manufactures, but commerce and agriculture also, have already achieved a very respectable progress.

There are two other nations belonging to the European family of which no mention has been made in connection with the development of the industrial element. These are Turkey and Russia. The first offers little instructive. The last is comparatively recent. Her industrial history dates no higher than the reign of Peter the Great. And yet brief as is that history it is instructive in showing the intimate connection between the governmental and industrial elements, and the dependence of the latter upon the former.

Russia is made up of the union of a great many barbarian hordes, and these are bound together by a system of government which concentrates all power in the will of one man, the autocrat of all the Russias. Here is complete unity in council, in resolve, in action. Thus the otherwise jarring elements are kept united, and unity among the hordes preserved. It is to the strong will of her successive emperors that Russia owes the rise and progress of her manufactures; the rapid advance of her agriculture and population; the development of her internal trade by the aid of canals and roads;[1] a vast external commerce; in fine all her industrial and commercial importance.

[1] *List*, 160.

Catharine II continued the work of Peter the Great in Europeanizing Russia; but previous to her reign, a system of protective duties had been resorted to in the empire. These continued to the epoch of the congress of Vienna, at which period, and subsequently, treaties of peace were concluded with other nations, based essentially upon the principle of free trade. Then came the liberal tariff of 1819, under the operation of which Russia was inundated with foreign merchandise, and many branches of manufacture were ruined, or were on the verge of ruin.

This state of things called forth the official circular of Count Nesselrode in 1821, in which he declared that Russia, "is compelled by circumstances to recur to a system of independent commerce;[1] that the products of the empire found no market abroad; that the manufactures of Russia were ruined, or upon the verge of ruin; that the money of the country was being carried off into foreign parts, and that the most solid commercial establishments were at the brink of destruction."

The adoption of the policy of protection to the Russian manufactures, agreeably to the suggestions of this circular was attended with happy results. Labor was excessively cheap in Russia, and hence on the adoption of the protective system, capital and talent flowed from the civilized countries of Europe into Russia, seeking investments in manufactures. Another favorable result was that home markets were created for the immediate productions of the soil, and the money of the country was not carried into foreign parts, but was demanded at home in the prosecution of the industrial pursuits of her own people. The demand for fine wool occasioned by the woolen manufac-

[1] *List*, 162.

tures thus created, had the effect of rapidly increasing and improving her sheep husbandry. Her commerce at large increased instead of diminishing under this policy, especially her commerce with Persia, China and other neighboring countries in Asia.

We now return to England, and with her close the subject of European industry. This greatly favored country in all that goes to constitute national greatness, had, with one exception, ever pursued an uniform and consistent course of policy. That exception consisted in the enactment of her corn laws, which for the benefit of her large landed aristocracy she kept in operation for so many centuries, excluding foreign bread-stuffs in order to protect her own. This was contrary to her general policy, which was to import the raw material, and export the manufactured article. Besides, it increased the price of bread-stuffs, thus oppressing the poor, by compelling them to pay a high price for the staff of life. This policy, however, has lately been abandoned, by a repeal of these oppressive enactments.

With this single exception, the policy thus pursued and developed, both in her wars and treaties; in her government resolves and parliamentary enactments, have all tended to the same results, and advanced the great interests of manufactures, of commerce, and navigation. In regard to these, especially the latter, List thus forcibly sums up the results:[1] "England had in her hands, the keys of every sea; she holds a check upon every nation: upon Germany, by Heligoland; upon France, by Guernsey and Jersey; upon North America, by Nova Scotia and the Bermudas; upon Central America, by Jamaica; upon all

[1] *List*, 121.

the coasts of the Mediterranean, by Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian islands. She possesses all the stopping places upon the two routes to India, except the Isthmus of Suez, upon which her covetous eyes are now fixed. She shuts the Mediterranean by Gibraltar, the Red sea by Aden, the Persian gulf by Busheer and Karac. She needs only the Dardanelles, the sound, the Isthmus of Suez, and Panama, to open and shut at her pleasure, every sea, and every maritime route." This mighty power on the ocean had proceeded:

1. From the necessities of commerce, which grew mostly out of her manufacturing industry.

2. From her colonial policy, which was intimately connected with her manufactures and commerce.

3. From her navigation acts, which had rendered her ship building coextensive with her commerce.

It is not a little curious, that Great Britain should, by her recent act of June 26, 1849, repeal, with some reservation, her navigation act, that had stood upon her statute book, since the age of Cromwell. Why was this? The necessity that originally demanded it, had ceased. It had fulfilled its mission, and accomplished all it had proposed. Under such circumstances, its longer continuance was not only unnecessary, but hurtful. It prevented that competition on the part of other nations, which now came to be courted, instead of avoided, and which had really become necessary to awake the British from their sense of security, and to stimulate them to resort to renewed effort in sustaining and extending their marine. The same principle may, not unlikely, require in time, the abrogation of those protective duties, by which their manufacturing interests are secured, when the free competition of others becomes necessary to create a greater

degree of life and activity in their production among her own people.

One of the great results brought about within the last century, and which has created a great revolution in industry, is the application of scientific truths and principles to aid in industrial pursuits. Numerous inventions and discoveries have been made, applying principles to machinery, and thus, in many instances, substituting the machine in the place of the slower, more expensive, and more laborious operations of the human body. This has been more especially illustrated in the English cotton manufacture.

This branch of industry was only introduced into England in the early part of the seventeenth century.[1] The arts of spinning and weaving it were carried to such great perfection in China and Hindostan, the places of its production, as greatly to discourage the attempt at British competition. But in 1767 Mr. Hargreaves, of Lancaster, invented the spinning jenny, and this was subsequently so much improved by Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, and others, that in the place of a single thread, produced by a solitary spinner, a little girl could, within the same time, produce one hundred and twenty by working so many spindles. This was only applicable to the weft, but the invention of the spinning frame by Sir Richard Arkwright, supplied also the warp. Since that the two have been combined by Mr. Crompton, giving us the mule jenny, and the power loom has been invented by Mr. Cartwright.

These, with subsequent improvements, together with the new source of supply of cotton which has been opened up in America, have made the cotton manufactures of

[1] *McCulloch*, 487.

England much superior to those of all the rest of the world together. The whole cotton trade of England in 1767, was worth two hundred thousand pounds. In twenty years it increased in the ratio of forty to one. It now amounts to not less than forty-five million pounds per annum. A single man can now perform the work which in 1767, required one hundred and fifty. Here then is presented the remarkable instance of a people who cannot raise the raw material, who are obliged to import it from America and India, but who are, nevertheless, enabled by their economy, and machinery, to manufacture more than all other nations.

One of the methods by which labor-saving machinery in this and other departments of industry has been obtained, is by a well defined and regulated patent law, which secures, for a limited time, to first inventors and discoverers the exclusive use of their invention and discovery. This is not, however, confined to English jurisprudence. Most civilized nations have adopted the same principle and practice. But the motives to invent and discover thus created, have been less productive on the continent than in England. The machinery employed in the manufacture of cotton alone, has been computed as equal to forty millions of hands.

The machinery, thus employed, is time-saving, labor-saving, and money-saving. It consumes no food, obeys orders without question, requires no time for rest, recreation, or refreshment, and marches straight onward to the accomplishment of its purpose.

An objection has been made that the use of machinery has superseded that of muscle, and hence that the laborer has been banished to garrets and cellars to die from starvation, while the machine has taken his place in the

manufacture. The answer to this is that the greater cheapness and facility of manufacturing not only increases vastly the number of products, but diminishes their price, and thus brings the article within the power of a greater number of purchasers, thus rendering that a necessity which was once a luxury. This again increases the demand, so that, in the case of the cotton manufacture, the number of persons employed is even greater than it was prior to the introduction of machinery.

But all machinery must have some power to impel it, or it will be useless. This power may be the muscle of man or beast, or wind or water, or what has recently come to supersede almost all the others, steam. This latter, consisting in the application of steam to propelling machinery, is the greatest, and most productive of all modern discoveries. The perfecting it has required much time, and the labor of many minds, but the largest indebtedness is to James Watt.

This discovery has increased the utility of all preceding machinery in the proportion of about seventy to one,[1] and thirty-five thousand men, with the help of steam, now perform the work of nearly two million five hundred thousand.

The making of cotton fabrics, although perhaps now carried to a greater extent than any other, was not the earliest of the English manufactures. This was wool, which was commenced at a very early period. This was of slow but very gradual growth. It doubled during the first forty years of the eighteenth century. But this increase was prior to invention of machinery to manufacture cotton. When that, together with other improvements,

[1] *Chenevix*, II. 85.

was applied to the fabrication of wool, it was increased three fold, and, during the eighteenth century, that increase has been in the proportion of six to one.[1] The home consumption of that article, during a century, increased ten fold.

Another of the staple manufactures of Great Britain is the fabrication of linen. This branch, however, is less cultivated in England than it is in Scotland and Ireland. In the latter, especially, it has increased from an annual exportation of £6,000 at the end of the seventeenth century to £2,000,000; while in the former, the increase has been nearly equally as remarkable. In Great Britain altogether it has reached the aggregate of £12,500,000.

In the fourteenth century England was so destitute of iron, that she prohibited its exportation. In the nineteenth century she manufactures a greater quantity of iron, and a larger variety of articles of iron and steel, than all other countries of the world. The whole value is not less than £18,000,000 sterling. She takes from her own mines to the value of not less than thirty-six millions in coal and other minerals.

England now produces silk goods to the value of more than ten millions sterling, a product greater than that of all the Italian republics of the middle ages together.

Branches of industry, the names of which were scarcely known in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, produce now yearly enormous sums. For instance, earthen or queensware is fabricated to the amount of five millions of pounds;[2] one million seven hundred thousand pounds from that of copper and tin; fourteen million pounds from that of paper, books, colors, and furniture; sixteen mil-

[1] *Chenevix*, II, 78. [2] *List*, 122.

lion pounds from leather, and the same from other articles. Even the manufacture of beer and spirits far exceeds in value the whole products of the country in the time of James I.

The whole product of the manufacturing industry of the three kingdoms has been recently estimated at one hundred and eighty-seven millions, one hundred thousand pounds; and, it is probably near the truth that a million of English workmen accomplish at the present day the work of one hundred millions of men.

We have now briefly sketched the industrial element as it has developed itself chiefly in the manufactures and commerce of the European nations. There is another branch of industry which has hitherto claimed but little attention, but is deserving of consideration, for two reasons:

1. It supplies the food upon which mankind subsists, as also most of the raw material out of which are derived most manufactured articles.

2. It numbers among those who follow it for a livelihood more than three-fourths of the inhabitants of the European nations.

This branch of industry is agriculture; a branch which every people has pursued to some extent, but some considerably more than others. By agriculture is meant that science which explains the means of making the earth produce in plenty and perfection those vegetables which are necessary to the subsistence or convenience of man, and of the animals reared by him for food or labor. This is the earliest pursuit of civilized man; and the simplest form in which it presents itself is the shepherd life, which is employed wholly in the rearing of sheep. In some countries, like the mountains of Switzerland, this is about

the only branch of industry that can be cultivated. But in most civilized countries, other branches are early pursued.

The principal points in relation to this science, and its reduction to practice are:

1. In the inclosing of lands into fields. The principal points here to be attended to are the size of the farm, the degree of exposure, the form of the fields, and the equability of the soil.

2. In the process of irrigation and drainage. The first supplies the water to the dry parched up soil, the last draws it off when its quantity is too superabundant. The process of draining is the most important, and the most frequently resorted to. Great improvements have been made in the methods by which this is accomplished.

3d. In the manures employed. This consists in the application of various substances to land for the purpose of enriching it, and adapting it to such products as the cultivator desires to raise. This subject has made more demands on science than any, and perhaps all others in this branch of industry. The science whose aid has been principally invoked is that of chemistry; and chemical analysis has done much in advancing and perfecting agricultural science.

The first great problem presented by agriculture to science for solution, regards the effect of organic action upon the substances presented to it, in reference to the growth or continuance of the organism. This underlies every other, and on its solution depends the direction which all subsequent inquiries must take.

The human body, for instance, is an organism, whose various structures of bone and muscle and adipose or fatty matter, are built up and sustained under the influence of organic action, based upon organic laws. These structures

chemistry analyses, and acquaints us with their elements, or last analytical results. Whence are these derived? Their immediate derivation is from organic action, but what is the special agency or power exerted by that action? In the answer to this question lies the solution of the problem; and the answer to it is, that organic action wherever exerted, whether in the animal or vegetable can neither change nor create any new elementary substance; that its entire power is expended when it has decomposed, selected, and applied the elementary substances presented to it.

It results from the establishment of this truth that neither animals nor vegetables can be nourished or sustained upon all kinds of food indifferently. That the food furnished must contain within itself all the elementary substances which enter into, and form the structures, of the animal or vegetable. That when animals feed on animals they there find bone and muscle and adipose matter. When they feed on vegetables they must derive from them the elements from which these are formed. The vegetable forms a connecting link between the animal and the soil. Taken all together, they must possess the same elementary substances that are found to compose the structures of the animal, because from them these structures are reared up and sustained.

Suppose oxen or horses are being raised for the plough, or live stock fattened for the market. It becomes essential to know what will give to the one strength and power of muscle, and to the other additional adipose matter.

In such case chemistry is required to furnish the elementary substances that compose muscle, and adipose matter. It must also state the vegetables in which these substances are more especially contained. All that then

remains is that they be furnished in proper proportions. The result will as certainly, and as necessarily follow, as that the sun performs the circuit of the heavens.

The vegetable is obtained from the soil, and all soils do not produce alike, in quantity and quality, all vegetable productions. In ascertaining what creates the difference we are brought back to the same principle we have been considering. All vegetable structures are resolvable into certain original elements. These must be obtained, and they must be derived from other bodies, as no organic action in the vegetable can create them. The root must seek them in the earth, and the part above the soil must ask them of the air, the shower, and the sunlight.

This introduces another important topic, viz: the relations of the plant to the soil in which it grows. Experience, alone, long since demonstrated the fact, that the same field, when left to itself was incapable of producing for successive seasons, in similar quantities, the same species of crop. Hence the practice of rotation in crops may have been due to the suggestions of experience, and not to the teachings of science. The principle upon which rotation depends is, that the crop raised stands debtor for its existence to certain elementary substances derived from the soil on which it grew. These substances, whether organic or inorganic, exist there in but limited quantities. The crop has diminished, or perhaps exhausted, one or more of these substances. Were it suffered to remain there and decompose, those substances would be again returned to the soil, and with them all the additions derived from the air, shower, and sunshine. But it is not, it is taken off and sold, and hence as the material that went to form that crop has been more or less exhausted, it becomes necessary the next season to plant another in its place.

But how can it be known what other to place there? Chemistry must analyze the soil, and disclose the elements both organic and inorganic that are contained in it. It must also analyze the plant, and disclose the same thing. Having these two classes of facts furnished, what remains is perfectly obvious, viz: to supply the soil, and to keep it supplied, with all those elementary substances which the ongrowing crop requires to perfect it.

This is accomplished through the agency of manures, both of the organic and inorganic kind. These being applied to the soil, restore the deficient or lacking element, But these are of many different kinds; and the question arises, how is that to be selected which contains a superabundance of the desired elements.

The appeal is again made to science. Chemistry must analyze the soil, and determine the lacking element. It must also analyze manures, and ascertain the kind in which that element is contained. The supply of that manure will render the crop perfect. Thus the supply of the precise element required could only be obtained through the revelations of science.

It will now be perceived that by means of different methods of irrigation and drainage, lands may be placed in such relations with the sun, the atmosphere, and descending rain, as to secure the requisite degree of heat, dryness, and moisture. That the application of the right kind of manures may increase, to an indefinite extent, the quantity of staple productions which will always find a ready market.

Thus it is rendered possible to find, or furnish a soil with those original elementary substances, which, mounting up through the organization of the vegetable, enter into the organism of the animal; and there, in the propor-

tions desired, go to form additions to the bony skeleton, for strength and endurance, or to add size and power to the muscle, for labor, or give increased quantity to the adipose matter for the butcher's market. It will thus be apparent that the subject of manures is one of vast practical importance.

4. In the rotation of crops, which has already been alluded to.

5. In the culture of grasses, and this should either be as meadow land for the cutting of hay, or as pasture land for the growing of herbage.

6. In the instruments of agriculture, the implements and machines by which it is carried on. In these, the progress has been more marked within the last half century, than in any other of its departments.

7. In the different processes of sowing and planting. These consist: 1st. In the broad cast system, which is the oldest method, and that by which the seeds are scattered by the hand over the surface of the ground. 2d. In the drill system, by which the seeds are dropped at equal distances, and in straight rows. 3d. In dibbling, by which small holes are made in the ground, and the seed dropped into them by the hand.

8. In the raising of live stock, consisting of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, poultry etc., and in regard to these, especially the three first mentioned, great art may be exercised, and great care and caution are required.

These, and other things, that are embraced in the science of agriculture have been gradually brought out and developed among the different European nations. As we found manufactures and commerce first reviving in Italy, so it is interesting to notice the state of agriculture in that country. The climate, soil and surface of Italy are so

various as to have given rise to a greater diversity of culture than is to be found in the whole of Europe besides. Corn, grass, cattle, cheese, butter, rice, silk, cotton, wine, oil, and fruits of all kinds are found in perfection in this fertile country. Only one-fifth of the surface of Italy is considered sterile, and its population is greater, in proportion to its surface, than that of either France or Great Britain. In Lombardy, it is quite common for the owner to furnish the farm with buildings, and keep them in repair, the tenant to provide cattle, implements and seeds, and to divide the produce equally.

The feature of land irrigation is probably carried further in Lombardy than in any other country in Europe. Canals are taken from rivers and conducted through land to conduct the water to distant places.[1] It is principally employed for grass lands, and these, when fully watered, yield four and sometimes five successive crops in a year, the first sometimes as early as the month of March. It is conducted between the narrow ridges of corn lands, in the hollows between drilled crops, among vines, or to flood lands, to the depth of a foot or more, which are sown with rice. Water is also used for depositing a surface of mud, in some places where it is charged with that material. In general watered lands let at one third higher price than those not irrigated.

In regard both to the implements and operations of agriculture in Lombardy, both are extremely imperfect. The plough is nothing more than a very rude contrivance, with a handle thirteen or fourteen feet long.

Another branch of agricultural industry which is cultivated very considerably among the Italians, especially the

[1] *Encyclopedia Americana*, Agriculture, I, 108.

Lombards, is that of raising cattle. They are tied up in stalls, fed with extraordinary care, bled once or twice, cleaned and rubbed with oil, afterwards combed and brushed twice a day. Their food in summer is clover, or other green herbage; in winter a mixture of elm leaves, clover hay, and pulverized walnut cake, over which boiling water is poured, and bran and salt added. In a short time, the cattle cast their hair, grow smooth, round and fat, and so improved as to double their value in the meat market.

When we look at Germany through an agricultural medium, we perceive that it presents a country very extensive, consisting of a great variety of soils, surface, climate and culture. Its agricultural produce is, for the most part, consumed within its limits; but excellent wines are exported from Hungary, and the Rhine, together with flax, hams, geese, silk, etc. The culture of the mulberry, and the rearing of the silk worm, extend as far north as Berlin.

Agriculture has long been taught theoretically in Germany. The science and art of agriculture have been taught publicly by professors in the German universities for three-quarters of a century. The improved implements of Great Britain are also well known there, and some of them have been introduced, especially in Holstein, Hanover, and Westphalia; but generally speaking, the ploughs, wagons, etc., are unwieldy and inefficient.

Fish are carefully bred and fattened in some places, especially in Prussia, and poultry is everywhere attended to; particularly in the neighborhood of Vienna. The culture of forests likewise receives particular attention in that country as well as in France.

The common agriculture of Germany is everywhere improving. Both government and individuals have formed institutions for the instruction of youth in its principles.

In France, agriculture began to flourish in the seventeenth century, under Henry IV. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, most of the nations of Europe applied themselves to the study of agriculture, and continued to do so, more or less, amidst the confusion that succeeded. France, more especially, found, by repeated experience, that she could never maintain a long war, or procure even a tolerable peace, unless the kingdom produced corn enough to support the people in such a manner as not to be obliged to accept of severe terms on the one hand, or to perish by famine on the other. This occasioned the king to give public encouragement to agriculture. The great and the rich followed his example.

Down to the period of the French revolution there were many things that pressed heavily upon agriculture in France.

1. Exclusive of the rents of land paid to the lay proprietors,[1] and of the duties of excise, consumption, and the like, the produce of the soil was charged annually with upwards of £21,000,000 sterling, over $100,000,000.

2. The different modes of holding and occupying land had their disadvantages. These were:

1st. The small proprietory peasants, whose estates were so small as to be inadequate for farming purposes.

2d. A rental in money.

3d. The feudal tenures. These were fiefs, granted by the seigneurs, or lords of the parishes, under reserva-

[1] *Bell*, II, 148.

tions of fines, quit-rents, forfeitures, services, etc., many of which were of the most oppressive kind.

4th. A mode which is common also in Ireland, and in some portions of Italy, the metayer mode, from *meta*, half. This succeeded the old Roman coloni. The things supplied, seem to have been different in different countries. In France, the metayer, or tenant, supplied the labor, while the proprietor furnished the land and stock, and the produce, after setting aside what was necessary to keep up the stock, was divided between the two, in some places equally, in others, two-thirds to the tenant, and one-third to the proprietor. Most of the lands in France were held under this mode at the time of the revolution.

The revolution brought with it great changes, especially in agriculture. The vast estates of the church and of the emigrant nobility were divided into small parcels, and exposed to sale on easy terms of payment. The poorer classes were enabled to make small purchases. The right of primogeniture in landed property was also abolished, which left the real estate to descend equally to all the children. These two things have caused an almost infinite subdivision of a great proportion of the lands in France. In Lorraine, there are farms measuring one and a half yards by two,[1] and in Brittany, there are owners and cultivators of a single furrow, and that not a long one. There are in France, a million and a quarter of proprietors, none of whom own more than five acres of land. Dividing the whole area of the country by the total number of proprietors, will give the average size of farms at about eleven and a half acres. One very obvious result of this

[1] *Transactions of* 1853, 28, 29.

is, that these small landed proprietors lack the capital necessary to carry on a scientific and improved system of agriculture. It is estimated that two-thirds of the population of France are directly engaged in the cultivation of the soil. Although there are probably higher scientific attainments in France, than in any other nation in Europe, yet its principles do not seem to have become popularized so as to affect the mass. Hence agricultural science is not there much advanced.

The lands in France are not generally enclosed and subdivided by hedges or other fences.[1] Some fences will be found near the towns, but, in general, the whole country is open, the boundaries of estates being marked by slight ditches or ridges, with occasional stones or heaps of earth, or trees in rows or thinly scattered.

Since the time of Colbert, the French have paid attention to sheep, and there are considerable flocks of merinos owned by individuals, besides the national flocks. Sheep are generally housed or kept in folds, and little yards and enclosures. In the south part of France the ass and the mule are of frequent use in husbandry. Poultry is also an important article in French husbandry.

As to the French implements of agriculture, they belong to a past generation. They are generally rude and unwieldy, and the operations of husbandry are unskillfully performed.

The vine is extensively cultivated in France. It is to be found in fields and on terraced hills, in a way different from that which prevails elsewhere. It is planted in hills like Indian corn, kept low and managed like a plantation of raspberries.

[1] *Enc. Americana*, I, 107.

The white mulberry tree is very extensively cultivated for feeding the silk worm. It is not placed in regular plantations, but in corners, and in rows by the sides of roads. The olive, the fig, the almond, and various other fruits are also extensively cultivated in France.

Agriculture has made greater advances in Great Britain than in any other country in Europe. The conquest of England by the Normans, in 1066, contributed to the improvement of agriculture. At that early period, the plains of Flanders and Normandy were extremely fertile and well cultivated. Many thousand husbandmen from those plains settled in Great Britain, obtained farms, and employed the same methods in cultivating them, which they had been accustomed to use in their native countries.

Some of the Norman barons were great improvers of their lands, and were celebrated in history for their skill in agriculture. Even the Norman clergy, and especially the monks, did still more in this way than the nobility. The great advancement of English agriculture, beyond that of other European nations, is owing principally to the following things:

1. The insular position of Great Britain has always furnished a reason why the strongest efforts should be made to raise on the island whatever should be necessary for the support of its inhabitants.

2. A much greater variety of soil than is ordinarily to be found within the same compass, is here presented, thus stimulating agricultural pursuits, by the great variety of products which it was capable of producing.

3. England was found to be rich in minerals, especially in coal and iron, the two which are directly the most es-

sential, and the best calculated to stimulate the various branches of agricultural industry.

4. She early embarked in manufactures, and thus created home markets for the sale of her own agricultural products.

5. For more than two centuries her corn laws erected around her coasts a wall against all foreign importation of bread stuffs, thus keeping her land owners and cultivators free from all foreign competition, and giving them the supply of all the English markets.

6. The land owners have generally been the aristocracy of England and Scotland, men of large means, who could afford to employ large amounts of capital in agricultural operations and improvements.

7. The science of England has always been eminently practical, and has greatly advanced the interests of agriculture. Geology has pointed out the rocky structures that underlie the soil, and whose disintegrations mainly compose it. Hydraulics have developed the laws of fluid in motion with a view to the practice of irrigation and drainage. Botany, animal and vegetable physiology and natural history have unfolded the laws of life, and the peculiarities of development in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Meteorology has bestowed the knowledge of atmospheric phenomena, more especially in its relations to heat and moisture; while chemistry has gone into its laboratory, and analyzed for its benefit, the soil, the plant, and the animal. It has verified theory by practice, and thus established on a permanent basis the truth of things.

8. On much the same principle as that last mentioned, the mysteries of mechanical science have been invoked, and old implements of agriculture have been improved,

and a great variety of new ones have been invented, so that in agricultural facilities England is far in advance of other European nations.

All these things have worked great practical results, and rendered England greatly superior to any other nation of the old world in all that goes to constitute practical agriculture. The farmers more particularly excel in their general farming arrangements, in their adaptation of the right kinds of manure to the different varieties of soil, and in their successful cultivation of the different varieties of live stock, particularly horses, cattle, and sheep.

The establishment of a national board of agriculture has been of very great service to British husbandry. By all these means, the productive energy of agriculture has been made in one year to amount to a total value of two hundred and eighty-five millions of pounds.[1]

It now only remains to state a few deductions which may be fairly drawn from the industrial history of Europe.

1. Industrial prosperity has been largely dependent upon three things:

First. The situation of the country in reference to its facilities for the different branches of agriculture, the different varieties of manufactures, and the different kinds of commerce.

Second. The political institutions of the country, in reference to the largest liberty of thought, speech, and action, which are accorded to its people.

Third. To the legislation of the country, and the treaties made by it with other nations.

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[1] *List*, 122.

2. The industrial prosperity of a country has in no respect been dependent upon its extent originally, or upon the number of its people. Witness, Venice, Holland and England.

3. Peculiarity of situation, and the force of circumstances have contributed largely to develop the industrial resources of a country, and to give it wealth or poverty. Witness the situations of the Italian republics, the Hanseatic cities, Holland, England and the occurrence of the Crusades, the discovery of the passage to India and the east around the Cape of Good Hope, and the planting of colonies.

4. In the infancy of a people, and when the physical resources of the country are to be developed, its legislation should impose no restriction, adopting and acting upon the principle of free trade. By these means its agriculture will be encouraged, its powers of producing the raw material more thoroughly put in exercise, and the motives furnished for the creation of a marine.

5. When the agriculture of a country has become stimulated to a higher degree of activity, and its physical resources well developed, it then, under ordinary circumstances, becomes the policy of the country by its legislation to build up its manufactures and shipping. This is done by the imposition of heavy duties upon foreign manufactures, so as almost, or totally, to exclude them; or by bounties upon the exportation of its own manufactures, and by navigation acts, rendering necessary the creation of a marine.

6. When, by these means, and also by treaties with other nations, the manufactures and marine of the country have become so established as to be superior to other nations, then to prevent stagnation, by encouraging a healthy competition, all legislative restriction may cease, and the

doctrine of free trade practically adopted. The three last reductions are illustrated more especially in the example of England.

7. It is not the country that is in possession of the greatest amount of gold and silver that is the richest, nor is it possible, by legislation, so to prohibit the exportation of gold and silver as to secure an accumulation of it in the country. Illustrated in the case of Spain.

8. That country is the richest and the happiest in an economical point of view, which the best employs its people in productive industry, which produces, within the shortest times, and at the cheapest rates, the largest number and greatest variety of products, thus affording every one something to do, and bringing within the reach of the poorest, the necessaries, and very many of the comforts of life. Illustrated in the case of England.

9. All the different branches of industry are mutual aids and assistants of each other in the same country. The mechanical trades, manufactures, mining, ship-building, commerce, all furnish home markets for the products of agriculture; and thus raise the price of produce and of land; while on the other hand, the products of manufacture, of the mechanic arts, of the mine, and of commerce, are demanded by the agriculturist; each stimulations to the production of the other, thus increasing the aggregate amount of both.

10. The pursuit, in its utmost intensity, of all the different varieties of industry, is only possible in a country having free institutions. It is there only, that its fruits are protected; that property, in its acquisition its possession, and its transmission, has thrown around it the safeguard of the law; and that individual effort can be stimulated to the accomplishment of its greatest results. It

has been especially remarked, and the remark is borne out by history, that navigation can never flourish, except among a free people. The free range of the seas is only given, as it only can be enjoyed, by free men. The navigation of Venice sunk under her aristocracy; that of the Hanse towns under their oligarchy. That of England has gone on steadily increasing, until it proclaims on every sea, the independence and hardihood of the English tar, and the freedom of the institutions under which he received his birth and nurture.

11. We witness in Europe the separation of the industrial element from all the others, and its progress towards a complete development. It has never before stood out in the world's history, claiming its own organization, erecting its own guilds, shaping its own legislation, and embodying its principles in its own science — that of political economy. It has never before developed so far its basis — the useful, working out, in all its departments, so many surprising results; supplying man's physical wants with such princely munificence; rendering what were once luxuries now merely necessaries, and extending the greatest amount of these to the greatest possible number.

The effect of the active prosecution of all the industrial pursuits upon the intellectual, social, and moral life of the people is fully proclaimed by the industrial history of Europe. How strongly is this contrasted with the ancient civilization. Intellect is nowhere more active, or more fruitful in its results, than in the midst of the most energetic and untiring industry. It has there more to accomplish, has applied to it a higher stimulus, besides catching itself the working spirit by which it is surrounded. The social world takes its hue from the industrial; its plea-

sures are sweetened by toil, and the repose to which it invites is grateful for its exemptions from labor, and a fitting prelude to renewed effort. The moral element comes in with its higher claims, and finds natures inured to toil, and far better adapted to its exercise, and germs it can more readily mature and ripen into a fruit that is more blessed here, and far happier hereafter.

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